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Université de Montréal

Ideologies of language and print media in Ghana

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RÉSUMÉ

Les Ewes d'Afrique occidentale peuplent la région située entre le fleuve Volta au sud-est du Ghana et le fleuve Mono au Bénin. Le *Ghana Statistics Service* a publié un rapport en 2002 indiquant que sur une population de 1,7 million des Ewes de la région Volta au Ghana, 963 811 personnes sont scolarisées. 51 613 d'entre elles ont eu une scolarisation en Anglais seulement, 365 710 ont suivi une scolarisation en deux langues, l'Anglais et l'Ewe, et 106 605 ont eu une scolarisation en Ewe seulement. Malgré l'effort de publier des journaux en langues locales, il n'y a pas de publications ininterrompues, contrairement à celles de langue anglaise. Cette situation soulève des questions, puisque les médias oraux réussissent à se servir des langues ghanéennes comme moyen de communication. Pourquoi les médias oraux de langue indigène font-ils des gains alors que les médias écrits en langue indigène échouent ? Pourquoi les médias écrits de langue anglaise réussissent-ils au Ghana, contrairement à ceux de langue ewe ?

La présente thèse examine les idéologies de langage entourant les rôles des langues dans le développement des médias écrits au Ghana. Elle utilise les œuvres de Woolard et Schieffelin (1994) sur l'aspect multiple des idéologies de langage, d'Irvine (1993, 1989) sur les grammaires coloniales, de Woolard (1998) sur les dimensions des idéologies, des auteurs tels que Humboldt (1825 [1988]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), et Demetracopoulou Lee (1939) sur la codification linguistique. Ce travail s'appuie sur les analyses de Cohn (1987) portant sur les grammaires coloniales, aussi bien que sur celles de Ngũgĩ (1991) et d'Appiah (1992) sur les débats postcoloniaux centrés sur les rôles des langues africaines dans la littérature. L'ouvrage de Bourdieu (1979), qui porte sur les fondements des préférences, l'œuvre de Fernandez (1986) qui traite des domaines dans lesquels les composantes du langage sont assignées, l'analyse de Spitulnik (1993) qui se centre sur les médias dans la situation du multilinguisme et, finalement, l'œuvre de Bate (2002) qui décrit l'esthétique et l'idéologie dans les médias écrits constituent aussi les assises de la thèse. Elle soutient l'hypothèse que, dans la situation du multilinguisme au Ghana, l'importance attribuée à l'Ewe, en regard de l'Anglais dans les médias écrits, est fondée sur des idéologies de langage. Elle analyse les idéologies de langage dans les thèmes suivants : les préférences, les pragmatiques, l'écriture juxtaposée à l'oralité,

l'identité, le journalisme, les compétences en alphabétisation, les fournisseurs des médias écrits, et les domaines de langage.

Par ces investigations, le travail tient à démontrer que des facteurs complexes, comme les variables linguistiques, attitudinales, et esthétiques, conduisent à l'élaboration des idéologies de langage, qui, à leur tour, contribuent au succès des publications de langue anglaise, à l'opposé de celles de langue ewe.

Mots clés : anthropologie, linguistique, langue ewe, traduction, idéologie de langage, esthétique linguistique, écrivains ghanéens, journaux ruraux, médias écrits, Afrique.

ABSTRACT

The Ewes of West Africa inhabit the territory stretching from the Volta River in southeastern Ghana to the Mono River in Benin. According to Ghana Statistics Service's 2002 census, there were 1.7 million Ewes in the Volta Region of Ghana. Of this population, 963, 811 were literates, with 51, 613 literates in only English, 365, 710 literates in both English and Ewe, and 106, 605 literates in only Ewe. Although there have been many attempts to establish print media in the Ghanaian languages, no sustained Ghanaian-language print media have yet been successful. This situation is interesting given that broadcast media have, in contrast, been quite successful in using certain Ghanaian languages. This raises the question of why print and broadcast media differ in their use of local languages.

In this study, I explore ideologies of language with respect to the roles of languages in print media in the Ghanaian multilingual context. In particular, I argue that ideologies of language shape the roles accorded to Ewe, in contrast to English-language, and that this has implications for the use of a language in print media. To investigate this point, I examine the ideologies of language underlying a variety of topics, including language standardization, professionalization in journalism, variants in journalistic productions, language attitudes, pragmatics, writing versus orality, literacy, density of language aesthetics, language policies, language practices, and construed domains of languages. I draw on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) multidimensional view of ideologies of language, as well as Irvine's (1993; 1989) analyses of colonial grammars and language issues within multilingual context. I tap into Woolard's (1998) definition of ideologies of language, as well as the views of Humboldt (1825 [1988]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), and Demetracopoulou Lee (1939) on language codification. I also draw on Cohn's (1987) excursus on colonial language codification, Ngugi (1991) and Appiah's (1992) notions of postcolonial issues regarding language, Bourdieu's (1979) examination of language as commodity, as well as Spitulnik (1993) and Bate's (2002) explorations of the media.

Throughout the explorations, I demonstrate that complex factors, such as language specific, language-attitudinal, and language aesthetic issues, cohere to contribute to ideologies of language, which in turn influence a sustained production of newspapers in English-language, in contrast with the local-languages, using the Ewe language as a case study.

Key words: Anthropology, linguistics, Ewe language, translation, ideology, aesthetics, Ghanaian novelists, rural newspapers, print media, and Africa.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
CV	Consonant-Verb stem
CCV	Consonant-consonant-verb stem
CVCV	Consonant-Vowel-Consonant-Vowel stem
Det	Determiner
GJA	Ghana Journalists' Association
N	Noun
N/A	Not Applicable
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
Pers.	Person
Pro	Pronoun
Pl	Plural
Pre	preposition
Post	postposition
PR	Public Relations Officer
S	Subject
O	Direct Object
Oi	Indirect Object
Sg.	Singular
V	Verb
VO	Verb Object
VOA	Verb object Adjunct
VOV	Verb Object Verb
2 nd	Second Person Pronoun
3 rd	Third Person Pronoun
=	Yield
+	Compounding

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INTRODUCTION

In this introduction, I describe the main topics of this research and elucidate both the theoretical perspective and the methodological framework within which I conduct the study.

MAIN TOPICS

According to Ghana Statistics Service's 2002 census, the number of literates in the Volta Region was 963, 811. Of this, 51, 613 were literate in only English, 365, 710 were literate in both English and Ewe, and 106, 605 were literate in only Ewe. Although there have been many attempts to establish print media in the Ghanaian languages for the literates, no sustained Ghanaian-language print media (newspapers) have yet been successful (see Chapters Three and Four). A central topic of this thesis is to explore why this is so. The situation is especially interesting given that broadcast media (radio and television) have, in contrast, been quite successful in using certain Ghanaian languages (see Chapter Three). This raises a second main topic for this thesis, namely, exploring why print and broadcast media differ in their use of local languages (see Spitulnik's 1998 discussions on the Zambian case).

In this work, I argue that in the Ghanaian multilingual context of fifty-five languages, *ideologies of language* contribute to the roles and preeminence attributed to English, in contrast with Ghanaian languages. Whereas English is the official language for literacy, government administration, and print media in Ghana, selected local languages have been reduced to writing, and used as national languages in lower primary schools, broadcast media, and regional programs. I contend that the ideologies of language involve the interplay of complex factors, such as language specific, language-attitudinal, and language aesthetics, which contribute to the unsuccessful production of Ghanaian-language newspapers, using Ewe language as a case study (see Chapter One), contrasted with successful print media in English-language. Language-specific factors include issues specific to the Ghanaian languages (see Chapter Two); language-attitudinal factors include variables such as the ideologies of language, the language policies, the emergence of an educated class, the incorporation of different language areas into a nation-state, and the hierarchization of languages in Ghana, as well as the interplay of

economic and political factors (see Chapter Six). I also explore how literacy and language aesthetics in English and Ewe contribute to the ideologies of language with respect to Ghanaian print media (see Chapter Five).

Language-specific factors

The language-specific factors contributing to the role of Ewe in the media concern issues of standardization, orthography, word division, and loanwords. Specifically, I highlight the impact of linguists and Ghanaian writers' perceptions of Ewe on the development of the Ghanaian print media. In particular, I note the contributions of Westermann (1907; 1930) and Berry (1951) to the development of a systematic Ewe grammar, and I revisit features of the language such as grammatical and lexical units, as explained by Benveniste (1958). In concentrating on the principal issues of the Ewe language, I point out how ideologies of language underlie the views and perceptions of journalists, broadcasters, and novelists on the place of each language in the Ghanaian print media (see Chapter Two).

Language-attitudinal factors

Language policies

Language policies have been formulated to serve political purposes since the British colonial era in Ghana. For example, English was adopted as the official language for administration and education, and it has become the language of choice for inter-regional communication. At the same time, the Ghanaian languages serve as mother tongues and, as such, mediums of expression for national commerce, music, funerals, religious ceremonies, traditional social life and other forms of oral tradition.

English serves as the language of instruction for pupils from grade four through university, while the Ghanaian languages spoken in various regions remain the first languages of those originating from and dwelling in those areas. Although Akan, Ewe and Ga are now studied even at the university level, from the 1950s to the 1980s the policies on the appropriation of the Ghanaian languages were neither consistent nor permanent (Boahene-Agbo 1970). This inconsistency is demonstrated by the fact that government officials and other educated Ghanaians sometimes encouraged the use of the

local languages, yet at other times disregarded their use in literate context. These language policies have had a direct effect on the presence of local languages in print media development in Ghana. Further investigation of this situation is required in order to explain the lack of promotion of print media in the Ghanaian languages.

Emergence of professional class in Ghana

In Ghana, the system of education that propagated English as the official language precipitated the emergence of a professional class in the Ghanaian society. This class was imprinted with both the English language and the other status signifiers that accompanied education. Their attitudes affect print media in African languages. Appiah (1992) sees the emergence of the elite or educated group in Africa as a factor that has contributed to the writing of African literature in English, French, and Portuguese rather than in the African languages. He notes that the educated group became westernized, identifying themselves, for example, with Western literature.

Incorporating different language areas into a nation-state

The formation of the nation-state in Ghana after the colonial period has also contributed significantly to the lack of a sustained Ghanaian-language written media. The process of nation-state formation resulted in the separation of people of the same language territories into different countries, whereby one group of the Ewe found themselves divided into territories of southeastern Ghana, southern Togo and southwestern Benin. Similarly, due to “artificial” new borders, the Nzema language is located in the western part of Ghana and the eastern part of Ivory Coast. In the northern part of Ghana, the Dagbani language is split between Ghana and Burkina Faso.

This separation of people of the same language into four different countries made it difficult to develop and sustain written media in the local languages. For example, Gérard (1981) observes that in 1944, a monthly Catholic Ewe journal, *Mia Holo*, was founded in Eweland when the Germans colonized that territory under Togo. In 1903, the Protestants produced *Nutifafa na Mi*, another journal in the same language, in the part of Eweland which lay within Togo. After World War I, the Germans lost their colony, triggering the loss of funding for the two local-language newspapers. While the

Protestant journal continued to be published for a while in Ghana, its Catholic counterpart was discontinued (Gérard 1981: 273).

This situation requires in-depth study, to determine why precisely the local language media failed to flourish in Ghana.

Hierarchization of languages in Ghana

The hierarchization of the Ghanaian languages has also contributed to the lack of sustained print media in the Ghanaian languages. The education system has made a conscious effort to rank the Ghanaian languages throughout the development of language policies in Ghana. Certain Ghanaians have held the belief that local languages bear the mark of underdevelopment, and do not have the potential for serious academic study. The association of these characteristics with local languages has hampered any efforts to develop an adequate and a sustained print media in these languages, hence the need for further examination of how such attitudes affect print media promotion in the local languages.

Language aesthetics

Finally, I examine what Ghanaian writers term the “density” of the Ghanaian languages versus the direct referential nature of English-language reporting in Ghana. I explore veiled aesthetics and modes of verbal art, such as proverbs, wise sayings, panegyrics, and so on, which writers deploy in Ewe newspapers, as opposed to the factual and unveiled aesthetics that writers utilize in Ghanaian English-language newspapers.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

For the purposes of this thesis, I will adopt theoretical constituents from Woolard and Schieffelin’s (1994) multidimensional view of ideologies of language, as well as components from Irvine’s (1993; 1989) analyses of colonial grammars and language issues within multilingual context, and Woolard’s (1998) definition of ideologies of language. I will also tap into Humboldt (1825 [1906]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), and Demetracopoulou Lee’s (1939) views of language codification, as well as Cohn’s (1987)

discussions on colonial language codification. I will also draw on Ngugi (1991) and Appiah's (1992) notions of postcolonial issues regarding language, as well as variables in Bourdieu's (1979) examination of language as commodity. I also intend to build on Spitulnik (1993) and Bate's (2002) explorations of media perceptions, aesthetics, and production. I will first detail the views of each of these authors and then specify the components of their work relevant to this thesis, using further references to elucidate the ideologies of language, the multilingual context, and media topics that are relevant for investigating the Ghanaian print media (see Chapter One).

Analytic model for interpretation

To interpret data, I will draw on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) multidimensional theoretical approach to the discussion of ideologies of language (see Chapter One). In light of this, I will build on Silverstein's (1979) notion of linguistic features and assumptions about language, Bates' (2002) notion about the imaginings of power and aestheticization in print media, and Yankah's (1995) views on ideologies of language. In general, I will examine topics that emerged from the empirical data, such as language standardization, ethnography of newspapers, textual components of the media, perceptions of writers about language, translation, and pragmatics issues, and so on. These topics, among others, will reveal the multifarious factors regarding the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media, and uncover the ideologies of language underlying all of the empirical data (interviews, excerpts from selected newspapers, and field notes). In what follows, I discuss a three-fold model (that is, a language-specific model, a language aesthetic model, and a language-attitudinal) to interpret the data.

Language-specific model

The language-specific model concerns certain features of English compared with Ewe. Silverstein (1979) makes important points on this topic, which he views in two broad perspectives, namely, ideologies about language and scientific statements regarding language. He claims that the structure and ideology of language are interconnected. He examines the interconnection between language structure and ideologies of language, drawing attention to rationalizations about language use. He sees

rationalizations about language use in terms of the functional way that language users project and objectify basic structures of propositions. Drawing upon this work of Silverstein's, I will discuss the grammatical issues as represented in the rules for orthography, neology, and Standard Ewe.

Aesthetics of language model

For the aesthetic model, I will tap into Bate's (2002) notion of aesthetics as a means of representing leadership qualities, as well as the use of political poems in newspapers. I will also draw on his discussions on how literary genres, such as poems, political praises, political speeches, and so on, are deployed in newspapers. By illustrating how literary genres serve as the means of representations, particularly political imagining in Tamil Nadu, he offers clues for interpreting not only political perceptions and representations in the print media but also social imaginings and aesthetic productions as well.

Language-attitudinal model

In setting a language-attitudinal model, I will take as a starting point Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) discussions on institutionalized and attitudinal issues regarding language. I will thus incorporate into this model the views of both Fernandez (1986) and Bourdieu (1990), to discuss language policies, the hierarchization of languages, nation-state strategies, pragmatics of language, literacy, and so on. I will draw particular attention to the implications of these topics for the development of Ghanaian print media. Finally, I will examine translation as a medium where ideologies of language have appeared in Ghana.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EXPLORATIONS

The investigations are organized in six chapters. Chapter One focuses on both the theoretical and methodological perspectives that inform this thesis. Chapter Two examines the production of Standard Ewe and its implication for the role of Ewe in Ghanaian print media. Chapter Three centers on the ethnography of Ghanaian print and

broadcast media, paying close attention to topics, such as professionalization of the media, impacts of factors such as culture, politics, and economics on Ghanaian journalistic production, as well as features of the media, that contribute to ideologies of language and the perceived roles of languages in Ghanaian print media. Chapter Four contrasts the contents of English-language and Ewe newspapers, emphasizing how the elements of the contents illustrate underlying ideologies of language that contribute to the perceived roles of language in Ghanaian print media. Chapter Five explores language aesthetics of English-language and Ewe newspapers, as well as the pragmatics of literacy in both languages, pointing out how they differ in their goals, agents, contents, programs, required linguistic skills, and targeted groups. It specifies how these differences contribute to language ideologies and production of print media in Ghana. Finally, Chapter Six discusses and interprets Ghanaian writers' views on the roles of English-language and Ewe in Ghanaian print media. Finally, I summarized the salient points discussed in the thesis, comparing the Ghanaian media with those of Zambia and Nigeria.

OVERVIEW OF EWE PEOPLE

The Ewes of West Africa refer to their language as Ewe, but there is variation in the orthography of the word, for example: *Evhe*, *Evhé*, *Évé*, *Ewe*, *Ewé*, *Éwé*, *Eve*, *Eweer*, *Awuna*, and *Eve*. In this thesis, I adopt the spelling "Ewe" because it is the most commonly used in the literature. Ewe is a subgroup of Kwa (Westermann 1930), and of the broader Niger-Congo sub-family (Greenberg 1970). The word Kwa, which translates as *people*, forms the stem of many of the names of languages regrouped within this term (Westermann 1930; 1952).

The Ewes inhabit the territory that stretches from the Volta River in southeastern Ghana to beyond the Mono River in Benin (see maps in appendixes 12 to 17), as well as part of Ogun and Lagos in Nigeria (Capo 1991; Medeiros 1984; Ansre 1961; Westermann 1907; 1930). The southern part of Eweland is a littoral zone along the coast of the Atlantic sea, extending inland to form a plain savannah of vegetation and crops, whereas the middle and eastern belt, comprising the regions of Adaklu, Peki, Tsito, and Afadzato in Ghana, and Agu in Togo, are covered with green forests and mountains.

Thus, from the coast northwards the land stretches to a latitude of 8° North (Akyeampong 2001; Asamoah 1986).

The Ewe people date their place of origin to Amedzofe, now known as Hogbe, which lies to the east of the Notsie in Togo. According to Ewe mythology, the Ewe ancestors migrated from Amedzofe to Tado, and then to Notsie in late sixteenth century (Amenumey 1986; 1997), or mid-seventeenth century (Greene 2002). These migrations were made up of three main groups. One group settled northwest of Notsie; this group included the tribes of Agu, Akome, Alavanyo, Awudome, Dzolo, Gbi, Kpalime, Kpando, Kpedze, Leklebi, Matse, Peki, Savi, Ve, and Wodze, while another group of tribes moved westward. This migration included the Adaklu, Akovia, Ho, Kpano, and Takia tribes, and a third group of tribes moved southward. These included the Abobo, Afife, Agave, Anlo, Ave, Be (out of which sprang the Agoueve, Bagida, and Lome), Fenyi, Gafe, Game, Kliko, Mafi, Some, Tanyigba, Tavia, Tokoe, and Tsevie (out of which emerged the Boulou, Asome, Lavie, and Daḡave), and the Tsiamé and Weta. However, the units of each tribal group migrated separately to arrive at their current locations.

Eweland shares boundaries with various language communities. To the west, there are the Ga-Adangbe and Akwapim-Twi speakers of Akwamu, who dwell in the eastern part of Ghana. In the northern part of Eweland, reside the speakers of Akpafu, Lolobi, Likpe, Adele, Aguna, and Yoruba, whereas in the eastern part, the Yoruba inhabit Benin and Nigeria.

The Ewe language consists of various dialects distinguished by compounding the dialect with the word **gbe** (*language* or *voice*). Thus, Williamson (1989) and Capo (1991) refer to all speakers of Ewe as **Gbe** speakers. Whereas Agbodeka (1997), Ansre (1961), Mamattah (1978), and Westermann (1907; 1930) describe three units of the Ewe cluster, Pazzi (1979) notes four main units and Capo (1991) identifies five. These include Ewe chiefdoms (Anlo, Tongu, Gbi, Peki, Kpando, Wli, Ho, Aveno, Vo, Kpele, Vε, Danyi, Agu, Fodome, Notsie, Watsi, and Adangbe, spoken in Ghana and Togo), Gen chiefdoms (Glidji, Anecho, and Agoe in Togo), Aja chiefdoms (Dogbo, Stado, Hwe, and Sikpi, along the River Mono in Togo and Benin), Fon chiefdoms (Kpase, Agbome, Maxi, Gun, and Weme, in Benin and western Nigeria), and Phla-Phera chiefdoms (Alada, Tɔli, Torfin, Phela, Phla, Ayizɔ, Kotafon, and Tsaphε).

The Ewes believe in **Mawu** (*Supreme God*) (Greene 2002). They also have approximate notions of a three-fold Supreme God, known as **Mawu Sogle**, who is attributed male qualities, **Sodza**, who is ascribed female attributes, and **Sowlui**, considered the god of wealth and fortune. In addition, they believe in various deities, for example, **xebieso** (*god of thunder*), and **se** (*god of destiny*), who is mostly known in the **Afa** cult of the southern Ewe. Besides these deities, the various chiefdoms in Eweland worship a number of local gods. The Ewes organize cults to revere the spirits of the good elders, called **togbeawo** (*ancestors*). They include in their cosmogony such minor gods as **legbawo**, **voduwo**, and **zizawo**, and they fear spiritual forces or spells such as **dzowo** or **dzokawo**, as well as spiritual beings, namely, **ḡoliwo**, **gbogbovōwo**, and **abosam**.

The political organization of the Ewes is unique because Eweland does not form a single political entity. The people are separated among various chiefdoms. In Ghana alone there are 150 chiefdoms, each with its **fia** (*paramount or unit chief*), for example, the Anlo chief, Abutia chief, Ho chief, Peki chief, etc. The Ewes designate the entire territory of Eweland as **dukɔ** (*country*), and refer to a given chiefdom as **nutome** (*district or chiefdom*). The chiefdoms comprise **duwo** (*towns*) and **kɔfewo** (*villages*). **Fia** (*chief*) governs in consultation with a council of selected elders, known as **dumegāwo** (*elders*). Although ascendancy to a throne is determined by inheritance, a council of elders elects the chief.

The social organization of the community is based on patrilineal inheritance and patriarchal residence. Each town or village consists of **hlōwo** or **sawo** (*clans*), **fomewo** (*families/lineages*), **dzotinuwo** (*homesteads*), and **afewo** (*homes*). The Ewes have a lineage exogamy marriage system, and the residence of married couples is determined by virilocality.

The Ewes engage in diverse agricultural activities. They raise poultry and other animals such as goats, sheep, and bullocks, and cultivate maize, cassava, yams and spinach. They recognize three seasons per year, comprising **Adame** (*major rainy season*), which extends from March to June, **Keleme** (*minor rainy season*), from July to October, and **Pepiyi** (*cold and dry season*), from November to February.

The economic activities of the Ewes vary according to geographical location and material resources. They organize a five-day open market cycle in strategic locations in various towns where buyers and sellers can determine the price through bargaining. In the pre-colonial period, the people used cowries as a form of currency. According to Manoukian (1952: 20) cowries were still in use as the main form of currency up until the nineteenth century. The traders, mostly women, sell agricultural and industrial products in both local and distant markets. In the coastal regions, for example, they mine salt from a bed of lagoons, using hoes, hammers, and baskets. The southern Ewes also engage in fishing in the sea, rivers, creeks, and lagoons, and they sell their produce in the hinterland. By contrast, the northern Ewes market wood, charcoal, and a variety of agricultural products.

Crafts play a significant part in Ewe material culture. Pre-colonial Ewe crafts include drums, stools, weaving, clay figurines, and cult images. These crafts are made by spinning local cotton, weaving and embroidering with home-based looms, making pottery, dying local tunics, and blacksmithing. For example, the local weaver buys yarn from a spinner, and then sews together long strips of woven material. Other handicrafts include basket and mat weaving from a variety of palm fibres, branches, and reeds. Pottery is also important, as well as blacksmithing, which is a thriving industry in Eweland. Every village has its own smith, along with a cult centered around blacksmithing. Blacksmiths use hammers and anvils to produce tools such as knives, hoes, spears, axes, and cutlasses. There are also wood workers who carve stools, drums, figures, staffs or scepters for chiefs, wooden spoons, and combs. In addition, they make leather for various drums, leather sheaths for knives, and leather for musical instruments, for example, **lashie**.

The first European discovery of Eweland took place in 1471 and 1472, when the Portuguese explorers, Joao de Santarem and Pero de Escobar, explored the coast (Debrunner 1965). The Portuguese were the only Europeans to trade along the coast of the Eweland until the seventeenth century (Meyer 1999), when the Danes, Dutch, French and English arrived. French Capuchin monks established a Catholic mission in Whidah (Benin) in 1644 (Debrunner 1965: 22). After gaining control of the Ewe coastal strip, the Dutch built a lodge at Keta in 1710, to maintain its control over coastal trade. They

opened another lodge at We (near Keta) in 1757. Since the Dutch lodges were often raided, they built Fort Prinzeinstein in 1784. They sold it to the British (Ibid., p.33) in 1850. From 1884 to 1914, the Germans declared the area from Lome to Anecho as their Protectorate while Benin was considered a French colony. During the First World War, however, Germany lost control over Togo, and the colony was partitioned in August 1914. While Ewe communities, including Atakpame and Anecho, were ascribed to the French, Lome, Palime, Hohoe, Buem, Kpando, and Ho were allocated to the British. Through the influence of the League of Nations, western Eweland was partitioned once again in 1920. This time, Lome and Palime were allotted to the French, whereas Ho, Hohoe, Buem, and Kpando became part of the Gold Coast (Ibid., p.155).

CHAPTER I
THEORY AND METHOD

In the first part of this chapter, I specify the theoretical framework on which I base my thesis, review relevant literature, and then overview general perspective of selected theoretical works that foreground this research. In the second part of the chapter, I overview the methodology, detail aspects of data, and finally state the analytic method of interpreting data, to discuss the various factors that contribute to views about the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media.

A. Theoretical Perspective

According to Ghana Statistics Service's 2002 census, of the 1.7 million Ewes in the Volta Region of Ghana, the literates number 963, 811, with 51, 613 literates only in English, 365, 710 literates in both English and Ewe, and 106, 605 literates only in Ewe. There have been many attempts to establish print media in the Ghanaian languages, but no sustained Ghanaian-language print media have yet been successful as those of English-language. The situation is especially interesting given that broadcast media have, by contrast, been quite successful in using certain Ghanaian languages as a medium of transmission of information. The situation is intriguing given that English is the official language for literacy, government administration, and print media in Ghana, yet selected local languages (Akan, Dagaare, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, and Hausa) have been reduced to writing, and used as national languages in lower primary schools, broadcast media, and regional programs. This raises the question, namely, why print and broadcast media differ in their use of local languages?

I will first specify the theoretical framework that informs the investigations in this thesis. I will then overview the approaches on which I will draw relevant points for examining the ideologies of language, as I compare factors contributing to the success of the Ghanaian English-language media with those of Ghanaian local languages.

1° My theoretical stance

For the purposes of this study, I have adopted theoretical constituents from Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) multidimensional view of ideologies of language, Irvine's (1993; 1989) analyses of colonial grammars and language issues within

multilingual context, and Woolard's (1998) definition of ideologies of language. I have also adopted Humboldt (1825 [1988]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), and Demetracopoulou Lee's (1939) discussions on language codification, as well as Cohn's (1987) excursus on colonial language codification. I have built on Ngugi (1991) and Appiah's (1992) notions of postcolonial issues regarding language, Bourdieu's (1979) examination of language as commodity, as well as Spitulnik (1993) and Bate's (2002) explorations of media studies. I first detailed the views of each of these authors and then specified the components of their works relevant to this thesis, using further references to elucidate the ideologies of language, the multilingual context, and media topics that are relevant for investigating the Ghanaian print media.

Ideologies of language involve a conglomeration of topics that cut across different approaches to the study of language issues. I therefore take a multidimensional theoretical approach to the ideologies of language discussed in this thesis. Woolard and Schieffelin, for instance, note that the "new direction in research on linguistic ideology has also moved away from seeing ideology as a homogenous cultural template, now treating it as a process involving struggles among multiple conceptualizations and demanding the recognition of variation and contestation with a community as well as contradictions within individuals" (1994: 71; Woolard 1998). Woolard and Schieffelin's multidimensional approach to ideologies of language encompasses studies on the ethnography of speaking (Yankah 1995; Finnegan 1970), which provides clues for examining discursive forms, aesthetics components, stylistic varieties, and rhetorical constituents comprised in ideologies of language in Ghana. Similarly, the multidimensional approach covers the works on politics of multilingualism, which provide the platform for examining ideologies of language through language competition, politics, borrowing, and policy, as reflected in Irvine's (1989) investigation of language and social differentiation in Wolof society. Woolard and Schieffelin's approach also takes into account Bourdieu's (1979) study on *habitus*, commoditization, and the acquisition of language-related social signifiers, which provide the relevant basis for exploring ideologies of language in Ghana.

I have applied the term "ideologies of language" to the two broad categories of Woolard and Schieffelin's definition: "[...] selected research on cultural conceptions of

language – its nature, structure, use – and on conceptions of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order” (1994: 55). Throughout this thesis, whereas “cultural conceptions of language” refer to beliefs about the grammatical features of language (see Humboldt (1825 [1968]); Whorf (1940 [1956]); Demetracopoulou Lee (1939); Rumsey 1990; Leavitt 2006) discussed in topics such as standard orthography, word division, loanwords, and technical concepts, “conceptions of communicative behavior” denote beliefs about the roles of language in social communicative system (Irvine 1993; Cohn 1987; Fernandez 1986; Ngugi 1991; Appiah 1992; Spitulnik 1993; Bate 2002; Woolard 1998).

Based on the multidimensional theoretical perspective, I contend that the ideologies of language, that is conceptions about the structure and use of language, are depicted in different *approaches*, such as the ethnography of speaking, the politics of multilingualism, the literacy studies, as well as the historical studies (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 59-60). I also argue that this broad theoretical perspective is the best way to capture the complex interplay between language-specific, language-attitudinal (institutionalized), and aesthetic issues that contribute to the ideologies about the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media. For instance, I draw relevant points (such as discourses, genres, linguistic practices, oratory, orality, and density/directness of language) from studies on ethnography of speaking (Yankah 1995; Finnegan 1970; 1988) to investigate ideologies of language in Ewe and English-language newspapers.

The multidimensional approach allows me to combine different theoretical perspectives in examining the ideologies of language and print media in Ghana. For instance, it enables me to apply to the Ghanaian context, the findings of scholars of the politics of multilingualism who focused on language competition, politics, borrowing, and policy. For example, it allows me to take cues from Irvine’s (1989) investigation of how language serves as the means of social differentiation in Wolof society in West Africa as well as Bourdieu’s (1991; 1979) explorations of how language marks political, social, and intellectual allegiances, examining *habitus* and the acquisition of social signifiers connected to language (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) have pointed out, scholars investigating the politics of language have often treated ideologies of language, by exploring colonial and postcolonial dimensions

of language use and systematization of written grammar. For instance, Irvine (1993) examines nineteenth-century representations of African languages. Informed by the findings in her study, I will investigate the implications of language policies for the roles attributed to languages within the contours of the ideologies of language in Ghana.

Language standardization is linked to several factors such as authority in language prescription (Milroy and Milroy 1985), purist language conservatism (Kroskity 1994), and orthographic contestations (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Each of these studies on language standardization provides an account that constitutes only an aspect of the whole story. By adopting the multidimensional approach, I will tap into the relevant points from all of these references to examine word division, orthography, and prescribed texts that form part of the standardization of Ewe, an aspect of the ideologies of language.

Similarly, with the multidimensional theoretical approach, I will draw on Scribner and Cole's (1981) literacy studies on Vai society to explore the differentiated programs, goals, contents, agents, and targets of literacy in English contrasted with Ewe. The research on press and imagined communities (Anderson 1983; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), for instance, provides ample points to unearth political, social, and economic underpinnings of literacy (Heath 1983; Finnegan 1988). In light of these studies, I will investigate the underpinnings of literacy in English and Ewe in Ghana with regard to the ideologies of language.

The multidimensional theoretical approach also takes into account the studies that delve into the history and philosophy of language (Appiah 1992) as well as the history of the languages of colonial administration. For instance, researchers of historical studies explore assumptions in ideologies of language, by investigating the historical trends of elite debates on topics such as dominant national language, politics of language, language and the colonial stances of language (Irvine 1993; Fabian 1986; Cohn 1987). I agree with the contentions of Humboldt (1825 [1968]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), and Demetracopoulou Lee (1939) that ideologies of language permeate the way certain language investigators discuss language issues. As such, this notion requires multidimensional theoretical perspectives for studying the descriptions of grammatical features, social use, and assumptions about language. This claim is important for this thesis because it foregrounds the ideologies of language in a broad framework by providing the theoretical

basis for investigating the interplay of language-specific, language-attitudinal, and aesthetic issues that contribute to the ideologies of language in Ghana.

2° Overview of ideology and ideologies of language

As I have stated early on, I cite a few authors whose definitions of the term “ideologies of language” are of particular relevance to the multidimensional approach adopted in this thesis. For instance, Woolard (1998) contends that ideologies of language should be viewed within the broad notion of “ideology” itself, maintaining that this concept involves ideational phenomena, a conceptual framework, or an intellectual dimension of culture, which encompasses language. Woolard’s point is relevant, because it captures ideologies regarding both language-specific and language-attitudinal issues. This stance is corroborated by Friedrich (1989), Silverstein (1979; 2004), and Rumsey (1990). As Friedrich (1989) states:

[I]deology is the basic notion or idea that the members of a society hold about a fairly definite, if not bounded set or area such as honor, matrilineal affiliation, or division of labor, and the interrelations and implications of such sets of notions. Ideology in this sense is the more ideational, intellectual, and conceptual constituents of culture - in contrast, for example, to observed or statistically measured patterns of behavior. (Ibid., 1989: 301)

Friedrich’s emphasis of the ideational elements of a culture means language as an aspect of culture should be examined within such ideational framework. In particular, ideologies of language should cover the views or ideas drawn from the various components of a given culture (Woolard 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, and Friedrich 1989). Silverstein defines ideologies of language as: “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of a perceived language structure and use” (1979: 193). He contends that culture and language inhabit the same plane, and in so doing they are not only considered to be “ideational” but intricately imbedded in the

conscious and unconscious dimensions of ideology (2004: 622). He maintains also that certain discursive components are “indexical” of the user’s identity, group membership, and conceptual structures (Ibid., p. 632-634). In this way, he situates ideologies of language within the general perspective of ideology.

As Rumsey (1990) asserts, ideologies of language involve: “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (Ibid., p. 346). He demonstrates the “commonsense notions about the nature of language” by comparing the constituents of reported speech in English with that in Ungarinyin, the language of the Ngarinyin of Australia. In this analysis, he points out that Ungarinyin reported speech lacks the elements that constitute a “opposition between direct discourse and any other, less direct variety” (Ibid., p. 347). He shows that a society expresses its notions of the nature of language through social discourses.

Woolard (1998) links aspects of ideologies (regarding ideologies of language) to the conscious distortions of ideas that people have (see Bloch 1985; Althusser (1971). In particular, Althusser (1971) situates the notion “ideology” within the economic production in a society. He specifies that ideology connotes the “system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group” (1971:149). Adopting Marx’s (1989) definition, he claims that ideology involves a “falsified representation” of people’s “real conditions of existence” and their “imaginary relation” to those “conditions of existence” (1971:152-155). Although he analyzes ideology within the broad perspective of “the reproduction of the conditions of production,” he links it to the following three main conditions: “reproduction of the means of production”, “reproduction of the labor-force”, and “reproduction of the relations of production.” Analyzing the variables of the reproduction of the productive forces, he claims that there are “ideological state apparatuses” which shape the attitudes of learners. He views ideology as the conditions that operate in economic reproduction, but he does not point out how ideology leads to distinctive identities and preferences, which are necessary conditions in shaping the public sphere. This said, I note that Althusser’s views on the concept tie in with ideologies of language concerning the social institutions that dispense language policies, standards, and use in Ghanaian media.

Woolard (1998) regroups ideologies of language in two categories, contending that one category invokes the ideational representations of language and culture, whereas the second category “places power and interest [...] at the core of the phenomena” (1998: 8). In my view, these two dimensions are better regrouped “cultural conceptions of language” (i.e., the structure, orthography, word division, and loanwords, standard language) and the “conceptions of communicative behavior” (i.e., language use, policies, aesthetics, preferences, choices, values, identities, and so on). This regrouping is important, because while one aspect of ideologies of language focuses on linguistic categories, the other aspect deals with social, distortions, perceptions, and manipulations of language. As Heath (1989), for instance, contends: “[ideologies of language involve a] variety of integrated assertions, theories, and goals that attempt to guide collective socio-political beliefs and actions regarding language choices in communication systems” (Ibid., p. 393). She argues that linguistic choices and decisions may lead to an imposition and the disproportionate valuation of one language to the detriment of the value and use of other languages. In this way, linguistic choice is an important constituent of ideologies of language. This is reflected in Haroche and Maingueneau’s (1985) discussions on the views about language in the seventeenth century. Although they do not explicitly define “ideologies of language” as a concept, they describe a relevant example of the ideologies that relate to rationalization and justification of language structure and use in the seventeenth century. In particular, they point out how French was considered the most logical language in the world, because its word-order (SVO) was believed to represent the natural pattern of thought. They note that those who contend that the SVO was the natural pattern of thought also claim that its structure was the only way that enables a person to express human thought clearly. This perception ties in with social perception of language (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). These discussions therefore provide the platform to examine the social perceptions that inform people’s assumptions about language, as I intend to examine in this thesis.

To discuss the works of certain grammarians, I rely on Whorf (1940 [1956]). He observes that language theorists use pre-established models in describing concepts, language and data. He explains that such models are formulated in light of the theorist’s own language. However, he points out that when a linguist is familiar with many

linguistic systems, he/she will be less constrained to describe one language using the traits of another language (Ibid., p.212-214]). This claim is relevant to this thesis, because it lays out the rudiments of examining ideologies of language in a multilingual context.

Equally important to this thesis is Leavitt's (2006) point on language valuation and interest. He argues that "a philosophical preference" for certain models of explanation lead language theorists to the acceptance or rejection of the "idea that differences among languages are important." Alluding to language theorists, he states:

In the modern West, the overwhelming tendency has been either to deny or affirm the importance of language differences depending on one's philosophical preference for universalistic explanatory models that seek causes or pluralistic essentialist models that seek understanding. (Leavitt 2006: 47)

Although he only examines language theorists' preferences in general, his comment is relevant for investigating linguistic preferences and what underlies those preferences. In particular, he observes that language theorists began to take keen interest in examining linguistic diversity from eighteenth century onwards. By this observation, he draws attention to how language diversity slowly became an object of valuable study (Ibid., p. 49). It is therefore important to investigate the import of the preferences of language in Ghana, in particular to find out the issues at stake in this social phenomenon.

Although some scholars allude to language attitudes only in generic terms, they offer salient points that constitute ideologies of language. For instance, when Humboldt remarked that some of the grammars of Asian languages written by Westerners presupposed the grammatical categories of Latin, he implies that the works of some grammarians were ideologically influenced. He cited, as an example, the Japanese grammar that P. P. Oyanguren and Rodriguez produced. He states:

Il suit, comme le titre l'indique, un système conforme à celui de la grammaire latine. Ce défaut est commun à tous les auteurs espagnols et portugais qui ont composé des grammaires d'idiomes asiatiques et américaines. (Humboldt 1825 [1968]: 383-384)

Humboldt demonstrates that in describing the Japanese language, the two grammarians were describing features of Latin grammar. He notes that using the Latin verbal inflection, Oyanguren describes the Japanese verbal forms of the present indicative and the radical as “primitive form” and “adjective,” respectively (*Ibid.*, p. 384-385). Humboldt further points out that since Oyanguren and his colleagues examined the Japanese grammatical categories in light of those of Latin, they failed to see the distinctive nature of the characteristics of Japanese. Humboldt’s analysis offers clues on what I identify as ideologies of language in the works of some grammarians.

Similarly to Humboldt, in the introduction to her article on Wintu thought, Demetracopoulou Lee (1939) observes that those who engage in fieldwork-based research sometimes examine traits of another society based on the parameters of their own society. She states:

But there is still an attitude of condescension. Too often we judge traits by our own Euro-American set of premises, and find them strange; but we say that, at any rate, they have function, or value, or meaning. This basis for evaluation is inadequate for a clear understanding. The beliefs and practices of a society must be judged by the framework of premises of that society. (Demetracopoulou Lee 1939: 181)

Demetracopoulou Lee made this observation to draw the attention of researchers to the ideologies that might influence the way they perceive and examine variables during their fieldwork. Demetracopoulou Lee’s point of view sheds light on the scope of ideologies of language, a concept which informs this thesis.

Bourdieu’s (1979) work is the one of the core references for my multidimensional theoretical approach, because he examines how language and other social entities are transformed to marketable commodities. In light of this, he explores the topic through Parisian modes of life and social stratification. He illustrates how this concept is reflected in topics such as aesthetics, literature, cuisine, and musical allegiance. He says:

Les goûts (c’est-à-dire les préférences manifestées) sont l’affirmation pratique d’une différence inévitable. Ce n’est pas par hasard que, lorsqu’ils ont à se justifier,

ils s'affirment de manière toute négative, par le refus opposé à d'autres goûts [...] (1979: 59-60)

He claims that preferences and perceptions are social entities, hence socially acquired, thereby predisposing a person to develop specific preferences: “À la différence de la perception non spécifique, la perception proprement esthétique de l'oeuvre d'art... est armée d'un principe de pertinence socialement constitué et acquis...” (1979: 52). He contends that these predispositions become a necessary condition for belonging to a social class. Individuals' preferences thus set them in distinctive groups in contrast to others, marking them in terms of certain patterns of attitude which orient their choices and allegiances: linguistic, aesthetic, literary, culinary, musical, and so on. He states:

En fait, par l'intermédiaire des conditions économiques et sociales qu'elles supposent, les différentes manières, plus ou moins détachées ou distinctes, d'entrer en relation avec les réalités et les fictions, de croire aux fictions ou aux réalités qu'elles simulent, sont très étroitement insérées dans les systèmes de dispositions (habitus) caractéristiques des différentes classes. (Bourdieu 1979: vi)

Bourdieu thus asserts that individuals' preferences set them in distinctive groups or domains in contrast to others, marking them with certain patterns of attitude which orient their choices and allegiances: linguistic, aesthetic, literary, culinary, musical, and so on. In making social entities commodities through attitudinal patterns of behavior, the second aspect of ideologies of language (assumptions of language and culture) is reflected. Based on Bourdieu's contention, I seek to argue that in a broad perspective, taste as a pattern of attitude orients individuals' choices and preferences (in this case their language preferences), which I intend to explore in this thesis.

The work of Fernandez (1986) is equally relevant to this study. He notes in particular how words or expressions belong to lexical “territoriality,” “fields,” or “localities”, with which their users are familiar, and from which they draw their resources to communicate. He contends that languages occupy material space similar to material possessions. He points out that Castilians of Asturian origin use words that evoke human

physiology, body movement, rural alimentation, rural setting, and spatial possession. For example, after a meal or banquet, Castilians of Asturian origin use the Asturian word *fastucar* (*to satiate*), rather than the Castilian word *hartar* (*to satiate*), reflecting their belief that beyond the Asturian province, there is no meal with which Castilians people would have their fill. He further points out Asturian word usage as related to sociability, for example, words of greeting, affection, and familiarity. He notes, for instance, that although a renowned teacher advocates the use of Castilian in the public sphere for its culture, he himself enjoys reading old stories in regional papers for accurate descriptions of sentiments related to corporeality, sociability and affinity.

Fernandez (1986) also observes that the Asturian lexicon consists of nomenclature that depicts lexical territoriality to Asturians in both concrete and nostalgic ways. In particular, the names of meadows, plots, hills, peaks, passes, and the like evoke images of daily life and rural settings for Asturians. Thus, to lack the Asturian lexicon is to lack the lexical field of participating fully in Asturian culture. For him, these features (corporeality, sociability, and territoriality) are the foundation of language revival and preservation. He observes that Asturian intellectuals, for example, negotiate their attitudes toward the Asturians and Castilians, dividing the languages into two fields and territories: Asturian for expressing rural, concrete, and sensual entities, and Castilian for urban, abstract, and intellectual realities. He notes that this dichotomy of lexical fields is further enhanced by political influence, where Castilian is employed as the official language, whereas Asturian is used in domestic life. Fernandez thus shows that in a multilingual situation, each language occupies distinctive lexical (linguistic) territory and spatial domain on a hierarchical scale. In the multidimensional approach adopted in this thesis, I intend to investigate how language choices are preferences reflect lexical territoriality. I therefore intend to examine why, in a multilingual situation, ideologies of language lead to the assigning of lexical territories and domains to individual or group of languages.

Linguistic scholars acknowledge the multifunctional dimensions of language (Humboldt 1825 [1968]; Whorf 1940 [1956]; Demetracopoulou Lee 1939; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Irvine, for instance, examines the functions of language, arguing that the roles of language are not exclusive from one another, and that they illustrate just how

language relates to the material world in multifunctional ways. In particular, she demonstrates how differentiated discursive practices point to distinctive social groups. She points out that the most common role attributed to language is its referential property; that is, its ability to denote objects, human beings, entities, and so on. She observes that this notion of the function of language has led some scholars to argue that language must be homogenous to exercise a referential role in a society. She contends that the ways in which language enhances the “coordination of a social division of labor” and fulfills a referential role shows that language operates on the basis of an “ideology that supports a particular socioeconomic system” (1989: 251). These points are relevant for examining the views of Ghanaian journalists about the density of Ewe and the referential (denotational) feature of English in Ghanaian newspapers.

Irvine also stipulates that language performs other functions in addition to its referential role. In particular, she draws attention to the indexical function of language, specifying that the organization of linguistic diversity in a speech community illustrates the roles, activities, and social groups that correspond to differentiated language. She believes that the “indexical correlations between realms of linguistic differentiation and social differentiation” reflect a “cultural system of ideas about social relations” (1989: 253). By indexical correlation, she means how distinct linguistic features characterize a social group, setting the speakers in a distinctive category in opposition to speakers with other linguistic traits. She observes, for example, that differentiated speech styles have served to polarize people in rural Wolof of West Africa into distinct categories, such as high versus low ranks, Wolof versus Lawbé/Pulaar-speakers, and rural Wolof village versus national/international systems. She notes, for example, that the Wolof people display aspects of ideology of language when they consider Arabic as part of Wolof repertoire, yet treat French as foreign to Wolof registry, even though both languages are of different origins. In particular, the Wolof adopted Arabic as the language of Islam in their religious practices, but only a few Wolof were committed to learning French in the 1970s. On the basis of these attitudes, she defines ideology of language regarding social differentiation in terms of: “[...] a particular rationalization of a particular local experience, a rationalization informed by a framework of other ideas about language and about the kinds of people who speak in certain ways” (Ibid., p. 255). She specifies that

this ideology of language is based on the indexical role of linguistic phenomena. This observation is relevant for examining why Ghanaian writers have preferences for languages.

Irvine also argues that, apart from the referential and indexical functions of language, linguistic components are part of people's political economy. For example, language may be part of the forces of production because verbal skills and discursive performances may be part of the "resources and activities that constitute a socioeconomic system of a society (Ibid., p. 255) as Bourdieu (1979) discussed. She claims that in a class-based society, linguistic differentiation is marked by a corresponding appropriation of economic values. According to her, language as a marketable commodity in Senegal occurs as a result of the relation between "local sociolinguistic systems" and national/international system. For instance, on the local scene in Senegal, other tribes accepted French political influence in rural Wolof, but the Wolof themselves viewed it as illegitimate presence in their political economy. She notes that, although the other Senegalese ethnic groups considered French political dominance as legitimate, they viewed Wolof political control as illegitimate. In light of this, economic activities that require Arabic occur at the local level, and the economic activities requiring French occur at nation-state level. She points out that the linguistic skills important for certain economic-based social roles and statuses (bards) among the Wolof include mastery of persuasive speech, entertainment conversation, transmission of messages to the public, and performance of genres of praise, and among the Asante people of West Africa the role of chief's spokesperson (linguist) requires discourse mastery and management (1989: 257).

Irvine also views as one of the central functions of language the verbal authentication of commodities by experts. She contends that verbal authentication is important because a community may depend on the testimonies of experts to recognize the economic and symbolic values of exchangeable goods such as gold, texts, magic spells, proper names, eulogy, praise, speaking on behalf of another person (for example, Wolof griots speaking for Wolof nobles), and so on.

Irvine thus examines the roles of language in society, specifying how they fit into the political economy and social differentiation of a society. In her discussions, it comes

to the fore that in a multicultural context, people allot identities, groups, or domains to other speakers on the basis of roles that correspond to their linguistic skills and practices. What has remained to be detailed in her discussions is the interconnected nature of these linguistic functions as well as their implications for the roles of language, as set out in this thesis.

3° Colonial and postcolonial approaches

Colonial and postcolonial approaches to language issues are important aspects of the multidimensional theoretical approach, because they provide part of the platform for investigating components of ideologies of language, such as language standardization, missionization, policy formulations, and so on, examined in this thesis.

Colonial and postcolonial approaches (Irvine 1993; Cohn 1987) focused on metropolitan language views and policies. Contrary to Ngugi (1991) and Appiah (1992), yet within colonial and postcolonial theoretical approaches, Irvine (1993) examines ideologies of language in the metropolitan linguistics of nineteenth-century Senegal, particularly in the development of Wolof and Fula written grammars. Irvine's work provides important parameters for this thesis, because it describes actual events that contribute to the perceptions and politics that influence the formulation of grammars of African languages. I will therefore examine the agents and the contents of the stages of standardization of Ewe by basing my explorations on Irvine's findings.

Irvine argues that the products (grammars, pedagogy, and politics) of colonial linguistics in Senegal were offshoots of metropolitan ideologies. According to her, one of the metropolitan ideologies that largely influenced colonial linguistics in Senegal was the Herderian organic model of language. According to this model, each ethnic unit corresponds to a people who formed a nation, spoke a language, and constituted a race; that is, there is a "primordial relationship between language and the particular 'spirit' of a nation" (Irvine 1993: 28; see also Herder 1767; 1772). Irvine argues that the Wolof and Fula linguists applied the Herderian model in their works, using their linguistic studies to demarcate each ethnic group in Senegal. Another metropolitan ideology of the nineteenth century consisted of viewing the Africans as "untaught" and lacking rational capacities of

humanity, which partly contributed to the Slave Trade. Other ideologies that circulated during the nineteenth century included the views about humanity's monogenesis (humanity attributed a single origin) and polygenesis (humanity ascribed different origins).

Irvine points out the ideologies of language in colonial linguistics by examining the works of both Jacques-Francois Roger, a lawyer, initially appointed director of the royal agricultural station and then governor of the French colony in Senegal, as well as Jean Dard, a mathematics teacher and overseer of colonial education in Senegal. She notes the works of Gustave D'Eichthal, a sociologist who reviewed Roger and Dard's works, as well as those of Abel Hovelacque, a philologist, and Faidherbe, the governor of Senegal in 1854-1861 and 1863-1865.

Irvine further observes that Roger's 1828 and 1829 grammars, as well as his moral philosophy research, illustrate Wolof texts in rhymed verses, a style which does not reflect the main features of the language. In doing so, he intends to captivate the attention of his metropolitan readers and to debunk racial prejudices in metropolitan ideologies, particularly that the "unwritten" languages could not serve rational thinking and that the "untaught" were incapable of humanity's rationality. She points out how Dard argued that the "untaught" and "not civilized" natives could be brought to "civilization through instruction and literacy (1993: 30), an idea he used to argue for the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade.

Irvine also points out how Dard used his 1825 and 1826 analyses on Wolof to interrogate French "chauvinism and prejudice" in nineteenth-century discourses about Africa. Dard also used these analyses to demonstrate that civilization could be attained through languages like Wolof, which contain linguistic features for accurate representations of reasonable, delicate, and consistent thought, more so than European languages. As Irvine notes, Dard implicitly went against the metropolitan ideology of the primacy of features of European languages by viewing, for example, the lack of grammatical gender in Wolof as preferable to its presence in European languages like French (for example, interrogating the reason for attributing different genders to similar species, namely, *la baleine* "the whale" versus *le requin* "the shark"). Similarly, he viewed the Wolof grammatical system as the "most ingenious" of all known systems.

Irvine points out how Dard's works erased the metropolitan ideology of a European/African dichotomy in many ways. As she observes, Dard sees remnants of prejudice only in complexion, arguing that other instances of rationality and irrationality undercut all cultures (1993: 32). She further notes that Dard's works were didactic materials intended to bridge the gap between the Europeans and Africans by illuminating the metropolitan ideologies of Africa as well as of Europe. She observes just how Dard's education system was influenced by his views on the Wolof language, as for instance, in his application of "method of mutual teaching" (known as "English method" of British protestant origin, which displeased conservative French in the colony of Saint-Louis). She observes that, although Roger and Dard applied the "monogenic" model of language, critics appreciated Roger's works without noticing his subtle arguments in favor of features of Africans, while they rejected Dard's works for dissolving metropolitan ideologies about the dichotomy of mentality believed to distinguish Europeans from Africans.

Irvine also points out that the sociologist, D'Eichthal (1841; 1845), praised the works of Roger, but critiqued those of Dard, claiming that Roger's works should be read in terms of how they attest a "natural distinctive system;" that is, Wolof-speakers constitute a distinctive race with a specific history and origin, contrary to what Dard contended. Irvine notes that whereas Dard and Roger used terms such as "nation", "people", and "population" to illustrate a monogenic view of the origin of humanity, D'Eichthal emphasized the term "race" to argue for the polygenic view that was circulating in metropolitan ideologies of the nineteenth century.

Finally Irvine points out that Abel Hovelacque (1887) was the first French scholar to classify Wolof as an agglutinative language with a sequence of morphemes fused in one word. Hovelacque considers Wolof a primitive language in contrast with inflectional European languages, drawing upon Humboldt's ranking of language typologies (1836 [1999]), a view shared by certain linguists at that time. As Irvine further notes, Hovelacque approved Faidherbe's 1882 grammar of Fula for its racial-based analyses, which served as didactic material for the military, travelers, and administrators in the colony. She notes that in all constructions of the Wolof and Fula written grammars, Africans served only as readers and translators and never as authors. Irvine thus

demonstrates that the metropolitan ideologies about Africa shaped the construction and implementation of Wolof and Fula grammars, which in turn reinforced and influenced the ideologies of the *establishment*.

Ngugi (1991), however, broadens colonial and postcolonial approaches to the study of language by considering non-Western perspectives of language issues. In particular, he examines African perspectives and views, tracing them through language issues discussed in African literature as well as issues raised about the relevance of African languages and “mind”. He argues that colonial residues (literature, language, and politics) have lingered on through neo-colonial institutions, stating that modern politics, official languages, and literature in Western languages in Africa are due in part to the influences of Western traditions on Africa, in general. He claims that the African postcolonial ruling classes depend politically and economically on metropolitan resources to uphold colonial traditions. He asserts that some state intellectuals and “journalistic laureates of the neo-colonial establishment” have maintained Western ideas in Africa, whereas the peasants as well as the middle class have perpetuated the resistant tradition by preserving peasant roots for the national cultures. It is important to note that these views are not shared by all Africans (at least not by Kofi Awoonor and Chenua Achebe), because some African leaders and intellectuals have actually immersed themselves in African traditions and languages. Similarly, in view of international relations, Ngugi’s colonial and postcolonial critiques need to take into account the geo-political as well as the trends of development (or lack of it) in Africa today.

Ngugi contends that the Western influences in Africa made Africans, in particular writers, “identify with other people’s languages rather than their own” (1991: 3). He notes, for instance, that African languages are marginalized in theory and practice, citing as an example conferences organized solely for Africans who write in European languages (i.e., English, French, and Portuguese), while excluding writers such as Shabaan Robert (who produced literature in Kiswahili), Chief Fagunwa (who wrote in Yoruba), Gakaara wa Wanjau (who wrote in Gikuyu), and so on. He thus considers the usage of colonial languages in Africa a means of transposing them into other selves and others worlds (1991:12). Ngugi’s critiques require contextualization, because they did not take into account contemporary global developments that have accelerated migration,

intercultural interactions, and interdependences that Appiah (1992) discussed. In particular, Appiah points out the implications of migration and exogamy for the understanding of cultural identity (in local and international perspectives) today, which Ngugi did not investigate.

Ngugi calls on African writers to produce works in their native languages, setting examples by writing novels, stories, and plays in Gikuyu since 1977. He also urges Africans to engage in “a quest for relevance,” by writing and teaching literature that places up front the African culture and its role in all-round development of the Africans (1991: 101).

Much as Ngugi’s postcolonial approach examined the African perspective of colonial and postcolonial influences on the roles of African languages in literature, socio-economic development of Africa, and the centrality of African culture in development, it leaves unexplored contemporary issues of development, production, and audiences as well as agents of contemporary African development. I argue here that the language issues discussed are not caused by a single social factor. Rather, they should be examined within the interplay of multifaceted factors that contribute to the African socio-economic (cultural) situation. I also argue that those who, according to Ngugi, should lead the way in the process of African “decolonization of the mind,” (i.e., liberating themselves from colonial mindset that are irrelevant for African development), could not do so if there is no political will to anchor such a dialectic process (i.e., a change starting from traditional African state to colonial/postcolonial stage and then to “decolonized” era). I intend to investigate how Ghanaian writers consider Ngugi’s “decolonization of the mind.”

Appiah (1992) takes the colonial and postcolonial approaches to the realm of philosophical analysis, by examining language issues and African literature within the perspective of the European views about literature, race, and nation. He argues that what is termed African literature is a product of European and Afro-New World perceptions of Africa (1992: ix-x). He contends that the European perceptions of Africa invariably have led to the classificatory terms “endogenous ‘tradition’ for African culture and exogenous ‘Western’ ideas” for European-American culture (1992: x). He advocates the interrogation of the origin of these polarized ideological terms that have perpetuated European ideologies of Africa. In this thesis, I will investigate the extent to which

Ghanaian writers actually uphold the said “European ideologies” or ideologies of language in the Ghanaian print media.

Appiah argues that African intellectuals also perpetuate European ideologies of Africa, because these intellectuals are “europhone” (adopting European languages as languages of prestige and status for literary works), and because of the general racial ideologies traceable to Herder (1767; 1772), who distinguished between nation as a natural unit and state as a cultural entity, identifying language, race, literature, and culture with his notion of nation as a biological entity (Appiah 1992: 50). To Appiah, this implies that in the New World, for example, the literary works of African-Americans did not belong to the canon of English literature taught in schools (1992:50-53). He points out that even the literature in sub-Saharan Africa is nothing more than European-language literature: “Literature, by and large, in sub-Saharan Africa means europhone literature (except in the Swahili culture area, where Swahili and the colonial languages are active together). And what matters in its being europhone is more than its inscription in the languages of the colonizers” (1992: 55).

Appiah views “europhone” attitudes of African intellectuals in terms of a number of factors, including French assimilation, European education pedagogy in Africa, and missionary conversion that immersed the African literate in the literature of colonizers, Western culture, and the metropolitan visions. He contends that African literature is therefore a product of Western education and culture, leading unavoidably to a typology of agents of literature: “inside and outside – indigene and alien, Western and traditional” (1992: 56). He also argues that the term “African literature” is a Western ideological concept that emerged from the European perceptions of literature, linked, as it were, to Herder’s notion of “race and nation”. He points out that this situation has contributed to two attitudes: “[Western] students would thus expect African students to value African culture, *because it is African*, while African students, raised without relativism, expect [Westerners] to value their own culture because it is, by some objective standard, superior” (1992: 69).

Appiah believes that the differentiated perceptions of cultural values have contributed to asymmetrical attitudes toward the literature written by Africans and Westerners. He advocates the re-examination of the true identity of African literature

written in European languages contrasted with African literature written in African languages. By drawing attention to such topics, Appiah paints a picture of how African literature is in a crisis of identity. His discussions also suggest that African intellectuals are at crossroads in deciding the prominent languages for African literary productions. I intend to inquire why Ghanaian writers opt for literature in English compared with Ewe.

Contrary to Ngugi (1991), Appiah (1992), and Irvine (1993), Cohn (1987) examines ideologies of language by investigating the documentation of “knowledge” in the print media and manuscripts of the East India Company and National Archives of India, arguing that such knowledge has emerged from a range of issues that were codified and transmitted by Europeans from the repertoire of Indian complex forms of knowledge. He also contends that the “conquest of India was a conquest of knowledge,” because British colonial conquerors changed the forms of the knowledge they obtained from Indian intermediaries by defining them within the contours of colonial needs and perceptions (Ibid., p. 277). Cohn’s work is important for this thesis because it provides the framework to examine the Ewe situation, by describing the processes of codification of knowledge that in turn defines the materials used (data), the products (print media), the agents (colonial administrators and Indian intermediaries), and the goal (colonial and postcolonial administrations).

Cohn notes that the pre-eighteenth-century British officials did consider learning the Indian languages. These British conducted their trade and activities in English, Portuguese and pidgin, when they interacted with the natives, until they confronted inadequate translation and interpretation problems (Ibid., p. 280). He points out that the British conquest of Indian knowledge was set forth when the British colonial officials began learning Persian in the 1740s. He observes that the mid-eighteenth-century British colonials who were actively involved in the process of the conquest of knowledge. For example, Hastings learned Persian, whereas J. Z. Howell learned Bengali, which he applied in his proceedings as judge in Calcutta.

Cohn also observes that more British colonial officials (Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, William Davy, and so on) learned Indian languages during 1770-85 to outline a colonial system of rule and written grammars, based on Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. Cohn argues that the production of the various colonial texts marked the

beginning of discursive formation, epistemological construction, orientalism, and the transformation of Indian forms of knowledge into European forms of knowledge. He contends that the texts produced by the British in 1770 to 1820 served as grammars for students, guidelines for administrators, and tools for political strategists. He also claims that British texts represented the appropriation of an “epistemological space” of knowledge of Indian officials, such as Brahmins, teachers, scribes, lawyers, priests, scholars, and merchants and a transformation of Indian forms of knowledge into forms of colonial rule (*Ibid.*, p. 283).

Cohn notices that the British colonials’ command over the Indian languages contributed to their command over the Indian officials and their knowledge; for example, the command over the Indian languages and knowledge is about how to obtain information through the Indian officials, about the effective means of locating and collecting tax, about efficacious way of governing the people, and about classifying the distinctive (linguistic) groups in Indian society. He notes that the transformation of Indian knowledge into European forms of knowledge contributed to the intensification of distinctive social groups, marked by distinctive social interests (*Ibid.*, p. 284). As he noted, Sir William Jones, for instance, considered superficial earlier British works on Persian language because those who studied it had “no taste, and the men of taste [had] no learning” in the “rich, melodious and elegant language” that served as a source of income to European merchants (Sir Jones 1771: 1; Cohn 1987: 285). He notes that Sir William Jones produced a pedagogical grammar, describing the phonology, morphology, syntax, and poetic components of Persian, and detailing how to learn it. According to Cohn, Persian and Arabic were taught in the Company’s College at Fort William, and outstanding colonial students of the Company were appointed to the best positions in India (*Ibid.*, p. 287).

Cohn also notes that the eighteenth-century British colonials encouraged the learning of Sanskrit to unearth what they termed the “knowledge of the Ancients” (thought to be monopolized by Brahmins) and to acquire the necessary components of the language for the effective governing of Bengal; that is, to govern India with Indian rules and principles (*Ibid.*, p. 289). According to Cohn, these ideas were applied such that the

British adopted Muslim criminal law for Muslims, and civil law for Hindus in India (Ibid., p. 291).

As Cohn observes, Sir William Jones, for instance, embarked on learning Sanskrit from a prominent expert of the University of Nadya (who instructed Brahmin students in Sanskrit grammar and ethics), intending to compile and translate legal texts from Sanskrit into Persian and English, in view of avoiding the British reliance on pundits and Indian interpreters for translations of legal texts in Sanskrit. He thus had a command over the language to ensure his command over the Indian officials (judges, pundits, and translators), associated with the legal texts in Sanskrit. Cohn thus views the eighteenth-century British colonial influence in India in terms of the British's conquest of Indian knowledge for political, administrative, linguistic, and cultural domination. Cohn's discussions provide clues for investigating the process of the production of Standard Ewe in Ghana.

4° Mass media approaches

Several theoretical perspectives have been prominent in studies of mass media. I draw on Spitulnik's (1993) review of literature on studies of mass media and Bate's (2002) analysis of aesthetic and ideological dimensions of imagining of power in newspapers, because these works provide ingredients for the multidimensional approach adopted in this thesis. In particular, their works offer the relevant clues for analyzing linguistic forms, oral genres in print media, textual analysis, and aesthetics in the Ghanaian context. Their works also help to uncover ideologies of language in Ghanaian print media.

Spitulnik (1993) reviews the theoretical approaches to mass media in terms of two broad domains: exclusive mass media theories and anthropological perspectives in the studies of mass media. She includes in one category the theoretical approaches that are oriented toward conceptual dimensions of power (i.e., influence), functionalist views, interpretive stances, semiotic models, and ethnographic models. She counts as anthropological approaches all of the inquiries on visual representations, ethnographic films, indigenous media, media in everyday life, and linguistic explorations in the media,

and proposes aspects of mass media that anthropological research should particularly investigate. These mass media approaches are relevant to this thesis, because they specify salient points that guide aspects of the media I investigate, for example, linguistic issues, visual representations, dimensions of “power”, and so on.

As Spitulnik (1993) notes, power as conceptual perspective of examining the mass media, focuses on how all of the media influences their audiences. This approach explores in particular the audiences’ perception and interpretation of the world (see Hall 1992). This approach is important, because it focuses on the analyses of varying media-related topics, including media production, political economy, social history of media institutions, and practices of media consumption (see Bourdieu 1979). Theories of the power of mass media have however encountered problems, because of their inability to pinpoint agency, interpretation, and production ideologies in the processes of mass media practices (Spitulnik 1993). These problems, Spitulnik points out, have led to the linear model of media analyses involving three-fold components: production, transmission, and reception of message (see Hall 1982). The power-centered approach focuses on the effects of media on audiences, neglecting influences of mass media on the culture of a community, the social perception of a community, or “imagined community,” as Anderson (1983) discussed. It is therefore important to take into account the impact of social perceptions in ideologies of language as well as its implications for the functions of languages, because, whether in terms of language standardization, postcolonial politicization, or policy formulations, social perceptions constitute a crucial part of the ideologies of language in the Ghanaian context.

Spitulnik also draws attention to functionalist (also termed positivist or liberal-pluralist) approaches that have examined the influences of mass media on attitudes and the values of audiences. She maintains that functionalist media scholars have focused on message and media exposure, and conducted archival studies on mass media instead of investigating empirical situations in the field. She recalls that tenets of interpretive models in media studies have critiqued functionalists for treating media messages as if they were transmitted and received as problem-free media entities. In light of this, proponents of interpretive models have opted for research on topics, including practices of audiences, diversity of audiences, media uses, and indeterminacy of texts, thus

detailing the processes that messages of mass media undergo. Although scholars of interpretive models have treated mass media as dynamic entities of representation and construction of identities (exploring media stars, popular music, youth magazines, modern consumer culture, mass produced images, media in gender representations, public and domestic space, everyday life, notions of time, and media reception experientially), they have done nothing beyond textual analyses, thus indirectly pointing to the relevance of messages in mass media scholarship.

As Spitulnik notices, all of the exclusive media approaches (media power, functionalist, and interpretive) have failed to explore linguistic forms in mass media, particularly when we take into account the abundant anthropological and linguistic literature and scholarship on language and discourses. This situation was partly improved by encoding-decoding or semiotic models in mass media studies (see Hall 1973). For instance, the semiotic models attempt to transcend the specific communication events about which other models (interpretive, functionalist, and media power approaches) were restricted.

Spitulnik also observes that the interpretive models in media studies have evolved because proponents of these models adopted ethnographic methods, for instance, by conducting interviews in the homes of audiences. She considers these new methods as a significant improvement over earlier models because the tenets of the ethnographic methods have detailed the diversity of media practices. This is a move away from models that focus on content and text analyses, although Evans (1990) contends that mass media scholars have always used ethnographic methods. Spitulnik admits that media scholars have restricted the ethnographic and interpretive methods to broadcast media audiences within westernized social context, until anthropologists applied these methods to audiences of newspapers, novels, radio, video, and recorded music in different social contexts. She notes that media scholars are gradually using ethnographic methods to examine topics such as media institutions and practitioners, recruitment and imagining of audiences, and culture of media production.

Spitulnik notes that mass media studies in anthropology focused on visual representations and ethnographic films. In particular, she observes that mass media studies in anthropology consisted of textual analyses of colonial photography, travel

literature, museums, comics, popular film, news reporting, and tourism, leaving other relevant topics unexamined, especially everyday life of media representations (see Bate 2002), production, circulation, discourses of reception, and practices. She notes that anthropologists who studied media issues have contributed to the media scholarship by drawing attention to indigenous media as specific forms of mass media through which scholars explored race, ethnicity, and politics of nation-state. She specifies that scholars used the term “indigenous media” to contrast local-audience targeted media with nationally-oriented or independent media. She urges scholars adopting anthropological perspectives of mass media studies to further research on media authority, media legitimacy, Western and non-Western voices in televisual genres, educational and public service broadcasting, usage of linguistic forms to construct truth and objectivity, ideological import of linguistic practices in the media, linguistic components of discourses, and negotiations in the construction of media meanings (Spitulnik 1993; 1998).

Spitulnik outlines new directions in mass media studies for anthropological inquiry, particularly advocating an in-depth exploration of topics, including sociocultural perspectives of national mass media, the nature of imagined community related to mass media production, ethnolinguistic identity, religion, gender, commoditization, transnational culture, global versus national cultures, and aesthetic evaluations. She calls for more investigations into the cultural conditions that precipitated the rise of new forms of media in different societies, pointing out that mass media are linked to cultural factors, including language usage as well as economic and political influences. She believes that anthropological approaches, particularly investigating institutions, workplaces, communicative practices, cultural products, social activities, aesthetic forms, and historical developments, are some of the relevant topics to study in mass media today.

In my view, Spitulnik details mass media theories and anthropological perspectives of mass media, but she restricts her examples to broadcast media. While drawing on the relevant points she emphasized (rural media, aesthetic forms, language use, and so on), I could apply them to both broadcast and print media inquiries.

Bate (2002) explores components of print media (newspapers), examining the rudiments of representing the statuses and roles of leaders in Tamil Nadu political

practices, using poems in Tamil newspapers that ascribed to Tamil politicians attributes of divinity, leadership, and blessing. He argues that the poems in Tamil newspapers reflect just how the images attributed to Tamil politicians are an aesthetic “objectivation” of non-systematized Tamil “sociocultural categories in discursive interaction” (2002: 309) as well as an ideological presentation of human actions and institutions. Based on the Tamil Nadu example, he maintains that as people engaged with the world in their everyday life, their aesthetic and ideological constructions interact. He contends that in discursive practices the people use political poems of praise as verbal art to aesthetically depict a political leader’s status in anthropomorphic terms, that is, a deity who provides the people’s needs and who deserves ritual worship.

Bate observes that Tamil Nadu political poems of praise are derived from a repertoire of three discursive forms, which the people use “publicly, emotionally, and hyperbolically” to praise political leaders. First, he asserts that the speech (*varavērpurai*) for welcoming a political leader, a formulaic evocative-and-response using appellations, reincarnation of historical personages, and deification (deity) in fact displayed the Tamil aesthetic manner of addressing political leaders. Second, he points out that the cyclic structure (short verses) and themes (including fire, light, lamp, and icons of devotion) of the political poems of praise in the Tamil newspapers are similar to *bhakti* poems, a “medieval devotional text of Tamil Saivism, *Tēvāram*,” addressed to Lord Siva. He thus argues that the aesthetic features of political praise are borrowed from *bhakti* poems. Third, he observes that the Tamil Nadu contemporary way of welcoming a political leader at public gatherings drew its logics from both medieval “pan-Indic Sanskrit *prasasti* inscriptions,” depicting kings as a “divine descendant of a deity,” and Tamil *meykkīrtti*, which lauded the deeds of kings. He contends that the political poems in Tamil Nadu newspapers consisted of components of these genres that were addressed to the political leaders when they attended political meetings and gatherings. These poems as “imaginings of power” thus comprising aesthetic ideas ascribed to Tamil Nadu political leaders as well as to ideological features of their political power.

Bate’s explorations shed light on my investigations by detailing how literary genres, such as poems, political praises, political speeches, and so on, are deployed in newspapers, as I intend to examine in this thesis. By illustrating how literary genres serve

as the means of representations, particularly political “imagining” in Tamil Nadu, he offers clues for interpreting not only political perceptions and representations in the print media but also social “imaginings” and aesthetization as well.

To summarize, Woolard and Schieffelin’s (1994) multidimensional view of ideologies of language, Spitulnik’s (1993) excursus of media studies, Cohn (1987) explorations of language codification, Bourdieu’s (1979) analysis of language as commodity, and Irvine’s (1993) exploration of colonial grammars serve as theoretical bases for this thesis. In the multidimensional approach, studies on the ethnography of speaking (Yankah 1995; Finnegan 1970; 1988), for instance, foreground the exploration of ideologies of language in Ghana, by providing clues for examining discursive forms, aesthetics components, stylistic varieties, and rhetorical constituents comprised in ideologies of language in Ghana. Similarly, the works on politics of multilingualism provide the platform for examining ideologies of language through language competition, politics, borrowing, and policy, as reflected in Irvine’s (1989) investigation of language and social differentiation in Wolof society. Bourdieu’s (1991; 1979) study on *habitus*, commoditization, and the acquisition of language-related social signifiers provide relevant basis for exploring ideologies of language in Ghana.

B. Methodological Perspective

1° Corpus

In this section, I make clear the data I have used for the research in this thesis, and the means by which I collected those data.

a) Data

I relied on two main sources for print media data: Ghanaian newspapers written in English, and Ghanaian newspapers written in the Ghanaian languages. I drew data from seven English-language newspapers, namely, the *Ghanaian Times*, the *Mirror*, the *Daily*

Graphic, the *Independent*, the *Free Press*, the *Ghana Palaver*, and the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, and from two Ewe-language newspapers, namely, *Kpodoga* (*Gong*), and *Midim* (*Seek me*).

Further, I supplemented these print media with interviews, which I conducted with editors of the selected newspapers, as well as with a number of journalists, broadcasters, newsreaders, and novelists. All of these interviews were recorded solely for this research. I also conducted a series of informal interviews with various respondents.

b) Materials

The newspapers I used as sources for data themselves came from four sources: British syndicate origin, Nkrumah- and private-enterprises, local-language endeavors, and Ghanaian English-language novels, which I describe here.

i) British syndicate newspapers

The *Daily Graphic* was established in 1950 by a private British press syndicate, headed by the newspaper magnate Cecil King, to continue the existing tradition of journalistic critiques of the colonial government in Ghana. The enterprise of this London-based Mirror Group constituted a watershed in the history of journalism in Ghana because it marked the beginning of the modern press in the country. Cecil King also established a weekly newspaper, the *Sunday Mirror* (now known as *The Mirror*), in 1953, to continue the tradition of using the media to critique the colonial government.

ii) Nkrumah- and private-enterprise newspapers

Nkrumah and the CPP (Convention People's Party) officials of the First Republic in Ghana established the *Guinea Press Limited*, which produced the *Ghanaian Times* in 1958, to disseminate daily news. His government bought the *Mirror Press* from Cecil King during the post-independence period. In this way, the post-independent government brought the *Daily Graphic* and *The Mirror* under government control. These newspapers continue to be part of the mainstream English-language newspapers in Ghana today.

Ghanaian private enterprise began publishing the weekly newspaper, *The Independence*, in 1989. This was intended to establish a non-governmental English-language written press that would present news from the perspective of the general Ghanaian public without government censorship.

Another Ghanaian private enterprise introduced the bi-weekly newspaper, *Free Press*, in 1979. This English-language newspaper aimed to enhance freedom of speech and writing without government censorship.

A political party established the weekly newspaper, *Ghana Palaver*, in 1994 to promote its views and to express its perspectives on current events.

Another Ghanaian individual established the weekly newspaper, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, in 1991. This English-language newspaper now serves as a written medium for the publication of a non-governmental perspective on current events.

iii) Ewe newspapers

Kpodoga (Gong) is one of the Ewe newspapers from which data was drawn for this study. It was established in February of 1976 as an experimental rural community newspaper by the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Ghana, Legon, with the collaboration of UNESCO. The history of *Kpodoga* is marked by two phases. In the first period, outstanding in all respects, the first issue of this newspaper was published in April 1976. The paper thrived until 1981, when publication was temporarily interrupted. The second distinct phase of *Kpodoga* began in October 1987 with some logistical support from Norway. Yet, as a result of lingering printing hazards and production-related problems, publication ceased in 2000.

Midim (Seek me) is an Ewe newspaper used in the current research. A rural newspaper, it was established by Rev. Apostle P. W. D. Nutornutsi of the Apostle's Revelation Society at Tadzewu, a town located in the southern part of the Volta Region in Ghana. The first issue of this Ewe newspaper was on the stands in May of 2001. The newspaper *Midim* is the most recent endeavor to promote a Ghanaian-language newspaper in Ghana; nonetheless, it was short-lived. Following the sudden death of the founder, publication came to a halt with the printing of the July 2004 issue.

iv) Ghanaian novels

This Earth My Brother by Kofi Awoonor is a Ghanaian novel which was used for the purposes of this study. The novel recounts the story of a ritual personage, who, from the very beginning of the novel, undergoes a series of purifications in the sea, in his visions and his memory. As the story progresses, the ceremonies multiply: purifications and initiation of a newborn child, the crossing of boundaries, funeral ceremonies, etc., culminate with the passage from life to the afterlife. To add color to the ritual events, the novelist uses various aspects of the Ewe language and culture, notably dirges, libation prayer, incantations, invocations of spells, lyrics, lullabies, proverbs, naming, translation of Ewe idiomatic expressions, etc. The use of these themes is efficacious because each one renders the story authentic and vivid, transporting the reader to a fictional world and making the reader a participant in the entire process.

The Stool, written by Kwakuvi Azasu, is the second novel used for this study. It centers on the triumphs of “morally good people” over “evil ones.” But the victory does not come served on a silver platter. In fact, almost everything in the novel seems to point to an easy win for evil until the very end, when evil is vanquished. From the very onset of the novel, evil besets the main character, the good medicine man. Throughout the novel, the forces of good, represented by the medicine man and his allies, are confronted by another medicine man with his evil counterparts. The struggle between the two forces revolves around the struggle for the throne, and all that it represents: the chieftdom, the power, the land, the supernatural world, and the people. Through conflicts ranging from squabbles to tribal wars, the two forces measure each other’s strength until good finally triumphs. To make the story authentic and vivid, Azasu exploits various elements from Ewe culture and language. We find components such as poetic names, prayers of medicine men, invocatory spells, incantations, proverbs, idiomatic expressions, praise names, divination oratory, and names of objects specific to the local scene depicted in the novel.

c) Aspects of the data analyzed

I examined the discourses of writers and linguists regarding roles of Ewe contrasted with English in Ghanaian media, taking a close look at the writers’ ideologies

of language as reflected by specific categories in each language, such as lexical arrays, grammatical structures, loanwords, and so on. I surveyed issues of thought and language via the comparative lexicon typology in one of the works of Benveniste. I also noted how Westermann and Berry's scholarly works contributed to the standardization of Ewe for the print media. Finally, I examined language-attitudinal and aesthetic issues, pointing out that the complex interplay of these topics contributes to ideologies of language regarding in Ghanaian print media.

d) Sections of the newspapers examined

The segments of the newspapers that I analyzed included editorials, advertisements, news reports, articles of columnists, and letters to the editor.

e) Time span of written data to be collected

The newspapers I collected were those that covered the 2004 presidential campaigns (from October to December 2004) in Ghana and the aftermath of the elections (from January to April 2005). However, I collected the local-language newspapers printed prior to this time span as the most recent local-language newspaper was printed in July 2004.

2° Data collection

To collect data I conducted fieldwork in Ghana from January to April 2005. To identify the appropriate informants to interview, I contacted Kofi Anyidoho of the Department of Linguistics in the University of Ghana, who generously introduced me to his colleagues and friends, Kwesi Yankah and Kofi Awoonor, both serving as invaluable interviewees and crucial sources of relevant information. In the past, professor Yankah worked on an English-language newspaper as a columnist. He was also instrumental in founding a Ghanaian-language radio station, *Radio Universe*, based at Legon. In addition, he now serves on the Ghana Commission on Culture. Awoonor is an English-language

novelist who wrote several novels, including *This Earth My Brother* and *Comes the Voyager at Last*. In addition, he translated selected poems of three Anlo-Ewe poets into one English work, entitled *Guardians of the Sacred Word*. Kofi Awoonor, in turn, helped me to get in touch with Kwakuvi Azasu, the novelist of *The Stool*.

3° Guidelines for interviews

During the interviews, I examined the following question: why is there a significant value attributed to one language over another in a multilingual situation such as Ghana? To respond to this question, the following indices serve as components of the guideline: statements of preferences, expression of valorization, indications of options, foundation of choices, undertone of comments, which concerns the latent reasons and harmonization.

Expression of language valorization pertains to the status and roles associated with a language. *Indication of language options* refers to the choice and use of a language in accordance with the context (i.e. the usage of different languages in different circumstances). *Foundation of language choices* concerns the reasons underlying the preference for one language over another. *Undertone of comments on language* denotes the points underlying a comment or statement. *Harmonization of language* describes how informants ascribe a set of languages with the same features and social roles. Based on the data collected, I formulated models for interpreting the data.

4° Analytic models for interpretation

I initially hypothesized that in the Ghanaian multilingual context, ideologies of language contribute to the roles and preeminence attributed to English, as opposed to the Ghanaian languages, given that English is the official language for literacy, government administration, and print media in Ghana. At the same time, selected local languages have been reduced to writing, and used as national languages in lower primary schools, broadcast media, and regional programs. To interpret the data, I have examined ideologies of language contributing to the state of print media in Ghana, and I have

argued that the roles and preeminence of the English-language, in contrast to Ewe, in the print media involve the interplay of language-specific, language-attitudinal, and aesthetic factors that underlie Ghanaian writers' ideologies of language.

Given the number of interconnected factors affecting Ghanaian print media, I have drawn on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) view that scholars should attempt to "understand when and how [populations] posit fundamental linkages among such apparently diverse cultural categories as language, spelling, grammar, nation, [and so on]." I have thus based my analytic method on the works of previous authors, namely, Silverstein's (1979) notion of linguistic features and assumptions about language, Fernandez's (1986) ideas about lexical territoriality of language, Spitulnik's (1993) view of the roles of language in mass media, Bate's (2002) notion about the imaginings of power and aestheticization through the use of political poems in print media, and Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) multidimensional approach to ideologies of language.

I have outlined a three-fold model (that is, a language-specific model, an aesthetics of language model, and a language-attitudinal model) to interpret data. In general, I examined topics such as: language standardization, ethnography of newspapers, textual components of the media, perceptions of writers about language, translation, and pragmatics issues such as density/directness of language, literacy, writing versus orality, construed identity, agents of the public sphere, construed territories of languages, and so on that emerged in the data. These topics, among others, have revealed the multifarious factors regarding the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media, and uncovered ideologies of language underlying all of the empirical data (interviews, excerpts from selected newspapers, and field notes). In what follows, I discuss each of these models in turn.

Language-specific model

I have based the language-specific model on Silverstein's (1979) notion of features of language, Irvine's (1993) view of colonial grammars, and Cohn's (1987) notion of "command over language and knowledge". Language-specific model, in this case, concerns the features of languages (henceforth English and Ewe). Silverstein makes important points on this topic, which he views in two broad perspectives, namely,

“ideologies about language” and “scientific statements” regarding language. He claims that the structure and ideology of language are interconnected. In particular, he views ideologies about language as “[...] any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Ibid., p. 193). He contends that in some cases the notions about language that scholars designate as “ideology” converge with those of scientific statements about language, because language users sometimes base their ideological notions of the referential function of language on the “grammatical structure of the language” (Ibid., p. 194).

Silverstein examines the interrelation of language structure and ideologies of language by drawing attention to “rationalizations about the use of language.” He sees rationalizations about language use in terms of the functional way that language users project and objectify basic structures of propositions. He observes three tendencies regarding these rationalizations of language use. First, there is a tendency to locate the effectiveness of a word or phrase in the surface lexical items of propositions. Second, there is a tendency to use the functions of the units of propositions to expound other functions of language, such as metaphors of meaning and “extensions of basic reference.” Finally, there is also a tendency to view functions of language in terms of assumed functional relationships. Silverstein sees these three tendencies as the main factors contributing to native views about systems of language use as opposed to comparative-functional views (Ibid., p. 208).

Drawing upon the works of Silverstein (1979), Irvine (1993), and Cohn (1987), I have discussed grammatical issues regarding orthography, neology, and Standard Ewe. Under the topic of orthography, I have examined the rules of word division in texts (i.e., grammars, dictionaries, and reference books), pointing out how specialists of Ewe have outlined the rules for the language that contributed to the conventions of writing in Ewe contrasted with English. Regarding neology, I have examined how English and Ewe writers have responded to new concepts reported in the print media by resorting to prescribed loanwords. Under the topic of the nature of language, I have examined the precision and economy of the vocabulary of each language in the selected print media, noting the roles of language specialists in determining the nature of English and Ewe. These discussions shed light on standardization of Ewe contrasted with English, revealing

how the “cultural conceptions of language” (as part of ideologies of language) shape the “ascribed” roles of the languages in Ghanaian print media.

Aesthetics of language model

I have based the aesthetics of the language model on Bate’s (2002) notion of aestheticization as a form of imaginings of power as well as the use of political poems in newspapers: “Both aesthetic and ideology are in constant interaction in people’s everyday engagement with the word. And both, in turn, are the templates for that engagement. The ‘state’ or other aestheticizations of power, in no matter what form it may be imagined, probably partakes more of the embodied aesthetic end of the continuum than of the conscious rationalizations of ideology” (Ibid., p. 309). Bate identifies political praise as an example of aesthetic practices among the Tamil Nadu, pointing out how this practice has contributed to abstract representations and “objectivation” of sparse “sociocultural categories in discursive interaction” (Idem., p. 309).

I have thus examined directness (referential-centered) versus density as aesthetic forms of writing Ghanaian print media in English and Ewe, drawing additional components from the works of Yankah (1995) and Finnegan (1970; 1988). In terms of the density of Ewe, I have investigated the genres in Ewe that writers used in Ewe newspapers, examining their implications for the Ewe print media. Tapping into Irvine’s (1989) discussions on denotational function of language, I have also examined the features of directness that characterize English-language newspapers in Ghana, pointing out their implications for English print media.

Language-attitudinal model

In establishing a language-attitudinal model, I have followed Spitulnik’s (1993) discussion on media perceptions, as well as Woolard and Schieffelin’s (1994) views on multidimensional approach for investigating social phenomena. I have thus included in this model the views of Fernandez (1986) on “lexical territoriality” that explain the ideologies of language in terms of domains (i.e., orality versus written) with which writers associate English and Ewe. I have also included Ngugi (1991), Appiah (1992), Bourdieu (1979), and Irvine (1993) to discuss language policies, hierarchization of

languages, nation-state strategies, pragmatics of language, literacy, and so on, drawing attention to the implications of these topics for the development of Ghanaian print media.

I have also examined translation as a medium where ideologies of language have occurred in Ghana, noting in particular borrowed linguistic components, such as words, syntax, genres, and format, from English into Ewe and vice versa, pointing out the views of writers on the forms of translations.

I have examined the political, economic, and historical factors that have contributed to ideologies of language regarding the Ghanaian print media. Finally, I have conducted textual analyses of news reports in English-language and Ewe newspapers, to contrast the structures that writers have used in each case. In particular, I draw attention to the writers' assumptions about language structure, nature, and use, noting how their perceptions about language as well as language-attitudinal factors constitute ideologies of language that shape the ascribed roles of languages in Ghanaian print media.

5° Language notes

Throughout this thesis, whereas I boldfaced words of the local languages, I wrote their English equivalents in italics. However, titles of newspapers in the local languages are both boldfaced and italicized. Also, whereas the English equivalents of names are written with English spelling, the names in local-languages retain their spelling in the respective language.

CHAPTER II
PRODUCTION OF STANDARD EWE

Missionaries as well as colonial and postcolonial linguists have contributed to the standardization of the Ewe. In particular, the German linguists drew data from Ewe dialects in Anlo, inland (Ewedome), and Lome areas to define Standard Ewe (Westermann 1907; 1930; Ansre 1961), because German missionaries happened to establish their mission centers in those areas, where they began learning and documenting the language. Another factor contributing to the use of these particular dialects is the influence of the local personnel (that is, the interpreters, teachers, and clerks) who trained to assist the missionaries in their literacy programs. These assistants imparted their dialect to both the missionaries, who were developing the written form of the language, and the people, who became Christians and literates in other parts of Eweland (see maps in appendixes 12 to 17). A third factor contributing to the prominence of Anlo dialect in particular is observed by Ansre (1971). He notes that Catholic missionaries in Anecho, as opposed to Bremen missionaries at Keta, debated the issues concerning elements of Standard Ewe. Eventually, the recommendations led to the adoption of components of Anlo, Ewedome, and Lome dialects in the standardization of written Ewe.

Those who contribute to the standardization of language often draw on the main features of the language, as well as their ideologies about language. Silverstein (1979), for instance, contends that language structure and ideologies of language are interconnected because the language users project basic grammatical features of their language into various functional ways. To capture the arguments made for the Standard Ewe, that is, ideologies of language (see Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) regarding the use of Ewe in print media, it is worthwhile to note the historical context within which the standardization of Ewe occurred. What follows is an examination of the missionary activities that led to the production of written Ewe and then the contributions of particular missionaries, colonial administrators, and post-colonial agents in the production of Standard Ewe and ideologies of language concerning the language.

A. Background to the production of Standard Ewe

The written or Standard Ewe emerged as a result of German missionary works in Eweland. This section provides a chronological survey of the contributions of the North

German and Bremen missions to the gradual development of Standard Ewe. It also reviews to other missionary societies with whom the two German missions competed as they set about their activities.

Systematic missionary work began in Eweland after 1841, when Thomas Birch Freeman published a narrative account of his West African missionary journey, drawing attention to the presence of pagans in Africa and his desire to convert them into Christianity. Since then, European missionary societies began to establish ongoing missions in West Africa. Thus, the North German Missionary Society sent four missionaries in 1847, namely, Luer Bultmann, Lorenz Wolf, Carl Flato, and Jens Graff, to West Africa. Initially, they stayed at Christianborg, in Accra, where the Basel mission center was located. Since missionaries had already occupied the coastal zones of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Dahomey, and Nigeria, the only option available for the North German missionaries was the center of Eweland. In 1847, out of the four German missionaries, Lorenz Wolf was chosen to pioneer missionary activities at Peki in the Gold Coast, about 180 kilometers from the Atlantic coast. Wolf organized a basic school for fourteen boys in 1848. He taught bible stories, biblical history, reading, writing, arithmetic, recitations, and church hymns in English, because Peki was part of the British Gold Coast colony. He also began learning the Ewe language, but he returned to Hamburg in 1851.

From 1851 to 1890, the North German Mission had fewer missionaries available. Consequently, they trained and worked with the Bremen missionaries. Friedrich Hermann Quinius, Wilhelm Däuble, and Johannes Menge were sent to Peki in 1852 to continue the work of Wolf. Although Däuble wished to relocate the mission at Keta in the Anlo area south of Peki, he was compelled to stay at Peki to continue the missionary work that the missionaries hoped would eventually lead to the evangelization of the neighboring Dahomey kingdom. However, the Bremen missionaries later heeded the recommendations of Däuble. Thus, in 1853, a mission station was opened at Keta under the protection of the Danes' fort in the littoral zone of the Gold Coast, which was then owned by the British. The location of the Bremen mission at Keta was extremely important as it marked the beginning of the use of the Anlo dialect as the primary version of the standardization of Ewe. Using Keta as their main center, the Bremen missionaries

opened other stations between Keta and Peki stations in Eweland. They established a station at Waya in 1855, which was located on the Tordzie River, bordering the Adaklu tribe. They also opened stations at Anyako in 1857, at Wegbe Ho in 1859, and later at Amedzofe and Lome in 1896, at Akpafu in 1905, at Atakpame in 1907, and at Kpalime in 1912. Other Bremen missionaries were sent to collaborate with Brutschin in Eweland in 1854. In the same year, Bernhard Schlegel, one of the new but important missionaries, who wrote the *Key to the Ewe language* in 1857, visited Agotime in the Gold Coast, while Steinemann and Kohlhammer went to Agu Nyogbo in Togo, accompanied by an Ewe guide from Tove. Peki was revisited in 1858 by Brutschin, Schlegel, and his Ewe interpreter, John Wright, and the station reopened in 1906. Later, Christian Hornberger made an exploratory journey from Waya to interior towns in northern Eweland, such as Avatime, Hohoe, Santrokofi, Akposso, Atakpame, and back to Waya through Kpele and Agu. Initially, the missionaries could not make converts except the slaves they had ransomed. Thus, between 1857 and 1867, they ransomed 150 slaves whom they baptized, trained, and reared as Christians.

In 1861, an institute, equivalent to a college, was established in Waya to train assistants and catechists for the mission in Eweland. It was relocated in Ho in 1865. Since Keta was a commercial littoral town at the time, the Europeans, including the British, the Germans, and the French firms, continued to conduct their businesses there. The traders scrambled for goods, which often led to feuds in the Anlo area, particularly from 1867 to 1874. Ellis, a British official, was appointed as the British colonial commandant at Keta to maintain peace and order in the area in 1874. Ellis conducted fieldwork, which led to his 1890 publication on the Ewe.

In Anecho, located in the southeastern part of Lome, the Bremen missionaries ran into difficulties with their work because Methodists had carried out missionary activities prior to their arrival in this town. In addition to the Methodists, Catholic missionaries of the Société des Missions Africaines of Lyon established missionary stations at Whidah in 1861, and at Agoué, where French influence was developing, in 1871. Since there were German merchants in Anecho, Bagida and Lome, the German missionaries and traders sought protection and autonomy in these areas. Thus, Germany declared the areas from Lome to Anecho along the coast of Eweland, as well as areas in the interior as far as

Akposso and Atakpame, its protectorate in 1884. The German colonial administration ordered the missionaries to work within its protectorate and to teach the German language. Although the missionaries resisted these policies at first, they eventually acquiesced. In 1890, Zahn, the overseer of the North German and Bremen missionary activities, prepared a station at Amedzofe in Avatime, situated at the northern section of Eweland, where the colonial powers had no control. Nonetheless, in the same year, without consulting with the natives, Britain and Germany signed a peace treaty whereby Ewe communities from Ho, Kpando, and Amedzofe to Tapa in Buem were allotted to the Germans. The communities assigned to the Germans revolted, but were subdued by the colonial administration. Anlo however remained part of the British Gold Coast colony (Debrunner 1965).

After 1890, the British colonial administration began to establish government schools to exercise certain political regulations through the medium of education (Wise 1956: 34). The German colonial administration extended its control to the northern part of Eweland, imitating the British. However, several communities offered resistance to this expansion because their local industries and trade were impeded. For example, the local weaving industry of Tove in Togo began to collapse after the introduction of goods brought by German traders.

Until 1905, Keta had been the Bremen Mission headquarters. The Agu-Nyagbo station was established in 1895, and substations were founded at Tavie, Tove, Kebu, Klou, Agome, Lavie, Kpele, and Akposso in 1905 under the direction of the Agu station. The station at Atakpame was established in 1901. Substations were also established at Vakpo and Anfoega in 1888. The Basel missions at Kpando, Nkonya, and Buem were given to the Bremen Mission in 1903 and 1906, whereas a Bremen station was opened at Akpafu in 1905.

Aside from the Lyons Fathers, the Dutch Roman Catholic Steyler missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word were assigned to work in the German Togo colony in 1892. In the same year, they opened a Catholic station at Lome. Later, they went as far as Kpando, where the Bremen mission took over the activities of the Basel mission. Dutch missionaries formed substations at Adjido, in 1893, at Tokpli, in 1894, at Porto Seguro and Anecho in 1895, at Atakpame in 1900, Palime in 1902, Kpando and Gbi-Bla in 1904,

Ho in 1908, and at Agu-Tomegbe in 1910. According to Debrunner (1965), the Catholics made more missionary progress than the Bremen missionaries because they utilized better logistics, created the majority of the schools, had good financial standing, and sent out many missionaries in Eweland (Ibid., p.110). The Bremen missionaries competed with the Catholic missionaries in establishing schools, in producing catechetical manuals, and in seeking neophytes. The Bremen mission also competed with the colonial administration in establishing special schools to serve either Church or government interests. Thus, the Bremen mission published the first schoolbooks in Ewe in 1884, which were later updated by Bürgi in 1897. Although the mission schools within the German Protectorate used Ewe in the education programs, some of the Ewes at that time opted to learn English and German to facilitate trade with the Europeans. Once the missionaries had acquired more proficiency in Ewe, they used Ewe as the medium of instruction in their schools until the colonial government compelled them to apply its own language policies. As a result, in Togo, the Bremen mission began teaching German from the fourth grade onward. The Steyler Mission in Togo used English as the medium of instruction until its missionaries had mastered Ewe. However, as more natives opted for the English and German languages, the mission readjusted its policies to teach in German in the schools in Togo (Debrunner 1965: 113).

As part of the ongoing strategy to learn the Ewe language, in 1871, the German missionary Binder was permitted to bring an Ewe, Christian Aliwodzi Sedode of Anlo, to Wilhelmsdorf in Württemberg, where he trained for two years. When he returned to Eweland, he taught at Amedzofe College until 1889. Aliwodzi Sedode also taught Ewe to many other missionaries. Based on the success of training Aliwodzi Sedode in Europe, other Ewes were trained in Westheim in Europe for three years. These include Andreas Aku, Hermann Yoyo, and Reinhold Kowu, in 1884, Benjamin Onipayede, Albert Binder and Samuel Kwist, in 1890, Isaac Kwadzo, in 1891, Elias Kende and Theodor Martin Sedode Bebli, in 1892, Zacarias Deku and Nathaniel Kwami, in 1893, Ludwig Medenu, Elia Awuma, and Robert Kwami, in 1894, Theophil Asieni and Christoph Gehard Mensa, in 1895, and Timetheo Mallet, Timetheo Ametowobla, and Robert Baeta, in 1897. The Ewes who had trained in Europe assisted the missionaries with many tasks and projects,

but especially with translations, interpretations, teaching, and missionary journeys to various parts of Eweland.

In 1880, the Swiss missionary Ernest Bürgi was sent to work to Eweland. As a teacher by profession, he taught at the missionary school at Keta from 1880 until 1884 when he was appointed as the principal of Amedzofe College. He explored parts of Eweland by journeying from Keta to Lome, Tove, Tsievie, Ngotsie, and Agu in 1888. He returned to Keta through Avatime and Ho. He designed a number of materials on catechism, dogmas, the Ewe language, the Ewe people, pedagogy, the geography of Eweland, Church prayers and hymns, English-German vocabulary books, Ewe-English vocabulary books, Church history, a concise German History, a history of Europe, etc, all of which were unpublished. In 1910, he was appointed president of the Mission, a position that he held until 1921. From Amedzofe, he also explored the northern part of Eweland as far as Akposso and Akebu.

Westermann arrived in Eweland in 1901. He conducted fieldwork at Keta, Lome, Ho, Peki, Amedzofe, and Akpafu, where his predecessors had worked. Although his work was based on the efforts of his colleagues, he compiled a more systematic and comprehensive Ewe grammar than his predecessors. He also collected data on the Guang, Avatime, and Akpafu languages, which he later regrouped as Togo remnants. He established a journal, *Africa*, in which Africanists could publish their works. From 1904 to 1909, the Bremen missionary Spieth, assisted by the Ewes, Ludwig Azaklo and others, worked on a commission to revise the translation of the Ewe Bible. Bremen missionary Paul Wiegräbe, who worked at Ho from 1907 to 1936, collaborated with some native Ewe teachers to revise basic Ewe primers, Bible stories, and a history of the Bremen Church in Eweland.

As with the Bremen missionaries, the Steyler Fathers collected and published ethnographic materials on the Ewe. Father Wolf wrote on the Akposso and Kebu languages, whereas Father Müller wrote on the religion of the Akposso. In 1907, the Steyler Fathers began publishing *Anthropos*, an ethnographic periodical which focused at first on Eweland, and later on languages of other parts of the world. The most prominent contributor to this periodical was Father Schmidt. The Steylers also wrote on the Anlo and Anecho dialects of Ewe, and designed Ewe primers, catechisms, prayer books, Bible

stories, and hymns in Anecho dialect of Ewe. Father Witte wrote on the customs of the Ewe community of Kpando, whereas Father Hoffmann made observations on the Ewe grammar in general. The Steyler Fathers engaged in dialogue with the Bremen missionaries in composing Standard written form of Ewe in 1912 (Debrunner 1965: 136).

In 1914, when the Germans lost their colony to the British and the French, two distinct categories of schools emerged in Eweland. The missionary schools used the Ewe and European languages, while the colonial government schools used European languages. In the Gold Coast, through the agency of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, school policies were introduced, stating that Ewe and a small number of the local languages should be used as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary school, while English should be taught from the third grade onward. By contrast, the French Togo continued to uphold the dichotomy between mission and government schools, whereby the mission schools used the Ewe language for educational purposes and the French colonial government schools used French language. These events thus set the stage for the production of Standard Ewe and the ideologies of language regarding the language.

Given the tremendous contribution of missionaries to the production of Standard Ewe, I now turn to some of the salient debates and grammars.

B. Missionary production of Standard Ewe

In this section, I take a close look at the standardization of Ewe during pre-Westermann and Westermann times. In doing so, I intend to specify the aspects of ideologies of language underlying the proposals of the missionaries who contributed to the standardization of Ewe.

1° Pre-Westermann production of Standard Ewe

A number of works on Ewe preceded those of Westermann. Lorenz Wolf's 1848 primer draft for children was the first pedagogical/grammatical text on the language. While Schlegel (1857) was the pioneer of the development of the written form of the

Ewe, Westermann (1907; 1930) was the father of the systematic Ewe grammar and literacy. Prior to Westermann's works, Härtter (1901), Bürgi (1897), and Schmidt (1902) offered suggestions on the dialect of the language that could be used in composing standard written Ewe. Ellis (1890 [1970]), Spieth (1906), Seidel (1906), and Schönhärl (1909) made wordlists in the language. Westermann based his 1907 grammatical analyses on the works of S. W. Koelle (1854), J. B. Schlegel (1857), J. G. Christaller (1875), E. Bürgi (1897), and J. Spieth (1906). In specifying the orthography of African languages, his ideas related to those of his teacher, Meinhof, who wrote *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* in 1905 and the "Principles of practical orthography for African languages" in 1928. Meinhof was initially a student of Lepsius, the author of the 1854 "Standard alphabet for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters."

Language standardization involves the selection or elevation of one dialect in a linguistic community as the ideal for all other dialects of the same linguistic community. Milroy views standardization as an "ideology, and standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent" (1985: 22-23). These ideologies of language, he believes, lead to the selection of fixed conventions that define the "correct" use (i.e., minimizing misunderstanding and maximizing efficiency in the usage of the language across a speech community). He notes that several factors (social, political, and commercial) dictate language standardization, arguing that it is a historical process rather than a completed linguistic event. Language standardization could also occur through a process of creating a composite or hybrid language by using linguistic items from all dialects of the linguistic community (Whiteley 1957: 224; Ansre 1971: 681). In the case of Ewe, the first stage of language standardization involved the graphization (phonetic symbols) and collection of Ewe data. During the second stage, missionaries and colonial administrators favored the Anlo dialect (located in southern Ghana) as the basic Standard Ewe for the codification of the Standard (written) Ewe, over the other Ewe dialects, particularly the Anecho (also know as Ge, Mina, and Ge-Mina) dialect (located in southern Togo), a commercial language in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the third stage, the

missionaries and Ewe linguists incorporated linguistic items (phonological, grammatical, and lexical) from other Ewe dialects into basic Ewe.

Cohn (1987) describes the codification of Indian languages (Bengali, Sanskrit, Urdu, and so on) by emphasizing that the metropolitan merchants and administrators gradually gained a command over the languages and knowledge of the Indian intermediaries. He describes the roles of the Indian intermediaries as one of data providers, rather than active codifiers of the languages and knowledge. In the case of Ewe, the local intermediaries were not involved in the debates that led to the selection of the initial basic Standard Ewe. For instance, Irvine (1993) points out that metropolitan ideologies (perceptions) influenced the codification of languages in Senegal (Fula and Wolof), specifying how the notions of linguistic form and expression of thought were center stage in reducing the Senegalese languages to written form. In a similar vein, certain German missionaries, in particular Härtter (1901), based their arguments for Standard Ewe on “purity” (lesser loanwords), “simplicity” (easy to learn), and “clarity” (easy to understand). Unfortunately, they failed to provide examples to substantiate their arguments. Cohn (1980) also points out socio-economic factors (commerce, distribution of language, and politics) that influence the codification or elevation of unwritten languages. This was the case with the initial standardization of Ewe, where in selecting Standard Ewe the missionaries and colonial administrators focused on their own interests more than those of the native speakers.

The officials who contributed to the initial (basic) standardization of Ewe were missionaries (Bremen and Catholic) and colonial administrators (German and British). The Bremen missionaries were intent on using the Standard Ewe to produce Christian literature written in the local language. This missionary policy led to the codification of the language, and then to the production of wordlists, religious tracts, the Bible, pedagogical books, dictionaries, written grammars, and ethnographic books. The Anlo dialect emerged as the selected basic Standard Ewe in the process of the standardization of the language, which involved debates between two missionary groups. While the German missionaries codified the Anlo dialect (at Keta in Ghana) as the Standard Ewe, the Catholic missionaries (at Grand Popo, Mina, and Ge area in Togo) argued for the Anecho dialect as the prominent language. These situations led to the formulation of these

two varieties of basic Standard Ewe in late nineteenth century. Prior to this time, each missionary society documented the variety of Ewe spoken in their missionary area, using it in writing and liturgy, as well as a medium of instruction at missionary schools. The German colonial administration in Togo, representing the Colonial Division of the German State Department, attempted to solve the problem of the coexisting basic Standard Ewe by organizing discussions for the Bremen and Catholic missionaries in 1901. Throughout the debate, G. Härter and E. Bürgi (Bremen missionaries) opted for Anlo dialect, whereas W. Schmidt (Catholic) argued for Anecho (Ansre 1971: 685). Each missionary body argued in favor of the dialect they had already documented.

Härter, for instance, proposed the Anlo dialect as the basic Standard, arguing that a substantial work has been produced on it. He also argued that the Anlo dialect exhibited the best features of “purity and clearness” (see Kroskity 1994; 1998), contrasted with Anecho, believed to be “corrupt in its expression” because it contained a large proportion of loanwords from the Ga, Fante, and Yoruba languages, with which it shared boundaries. In counterargument, Schmidt favored Anecho, arguing that some of the claimed borrowed words in Anecho were actually archaic Ewe words that the dialect conserved. He claimed that the dialectical differences between Anlo and Anecho were due to sound changes rather than corruption through borrowing. He contended that although the Anecho dialect borrowed some Ga words, the borrowed lexical items did not affect the tone and the grammar of the language. He further argued that Europeans could more easily learn Anecho, because it had a simpler morphology compared with Anlo. Bürgi allied with Härter, contesting the proposals of Schmidt by stating that the arguments for a Standard Ewe should focus on the dialect which the native speakers use for oral literature or commerce rather than the dialect with which Europeans are more comfortable, adding that only a few Europeans spoke both dialects, and further, the Anecho (also known as Mina) dialect was an offshoot of historical events. The Anecho dialect was a hybrid Ewe that resulted from an admixture of Ewe (the Watchi and Xweda dialects spoken near the southern part of River Mono and Benin border), Ga, and Fante. A group of Gas from Accra (Ghana) and a group of Fantes from Elmina (Ghana) migrated from their kingdom to settle at the southeastern part of River Mono, where they founded the Anecho and Glidji cities in the seventeenth centuries (Pazzi 1984; Debrunner 1965; Cornevin 1988).

Anecho became a prominent international trade center in the eighteenth century onwards for European merchants, West African traders, native traders, and freed slaves who converged there to exchange goods, using Mina, English and Spanish. Mina thus borrowed phonological, lexical, and grammatical items from these dialects and languages prior to the time of the debate between the two missionary groups.

Schmidt produced further counterarguments, stating that the Ewe codifiers and experts should take into account the characteristics of a dialect, such as its geographical distribution, and its number of speakers. In light of this, he pointed out that the Anecho dialect was the best choice for the basic Standard Ewe, given its location at the littoral zone, where the German administration was established, and many traders who exchanged goods using this dialect. He inaccurately claimed that Anecho had more native speakers than Anlo, stating that Anecho was an entrance to the German colony from the dialects of Benin, a suitable geographical location that bridged it between Gold Coast and Benin as well as inland Togo. He also claimed that it was understood by the speakers of the neighboring dialect, Fon, which was yet to be counted among Ewe dialects. He argued that Anlo town was not a strategic geographic location in Eweland, because it was situated in an obscure coastal zone of Ewe territory. In response to Schmidt's points, Burgi argued that the German administrative center would be moved from Little Popo to Lome on the fringes of the Anlo area, which would increase commercial activities in the Anlo locality (Lome actually became the capital of the German Togo, and was developed with regard to infrastructure). Burgi also argued that the colonial assistants and clerks were western Ewes who spoke Anlo (natives of Kpalime and Kpando, adding that northern Ewes traded with the Anlos).

After debates on the basic Standard Ewe, Anlo was ultimately selected as the reference for standardizing the successive writings such as grammars, wordlists, pedagogical texts, and Scriptures. The missionaries then established important schools at Keta, Peki, Amedzofe, and Lome. Notably, Bürgi and Hartter included in Anlo the Ewe dialects spoken at Peki, Kpalime, Kpando, Lome, Amedzofe, Keta, and Anloga, located west of Anecho. The Anecho, however, became a commercial dialect in southern Togo, as it remains to this date, whereas the Standard Ewe serves as the medium of writing, liturgy, and instruction in schools.

2° Westermann's production of Standard Ewe

The works of Westermann on Ewe were significant for establishing Standard Ewe for literacy in the language. Some of his major contributions to written Ewe were in lexicography and grammar. After having done extensive fieldwork in parts of Eweland between 1901 and 1903, he compiled his Ewe-German dictionary, *Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache, Ewe-Deutsch Wörterbuch* in 1905, and his German-Ewe dictionary, *Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache, Deutsch-Ewe Wörterbuch* in 1906. In 1907, he published his systematic monograph on Ewe grammar, *Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache*, a work that A. L. Bickford-Smith translated in 1930 with updates as *Ewe Grammar*. Westermann's 1907 grammar featured such elements as vowels, consonants, tones, word forms (substantives, pronominal system, verbs, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections). Although he based his grammar book mainly on the Anlo version of the Ewe, he collected data from dialects spoken in a number of other villages, including Agome, Kpoeta, Danyi, Fodome, Likpe, Wli, Ve, Lome, Be, and Ho, located outside Anecho area.

Based on the data he collected, Westermann's first *Eweƒiala Ewe-English Dictionary, Gbesela*, was published in 1910. The new version of **Gbesela**, known as *Gbesela Yeye* or *Eweƒiala Ewe-English Dictionary*, was published in 1928. Whereas the works of earlier authors were mostly wordlists, collections of data, and general aspects of the language, these works of Westermann were specific, systematic, and comprehensive.

Westermann (1928) also made important contributions to Standard Ewe with respect to orthography and word division. For instance, in *Gbesela Yeye* or *Eweƒiala Ewe-English Dictionary*, he set forth the principles for determining the orthography of words, word boundaries, word classes, syntactic constituents, and punctuation. For example, he opts for **nɛ** instead of **nae** (*give to him/her*), because of the following process of contraction in pronunciation:

Intransitive Verb	+	Indirect Object	=	Contraction
Verb	+	Pronoun	=	Contraction
na	+	e	=	nɛ

Similarly, he suggests that compound nouns should be written as one word, while two nouns with an interposed adjective should be written as distinctive words. He states similar rules for identifying compound nouns and noun phrases, for example:

Noun	versus	Noun phrase
N		N A N[N + Verbal A]
nyagbɔgblo		nya vlo nyagbɔgblo
<i>speaking</i>		<i>loose talk</i>

(Ibid., p. IV-VII).

These rules still form the basis of the modified principles for word division, word boundary, and phrases in the written version of the language.

Another major contribution of Westermann pertains to the alphabet for African languages. In collaboration with Ida C. Ward, he published a proposal for practical orthography for African languages in 1930 as *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*. This work built on Carl Meinhof's *Principles of practical orthographies for African languages*, which revised Richard Lepsius' (1848) *Standard Alphabet for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters*. Westermann also served as special consultant for commissions on a common script for some Ghanaian languages in 1927, and offered advice to several commissions on African languages.

As the editor of *The African Today* and *The African Today and Tomorrow*, Westermann (1929) exhorted Africans to attribute value to African languages. He encouraged missionaries, researchers, and Africanists to collect and publish data from Africa. He called on missionaries and the colonial government to produce literature in the African languages, noting that the educational books were largely religious texts (Ibid., p. 337). Furthermore, he advocated for a good education in the languages, stating: "But after all the really important thing in *Africa Today* is not the formation of an *elite*, but mass education. The aim must be to give a totality of the children an elementary education, train and fit them, not for the life in big centers" (Westermann 1948: 350).

Westermann works played leading roles in the development of Standard Ewe and

literacy in Ewe. In his 1907 *Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache* and in the preface of his 1928 **Gbesela Yeye** he specified that his Ewe grammar and dictionary were intended for European colonial administrators, students of Ewe, researchers on the language, local experts, and Africanists. These works have been used by Ewe scholars. His 1907 and 1930 written grammars of Ewe served as points of reference for comparative linguistic analysis. For example, Benveniste used data from Westermann's work to compare the verbs *be* and *have* in Greek with those of Ewe. Greenberg (1970) used the work of Westermann to reconstruct the Niger-Kordofonia language family.

Westermann (1929) exhorted missionaries and colonial administrators to develop literary materials in the local languages. He objects to the view that the local languages cannot respond to emerging concepts (Ibid., p. 351). In these ways, Westermann has contributed immensely to Standard Ewe and views that shape ideologies of language with respect to the language.

C. Colonial production of Standard Ewe

In this section, I discuss Jack Berry's work which falls within the colonial activities in the Gold Coast (Ghana). Similarly, I discuss the work of Benveniste who cited Ewe data in his comparative linguistic analyses, thereby contributing partly to Ewe scholarship and ideologies about the language.

1° On Jack Berry

Jack Berry (1951), a lecturer of West African Languages at the University of London, sketched in his pamphlet, *The Pronunciation of Ewe*, some elements of the pronunciations of Ewe for European learners, such as colonial administrators, missionaries, and traders. He wrote *Structural affinities of the Volta River Languages and their Significance for Linguistic Classification* as his Ph.D thesis in 1952. He wrote "Problems in the Use of African languages and Dialects in Education" in the book

African Languages and English in Education, a work that served as a guideline in education language policies that were formulated by government officials in Africa in 1953.

Unlike Westermann, Berry did not speak the language. Rather, he depended on his informant, Lily G. Baeta from Keta in Anlo district, to design the pamphlet and a gramophone recording for European learners of the language. His lack of personal knowledge of the language is reflected in some of his analyses of the language. For example, he classified some phonemes that occur at the beginning of words in Ewe as prefixes, without exception. He considered *e-* as a prefix *e-*, which occurs in the beginning of *eve* (*two*); *etsɔ* (*yesterday*); and *egbe* (*today*); and *a-*, which leads to the following words: *ame* (*person*); *ati* (*tree*), *atɔ* (*guinea worm*), and *alē* (*sheep*) (1951: 4-9). Although some words have such “vocalic” or epenthetic phonemes at word-initial positions or in a spoken context, those phonemes he mentioned are, in fact, inseparable parts of the words cited. This mistaken assessment of the phonemes was a result of Berry’s inadequate knowledge of the language and the erroneous notion that Ewe root words are always formed with a consonant in a word-initial position followed by a vowel.

Although his pamphlet was intended for European administrators, missionaries, and traders in the Gold Coast, it also became a resource material for the Ewes who studied their own language. It is still used by writers, teachers, and journalists who work on the Ewe. In light of this, Berry’s influence is still significant in the production of Standard Ewe and the Ewe scholarship.

2° On Emile Benveniste

The work of Benveniste (1958) focuses on three observations about Ewe. First, he holds that while the verb *be* in Greek has a single root, with inflectional forms, it has different lexical instances in Ewe. Second, he claims that the lexical units of the Ewe language do not lend themselves to the type of metaphysical thought that we find in Greek. To illustrate the structural units imposed by each language, he points out that the Greek *ēimi* (*be*) has many lexical and grammatical derivatives, but the equivalent of the

copula verb *be* in Ewe only has lexical replacements, of which he identified five: **nye**, **le**, **wɔ**, **ɖu** and **ɖi**. These occur in the example below:

- Nye nuto** – to be an owner,
Le afi – to be here,
Wɔ ke – to be sandy,
Du fia – to be king
Di ku – to be slim (*Ibid.*, p. 434)

Based on these examples, cited from Westermann's work on Ewe, Benveniste came to the conclusion that Greek linguistic structure lends itself to *a priori* philosophical analysis in a way that Ewe does not:

Tout ce qu'on veut montrer ici est que la structure linguistique du grec prédisposait la notion d' « être » à une vocation philosophique. À l'opposé, la langue ewe ne nous offre qu'une notion étroite, des emplois particularisés. Nous ne saurions dire quelle place tient l'« être », dans la métaphysique ewe, mais *a priori* la notion doit s'articuler tout autrement. (1958: 473)

Three observations can be made in response to Benveniste's statement. First, the communicative features of a language should not be restricted to what it is predisposed to express because the language factor is more complex than what it explicitly demonstrates (Whorf 1941[1956]). Boas cautioned with respect to the use of numbers, stating: "It must be borne in mind that counting does not become necessary until objects are considered in such generalized form that their individualities are entirely lost sight of [...]" (*Ibid.*, 191: 66). Similarly, Whorf (1941[1956]) points out that in comparing features of languages, language theorists should take the entire social life of such languages into account. This is important as social system in which a language is spoken sheds light on features of that language. This fact cannot be observed when features of a language are taken in isolation.

Second, although Benveniste acknowledges the suppletive forms of the verb *to be* in Greek, he treats **le** and **nɔ** as separate verbs instead of also treating them as suppletive

forms. In Ewe, while **le** (*be*) expresses the present tense, its suppletive form **nɔ** (*be*) expresses the past tense. The two forms serve as auxiliary verbs for constructing present and past tenses in the language. Thus:

Singular	Plural	
mele <i>I am</i>	miele <i>we are</i>	1 st person
èle <i>you are</i>	miele <i>you are</i>	2 nd person
ele <i>he/she/it is</i>	wole <i>they are</i>	3 rd person

Singular	Plural	
menɔ <i>I was</i>	mienɔ <i>we were</i>	1 st person
ènɔ <i>you were</i>	mienɔ <i>you were</i>	2 nd person
enɔ <i>he/she/it was</i>	wonɔ <i>they were</i>	3 rd person

Similarly, we can say, **Enɔ afima**, *it was there*.

Future tense of *to be*

In Ewe, the future tense is marked by prefixing the particle **a-** to **nɔ**; for example:

Kodzɔ anɔ afisia, *Kodzɔ will be here*.

Mianɔ Keta, *We will be [in] Keta*.

Third, Benveniste contends that the verb *be* would not take a central stage in Ewe philosophy, although he did not examine all the instances of **nye** (*be*) for Ewe. He claims that the verb *be* in Ewe only has lexical replacements. Contrary to this contention, the verb *be* has some derived forms, at least, in reduplication and nominalization. For example, substantives are formed through a process whereby the verb **nye** is reduplicated to form the verbal noun **-nyenye**, and, then, the verbal noun is compounded with other words.

Nye in nominalizations

Adjective	+ -nyenye		Gloss
Dedie	+ -nyenye	dedienyenye	<i>well-being</i>
Noun	+ -nyenye		
Nufiala	+ -nufialanyenye	nufialanyenye	<i>being a teacher</i>
Dukplɔla	+ -nyenye	dukplɔlanyenye	<i>being a president</i>

Nye also serves other functions in the language. For example:

Nye with copula feature, which expresses a belief

Nye is used to express an act of faith or belief, thus:

Agbe nye ga *Life is precious (life is great)*

Mawue nye ga *God is precious (God is great)*

Furthermore, it is evident from Benveniste's comparative analysis that he did not explore the centrality of the verb *be* in the entire Ewe data. Rather, he expanded upon scanty data which he cited to make Ewe appear maximally contrastive to Greek.

D. Post-colonial production of Standard Ewe**1° Linguists**

The emergence of Standard Ewe continued through the post-colonial works. In the 1960s, several native speakers examined the language. Ansre (1961; 1966), for example, described its tonal structure and grammatical units for his Master's and doctoral degrees, respectively, whereas Baeta (1962) produced a primer on the language. Obianim (1964) wrote about elements of the language, which he described in the language itself. Likewise, European linguists contributed to the study of the language during this decade. Sprigge (1967), for example, described the tonal aspects of the Adangbe dialect of the language, and Warburton et al. (1968) outlined basic elements of the language. Agblemagnon (1969), a native speaker, also listed elements of the language in his project on the sociological analysis of the Ewe people.

In the 1970s, additional works on the language were published. In reanalyzing the sub-Saharan languages and classifying them under the broader Niger-Congo family, Greenberg (1970) briefly examined the Ewe language. Clements (1971; 1972) worked on the palatalization/vowel harmony and the verbal syntax of the language for his Master's and doctoral degrees, respectively. Stahlke (1971) examined the phonology of the language, whereas Pazzi (1972; 1975; 1976; and 1977) produced comprehensive works on the grammar, dictionary and basic elements of the language, and Fiaga (1976) worked on Ewe grammar. Similarly, Nyomi (1976; 1977) outlined the phonology and word structure of Ewe. Adzomada (1977; 1983) produced a French-Ewe and Ewe-French Dictionary and the Ewe standard Dictionary. During the same decade, Rongier (1979) described Ewe language for his doctoral degree.

In the 1980s, a number of works on the language emerged. Capo (1981) worked on the phonology of the language for his doctoral degree, which he updated in 1991. In the same decade, whereas Ring (1981) prepared a manual on the language for foreigners who intend to learn the language, and Bole-Richard (1983) examined the phonology of the language. Schadeberg (1985) sketched various elements of the language, Medeiros (1984) served as the editor of a book on key aspects of the language.

In the 1990s, a number of works on the language appeared. Whereas Ameka (1991; 1995) wrote about the grammatical and illocutionary devices of the language, Collins (1993) worked on the syntax of the language, Rongier (1995) produced a French-Ewe and Ewe-French dictionary. Duthie (1996) produced an excursus on the linguistic patterns of the language, and Atakpa (1997) reanalyzed the grammatical units of Ewe.

Nowadays, local phonologists, such as Ansre (2000) and Atakpa (1997), argue for distinct phonemes such as /dz/, /ny/, and /ts/, as well as for the co-articulated clusters /gb/ and /kp/. In the language, phonemes /kp/, /gb/, /dz/, /ts/, and /ny/ are explosives, unlike other African languages in which they are implosives. In addition, /l/ and /r/ are allophones, whereas /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ are syllabic.

Since 2000, some works on the language have been updated. In this respect, Ansre (2000) revisited elements of Ewe phonology. In addition to the thirty standard letters, Ansre (2000), a native linguist of Ewe, includes in that list the following trigraphs: /tsy/ for the phoneme /tʃ/ and /dzy/ for the phoneme /dʒ/. With regard to vowels, Ansre

(2000) identifies eight pairs of oral and nasal vowels: i/ĩ, e/ě, ε/ē, a/ã, ɔ/õ, o/ō, u/ũ, ə/ǝ. Ameka (2003; 2006) reexamined Ewe verbs (see appendix 18 for phonemes' charts).

2° Language commissions

Since the inception of the standardization of written Ewe, word division has been a murky issue for those learning to write the language. Although Ewe specialists have often revised the rules of orthography, word boundaries still remain major problems for writers. To improve the situation, specialists in Ghana, Togo, and Benin revised the rules of word division in 1997 during an international Ewe conference held in Accra, Ghana. What follows are examples of the implications of these new rules.

Word Division

Noun Phrase (Noun + Determiner)

Writing noun phrases is a common problem for Ewes who lack adequate literacy skills in the language. Since most of the determiners are post-posed to the noun, it has not been clear to beginners of Ewe literacy whether the determiner should be written as a separate word. At some point in the development of written Ewe, part of (or the entire) determiner was fused to the noun, as Westermann (1928) outlined. This was amended in 1997, when the rules were revised. According to the new rules, the two word classes in a phrase should be written separately. For example:

Old word division			New word division			
N	+	Det	N	+	Det	Gloss
q̄evia		q̄e	q̄evi	aq̄e		<i>certain child</i>
amea		q̄e	ame	aq̄e		<i>someone</i>
amesia			ame	sia		<i>this man</i>
nusia			nu	sia		<i>this thing</i>
afima			afi	ma		<i>that place</i>
nuka			nu	ka		<i>thing that</i>

Those learning to write the language tend to have problems mastering these rules.

Another example of word division that learners have difficulty with relates to compounding.

Noun Phrase (Noun + Noun) Compounding

Traditionally, noun-noun compounds – compounds formed by combining two nouns – were written with a hyphen between the two nouns. The 1997 revisions however prescribe a new rule, by which the nouns are written as distinct words. For example:

Old word division	New word division	Gloss
N + N	N N	
Denu-fia	Denu fia	<i>Chief of Denu</i>
Aflao-fia	Aflao fia	<i>Chief of Aflao</i>
Akatsi-ɖekakpui	Akatsi ɖekakpui	<i>Youth of Akatsi</i>

This has complicated the mastery of word division for beginners.

Noun Phrase (Noun + Adjective)

Unlike the new rule for writing noun-noun compounds, which requires the two to be written as separate words, the rules are unchanged for nominal compounds consisting of a noun and an adjective, written as a single word:

Old word division/New word division	Gloss
N + A	
nuvõe	<i>whitlow</i>
nunyui	<i>[the] Good</i>
amegãkpui	<i>putative revered arbitrator</i>

Given these two rules for compounding, an Ewe trying to master literacy must learn to use the Standard word division outlined in the new rules. As a consequence, the

state of word division creates problems related to the proficiency of written Ewe. Journalists who have not sufficiently mastered the written form of the language have difficulties related to word division, maintaining that English is more adapted to written form than Ewe or the local languages. As the journalist of the *Daily Guide* contends:

It took me some time because all these years of my life, I was working with an English newspaper, and to come out of it suddenly and to do this [Ewe news reports], it took me quite a time, because even how to express yourself, maybe, in English, you use just two words and it will mean something, it is not like that in Ewe. You know our language, it is very rich, but we don't have that wealth of words in the Ewe language. I cannot speak for other languages, but in Ewe whatever you may say, maybe, in two words in English, may be about six words and so, and so forth and so on. And the accents and other things, that is where the difference is. (Appendix 5, Q29)

Lexis

The language commissions also specify Standard lexis to minimize lexical variations in written Ewe. This poses another problem for those enrolled in Ewe literacy program, as well as for journalists, in producing texts in print media, given that certain words in the dialects of southern and northern Ewe vary from those of the Standard Ewe. For example:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
godzi	lofo	lofo	<i>toward</i>
zipkui	kpukpo	zikpui	<i>stool</i>
uuuudedi	fufu	uuuudedi	<i>dust</i>
foɲfoɲ	aɖa	foɲfoɲ	<i>sugarcane</i>
avɔ	eɖo	avɔ	<i>cloth</i>
gblo ne	tsi ne	gblo ne	<i>tell him/her</i>
akpaligbe	gagawe (Peki)	akpaligbe	<i>tibia or leg</i>

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
nu hi/yi	nu ke (Tsito)	nu sia	<i>the/this thing</i>
	nu eɛ (Peki)		<i>the/this thing</i>
	nu xɛɛ (Gbi)		<i>the/this thing</i>
	nu tsi (Kpando)		<i>the/this thing</i>
mɔ dzi	alifo dzi	mɔ dzi	<i>on the road</i>

Other common examples of lexical variation are as follows:

Anlo Ewe	Agave Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
emu	avagɛ	emu	<i>mosquito</i>
fofonye	tatanye	fofonye	<i>my father</i>
dada	nana	dada	<i>mother</i>
afi sia	giɛ	afi sia	<i>here</i>
afi ma	ga ma	afi ma	<i>there/that place</i>

Given these lexical variations, it is difficult for journalists to select words of Standard Ewe that all readers of Ewe newspapers can understand. As a consequence, the journalists tend to either use doublets or words specific to their dialects, as cited in *Kpodoga* newspaper (May 1998: 5), written by writers from Ewedome:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Ewe Standard Ewe	Gloss
nu ka?	tɕa ni? (Fodome)	nu ka?	<i>what?</i>
nye kusi	amu setsre	nye kusi	<i>my basket</i>
afi ma	afi ma	afi ma	<i>there/that place</i>
ga nɛ (Tɔnu)	afi ka	giɛ	<i>here</i>

The language commissions also accept doublets in Standard Ewe. For example:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
xɔ	nukpui	xɔ/nukpui	<i>grasscutter</i>
zi	klatsa	zi/klatsa	<i>deer</i>

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
xɔmenyatri	xɔnunui	xɔmenyatri/xɔnunui	wall gecko
gbi/mefinu	ekpe	gbi/mefinu	buttocks
tui/gblɔ nɛ	to nɛ	gblɔ nɔ	tell him/her

Kpodoga (January 1998: 5) notes certain words which are frequently used either in Togo or in Ghana; for example, the following conjunctive coordinator:

Ghana Ewe	Togo Ewe	Standard Ewe
gake	evɔa	gake <i>but/yet</i>

Whereas the Ewes of Ghana write: **Eɖu nu, gake meɖɔ/meɖi fo o** (*He/she ate, but he/she did not have his/her fill*), the Ewes of Togo use: **Eɖu nu, evɔa meɖɔ fo o** (*He/she ate, but he/she did not have his/her fill*).

Technical terminologies

The language commissions further contribute to the Standard Ewe by prescribing the technical words for writing Ewe science textbooks for primary school pupils. To designate hydro electricity, language commissions in Ghana and Togo recommended the word **dziɖegbekadi** (*electric light*), which journalists and writers used in their writings. This word is derived through a process of compounding two existing Ewe words, thus:

N	+	N	=	New word
dziɖegbe	+	kadji	=	dziɖegbekadi
<i>thunder</i>	+	<i>light</i>	=	<i>electric light</i>

Initially, **dziɖegbe** referred to the natural phenomenon (*thunder*), whereas **kadji** referred to the traditional lantern. Journalists and writers also used borrowed (hybrid) words, which were already commonly used to refer to concepts in the domain of general science. Similarly, the Bureau of Ghana Languages, which undertakes official translations into the

local language, used the hybrid method to produce new words on basic science for primary schools. The language commission in Ghana produced six booklets in all.

The first booklet covers items such as stars and the planets of the universe. It lists hybrid words, borrowed from English, such as **planetwo** (*planets*) and **teleskopwo** (*telescopes*) (in which **wo** in word-final position is a plural marker). Other borrowed words include **radio-telescop** (*radio-telescope*) and **rōket** (*rocket*). The second booklet discusses atoms. It recommends words from English, namely, **atōmwo** (*atoms*), **haidrodzen** (*hydrogen*), **niukleōs** (*nucleus*), **elektron** (*electron*), **elektrisitie** (*electricity*), **ōksidzen** (*oxygen*), **mōlekiul** (*molecule*), **yurenioṁ** (*uranium*), and **ēksrei** (*x-ray*). The third booklet highlights terms related to light. But it also has words such as **anyievō** (*rainbow*), **dzoxōxō** (*heat*), **kekeli** (*light*), **dzoxōxōtotoe** (*heatwave*), etc., which are Ewe words impregnated with new meaning. The fourth booklet examines elements related to gravity. It has **togodo** (*circle*), which constitutes an example of a pre-colonial Ewe word. It adopts **graviti** (*gravity*), a word borrowed from English. The fifth booklet centers on magnetism. It recommends pre-colonial Ewe words, for instance, **mōfiakpe** (*compass*) and **aḍaba gayibō** (*steel*). It borrows from English words such as **magnet** (*magnet*) and **pol** (*pole [of the earth]*). The sixth booklet focuses on terms related to electricity. It has pre-colonial Ewe words that are invested with new meaning. These include **mōwo** (*engines*), **dzoxōxō** (*heat*), **mōxela** (*insulation*), **kui** (*particle*), and **tume** (*nucleus/beneath*). Post-colonial words borrowed from English include **elektrikṛuse** (*electric current*) and **bateri** (*battery*).

3° Journalists, broadcasters and teachers

Journalists, broadcasters, and teachers contribute to the production of Standard Ewe, and ideologies of language involving the language, by introducing many scientific concepts into Ewe texts without consulting with the language commissions, or by critiquing the rules that the language commissions prescribe. For instance, in *Kpodoga* (January 1998, p. 2), college teachers sent several letters to the editor of the Ewe

newspaper, complaining about the latest revisions in the rules of Standard Ewe, prescribed by the language commissions. Although the reactions of the teachers to the revisions were legitimate, their complaints portrayed just how they partake in the production of Standard Ewe (Appendix 9, Excerpts 2.1 and 2.2). In *Kpodoga* (May 1998, p.2), a local-language teacher critiqued certain Ewe consultants for suggesting that the main features of English orthography should be used in the revised rules for Ewe orthography. He went on to recommend that the new rules for Ewe orthography should be based on the intrinsic features of the Ewe itself (Appendix 9, Excerpt 4).

Journalists further contribute to production of Standard Ewe by borrowing learned words from English into Ewe. They use the following three ways in contributing new words to the Standard Ewe: deploying Ewe words; adapting (calquing) Ewe lexemes to new words; and borrowing from the registries of other languages. Two of these apply to computer technology, discussed in one of the local-language newspapers.

Computer technology

Ewe words

In terms of computer technology, local-language journalists have no words to use. Because the computer age emerged only recently, the words related to this domain are post-colonial loanwords.

Loanwords

Words in the computer domain were borrowed from English into the local language by journalists, broadcasters, the commissions on local language in Ghana, and the elite. For example, in *Kpodoga* (November 1998: 2), the word (*computer*) is borrowed from English, but it is adapted to accommodate Ewe phonological features as **Komputa**. Journalists accompany the usage of the borrowed words with familiar notions that already exist in the language. For example:

“**Komputa nye mo si woto va xexeame be nede tsotsɔe dɔwɔwɔwo me.**”

[Computer is machine that they created in the world that it accelerates work processes.]

The computer is a machine that someone has created to accelerate [some] work processes.

In the same article, the writer uses the word **Kɔmputanusrɔ̃fe** *Computer School* (*Kpodoga* (Ibid., p. 2). This compounded word can be analyzed as follows:

Loanword + existing word = neology (by compounding)

Kɔmputa + **nusrɔ̃fe** = **Kɔmputanusrɔ̃fe**

Computer + *school* = *Computer School*

It is important to note that **nusrɔ̃fe**, which is equivalent to the word *school*, is an example of calquing. It is derived through a nominalization process that involves, first, permutation and compounding of a verb-object clause, and second, compounding of a locative to the first output, as illustrated below.

Permutation of VO clause and Compounding with a locative

[Permutation] + Compounding with locative = new noun

[**Verb + Object**] + **Locative** = new word

[**srɔ̃ + nu**] + **fe** = **nusrɔ̃fe**

learning + *place* = *place of learning*

In pre-colonial times, **nusrɔ̃fe** had both formal and informal connotations. The formal sense related to various specialized and institutionalized systems of traditional life. For example, a novice priest, diviner, or medicine man had to learn in the cultic house of **hunɔ**, **bokɔ**, **amegasi**, or **trɔnua**, generally known in anthropological literature as a diviner, a priest, or a medicine man. Similarly, a neophyte to be initiated through puberty rites, or purified through expiation rites, had to learn rudiments of the new phase of life from a specialist of the corresponding religious domain. The specialist might be an elder, a youth leader, a female leader, a ritual leader, etc.

In the pre-colonial period, the informal sense of **nusrɔ̃fe** was depicted when this word was used in everyday situations to designate any context of learning. For example, on the field, it was used to indicate how children were to be taught skills in hunting, identifying species of trees with their healing features, locating territorial boundaries, etc. On the river, it meant the usage of various contexts to teach children the rudiments of fishing, sea routes, marine transportation, territorial marine boundaries, etc. Since the

inception of the European form of formal education, the connotations of **nusrɔ̄fe** as a place or context of learning have been extended to the institutions of formal learning. However, since generations of Ewe children have received formal education, their grandparents and parents gradually adopted the borrowed word **suku** (*school*) from English into the common registry. Journalists use other words in the computer domain. For example, in *Kpodoga* (November 1998: 2), a writer used the word **Teknika suku** (*Technical school*) by adding **suku** (*school*) to another loanword **Teknika**.

Journalists, broadcasters, and language commissions consultants introduced many scientific concepts into Ewe through processes of learned borrowing. For example, in *Kpodoga* (September 1998: iv), a journalist employs **biogas-ɲudɔwɔwɔ** (*use of biogas*), specifying that it constitutes an alternative source of electric energy. In using this new concept in Ewe, the writer explains the notion by naming one component of the biogas, namely, **lāmiwo kple gbe** (*[mixture of] animal droppings and weeds*). However, the loanword is compounded with an existing Ewe word **ɲudɔwɔwɔ** (*utility*) to derive new words. The usage of Ewe words to explain the neology is not accidental. It demonstrates not only that the Ewe language lends itself to expressing new notions, but it also provides a platform on which new concepts and notions can be developed.

Media and communications

Loanwords

In reporting about communication-related topics, journalists frequently borrowed words from English. For example, there are words such as **radio** (*radio*) in *Kpodoga* (May 1998: 5), **telefon** (*telephone*) in *Kpodoga* (Ibid., p.5), and **televisin** (*television*) in *Kpodoga* (Ibid., p.5). Journalists use loanwords transferred from English into Ewe usage. Examples of these are **sinii** *cinema*, as used in *Kpodoga* (Ibid., p.2), **konseti** (*concert*), **televisin** (*television*), and **tivi** (*TV*).

Health

In expressing concepts related to health, a recurrent topic in local-language newspapers, journalists use words in Ewe or loanwords, adopted from English.

Common words

In writing about the AIDS virus, journalists sometimes use **ɔ̄ikanaku AIDS/HIV** instead of the borrowed version **Esivi (AIDS/HIV)** as employed in *Kpodoga* (January 2000: 7; January 1998: 8; May 1998: 4) and in *Midim* (May 2001: 10; January/February 2002: 1). For example:

Loanword adapted to Ewe

Word	Origin	Ewe	Gloss
AIDS	English	Esivi	<i>AIDS/HIV</i>

The word **Esivi (AIDS/HIV)** is derived through the following processes:

Word-initial ai- of “AIDS” becomes e- in Ewe;

-d- is syncopeated;

-s- is retained

-i- is suffixed to –s, yielding (Esi/esi)

-vi, which is a diminutive marker in Ewe, is suffixed to the hybrid word (**Esi**).

This concept in the health domain is unique because it is derived from the compounding of a verb, a noun, a pronoun, a future particle, and a verb, thus:

Compounding

Verb + Noun + Pronoun + Future particle + Verb = New concept/noun

ɔ̄i + **ka** + **n(e)** + **a** + **ku** = **ɔ̄ikanaku**

shrink + *vein* + *you* + *will* + *die* = *AIDS/HIV*

It should be noted that in this compound noun, the first two segments **ɔ̄ika** constitute a stative verb **ɔ̄i ka**, which can be literally translated as (*shrink vein*). The English equivalents of the verb **ɔ̄i ka** are *become thin*, *become slim*, or *become emaciated*. In the process of compounding words to yield that concept, the vowel -e in the pronoun **ne you** is elided before the future particle **a (will)**. This can be illustrated as:

Pronoun + Future particle = new word

ne + **a** = **na** elision of e

you + *will* = *you will*

Loanwords

Loanwords are another variance of contributing to Standard Ewe. As a result of the language contact between indigenous people and traders, as well as colonial officials from Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark, and England, Ghanaians used borrowed words (Bartels 1965; Graham 1971; McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975). In Ewe, for instance, vestiges of the languages of each colonial administration are manifested as loanwords. These loanwords include:

Language	Original form	Ewe form	Gloss
English	ball	bɔl	<i>ball</i>
	Good Morning	mɔni	<i>greeting</i>
	Good Day	guɖe	<i>greeting</i>
	Good Evening	guɖiviŋ	<i>greeting</i>
	gin	gini	<i>gin</i>
	summon	saba/sama	<i>summon</i>
	burial ground	benigla	<i>cemetery</i>
	school	suku	<i>school</i>
	governor	gɔvina	<i>governor</i>
	kerosene	kalasi	<i>kerosene</i>
	carpenter	kabita	<i>carpenter</i>
	builder	bigla	<i>mason</i>
	mail	meli	<i>ship</i>
	TV	tivi	<i>television</i>
	copper	kɔba	<i>coins</i>
matches	matsisi	<i>matches</i>	
French	fenêtre	fesre	<i>window</i>
Portuguese	chave	safui	<i>key</i>
	gomma	goma	<i>starch</i>
	seda	seda	<i>silk</i>
	cebolla	sabala	<i>onion</i>

Language	Original form	Ewe form	Gloss
Danish	dug	duku	<i>cloth</i>
	trappe	atrakpoe	<i>ladder</i>

Many of the loanwords (due to this language contact) reflect the activities of the Europeans in Eweland. For example, the loanwords related to greeting and school reflect the English administrative presence among the Ewes, and how the Ewes acknowledged that presence. Today, three forms of greeting co-exist in Ewe: the loanword form, the loanword with Ewe segments, and the Ewe traditional form.

The loanwords cited above reflect the activities of the Europeans in Eweland. For example, the loanwords related to greeting and school reflect the English administrative presence among the Ewes, and how the Ewes acknowledged that presence. Today, three forms of greeting co-exist in Ewe: the loanword form, the loanword with Ewe segments, and the Ewe traditional form. For example, the Ewes use a long traditional formulaic pattern of greeting:

Interlocutor 1: ɲdi [na mi] / Xɔ ɲdi.	<i>Good Morning [to you]/ Good Morning.</i>
Interlocutor 2: ɲdi, a fea me de?	<i>Good Morning. How is the household?</i>
Interlocutor 1: Wodɔ.	<i>They are fine.</i>
Interlocutor 2: Deviwo?	<i>[And the] children?</i>
Interlocutor 1: Woli.	<i>They are well.</i>

The above traditional forms of greeting co-exist with the following borrowed forms of greeting: “Good Morning, Good Day, and Good Evening” transformed in the language as **mɔni** (*Morning*), **gudɛ** (*Good Day*), and **gudiviɲ** (*Good Evening*),

Similarly, words borrowed from Portuguese illustrate that the rapport between the Ewes and the Portuguese centered on the exchange of commercial goods. The words related to building that the Ewes borrowed from the French and Danes refer to the fortresses and the administrative offices of those colonial traders.

Teachers contribute to the Standard Ewe by emphasizing certain dialectal components of the language over others. In *Kpodoga* (January 1998: 2), several letters from college teachers of Ewe complained about the latest revisions in the rules of Standard written Ewe. Although the reactions of the educated Ewe to the revisions were legitimate, their complaints portrayed the attitudes of the educated Ghanaians, who rejected the 1997 rules on word division in Ewe (Appendix 9, Excerpts 2.1 and 2.2). Similarly, in *Kpodoga* (May 1998: 2), a writer deplored the requests of some educated Ewe, particularly those insisting that the revised Ewe orthography should be adapted in accordance with the main features of English (Appendix 9, Excerpt 4). The writer advocated for Ewe orthography, based on the intrinsic features of the language itself. These views and reactions illustrate some of the critical dimensions of ideologies of language in Ghana, showing that some Ghanaians are ready to transform the rules of their local languages by taking recourse to features of non-indigenous languages.

To summarize, the missionary works have set the stage for the production of Standard Ewe, and ideologies of language involving the use of Ewe in print media. Missionaries, colonial administrator, and post-colonial agents, such as linguists, language commissions, teachers, and writers, have contributed to the emergence of Standard Ewe, which led to perceptions about the role of Ewe in the print media in Ghana. The discussions and citations from Ewe newspapers and school booklets illustrate that the journalists, writers, and language commissions enrich Ewe words with new meanings or borrow directly from English to shape the Standard Ewe. Usually, borrowed words adopted into Ewe are recommended by the language commissions, or introduced in common usage by journalists, writers, and broadcasters working through the medium of the language. In all, Westermann remains the outstanding linguist whose works on Ewe have been deployed for the standardization of Ewe as well as ideologies concerning the role of Ewe in Ghanaian print media.

CHAPTER III
ETHNOGRAPHY OF PRINT AND BROADCAST MEDIA

In this chapter, drawing upon Spitulnik (1993), I provide an overview of the emergence of professional journalism in Ghana and the sociocultural components of print and broadcast media in Ghana, tracing the political and economic factors that shape the development of the English and local-language mass media in Ghana. Spitulnik proposes anthropological explorations of topics, such as the sociocultural perspectives of national mass media, the nature of media production, and commoditization of the media. In particular, she calls for inquiries into the cultural conditions that influenced the emergence of forms of media in different societies. She contends that mass media are linked to cultural factors, such as language usage as well as economic and political influences. I therefore explore the professionalization of journalism in Ghana, to investigate how it has led to the success of English compared with local-language print media. I then examine sociocultural, political and economic factors in print media productions, emphasizing the cultural constituents that shape the development of English and local-language media productions. I also supply an overview of broadcast media, exploring their sociocultural, economic, and political dimensions of production. Finally, I contrast the print and broadcast media in Ghana, and I argue that these topics provide background to the ideologies of language in the Ghanaian print media.

A. Professionalization of Ghanaian journalism

Ghanaian journalistic production could be divided into three phases, according to professionalization. The first phase involves amateur newspaper production, as it does not require professional journalists specifically trained for news production. This began in 1822 with Sir Charles MacCarthy's *Royal Gold Coast Gazette*, a British colonial English-language weekly newspaper. This newspaper aimed to provide British merchants with economic and commercial information, as well as to disseminate news concerning the Gold Coast Colony (Ghana) and Britain. Given that Sir Charles MacCarthy was the governor of the Gold Coast from 1822 to 1824, the English journalistic tradition he ushered in the colony remained the point of reference throughout the history of journalism in Ghana. The subsequent colonial governments thus published the *Gold Coast Assize* in 1883, and the *Gold Coast News* in 1884, and the *Gold Coast Pioneer* in 1921 (Jones-Quartey 1975).

Ghanaian amateur journalists have drawn on Sir Charles MacCarthy's English-language traditional to launch private newspapers as alternative print media to the mainstream newspapers. For instance, Charles Bannerman founded the *West African Herald*, the first Ghanaian English-language private newspaper, in 1857. Other Ghanaians published similar newspapers, for example, James Hutton Brew's *Gold Coast Times* (1874-1885), James Hutton Brew and J. E. Casely Hayford's *Western Echo* (1885-1887), Casely Hayford's *Gold Coast Echo* (1888-1889), Timothy Laing's *Gold Coast Express* (1897-1900), J. Mensah Sarbah's *Gold Coast People* (1891-1896), Attoh Ahuma and Rev. Egyir Asaam's *Gold Coast Aborigines* (1898-1900), Casely Hayford et al's *Gold Coast Leader* (1902-1934), and Alfred J. Ocansey, R. W. Dupigny and R.B. Wuta-Ofei's *Gold Coast Spectator* (1927-1955), to provide their points of view in the emerging media in Ghana.

Missionary societies created apolitical newspapers for the propagation of the Christian faith. These included the Methodist Mission's *Christian Messenger* in 1857, the *Christian Report* also in 1857, and the *Gold Coast Methodist* (1886-1898), as well as the Catholic Mission's *Gold Coast Catholic* in 1926.

During the first phase of print media in Ghana, local-language newspapers also emerged. The Basel Evangelical Missionary Society started the *Sika Nsona Sanegbalo* (the *Christian Messenger for the Gold Coast*) in 1859. This Akwapim-Twi dialect (one of the Akan-language cluster) newspaper aimed to promote missionary activities and to provide secular news. The Catholic Mission founded *Mia Holo* (*Our Friend*) in 1894 in the segment of Eweland in Togo (Gérard 1981). This monthly Catholic journal emerged when the Germans colonized the territory under Togo. Since the newspaper was originally established through the generous support of the Catholic community in Germany, the newspaper was discontinued after the First World War, with no further sponsorship from the German missionaries. The Basel Mission established *Nutifafa nami* (*Peace be with You*) in 1903 as a competitive response to the Catholic Mission's *Mia holo* (*Our Friend*) newspaper in Eweland within Togo (Gérard 1981). The competition between the Catholic and Basel Missions in Togo and Ghana spilled over the production of Standard Ewe and the establishment of schools, too.

The second phase of journalistic production in Ghana began with J. B. Dankuah's *West African Times* (1931) and the *Ghana Statesman* (1948). This phase of Ghanaian newspaper production is termed the "age of commercialism" (Asante 1996), because amateur journalists created alternative newspapers (in contrast to mainstream newspapers), which circulated on the basis of their critiques of the colonial government. In light of this, the private newspaper producers adopted an analytical approach to journalism, critiquing the colonial government's administrative policies and decisions. As such, these papers attracted a readership judgmental of the government. Other such newspapers include Azikiwe and I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson's *African Morning Post* and John and Nancy Tsiboe's *Ashanti Pioneer* (1939).

Ghanaian individuals also established local-language newspapers during this phase of journalism in Ghana. For instance, A. J. Ocansey's City Press started the Akan language newspaper, *Asenta (News)*, in 1935, to serve as alternative source of secular news, parallel to the Ghanaian English-language newspapers. Kofi Akumia Badu edited *Amanson (People)*, a Fante dialect newspaper published in 1937 at Cape Coast, with technical support from the Mfantseman Press. This press printed another Fante dialect newspaper, *Amansuon (All Nations)*, in 1943, with John Maxwell Y. Awotwi as the editor. None of the local-language newspapers took root because the founders encountered problems regarding funding, printing, and circulation, which forced certain individuals to abandon the local-language newspaper enterprise.

A third phase of journalistic production in Ghana came with Kwame Nkrumah's *Accra Evening News* (1947) and *Morning Telegraph* (1949), which marked the beginning of a professional journalism in Ghana. During this period, journalists began to train in three institutes, namely, the Ghana School of Journalism established in 1959, School of Communication Studies started in 1972, and National Film and Television Training Institute founded in 1978. Nkrumah contributed to this professional journalistic phase by funding the production of mainstream newspapers (Asante 1996).

Nkrumah's newspapers severely critiqued the British colonial government, advocating immediate independence from colonial rule. Within the same era, a private British press syndicate, headed by Cecil King, started the *Daily Graphic* in 1950 and the *Sunday Mirror* in 1953. This London-based Mirror Group practiced investigative

journalism, attempting to expose the underpinnings of the colonial government's policies and administration. According to Asante: "The establishment of the *Graphic* opened yet another significant chapter in the history of the Ghana press, for it was the first modern press to be set in the country. The *Evening News*, which was edited by Nkrumah, was set by hand and was technically no match for the *Graphic*, printed on a rotary printing press" (1996: 7). Ashanti Goldfields Corporation's *Ashanti Times* (1947) also served as alternative newspaper within the third phase of journalism in Ghana.

After independence, Nkrumah and his CPP party officials of the First Republic in Ghana created in 1958 the *Guinea Press Limited* to publish the *Ghanaian Times* (1958) and the *Weekly Spectator* (1963). To control journalistic production in Ghana, having previously used newspapers to critique the colonial government, Nkrumah bought the *Mirror Press*, thereby bringing the *Daily Graphic* and the *Sunday Mirror* under CPP government control. After the ousting of Nkrumah's government in 1966, Lt. General Joseph Ankrah (1966-69) subjugated both the private and government-regulated Ghanaian media under most severe control of the National Liberation government. However, Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia of the Second Republic encouraged freedom of the press, which resulted in a proliferation of newspapers during his political regime (1969-1972). Unfortunately, his government was ousted by Acheampong's National Redemption Council (1972-1979), which once again suppressed the freedom of the press in controlling journalistic production. The situation was again reversed under Dr. Hilla Limann's (1979-81) Third Republic, but his government was short-lived, and a control of the press was reestablished under Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings' (1981-92) December 31st Revolution. Finally, Rawlings' government reduced the press restrictions, which led to another rapid proliferation in journalistic production in Ghana from 1992 onward.

Various attempts to establish a local-language were unsuccessful at this phase of journalism in Ghana. The Catholic Mission in the Gold Coast introduced the *Akan Kyerema (Akan drum)*, a biweekly Akan newspaper launched in 1948. Although it was primarily devoted to missionary activities, it covered certain items of secular news as well. The Bureau of Ghana Languages, a wing of the government, has lent its expertise to the publication of newspapers in the local languages, aimed to promote literacy programs rather than serve as a means of providing news. The Bureau created the Akan's

Akwansosem (*Aim of the visit*), an Akwapim-Twi newspaper, in 1951. The Bureau also produced a series of newspapers which were adapted to four local languages in Ghana. These included the Akan's *Nkwantabisa* (*Enquirer about the road map [direction]*) in the three Akan dialects (Fante, Akwapim and Asante), the Ewe's *Mɔtabiala*, the Dagbani's *Lahabali Tsunu*, the Ga's *Maɣsralo* (*Town Visitor*), the Kasem's *Labaare*, also written *Labaari*, (*News or Information*), and the Nzema's *Kakyɛvole* (*Reminder*). These government-sponsored newspapers were printed from 1951 to 1970, to supplement the adult literacy program in the local languages. By contrast, Oman Nwomaye Fekuw established the Akwapim-Twi dialect newspaper, *Duom* (*Move on*) in 1953, to disseminate secular news (see Appendix 19 for the rest of the local-language newspapers).

The Ghanaian government produced *Kpodoga*, in collaboration with the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Ghana, Legon, as well as by means of funding from UNESCO in 1976. Given that this newspaper will represent the other local-language newspapers in this thesis, it deserves a more attention here. The title of this rural newspaper, *Kpodoga*, is significant. It means *gong*, which is symbolic of the bell used in traditional society in Ghana to solicit attention, preceding the news disseminated by the itinerant announcer or "town crier." This is portrayed in some African novels, for instance in *This Earth My Brother* (Awoonor 1971) and *The Stool* (Azasu), which will be examined in this thesis. By extension, the gong is reminiscent of the traditional oral media through which a chief of the village or chiefdom convokes and informs his people. As the title of this newspaper indicates, the name is symbolic of both the medium and the instrument of communication.

Kpodoga was established in February 1976 as an experimental rural community and pedagogical newspaper by the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Ghana, Legon, with the collaboration of UNESCO (Ansah 1981: 8, 17-18). In locating the editorial office at the Awudome Residential Adult College at Tsito, within the Awudome District of the Volta Region, the editorial board sought to establish two things. First, the board intended to locate the office in the very heart of the rural territory where

rural issues could be collected for publication. Second, the board aimed to represent the opinion of the rural dwellers, and thus, provide the people with a voice.

The history of *Kpodoga* is marked by two phases. The first period began in April 1976 with the publication of the very first edition of the newspaper. This phase of the newspaper was not without its setbacks. Although the rural newspaper was based at Tsito, the printing of the final product was carried out in Accra by the Institute of the Adult Education Press at the University of Ghana, Legon. Consequently, printing delays caused the paper to often appear late and at rather arbitrary periods. In spite of the difficulties related to printing, this phase of the newspaper saw the number of copies of the paper rise from 1000 to 6000 before 1981, when publication was interrupted.

The second distinct phase of *Kpodoga* began in October 1987 with some logistical support (money and printing materials) from Norway. However, it did not enjoy the success of the first period. The printing challenges and production-related problems persisted. The number of copies during this phase never exceeded those of the year 2000, and since its inception its size rose from one to two sheets of newsprint.

After copies were printed in Accra, they were transported back to Tsito before being distributed, initially within the Awudome and Ho districts in Ghana, and later within the southern part of the Volta Region.

The team that gathered and organized the materials for print was supervised by the editor-in-chief, a trained English-language journalist. As a professional, he received his training among the counterparts of English-language newspapers, in the Institute of Journalism in Ghana and, first and foremost, as a reporter for English-language newspapers. Unlike most editors of rural newspapers in Sub-Saharan Africa, this editor also had training abroad, which he brought to *Kpodoga*.

In *Kpodoga*, there are local news items, mainly on agricultural activities, local festivals, health issues, customary rites, examples of aspects of Ewe oral tradition, rural activities and development projects.

To enhance proficiency in written Ewe, Stephen Amekli, who had professional training in the Ewe language, was hired as a columnist to write on the common grammatical errors in written Ewe and to specify recurrent Ewe expressions. Amekli frequently published elements of a 1997 revised standard of written Ewe.

UNESCO co-sponsored other projects, publishing newspapers in other Ghanaian languages. The local-language newspapers such as *Kpodoga* (in Ewe), *Wonsuom* (in Fante), and others simply could not thrive given the lack of resources, the hostile political and economic climate, and the attitudes of Ghanaian readers (Asante 1996: 125).

The Ministry of Education and non-formal education of Ghana, sponsored by Ghanaian government and the World Bank, also published a local-language newspaper, *Atumpani* (*Talking drum*), to enhance literacy and functional skills among Ewe adults who could not have the English-language education in Ghana. This type of newspaper serves as a reading material as well as a medium for writing for the adults who partake in the non-formal adult education in the local languages.

This project began in July 1989 with newspapers in various languages, bearing the same title, *Talking Drum*, because they were versions of the same paper. Although this title has been translated into the Ghanaian languages in which the papers were written, the orthography is similar because of the affinity between the languages as well as the numerous forms of contact between them.

Talking drum (**Atumpan** in Asante-Twi or **Atumpani** in Ewe) is a special set of drums comprising one designated as female and the other as male. They are played with two curved sticks, shaped approximately in the form of the number seven. The traditional specialist in charge of these drums play rhythms that convey proverbs, wise sayings, panegyrics for chiefs, appellations, poetic names, praise names, chieftaincy-stool titles, mottos of chiefdoms, etc., in the various local languages of Ghana.

As a name given to the newspapers, the *Talking drum* symbolically forecasts a message, providing information in drum language. By extension, it symbolically foreshadows the news. By naming the newspaper *Talking Drum*, the newspaper is associated with the traditional instrument of communicating a message, or information and, above all, the news. Although the Ministry intended to print monthly newspapers in sixteen selected languages, printing were delayed. As a result, this paper could be classified as monthly, bi-monthly, or even quarterly. This project ended in 1999.

Midim (*Seek me*) was one of the missionary-generated media in the Ewe language. This newspaper was founded by Rev. Apostle P.W.D. Nutornutsi of the Apostle's Revelation Society at Tadzewu, a town located at the southern part of the Volta

Region in Ghana. The first issue of this newspaper was published in May 2001. This newspaper was not an exclusively Christian newspaper in its coverage of news items; by and large, it covered secular news interspersed with oral genres in the language.

Besides being the founder, Rev. Nutornutsi also served as the editor of the newspaper, aided by Rev. C.M.K. Gbeku, one of the members of the Apostle's Revelation Society in Ghana. Although the editor and his associate had no formal training in journalism, they compensated for this lack of formal expertise by incorporating articles and reports from professionally-trained journalist, Mike Atsutsey.

From its inception, the newspaper faced printing problems. The news items were sent to Accra for printing, and as a result, the newspaper was often published at irregular times. *Midim* was distributed within the Volta Region and in parts of the Eastern Region in Ghana. Later, it was sold as far away as Accra and Kumasi, in Ghana, and in Togo as well. *Midim* was the most recent attempt to promote a Ghanaian-language newspaper. The effort to sustain this paper was short-lived. After the death of the founder, publication ceased with the July 2004 issue. Rev. Gbeku, the assistant editor of the newspaper, pointed out in an interview that resuming publication depends on the availability of funding, printing facilities and those interested in this literature.

To sum up, the professionalization (institutes, trained journalists, analytic reporting) of journalism in Ghana has led to foregrounding of English-language print media in English tradition and journalistic practices introduced by Sir Charles MacCarthy in 1882. In contrast, no attempts were made to professionalize the journalism in the local-languages. In light of this, the English-language media provides the social infrastructure (Althusser 1971; Spitulnik 1993; Bourdieu 1979) for its development, whereas the local-languages lack the institutions necessary to its development. These factors contributed to the emergence of the association of English with professional writing, and associate local languages with non-professional writing.

B. Journalistic production of print media

In this section, drawing upon Spitulnik (1993), I take a close look at the sociocultural, political and economic factors in the print and broadcast media

productions, to emphasize how the deployed cultural constituents shape the development of English and local-language media productions and the ideologies of language.

1° Sociocultural context

Print media deploy cultural elements in journalistic production (Bate 2002). The Ghana print media attest to this fact. For instance, James Hutton Brew et al's *Gold Coast Times* (1874) focused on social issues (chiefs and social infrastructure) as well as topics in other newspapers (London's *Times*). As a journalist of the colonial era, Brew naturally focused on issues that occupied central stage at the time, for example, independence from colonial rule, British wars against local tribes, and trade (Jones-Quartey 1975: 83). For instance, the editor of the paper cautioned the chief of Winneba, Chief Gharthey IV, to bring his education to bear on his rule of the chiefdom. Similarly, he suggested that the Christianborg Castle should house mental patients whenever the government administration has relocated (Ibid., p. 81). The editor adopted, however, a neutral tone, avoiding partisan political polemics. W. C. Niblett, editor of the colonial government's monthly *Gold Coast Assize* (1883), focuses on legal matters and the government's points of view.

James Hutton Brew started yet another newspaper, the *Western Echo*, in 1885. This time, Brew and his assistants (Joseph Casely Hayford and Timothy E. Laing) adopted an analytical and a critical approach to journalism. The *Western Echo* gained popularity among readers because the editorial conference deployed a special column, "The Owl", to publish investigative reports. It is noteworthy that, as a nocturnal bird, the owl was a symbol of the whistleblower or sentinel in the Ghanaian context. This image is deployed to represent the amateur journalist who uncovered the most hidden secrets, unhindered by night hazards. Under the guise of this personified "Owl", the editorial conference exposed the secrets of public leaders, critiqued colonial government's policies, and suggested ways of improving the Gold Coast. It is not clear what motivated James Hutton Brew's new approach to journalistic presentation. Historically, the British colonial administration had signed a treaty of peace (the Bond of 1844) with the Fantes, enabling them to coalesce as a force against the resistances of the Ashantis, and some

individuals apparently took issue with this act of the government. The chiefdoms and tribes in southern Ghana were made a British Crown Colony in 1874. These situations were cited in some of the news items, when the editor critiqued Governor W. Brandford Griffith on counts of “mismanagement, illegal procedures, corrupt officialdom, [and] indecision” (Jones-Quartey 1975: 87).

The sociocultural traits of newspaper production in Ghana are illustrated by the topics of news coverage: English-language newspapers focus on urban issues (financial institutions, telecommunication systems, professional institutions, and so on), while local-language newspapers tend to cover rural-based news (health issues, agriculture, non-formal education, and so on). Tsumasi (1985), for instance, attests this situation in his investigations of the relationship between social class, social mobility, and newspaper readership. He contends that the amount of newspaper coverage of various social classes, for example rural and urban dwellers, is disproportionately distributed over items, such as news stories, editorial opinions, and feature articles. Based on his analysis of the publication frequency of news reports on politicians, professionals, senior civil servants, ordinary workers, and rural social classes (peasant farmers, traders, fishermen, and so on), he points out that the English-language newspaper articles focus on urban issues and politicians, and that the proportion of news coverage reduces from politicians to peasants, respectively.

Another sociocultural dimension of print media regards the cultural communicative elements that journalistic production incorporates. For instance, traditional Ghanaian societies, like the Ewe, disseminate information through orality, material culture, symbols, and special agents. The traditional agents for public information include the royal spokespersons, the ambulant announcer with the gong, and ceremonial specialists (Yankah 1995). The Ghanaian traditional societies use material culture, such as the gong (bell), the scepter, and the drum (known as the “talking drum”) to reinforce the communication of official public information. For instance, the ambulant announcer beats the gong with a stick, rather than ringing a bell, to gain the attention of inhabitants of a village whenever he needs to relay a message from the chief and elders. These elements are deployed in Ghanaian newspapers and novels.

In Ewe, for instance, the ambulant announcer uses the following pattern for communication:

Attention-getter:	(The announcer beats the gong with a stick).
Greeting:	Good Morning to you!
Disclaimer:	My apologies for disturbing your peace.
Citation of authority:	I have been sent by [...].
Purpose of announcement:	(The announcer states the purpose of the announcement).
Message:	(The announcer specifies the message).
Conclusion:	(The announcer beats the gong with a stick).

These sociocultural ingredients are incorporated into modern forms of communication, such as print and broadcast media. For instance, the Ewe newspaper, *Atumpani*, is a name that constitutes an enculturation of the colonial form of communication with those of the traditional forms. In Ewe society, as in other Ghanaian communities, the drummer of the *atumpani* plays rhythms that enunciate the epithets of the chief, the motto of a chiefdom, and the heroic deeds of a chief or legendary personage. For example, the drummer could play rhythms that call to mind the following motto of Anlo chiefdom: **Anlo, kotsia klolo, naketi dɛka nɔ dzo me bi nu** (*Anlo the mighty one, a single wood in a hearth suffices to cook*). By naming the newspaper *atumpani*, the editorial conference deploys the traditional connotation of this Ewe material culture in a print media that belongs to a different culture, namely, the modern European culture of communication, which began with the emergence of the printing press (see Anderson 1983). This sociocultural practice thus illustrates how the print media serves as the nexus of enculturation of European journalism and African communicative practices.

Another instance of the sociocultural dimension of journalistic production in Ghana concerns the indigenization of English-language in the print media (see Smith 1987). In particular, English-language newspaper readers partly dictate language use by sanctioning the linguistic style of the journalists. The readers endorse some level of indigenization of English, a practice whereby journalists occasionally adopt local-language words into the English-language newspapers. For instance, local words, like

“kalabule” (hoarding and selling of goods in secret), “wahala” (picketing and demonstration), and so on, have gained public acceptance, and have been used in the print media. The editor of the *Daily Graphic* states:

[...] unlike in Nigeria or unlike in the West Indies, where they have developed uniquely their own style of English, call it Pidgin, or Cru, or whatever, which they use in writing, we have not developed that style. And, therefore, we are constrained. That is why, when people see the intrusion of some of the local languages, they get offended because they think that we must use the formal English standard and not mix English with any other thing. (Appendix 4, Q 2)

The editor of the *Daily Graphic* reveals that his editorial conference devotes a section of the newspaper to a columnist’s articles on good English usage, in response to some of the language issues that readers raise. The editorial conference also examines the journalists’ proficiency in English whenever candidates apply for jobs in their corporation, by sometimes hiring an English-language specialist (from the Department of English at the University of Ghana, Legon) to examine essays submitted by applicants for jobs in the Graphic Corporation. The Graphic Corporation, for instance, organizes English proficiency (writing skills and language use) seminars and workshops for their staff to update their standard in accordance with the critiques from the readers. These sociocultural-based issues thus influence the linguistic production of the newspapers in Ghana.

The journalists of the English-language print media couch their language in accordance with the sociocultural context and the expectations of Ghana readers. In light of this, the professional (journalistic) skills are deployed in English-language print media. The *Graphic Corporation*, for instance, publishes the English-language *Junior Graphic*, which is aimed at providing reading material adapted to children’s reading needs and level of English, ensuring the use of good English to enhance the proficiency of the children in English. It is noteworthy that the editors of the *Daily Graphic* and the *Daily Guide* are university graduates with bachelor degrees in English. The editor of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator* contends that their editorial board adjusts the level of

English in the newspapers to the standard of the average Ghanaian reader (i.e., junior high school level). The editor also comments that the rejoinders they receive inform them about the social class of the readers of their newspaper. This means that Ghanaian media practitioners tend to favor language proficiency in their profession. These practices have led to perceptions about the role of English in print media and ideologies of language in Ghana.

2° Political context

The politics of journalistic production has varied in the course of journalism in Ghana. During the colonial era, the amateur Ghanaian journalists (mostly the Ghanaian elite), for instance Casely Hayford, used the media as an instrument to orchestrate social and political change. In *The Accra Herald* (October 5th 1857), Bannermann states the following principles that recapitulate the politics of journalistic production of his newspaper, an alternative print media to the government newspaper:

The plan which we laid down for our own guidance is simple. We sincerely respect the Authorities, and for that reason we shall keep our eye on them, so that we may, whenever they slip from the right path, humbly endeavor to point out the road. If we sometimes boldly tell the Government what is the public feeling on such or such a subject, the Government should not be offended. It ought to rejoice. Is it not well to know how men consider themselves affected by our actions?" (In Jones-Quartey 1975: 74)

James Hutton Brews *Gold Coast Times* (1874) adopted an approach similar to Bannermann, by providing information and critiquing both traditional and colonial leaders without being nationalistic, that is, without being an independence activist.

Each political regime in Ghana has viewed journalistic production as a tool for propagating political ideas. This was the case with the *Daily Guide*, started by the New Patriotic Party (NPP), and the *Ghana Palaver*, created by New Democratic Congress (NDC). The sole difference in the Ghanaian governments' politics of media production is the way each political regime deployed the media to accomplish its political objectives.

The military governments, for instance, controlled the production and the flow of information by setting a media commission to oversee the publication of news items. During military regimes, the newspaper journalists tended to concentrate on the positive activities of the political leaders, whereas during democratic regimes, they critically focused on divergent political views and activities. Hachten, for instance, contends that: “Communication research has shown that while the press may not convince many people what to believe it can determine what they will talk about. The Ghanaian press serves the important function of informing the urban elites of what the major issues and problems are as perceived by the NRC” (1975: 463).

Journalists and newspaper corporations in Ghana thus base their politics of production on the particular political situation, the readers’ expectations, and the sociocultural context.

Other problems included press ownership and control, economic and technical factors, and the political and cultural climate. Asante, for instance, examines the nature of the interactions between the press and successive political regimes, underscoring the political issues curtailing print media production. He focuses on three major newspapers (*Daily Graphic*, *Ghanaian Times* and *Pioneer*) to specify the degree to which the relationship between the press and the government can affect the development of journalism in Ghana (1996: xxiv). Similarly, Gadzekpo and Asante discuss such themes as media and politics, the development of the media, the role of education in journalism, media laws and regulations, media battles, media-government relationships, and the changing face of the Ghanaian media.

3° Economic dimension

The first printing machine for the print media was brought to the Gold Coast by Sir Charles McCarthy in 1822. Missionaries followed this initiative by bringing their own printing equipment. The economic production of Ghanaian newspapers varies in terms funding, personnel, and printing materials. *Royal Gazette*, for instance, cost six pence in 1817 when the readers were mainly European traders and colonial administrators. The price of *West African Herald* was 1s. 2d. in 1870, by this time that a few natives have studied in the Gold Coast and Europe thereby increasing the number of the readership

(Jones Quartey: 65). *West African Herald* was partly funded by publishing ads from J. Mensah Sarbah (a Ghanaian merchant, legal councilor, and political activist) and others. Most of the English-language newspapers were commercially-based. Jones-Quartey affirms this point, stating:

Most papers of the purely commercial type were able to afford services relaying internal news like the Ghana News Agency (G.N.A)... Many newspapers and news-magazines simply took down what they heard from the radio and relayed it to their readers unaltered... But these were reported to be often so unreliable, so irresponsible and inaccurate, that in countries more conscious of labor laws they would have been a source of expensive, perhaps fatal, trouble for those they criticized in this way. (1974: 34)

The *Daily Graphic*, for instance, produces on average about ninety thousand copies during peak seasons, like the period of electoral campaigns, and circulates about four thousand copies in the Volta Region, where *Kpodoga*, *Midim*, the *Ghanaian Times*, the *Daily Guide*, and so on also circulate. The Daily Guide Corporation is unwilling to disclose the total number of copies circulated in Ghana, to keep alive the competition with its rival, the *Ghana Palaver*. Whereas *Midim* producers have no offices, and have to arrange for meetings at the printing press, the editorial office of *Kpodoga* is located in the rural area, to involve the rural dwellers in the process of production.

The editorial conference of *Kpodoga* started with 1000 copies, which later rose to 5000 as its readership increased. The readers of the paper include those who enrolled in adult literacy programs (the rural folk who could not go to school), the extension workers (agricultural specialists advising local farmers), and the peasants (farmers, fishermen, and traders). The *Kpodoga's* editorial conference also inspired readers' clubs in various towns, where groups of people met to discuss news items in the newspaper and to make suggestions for subsequent news publications.

The *Ghanaian Times* targets the average reader in Ghana, that is, from about junior high school onwards. The Ghana editorial conference comprises sectional heads, such as editor, deputy editor, features editor, news editor, and so on. The frequency of the

Ghanaian English-language editorial conference depends on the newspaper corporation and the frequency of publication. The Times Corporation, for instance, holds two conferences daily in view of their daily publications. The corporation organizes a conference in the morning and another in late afternoon, to work on the paper for the subsequent day. During the conference, the news editor brings the news reports that the members of the conference then compile. The members of the conference read all of the stories, commenting on them, and modifying their structure. They discuss the allocation of space for each story, that is, which story should occur on front page and so on. The articles are then given to sub-heads for editing, and finally the main editor may request further modifications for the final product. The editor of the *Ghanaian Times* and *Spectator* believes that the writer of news report should always provide the sociocultural background of the story, to enhance the reader's understanding of the context of the report.

The sociocultural, economic, and political factors have contributed to the perceptions about the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media as well as ideologies of language.

C. Overview of the broadcast media

The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), formerly known as Station Zoy, was established in Accra in 1935 by the Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Arnold Hodson, with the support of a British Radio Engineer, F.A.W. Byron. In 1939, it was reorganized to serve the Gold Coast and the immediate territories in West Africa. Since then, the corporation has undergone a series of changes, most notably in 1965, when television was added to diversify broadcasting in Ghana. GBC operates three stations in Ghana: Radio One (GBC 1), Radio Two (GBC 2), and an FM station (GBC FM).

Radio One, which broadcasts nationally, transmits programs in English and a small number of local languages. It provides programs for rural dwellers on topics such as farming, animal husbandry, rural development, health and festivals. Through this station, each of the six Ghanaian languages broadcasts news bulletins three times a day:

ten minutes for local and international news in the morning, five minutes for international news in the afternoon, and about eight minutes for local and international news in the evening. These reports include news bulletins, official political speeches, presidential discourses, and parliamentary debates. Prior to reporting the local-language news, newscasters first receive news reports in English, and must translate them into the local languages. The process generally runs as follows. The editor of the English section first screens the news item, then sends it through the newsroom for approval. A copy is then transferred to the local-language newscaster. The newscaster adapts the text to the target audience by focusing on the essential message of the text.

According to Okwei Mensah, who works in the Ghana-language department of the Radio One, there is a marked difference in the sequence used to narrate events over the radio in local languages compared with English. Specifically, the news broadcast in the local languages conforms to the following order: the reader first introduces the main event, he/she then enumerates the activities connected to the event, and finally, he/she quotes the words of any public figures or authorities who have commented on the event (Mensah 1995: 22). Mensah claims that local-language news is reported differently than English news. However, a close structural analysis of broadcast and print media news reveals that the structure he outlines is a journalistic style common to both English- and indigenous-language broadcast and print media news. It is noteworthy that the style he outlines aims mainly to retain the attention of broadcast media audiences and print media readers. The structure of English-language news can be described, using an example from the *Evening News*, where the reporter first states the main point of the news in the following words: "The drivers of Members of Parliament have petitioned the leader of the august House, complaining that they are being cheated by their bosses" (Ibid., March 4, 2005: 1). Then, for the remaining fifteen paragraphs, he describes the activities included in the event, adopting the style of indirect speech to cite the comments of those involved in the event. An item from the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005: 17) also illustrates the structure of English-language news. In this piece, a journalist reports on suggestions for the reform of the Ghanaian education programs. Here, too, the reporter begins the news by stating the gist of the event in the following words: "The Principal of the Accra Polytechnic, Professor Ralph Asabre, has called for a shift from mere

acquisition of academic qualifications to knowledge and skill-based education if Ghana should become an industrialized nation.” In subsequent paragraphs, he enumerates the activities within the event, while using the styles of direct and indirect speech to cite those in the central stage of this news coverage. The news in Ewe newspapers also reflects the structure outlined by Mensah. For example, in a front-page *Midim* (June 2003) story on the paramount Chief of Anlo territory, Togbi Sri III, the reporter introduces his main point as follows: “During a conference, the Paramount Chief of Anlo communicated to the sectional Anlo chiefs the social values that they should promote in Anlo chieftdom.” The reporter then specifies the activities of the event, using the styles of direct and indirect speech to cite those involved in the event at hand. In the broadcast media, the usage of the same structure for news reports in both English and Ewe is clear, as the Ewe broadcasters simply translate the English version of the news into Ewe. In effect, the occurrence of the same structure in the two language newspapers illustrates a structure of news peculiar to journalistic reporting used by writers and broadcasters.

Besides the news broadcast, Radio One also offers programs on a variety of topics, including entertainment (such as short plays and music), youth magazines (covering sports, summer camps, and associations), regional magazines (such as festivals and coronations), educative programs (on health), programs for senior citizens (on cultural heritage and values), and other programs oriented to those dwelling in rural areas.

Radio Two mainly offers commercial broadcasting in English. The station was inaugurated in Accra in 1967 to provide national information services in English. It provides music programs (popular, traditional, and Gospel) and movies, as well as hourly news broadcasts sports updates and commentaries, business and financial news, Ghana press reviews, and interviews with prominent leaders in Ghana. It also covers regional investigative reports on recent developments, current affairs, rural issues, and school-related programs. Additionally, Radio Two offers a number of services, such as advertising, public announcements and obituaries, interspersing such items with English-language programs targeted to elite audiences. These programs explore themes such as national policies and social issues. The presenters review government activities, objectives, projects and development plans. In addition, the station broadcasts programs

such as short plays, instructive programs on topics such as basic science and agricultural science, English language and pronunciation, English literature, French language, and social and cultural studies for primary and secondary schools as well as colleges. Religious programs, such as Sunday celebrations, songs of praise, and religious reflections are also offered.

The FM station, Radio Gar, was established in 1986 as a local station for the city of Accra and the surrounding communities. Initially, it provided a variety of music throughout the day, but over time it began to broadcast news, announcements, reports, and advertisements. Since 1993, a new program entitled "Good Morning Accra" has been discussing social problems in the city. This program uses an interactive approach that requires the audience to participate by calling in. A similar station provides service in each regional center both in English and the local language(s) of the region. For example, at Bolgatanga in the Upper East section of Ghana, the local station, FM, broadcasts in English as well as in Gurune, Sisal, Kusaal, Kasem, Buli, and Dagaare languages of the region. Besides the government-owned radio stations (Radio One, Radio Two, and FM) several private radio stations have emerged in Ghana as a result of the freedom of speech and press established in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

Ghana television, known as GTV, was established in Accra in 1965 to broadcast in English and six local languages. Initially, it was intended as a medium for education, information and development. Gradually, however, entertainment-related programs were offered, such as storytelling (Kyekyekule), music dedications ("Sincerely yours"), and other programs such as "Teen Beat," "Smash," "T.V. Market," "University Quiz," "Brilliant Science and Mathematics Quiz," "Ultimate Paradise," and "Sports Highlights." Regional offices were established in Ashanti, Central, Volta, Northern, Upper East, and Western Regions to gather information on regional programs for broadcast nationwide. GTV has also expanded its programming to include "Second Generation," "Toddlers' Time," "Children's Own," and "Drama in Dagbani." It also offers reruns of European and American programs such as "LA Law," "Desmonds," "227," "A Different World," "Legendary Fights," "Captain Planet," and "Head of Class." In 1997, the government added Metro TV, known as TV 2, to serve those in Accra.

There are many similarities between the contents of GTV and those of the GBC radio stations, both of which are government sponsored. For example, both deliver information without critical commentary. In contrast, the private radio stations in Ghana often critique government-related news. Three such stations have emerged in Accra: TV3 cable network was established by a private group in 1997 to provide entertainment, particularly movies and popular music to individual subscribers in selected cities, the MNET cable network was founded by Multichoice Ghana Limited in 1993, and V-Net TV was established by Vision Network Communications Limited in 1993.

I supply in the appendix 20 a table that illustrates a typical week's programming on GTV in 2002 and a synopsis of one of items on the program. I now provide a content analysis of an adult education program, transmitted by GTV in 2007. This piece serves as an exemplar of the local-language items transmitted by the GTV.

One of the Ewe adult education programs (on Ghana Television, henceforth GTV) bases its script on three previously-written versions (one in English, and two translated into Ewe). This makes it possible to compare three versions of a single script, all intended for the same program (see appendix 21).

This particular GTV program focuses on the Ghanaian identification exercise, which is aimed to register all Ghanaians citizens. To regularize a unified program in the local languages, the script is written first in English, and then translated into the seven local languages (Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani, Nzema, Dagaare, and Hausa) for telecasting, because the government has selected those languages to represent all of the Ghanaian national languages. Comparing the two Ewe versions with the original version of the questionnaire in English reveals variations in the three texts. For one, in the Ewe version B, the program's hostess adds further questions. For instance, question one additionally asks: "It was a long time since we heard about you, so what happened?" Similarly, in both of the Ewe versions, the hostess adds the following question to the eighth item: "What advice would you give to the citizens [of Ghana]?" Such additional elements attest to the fact that although the English questionnaire regulates the uniformity of the GTV programs transmitted in the selected local languages, the hostesses and broadcasters adapt the program to the particular concerns of their audiences and viewers.

A second difference is the orthography of some words in the two Ewe versions. In these, the hostess used the dialectal versions of certain words, versions which are typical of sound change in Anlo dialect. For example, she writes **mekawoe** (*who*) rather than Standard Ewe orthography **amekawoe** (*who*), **ameyiwo** (*people who*) instead of **ame siwo** (*people who*), and **yiwo** (*those*) for **siwo** (*those*). In the case of **mekawoe**, for instance, the word-initial phoneme is syncope. In the case of **ameyiwo** and **yiwo**, there is a sound change that involves lenition, which occurred in at Keta and Anloga, the towns which represent the core of Anlo dialect (see appendix 22). In this sound change, obstruents are palatalized when followed by the high front vowel [i], then the palatals undergo further sound changes, which culminate in the lenition of the phonemes, when followed by high front vowel [i] to yield first [h] and later [y]. That is, Palatals → lenition/ – high front vowel.

Common examples of this lenition include:

Anlo Ewe	Inland Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[h]//[y]	[s]	[s]	
ame hia	ame sia	ame sia	<i>everyone</i>
nu hi/yi	nu si	nu si	<i>the/this thing</i>
ehi kple hi	esi kple si	esi kple si	<i>this and that</i>

There are two possible explanations for the presence of this sound change in the GTV scripts cited: either the hostess of the program intends to keep some phonemic dialectal elements of Ewe for the sake of the broadcast media, that is, to reflect everyday speech and orality, or she uses the dialectal orthography as a linguistic residual of her own dialectal origin (although the program is meant for all Ewes).

Another example of variation in the two Ewe versions concerns the use of the technical term, “National Identification Authority [NIA].” This term occurs once in the Ewe version A (question 1), and occurs three times in Ewe version B (in the introduction as well as in questions 1 and 2 as found in the English script). During the actual telecasting, the term occurs ten times within the half hour program. By using these terms, the writer appears to be targeting Ewes who are English-language literates. These Ewe

variants of the GTV program script are thus instances of ideologies of language in journalistic production.

A similar example comes from another Ewe adult education program on GTV, which focuses on health issues, namely, hypertension. The hostess of the Ewe program uses the term “hypertension” once in the Ewe script and then utilizes the Ewe equivalent in the rest of the questionnaire. Within the telecasting time of the Ewe program, she uses the term seven times in English. This suggests that she intends the program to be for bilingual viewers (English and Ewe literates) rather than for monolingual viewers (Ewe illiterates). This program also is an instance of ideologies of language in Ghanaian media.

D. Journalistic production of broadcast media

In section, I offer an overview of the emergence of broadcast media in Ghana, tracing the political, economic, and sociocultural factors underlying their production and use that shape the ideologies of language in Ghana.

1° Sociocultural context

The sociocultural context has influenced the Ghanaian broadcast media in regard to the journalistic production. For instance, the governments’ control over the broadcast media in Ghana is due in part to sociocultural factors. One of the main factors was the widespread orality-based mass media in Ghana, which lasted until the 1980s. These forms of mass media comprise **atumpani** (*talking drum*), ambulant announcer, **Tsiami** (*Chief’s spokesperson*), envoys, traditional music, communicative dances, and so on. The Ghanaian governments have conceived of the broadcast media as modernized forms of the traditional orality-based mass media, which could be used to destabilize a government. Nkrumah, for instance, viewed the broadcast media as the most suitable tool for democracy in Ghana (and Africa). He based his views on the fact that the radio and television audiences did not require local language literacy to understand local language broadcasts, and the English-language transmissions were adapted to a junior high level of language proficiency to ease comprehension.

The broadcast media tap into this sociocultural context by presenting programs that focus on the Ghanaian context (traditional lore, rural agriculture, and rural development issues) particularly in the local languages. The English-language broadcast media also draw on sociocultural elements (music, storytelling and drama), which are balanced with programs from CNN, BBC, WorldNet, and Deutsche Welle. The broadcast media also use local-language words to name their stations. For instance, the Adom FM uses the Akan word **adom** (*grace*), to illustrate the indigenization of the media.

2° Political context

The various governments of Ghana have controlled the broadcast production by defining the operational framework for journalists. It is unsurprising that, during a political resurgence, when the military personnel overthrow a government in Ghana, they usurp the broadcasting stations, as the first symbol of power and control of the public sphere (see Habermas 1991). The governments' media control takes the form of ordinances that specify the parameters within which the journalists can work. For instance, the colonial government enacted the sedition ordinance in 1893, obliging the media producers to register their newspapers with the government's office and to obtain media production license prior to their journalistic productions. This ordinance also defined the kinds of news reports considered to undermine public security, specifying the penalty for any offense with regard to the ordinance. The colonial government amended the press ordinance in 1934, by specifying the types of media offences and their corresponding penalties. The post-colonial government also modified the sedition ordinance in 1992, by providing guidelines for print and broadcast media. With this change, the Ghanaian constitution calls for journalistic production reflecting good journalism, such as accuracy and fairness, reliability of source of information, right of reply, transparency in news gathering, absence of harassment in news gathering, respect for private life, protection of the vulnerable, equilibrated reporting, absence of discrimination, and temperate language. The government set up a commission (National Media) to promote free and independent journalistic production, while overseeing how each media corporation adheres to the principles outlined in the constitution.

3° Economic dimension

The broadcast media (Radio One, Radio Two, Radio Gar, and GTV) receive 75% of their funding from the government. They also rely on revenue from ads, announcements, sponsorship programs (sports and films), TV license fees, and the sale of coupons of music dedications, which together forms 25% of the net income of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. The corporation generates income by publishing and selling magazines, such as the *Ghanaian Broadcaster*, *Radio and TV Times*, *GBC Brochure*, and *Commercial Booklets*. The corporation depends on these sources of income to pay the staff, produce programs, and procure certain materials for broadcasting.

An engineering training school founded in 1955 serves as a center for training Broadcast technicians (technical assistants and assistant engineers). Media workers train at other institutes, such as the Ghana Institute of Journalism, the School of Communication Studies, and the National Television and Film Training School.

E. Broadcast media compared with the newspapers

I begin this section by first offering a survey of the broadcast media – both radio and television programs in Ghana – focusing on how both the audience and broadcast stations determine the choice of language for communication in Ghana and examining those areas where broadcast and print media diverge. Then, I examine the content of English and local-language newspapers based on notions such as indexicality (Silverstein 2004), language preferences (Bourdieu 1977; 1979), and identity (Anderson 1983). I point out that journalists, newspaper readers, radio audiences, and broadcasters associate English with the written media, critical and high quality journalism, professionalism, and a high level of literacy. I demonstrate that the same groups associate the local languages with orality, interactive media, the general public, and symbolic perfection in speech.

Broadcast and print media are in competition in Ghana. In this context, I compare in this section the two types of media with respect to choice of language, audience participation, symbiotic relationships, and linguistic competence.

There are clear differences between broadcast and print media when it comes to the choice of language used. While Ghanaian languages are used only sporadically in

print media, it is common to hear them on the radio. In fact, since 2003, there has been an unprecedented increase in radio stations in Ghana due to the increased freedom of the press. The escalating number of Ghanaian-language radio stations is notable: in the Ashanti Region, the number of stations rose from 5 to 29, in Accra City alone from 8 to 21, in the Brong Ahafo Region there were 17 new stations, in the Western Region 15, in Central and Eastern Regions 10, in the Northern Region 9, in the Volta Region 6, in the Upper West 4, and in the Upper East 2. Strikingly, even government stations have risen in number. In Accra alone the government set up two more stations besides Radio One: Obonu to broadcast in English and Ga, and Unique FM to transmit in English and in Twi (mostly Ashanti of Akan-language cluster).

In Accra, most stations use English as the main language. Out of 21 stations, 15 use English, whereas 6 use Ghanaian languages. Similarly, in the various regions in Ghana, the ratio between stations that use a Ghanaian language versus English has fluctuated. For example, in Accra, Joy FM, which started in 1995, allocated 90 percent of its broadcast time to English and 10 percent to the Ghanaian languages. Radio Gold, which was established in 1996, also used English in transmission with time allotted to Ghanaian languages, especially Akan dialects. Joy FM and Vibe FM, both targeting the educated middle-class and Ghanaians returning from other countries, also use English as the main medium of transmission. In 1999, Peace FM was established in Accra to use Akan as the language of transmission (Yankah 2004). However, presenters of the local-language programs sometimes use *codeswitching*, interspersing of local languages with English. Although the usage of the local languages has been limited to the spoken dimension, since 1999 there has been a noticeable increase in the use of some Ghanaian languages in broadcast and print media in rural communities as well, with Akan leading in the use of the airwaves.

Regarding the influence of audience participation on language choice, radio, unlike newspapers and television, has offered phone-in programs that offer the listeners the possibility to interact. Programs that prioritize interactive participation are extremely popular among radio audiences. However, the participation of the audience depends largely on the language policy of a radio station. For example, Ghanaian-Anglophone radio stations such as Kapital Radio, Luv FM, Joy FM, and Vibes used to accept phone-

ins to interactive talk shows only if the listeners spoke English. Although in 2002 some radio stations like Radio Univers, Peace FM and Adom FM hired presenters who were proficient in some Ghanaian languages, other stations made proficiency in English a prerequisite for employment. Despite this, radio listeners at Kumasi so insistently spoke Twi (Akan) during English phone-in programs that some radio stations now accept a high percentage of listeners who prefer to speak Twi (Yankah 2004). Consequently, the rule of practice of the listeners has become the rule obligation for radio stations like Kapital Radio, Luv FM and Vibes, who were influenced by the audience to incorporate more local-language programs. This raises the question of whether this interest in local languages on radio in Ghana will lead to the kind of modern orality discussed by McLuhan (1964). At this time, this remains an open question for future investigation.

There is clearly a symbiotic relationship between broadcast and print media in Ghana, as it is a common practice for the agents of broadcast media to read the newspapers, and, conversely, the newspaper journalists write about news items disseminated by the broadcast media. However, there is competition between these two types of media. While the broadcast media claim to focus on “breaking” news, the newspapers assert that their focus is to provide a detailed, in-depth and critical account of all newsworthy events. In particular, government-funded newspapers have committed to transmitting the facts and abstain from critique or further investigation. In contrast, it is common for Anglophone-private radio stations to critique the newspaper editorials. In addition, they differ from other media channels in that they invite the public to comment on such news items. In fact, some private radio stations are popular because their programs center on critiquing newspapers, politicians, and important leaders in Ghana. Some of the private radio stations even organize uncensored interactive newspaper-review programs in Ghanaian languages, whereby listeners are invited to participate and express their critical opinions on various news items, most of which are of political nature. Because of this, the agents of the broadcast media and newspapers are often wary of each other.

In terms of linguistic competence, there is criticism across the board. While the agents of the print media critique the broadcast media for lacking the level of linguistic competence required for written media, those of the broadcast media accuse the print

media of deficiency in the spontaneous language of the “ordinary people.” With the emergence of more radio stations broadcasting in Ghanaian languages and English, there has been a renewed interest in Ghanaian languages, but this is limited to the spoken language. This renewed interest is enhanced by the recent preference of radio stations to employ seasoned radio presenters who are proficient in both English and a number of Ghanaian languages. This renewal in the use of the spoken version of the Ghanaian languages, in turn, is gradually fostering a valorization not only of the spoken Ghanaian languages referred to as national languages, but the revival of the languages termed minority languages (for example, Efutu and Bono) in Ghana. One offshoot of this interest in Ghanaian languages is an increase in opportunities for employment for those trained in the Ghanaian languages (Yankah 2004) as well as those wishing to make their career using their local language. Might this situation give rise to a sort of neo-traditionalism among media practitioners in Ghana? The answer to this can only be examined in the future, when such attitudes gain firmer ground.

To sum up, I provide a table of the points on the broadcast media compared with the newspapers:

Table I
Features of Newspapers and Broadcast Media
(English and Local languages)

	<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Television</u>
	Differences		
Interaction	remote	immediate	less immediate
Spontaneity	remote	immediate	less immediate
Language modality	written	orality	orality

I also provide a table of the points on the commonalities and differences between local-language radio and Ghanaian-Anglophone radio:

Table II**Features of local-language radio and Ghanaian-Anglophone radio**

	Local languages	Ghanaian Anglophone
	Differences	
Program	pro-government	critique-orientated
Air-time	shared	exclusive
Approach	less critical	critical
Content	rural-base	urban-elite base
Nature	orality	written
Language	native	English
Discourse	popular	professional
Participant	ordinary people	educated writer

The above analysis has highlighted the distinctive features of radio and newspapers in terms of language use, which led to the ideologies of language in Ghana.

CHAPTER IV
TEXTUAL ANALYSES OF NEWSPAPERS

In this chapter, I will contrast the format that different journalists use, focusing on the photographs, the layouts, the captions, and the prices of the newspapers, as well as the political topics they emphasize in the both English-language and Ewe newspapers.

A. Format of newspapers

I will examine the format and layouts of the newspapers on the basis of the newspaper excerpts, which are displayed on the next page. The quality of the photographs and the layout of news items exemplify how English-language and Ewe newspapers differ. For instance, the front page of the sample from *Kpodoga* (February 1989) features three news items with three images. In this paper, the article on the best farmer of the year [**Agbledela tsitsi le Tema** (*The oldest farmer at Tema*)] is supplemented by three pictures: one showing cotton on a branch and two others showing looms. The second news article, at the top-right corner of the page, concerns recommendations to the Ghanaian judiciary to impose more severe sentences on smugglers in Ghana. The third article, at the bottom-right corner of the page, discusses penalties to be imposed on smugglers. These images are poor in terms of low quality of drawing and printing. These photographs illustrate the agricultural economy in parts of Eweland where modern printing accessories are not yet available, and thus indicate the expected readers of *Kpodoga*, namely, subsistence farmers and agricultural fieldworkers. Regarding the format used, a considerable amount of space remains between the news items. *Kpodoga*, a model of Ewe newspapers, thus demonstrates a reciprocal relationship between Ewe newspaper producers and their readers, a relationship that is integral to the construction of the identity, image, or representation of those associated with Ewe newspapers: farmer, unsophisticated, uncritical, and rural.

The construed identity of reader and textual product is also reflected on the front page of *Midim* (July 2004), where three photographs and a drawing are shown. The alignment of the pictures is revealing: while at the uppermost section of the front page, there is a picture of the deceased founder of *Midim*, at the top-left corner of the paper is an image of a hand bearing a long torch. There is also a picture of Osama bin Laden, which is connected to an article about him [**Osama bin Laden gayina Amerika?** (*Will Osama bin Laden go again to America?*)]. Some free space remains on this page as well. The format of the pictures and the low quality of the images demonstrate a reciprocal relationship between Ewe newspaper producers and the readers. The low quality of the local-language newspapers reveals that

these papers lack the resources (money, skilled technicians, and equipment) required to produce a superior textual product.

Front PAGE

kpodoga

Agbledela Tsitsi le Tema

Sedede tso dzidudu gbo




kpodoga is a traditional Ghanaian newspaper. The top section features the title 'kpodoga' in a stylized font. Below it, the main headline reads 'Agbledela Tsitsi le Tema' (The plowing of the field). A sub-headline below that says 'Sedede tso dzidudu gbo' (The seed of the field). The page contains several columns of text in the Ewe language, interspersed with illustrations of agricultural scenes, such as a person plowing a field with a wooden plow.

Midim

OSAMA bin LADEN GAYINA AMERIKA?

Gilchrist Olympio Ayi Togo Azso?




Midim is a Ghanaian newspaper. The top section features the title 'Midim' in a stylized font. Below it, the main headline reads 'OSAMA bin LADEN GAYINA AMERIKA?' (Osama bin Laden in America?). A sub-headline below that says 'Gilchrist Olympio Ayi Togo Azso?' (Gilchrist Olympio in Togo?). The page contains several columns of text in the Ewe language, interspersed with portraits of men, likely political figures.

THE INDEPENDENT

truly independent and objective

IT'S DECISION TIME TOMORROW

*What a Vote for Kufuor means

*What a Vote for Mills means

THE GENTLE GIANT

Votes for KUFUOR the man TRUSTED by our DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

Kufuor Nii! Kwano Nii!

NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY

DEVELOPMENT IN FREEDOM

The Independent is an English-language newspaper. The top section features the title 'THE INDEPENDENT' in a stylized font. Below it, the main headline reads 'IT'S DECISION TIME TOMORROW'. A sub-headline below that says '*What a Vote for Kufuor means' and '*What a Vote for Mills means'. The page contains several columns of text in English, interspersed with portraits of men, likely political figures. At the bottom, there is a political advertisement for the 'THE GENTLE GIANT' and 'NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY'.

ECOWAS slaps sanctions on Togo

New transport fares released

Daily Graphic

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2005; NO. 149361; PRICE: €3.000

Hunt for most wanted criminal on course

NO. 2 MAN GRABBED

He has a catalogue of robberies behind him

for You and Yours

The Daily Graphic is an English-language newspaper. The top section features the title 'Daily Graphic' in a stylized font. Below it, the main headline reads 'NO. 2 MAN GRABBED'. A sub-headline below that says 'He has a catalogue of robberies behind him'. The page contains several columns of text in English, interspersed with images of cars and a portrait of a man. At the bottom, there is a political advertisement for 'for You and Yours'.

In contrast to the Ghanaian-language newspapers, the English-language newspapers show


high quality images. For instance, to capture the attention of voters during the December 2004 presidential election, the front page of *The Independent* (December 6, 2004) features a photo of the incumbent president, Kufuor, juxtaposed with that of Atta-Mills, the presidential contender. In addition, there is a picture of Kufuor on the NPP political banner, which is placed beneath the photos of the presidential candidates. Another example of high quality images in newspaper production is shown on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005). The quality of the pictures and the alignment of the news items in the English-language newspapers are indexical of sophisticated readers, the elite, and urban dwellers. The quality of the pictures of the English-language newspapers reflects a textual production in an urban center, where modern printing accessories are readily available. It also points to an urban center where cash economy prevails.

The contrast between the format of the local-language and English-language newspapers is also reflected on the second page of the papers. Examples of these are displayed on the next page. For instance, in *Kpodoga* (February 1989), the news items on page two are divided into four columns. The item concerning animal husbandry [**Gbõ, alē, koklonyinyi** (*Raising goats, sheep and poultry*)] is not accompanied by any picture. However, the item headed **Gbõ gble nu** (*Goats encroach [on farms]*), in which a writer notes how some goats destroy farm products, is illustrated with a picture of a goat caught by two men. Typically, local-language news items center on a rural and agricultural lifestyle, where the lack of sophistication and modern technology is reflected by the fact that domestic animals wander around, unhindered by fences, encroaching on neighbouring farms in search of greener pastures. Similarly, page two of *Midim* (July 2004) contains an image with the heading **Mise ŋutinya loo!** (*Once upon a time...*), which shows an old man sitting in front of children. The caption indicates that this type of newspaper is essentially focused on the traditional lifestyle, traditional agricultural system, traditional type of dress, and the use of storytelling as a basic means of entertainment. The picture of the old man seems to convey the identity of Ewe newspaper readers. More specifically, the local-language newspaper portrays the identity of an “old Ewe or traditional Ghanaian man” by presenting a series of specific features: he dresses in a short-sleeved shirt, he is old and bald, he wears a traditional cloth that stretches from his waist to his feet, he holds a pipe, and he seems to be telling a story to the children gathered around him.

2

Gbɔ, alɛ, koklonyinyi

Gbɔwɔ gblɛ nu
Ewɔ lɛlɛnu-
dɔ



Do biabis sia

THE INDEPENDENT COMMENT
Election 2004 is here

Which is harassment, Dr. J. J. Rawlings?

Letter to the Minister of Environment, Science & Technology

Rawlings Again!

Mise Dɔtinya Leo!

WOE NYE DJUTSU MA!
(Akpɔ 210)

LE BLEMAMA...
LE BLEMAMA...
LE BLEMAMA...

37 Die in Bangladesh boat accident

Clinton, Bush witness Aceh damage

Jailbreak Haitian officials held

Spairates vote on EU Constitution

THE INDEPENDENT COMMENT
Election 2004 is here

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Letter to the Minister of Environment, Science & Technology

Rawlings Again!

37 Die in Bangladesh boat accident

Clinton, Bush witness Aceh damage

Jailbreak Haitian officials held

Spairates vote on EU Constitution

WORLD NEWS

Israeli Cabinet backs Gaza

Violence mars Iraqi Shia festival

Clinton, Bush witness Aceh damage

Jailbreak Haitian officials held

Spairates vote on EU Constitution



Similarly, on another *Kpodoga's* front page, where the English-language newspapers report on local political news, the editor publishes a fable on the enmity between rams and a goats, concluding the fable with a goat's praise-name (nickname, or rum name): **Agidi**

CHAPTER IV
TEXTUAL ANALYSES OF NEWSPAPERS

In this chapter, I will contrast the format that different journalists use, focusing on the photographs, the layouts, the captions, and the prices of the newspapers, as well as the political topics they emphasize in the both English-language and Ewe newspapers.

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these papers lack the resources (money, skilled technicians, and equipment) required to produce a superior textual product.

kpodoga

Vol 10 No 11

Degbalawo nasee

Aghledela Tsitsi le Tema




Sedede tso dzidudu gbo

Midim

OSAMA bin LADEN
GAYINA AMERIKA?




**Gilchrist Olympio
Ayi Togo Azza?**



THE INDEPENDENT
truly independent and objective

IT'S DECISION TIME TOMORROW

***What a Vote for Kufuor means**
***What a Vote for Mills means**




THE GENTLE GIANT

Vote for KUFUOR the man TRUSTED by our DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

ECOWAS slaps sanctions on Togo **New transport fares released** **Krafator news about Puffins**

Daily Graphic

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2006, NO. 10,194, PRICE: 13.000

Hunt for most wanted criminal on course

NO. 2 MAN GRABBED

He has a catalogue of robberies behind him

169 for You and Yours

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2 **Gbɔ, ale, koklonyinyi**

Gbɔwo gble nu

Ewa lɔlɔnu do



Do blaiba sia ɔɔ

The page contains several columns of text in a local language, likely Ewe. It features a portrait of a man in the center-right and a small illustration of a person at the bottom left. The text appears to be a mix of news and possibly a fable or story.

Mise Dɔtinya Loo!

WɔE NYE DUTSU MA!



The page contains columns of text in a local language, likely Ewe. It features an illustration of a person at the top left. The text appears to be a mix of news and possibly a fable or story.

THE INDEPENDENT

Election 2004 is here

Which is harassment, Dr. & J. Rawlings?

Letter to the Minister of Environment, Science & Technology

Rawlings Against

The page contains several columns of text in English, likely a newspaper or magazine page. It features a prominent headline about an election and several sub-headlines related to political and environmental issues. The text is dense and appears to be a mix of news and commentary.

WORLD NEWS

Violence mars Iraqi Shia festival

Clinton, Bush witness Aceh damage



Jailbreak Haitian officials held

Spaniards vote on EU Constitution

The page contains several columns of text in English, likely a newspaper or magazine page. It features a prominent headline about violence in Iraq and several sub-headlines related to international news. The text is dense and appears to be a mix of news and commentary.

Similarly, on another *Kpodoga's* front page, where the English-language newspapers report on local political news, the editor publishes a fable on the enmity between rams and a goats, concluding the fable with a goat's praise-name (nickname, or rum name): **Agidi**

lābaḡa, efo alē dzo tu! (*Agidi mischievous animal, it has hit a sheep and has lost its horns*).

To make this verbal art more striking, the journalist describes the two characters (ram and goat) of the fable, specifying the location of their residences. He then notes the spectators who witnessed the squabbles between the two characters, detailing the strategic maneuver of each animal and the reaction of the onlookers. The writer further describes how the goat escapes the onslaught of the ram, concluding the story with the praise-name of the goat. The journalist in this way conveys his mastery of examples of Ewe lore through the striking use of this genre on the front page of the Ewe newspaper (*Kpodoga* November 1998: 1).

Similarly, on the front page of *Kpodoga* (January 2000) displayed below, there are no pictures of prominent leaders. There is only an image of a man with a gong in hand. This image equally depicts the traditional system of communication, the traditional manner of dress, and the traditional Ewe or Ghanaian way of life. The choice of image is not accidental. Symbolically, *Kpodoga*, the title of the newspaper, means “gong.”



In light of this, the image of the man with the gong in hand is representative of traditional forms of communication. For instance, an arrow links this image to an article entitled **Adzɔgbedede na fe 2000** (*The year 2000 resolutions*). This item discusses the resolutions that Ghanaian Ewes were expected to make as they began the year 2000. The picture thus reinforces the need to make resolutions for the New Year. The peculiar picture, blending with

the message, shows that the newspaper paints a portrait of the expected Ewe newspaper readers, and the readers in turn determine the types of images and format used in Ewe newspapers. This confirms that there is a reciprocal relationship between the Ewe readers and the format of the newspapers. The elements of the picture constitute and enforce the identity of Ewe newspaper readers and producers.

In contrast, the English-language newspapers make use of photographs and other visuals to indicate the identity of its expected newspapers. As shown on page two of the newspapers presented on page 116, the alignment of the news items and the high quality of the images are evocative of a reader who is modern, sophisticated and cosmopolitan; these readers are linked to the quality of products in the “global village.” As such, the good quality of the pictures and their format portray an international reader, given that the English-language newspapers target both children and adults in urban centers who have those features.

As reflected in the examples on page 116, although there are no pictures on page two of *The Independent* (December 6, 2004), the news items are organized in such a way as to exploit all of the space on the page. On page two of the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005), which centers on world news, there are pictures of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, former presidents of the United States, who visited tsunami-devastated areas in Indonesia in 2005. These pictures show that the news items of the English-language newspapers are based on current events and prominent leaders in the world, while those of the local-language newspapers are centered on past events, traditional leaders, and folk ways. The pictures and the organization of the news items on page two of the English-language newspapers also attest to the quality of the English-language newspapers, as contrasted with the local-language newspapers. This implies that both English-language and Ewe newspapers construct the “identity” of their readers, and vice versa.

The manner in which captions are formatted constitutes another instance of the marked difference between the two language domain newspapers. While Ghanaian-language newspapers use complete and grammatical sentences, the English-language newspapers are flexible in formulating the captions without adhering to all grammatical rules that may apply. For example, on the front page of *Midim* (May 2001) is the heading **Alelele! Keta meku o hee!** (*Behold! Keta [town] is not wiped out!*), which is formulated in a complete sentence. On the front page of *Midim* (July 2004) is the title **Osama bin Laden gayina Amerika?** (*Will Osama bin Laden go again to America?*), couched in a complete sentence style. Unlike English-language newspapers, these captions are written in one type of boldface. Similarly, on the front page of *Kpodoga* (September 1998) is a news item with the heading **Dugadzɔlawo**

xo hehe (*Tax officers trained [in job-related skills]*), which is cast in a complete sentence. This linguistic practice contrasts with the syntactic structure of headlines traditionally used for English-language journals and newspapers, which are written in different typefaces. For instance, on the front page of *The Independent* (December 6, 2004), the paper bears the heading “IT’S DECISION TIME TOMORROW [:] * What a Vote for Kufuor means *What a Vote for Mills means.” These are incomplete sentences, unlike the captions in the local-language papers. In the same guise, on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005), there is the caption “Hunt for most wanted criminal on course [:] NO. 2 GRABBED [-] He has a catalogue of robberies behind him [.]” Such examples recur in English-language newspapers, but they are nonexistent in the local-language newspapers. This shows that whereas the English-language newspapers draw on the general existing English-language journalistic practice and tradition, the local-language newspapers have little or no local-journalistic tradition behind them.

B. Frequent political topics

English-language and local-language newspapers differ according to political topics that they emphasize. For instance, in the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005: 13), a journalist commences a report by stating that eight Eweland chiefs have resolved to collaborate in ensuring the development of their district in the Kpando area. He relates that the chiefs were resolved to work harmoniously to bid for district projects. He then specifies those who were enthroned and those yet to be crowned. By revealing the names of the chiefs-elect in the English-language newspaper, the journalist shows that he is more concerned about the denotational characteristics of Ghanaian-English (see Irvine 1989) news reporting than the oblique features characteristic of the Ewe news reporting. In fact, traditional decorum requires that information about a candidate awaiting coronation and enthronement should be concealed until the time of the ceremony. That said, the journalist adopts the English-language stylistic at this point of the news report by stating the facts about the chiefs, thereby emphasizing the democratic events and projects recurrent in this category of newspapers.

The journalist also recounts in the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005: 13) that a Member of Parliament in Ghana exhorts the chiefs to steer clear of chieftaincy disputes and partisan politics, and to work cordially in their chiefdoms by acknowledging the wisdom in what their citizens suggest. He states: “Mr Kosipah also warned the politicization of

development and said they [chiefs] should respect wisdom from all shades of opinions irrespective of political affiliation because it was ‘the best way to move forward.’” The suggestion that the chiefs should accept the “wisdom” in public “opinions” instantiates the democratic discussions frequently emphasized in the English-language newspapers, where political leaders occupy central stage.

In contrast to the English-language journalistic emphasis in Ghana, the local-language reports give voice to the traditional leaders. The reports in Ewe reflect the traditional system where a chief and his council of elders are repositories of wisdom and oratory, and as such require no public opinion for their decisions (see Verdon 1983; Rattray 1916). For instance, in *Midim* (January-February 2002: 3), a report on how Chief Gabusu VI, paramount chief of Gbi traditional area, exhorts all chiefs of the Volta Region to fulfill their roles as leaders who enforce unity in the government. By giving voice to the chiefs, the writer emphasizes the traditional system of politics associated with Ewe. By contrast, the English-language journalist gives voice to the citizens and political leaders, thereby reflecting the democratic system associated with English-language, within which the print media have emerged.

C. Economic value

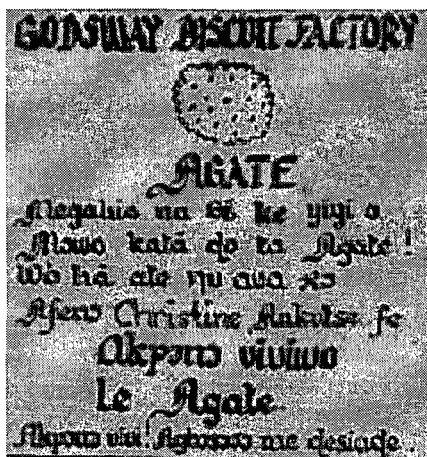
The price of the newspapers is a further point of difference between the newspapers of the two language domains in Ghana. In 2004, while the local-language newspapers were selling at 2000 cedis, the price of the English-language newspapers was at 3000 cedis. At the time, one American dollar was equivalent to about 9000 cedis, and one Canadian dollar about 7000 cedis. At the same time, the average monthly wage in Ghana was equivalent to US \$100. Price examples of Ghanaian newspapers are summarized in a table below.

Table III
Table of the Prices of Selected Newspapers

	Newspaper	Date	Price
Ghanaian-language	<i>Kpodoga</i>	January 2000	C200
	<i>Midim</i>	July 2004	C2000
Ghanaian-Anglophone	<i>The Ghanaian Times</i>	November 11, 2004	C3000
	<i>The Independent</i>	December 6, 2004	C3000

As shown in the table on the previous page, the English-language newspapers are accorded more economic value than those of the local-language papers. This provides further quantitative evidence that the newspapers construct the identity of the readers. Specifically, the differences in newspaper price indicate that the identity of the readers of the English-language newspapers is characterized by features such as average income, urban cash economy, information orientation, and membership in the amorphous elite group of Ghana. By contrast, the low price of the local-language newspapers reflects a low income, rural-subsistent economy, traditional orientation, and membership in a less schooled social class. The assistant editor of *Midim*, for instance, notes that in some high schools in Eweland, pupils and teachers are not interested in buying the local-language newspapers. He notes that even the few people who do buy the local-language newspapers request a reduction in the price, stating that local-language newspapers are not worth 2000 cedis.

Advertisements as a means of generating income in the two language-domain newspapers are also distinct. Whereas the advertisements in the English-language newspapers are of high quality, typified by effective economy of space and brevity in the usage of language, those in the local-language newspapers are characterized by low quality presentation, unclear images, poor economy of space, and verbosity in the use of language. A few examples are shown here to illustrate these points. In *Kpodoga* (February 1989), the advertisement concerns the biscuit production company, Godsway Biscuit Factory. This factory is located in Agate, in the northeastern region of Eweland, within Ghana. This factory is located in Agate, in the northeastern region of Eweland, within Ghana. The low quality of the picture, the simple layout of items, and the long sentences on the benefits of buying locally-made biscuits reflect lack of sophistication of the rural agricultural economy.



The words in this advertisement translate as:

It is no longer necessary to go as far as Accra [the city].

All roads lead to Agate!

You, too, can come to receive

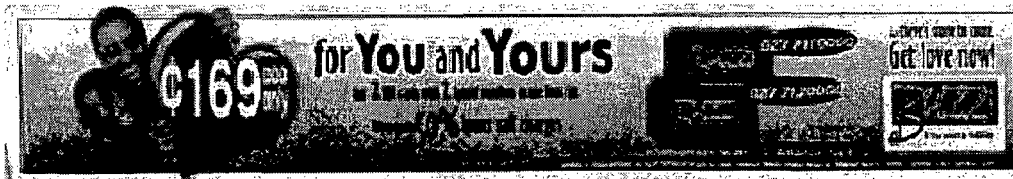
Miss Christine Ankutse's

Sweet biscuits

At Agate.

Sweet biscuit! In any quantity.

In contrast to this example from the local-language newspaper, the following advertisement from the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005) illustrates the features of advertisements in English-language newspapers. The high quality of the pictures, the elaborate layout of items, and the short sentences on the benefits of using mobile phone reflect the sophistication of the urban cash economy.



Given that the low price of the local-language newspapers reflects a rural agricultural economy that operates with little or no cash, an *Atumpani* writer attempts to change the situation by urging the rural dwellers, in particular the readers of the newspapers, to adopt a cash economy by opening saving accounts in banks. In a front-page article, he tries to convince the rural dwellers of the need to use a banking system, by beginning the story with a juxtaposition of two men (Issa and Musa) who used different approaches in keeping their incomes. He describes the two men using the idiomatic expression **xolõ eve siwo dome tsi metona o la** (*two friends that water cannot set apart; that is, two inseparable friends*). He notes that they portrayed their friendship by working together, in particular cultivating the same field. He uses the formal word **bo** (*field*) to depict the rural agricultural setting. He then recounts how the two friends shared the proceeds of their harvest, noting how Issa invested his share of the money in trading, whereas Musa opened a savings account to ensure that his capital would accrue interest, and to acquire financial help from the bank. He recounts how Musa benefited from this action, as the acquired dividends led to an increased cultivation. By contrast, Issa gradually lost his money in trading, ultimately incurring a large debt. To describe Issa's resulting financial depression, the writer uses the idiomatic expressions **du agba** (*become dispossessed*). The writer concludes the story noting that Musa helped his friend out of his deprivation by offering him some money to re-establish himself. The writer uses the term **dõwõqui** (*subsistence*) in the clause **hafi wõagate ñu dze dõwõqui ađe gome** (before he could restart any *subsistence* activity), to emphasize the agricultural economy, (*Atumpani* November 1994: 1).

Another writer attempts to change the rural agricultural economic practice by exhorting the rural inhabitants to use a banking system for keeping their income, and by informing readers of the importance of financial institutions in cities and towns in Ghana. He contends that given the proximity of financial institutions, the rural folks do not have to travel far to reach them, and as such have no reason to continue the outdated practice of keeping and hiding their money at places, such as home, within thatched-roofing, and in home-made boxes. The writer encourages readers to use financial institutions, pointing out that the risks of fire and robbers disappear when using the banking institutions. He enumerates the advantages of banking institutions, noting among other things, the dividends that accrue on the capital, the loans that savings could ensure, and the mutual financial help that could emerge from their financial cooperatives. He then calls on specific rural workers (farmers, traders, and fishermen), who epitomise the rural inhabitants, to form financial cooperatives for obtaining loans from financial institutions. He concludes the article by urging the rural inhabitants to hasten in opening savings accounts so that they can obtain their financial benefits (*Atumpani* February 1994).

D. Distribution of news items on pages

To illustrate the differences between the newspapers of the two language domains, I summarize the distribution of the contents of selected newspapers here. In examining the contents of the newspapers, the following segments are regrouped as individual units because they constitute the principal sections of the newspapers: front page, page two, middle pages, penultimate page, and back page. This analysis covers two Ewe newspapers, namely *Midim* and *Kpodoga*, as well as the English-language newspapers, namely, the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times*, *The Independent*, the *Daily Guide*, and the *Free Press*.

The front page of the Ewe newspapers contains different items. The topics that make up this page are generally related to local and rural themes such as the chieftaincy, farming, health, religious ceremonies, and development projects. For example the issue of *Midim* from May 2001 shows an article with the title *Alelele! Keta meku o hee! (Behold! Keta [town] is not wiped out!)*, which focuses on the measures taken to fortify the town of Keta, in Eweland in the littoral zone of Ghana, which served as one of the sea ports since colonial times, till sea erosion destroyed the greater part of the town. The paper also makes announcements, indicated by the caption *Gbefadeqe (Announcement)*. However, *Midim* (July 2004) cites a story on Osama Bin Laden's alleged plan to launch another attack on the United States. In this

article on Osama bin Laden, **Osama bin Laden gayina Amerika?** (*Will Osama bin Laden go again to America?*), the writer discusses the security measures that were put in place to counteract the alleged attacks. This front page also dwells on the ban that was lifted by the Togolese government to enable the political figure, Gilchrist Olympio, to travel to Togo, his homeland. This news is titled **Gilchrist Olympio ayi Togo azɔa?** (*Will Gilchrist Olympio go to Togo nowadays?*). *Kpodoga's* (January 2000) front page centers on several topics under corresponding captions. For example, under the heading **Kpodoga tɔxɛ** (*Special [edition of] Kpodoga*), an editor's note highlights the special edition of *Kpodoga* that marked the beginning of the year 2000. Another article, **Adzɔgbedeɖe na fe 2000** (*The year 2000 resolutions*), focuses on the topic of resolutions for the year 2000, particularly the prevention of AIDS, as well as the measures for the protection of the environment. The article with the heading **yletiŋkeke tɔxɛwo** (*Special dates*) focuses on the special events in the coming months. *Kpodoga's* front page (September 1998) has five captions. The article with the title **Dugadzɔlawo xɔ hehe** (*Training of tax officers*) reports the training of revenue officials. Another item recounts how a queen of Gbefi, a town in Eweland, and others were acquitted in a court hearing [**Wotso fia na nyɔnufia** (*Local queen acquitted*)]. The article titled **Woho ava de degbɔlawo ŋu** (*Tracking of smugglers*) relates the tracking of smugglers on Ghana's borders. The story of a man declared guilty of theft is covered as well. This is titled **Efi ga kple gadzraɔfofea** (*He stole money and the safety deposit box*). The article titled **Gamenɔlawo de agble** (*Prisoners' farm*) concerns prisoners who have cultivated a corn farm in Ghana.

The front pages of English-language newspapers are filled with topics such as financial investment hints, international politics, and important local news. The front page of *The Ghanaian Times* (November 11, 2004) covers topics such as the exchange rates, the evacuation of French citizens from Cote d'Ivoire, the money allocated for road repairs, sports, training of returning officers, shortage of gold for the local industry in Ghana, and new policies and strategies of the National Union of Ghana Students. *The Independent's* (December 6, 2004) front page centers on two items: the winner of the 2004 election and the NPP political banner. The *Free Press'* (April 1, 2005) front page reports on a peaceful demonstration organized by the NDC opposition party in Ghana. Additionally, it recounts the story of a pastor arrested for accidentally setting fire to a cashew farm. It also provides details of a speech delivered by a member of parliament. Whereas the *Daily Guide's* (March 3, 2005)

front page has news on the appointed Ghanaian ministers of cabinet and the testimony of the girlfriend of an armed robber, the *Daily Graphic*'s (February 21, 2005) front page covers the arrest of an armed robber, displays a number of advertisements, and draws attention to the main stories covered in the entire paper.

Page two of the Ewe newspapers contains a few items on folklore, editorials, letters, rural development and politics. In *Midim* (May 2001), there is an editorial, **Dzesidenyawo** (*Salient points*), on how Ewe speakers fail to attach value to their language. Also, there is a folktale, **Nu si ta adela mekpɔa kese fe toto o** (*The reason why the hunter does not see the transformation of a monkey*), on the hunter and the monkey. However, in *Midim* (July 2004), the entire page shows a story titled **Mise ɔutinya loo!** (*Once upon a time!*). Although the story is modeled on the biblical account of King David and Bathsheba, the biblical names are not cited. *Kpodoga*'s (January 2000) second page displays four news items as well as an editorial on topics, namely, the animal protection associations and volunteers titled **Numedzodzro** (*Editorial*), a discussion on the songs of puberty under the heading **Esia menye nu yeye o** (*This is not new*), letters with the heading **Letawo na Kpodoga** (*Letter to Kpodoga*), and a proverb. *Kpodoga* (September 1998) holds seven news items: an editorial on the payment of revenue with the heading **Numedzodzro** (*Editorial*), a report on the building of water closets for some schools headed **KVIP na Tɔɔu sukuwo** (*Water closets for Tonu schools*), campaign and information on AIDS/HIV under the caption **Ɖikanaku** (*AIDS/HIV*), as well as the story on the enthronement of a local chief, written under the caption **Fia yeye na Kudzra** (*A new chief for Kudzra [town]*), a report on the visit of Cuban delegates titled **Kiubatowo le Anfoeta** (*Cuban [delegates] at Anfoega*), a report on the Aveme clinic committee, written under the heading **Akameti na Aveme** (*Committee for Aveme*), and finally, an article with the title **Dgoyidowo le Ketu** (*Development projects in Ketu*), which recounts the building of market stalls in Ketu district. In contrast, the second page of the English-language newspapers focuses on foreign politics, editorials and letters. *The Ghanaian Times* (November 11, 2004), for instance, discusses topics such as the allegations with regard to articles that were not published in a state-owned newspaper, a woman abducted in Afghanistan, the newspaper registration in Zimbabwe, Netanyahu's threat to resign from the Israeli cabinet, an evacuation of French citizens from Cote d'Ivoire, a dismissal of the Burundi vice president, and an injury sustained by a Dutch police officer. *The Independent* (December 6, 2004) centers on items such as an editorial on the 2004 election, the letters to the editor on harassment, a demarcation of a plot of land, and a report on Rawlings (a former

Ghanaian president). The *Free Press* (April 1, 2005) contains a report on the NDC (the opposition party in Ghana), a peaceful political demonstration in Ghana, the letters to the editor on the nuisance caused by the activities of Christ Apostolic Church, an account of the deplorable road conditions that require repair, and some words of encouragement to the physically handicapped. The *Daily Guide* (March 3, 2005) covers stories on items, namely, the scrutiny of appointed Ghanaian cabinet ministers, as well as the testimony of the girlfriend of an armed robber. The *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005) has six items: the coverage of the Israeli cabinet's decision on withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank, a report on the violence during an Iraqi festival, an account of a boat accident in Bangladesh, a story on the visit of Clinton and Bush to Indonesia's tsunami-affected areas, a report on the arrest of Haitian prisoners involved in a jailbreak, and an account of the Spanish referendum on the European Union.

The middle sheets of the newspapers differ in number and content. Ewe newspapers have fewer middle sheets compared to English-language ones. Similarly, whereas the Ewe newspapers focus on events in rural area, the English-language newspapers center on topics regarding urban centers. For instance, *Midim* (May 2001) has two middle sheets. The contents of these include rural-centered topics, such as the recapitulation of the exodus of the Ewe from a putative origin with the heading **Eweawo fe hogbetsotso ɣutinya** (*Narrative of the exodus of the Ewes*), an account of rural agriculture under the caption **Agbledede** (*Farming*), the description of components of Ewe literature under the title **Lekewɔnu maɣloɣiawo** (*Oral Literature*), some feature articles on Ewe customs and traditions, written under the heading **Ewe kɔnuwo** (*Ewe customs or traditions*), and so on. *Midim* (July 2004) has two middle sheets, which cover topics such as the importance of the Ewe language, written under the caption **Mina miado kɔkɔ mia degbea** (*Let us honor our mother tongue*), a biblical account of King David and Bathsheba titled **Wɔe nye ɣutsu ma!** (*You are the man in question*), some discussions on the uses of Ewe proverbs, written under the title **Dzrovie netɔ zu le afea?** (*Are a stranger in your own house?*), and so on. *Kpodoga* (January 2000) has one middle sheet, which covers topics such as the disadvantages of using fertilizer in yam farming, written under the caption **Fetilaza fe tegbegble le Gbegādzi** (*Fertilizer infects yams in northern region*), an account of the forest reserves at Tafi Atome in the Volta Region, recounted under the heading **Tafi Atome Le Awewo dome** (*Tafi Atome surrounded by forest*), an account of the puberty rites and songs, discussed under the caption **Ezu nyɔnu** (*She is*

[*now*] a woman), a report on the initiation for royal spokesman, written under the heading **Ezu Tsiami** (*He became the chief's spokesman*), and so on. **Kpodoga** (September 1998) also has one middle sheet. It focuses on issues such as witchcraft, written under the caption **Tsitsi menye adzetozuzu o** (*Features of old age are not signs of witchcraft*), reports on logging, discussed under the title **Se medemo o** (*It is prohibited*), a report on a chief's new laws, written under the heading **Dufia meda asi de dzi o** (*[The] chief does not concord*), a report on family planning workers, and recounted under the title **ƉoƉowowo de vidzidziɔutidowolawo** (*Family planning workers*), and so on.

In contrast, the English-language newspapers are made up of many middle sheets, mostly consisting of advertisements, financial institutions, and national development projects. For instance, the *Ghanaian Times* (November 11, 2004) has at least five middle sheets, covering news items such as digital broadcasting at radio and television stations, the shortage of gold for local industry in Ghana, the importance of establishing an academy for Ghana's police officers, workshops for journalists, congress for business and professional women, and guidelines for contractors of infrastructure. *The Independent* (December 6, 2004) has two middle sheets. These focus on political parties, advertisements, good journalistic reports, and so on. *The Free Press* (April 1, 2005) has at least one middle sheet. It contains reports on the donation of computers to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, the World Water Day, the workshops on road construction, advertisements, and so on. *The Daily Guide* (March 3, 2005) has four sheets. In all, they cover news items such as the scrutiny of appointed ministers of the Ghanaian cabinet, a story on Ghana Telecom, advertisements, and so on. Finally, the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005) has nine middle sheets. The contents of these sheets include the advertisement for a course in corporate governance, international news (e.g., the dismissal of Zimbabwean Information Minister, Kenyans underwent surgery after their organs were cut out, and ECOWAS sanctions Togo), discussions on financial investments, measures to ensure traffic flow in the cities, a report on government payrolls, and so on.

On the penultimate page, which constitutes another important section of newspapers, whereas *Midim* (May 2001) reports on sports under the heading **Lānese fefewo** (*Sporting Activities*), *Midim* (July 2004) dedicates the page to items such as the rights of children in the Ghanaian constitution, written under the title **Nya wò dufewo...le dukplosea nu** (*Know your rights in the governmental constitution*), and an account of a local community church celebration, recounted under the caption **ARS le Sokpoe-Tefle du dɛviwo fe ŋkeke** (*A.R.S.*

local community Church celebration at Sokpoe-Tefle). *Kpodoga* (January 2000) covers topics such as HIV, written under the heading **Ɖikanaku: aƒi si woakpɔe le** (*Ways by which HIV is contracted*), teenage pregnancy, discussed under the caption **fometɔwo kpea fu nenyɛ be** consequences of frequent and unplanned pregnancies **fukpekpe kplɔa kpevidzidzi ɔɔ** (*hazards of lack of family planning*), and a newlywed couple, recounted under the caption **ɣutsu, nyɔnu zu ɣutilā ɔeka** (*Man and woman become one flesh*)]. The special edition of *Kpodoga* (September 1998) provides information on items such as the first aid procedures for accident victims, discussed under the title **Ne ɔzɔgbevɔe ɔzo...** (*When an accident occurred*), the contagious diseases, discussed under the caption **Dɔxɔleameɣuwo** (*Infectious diseases*), a report on the usage of stoves to replace firewood, examined under the heading **Ɖe nake tefe** (*Alternatives to firewood*), and the letter to the editor on family planning, titled **Leta na Kpodoga** (*Letter to Kpodoga*). On the penultimate page of English-language newspapers, whereas *The Ghanaian Times* (November 11, 2004) has classifieds and advertisements, *The Independent* (December 6, 2004) has reports on registered energy service providers. Whereas the *Free Press* (April 1, 2005) reports on construction companies that are invited by the government to build household water closets, the *Daily Guide* (March 3, 2005) recounts sports events, and the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005) writes on sponsorship of the awards night for the Sportswriters Association of Ghana and sports in general, featuring some advertisements as well.

On the back page, while *Midim* (May 2001) describes the features of the Ketu district located in Eweland, using the title **Na miāɔi tsa le Ketu nuto me** (*Let us give an overview of Ketu District*), *Midim* (July 2004) allots its back page to reports on Volta Region inter-district school sports, titled **Ketu sukuwo fo wo katā ta...** (*Ketu students were first in all*). The back page of *Kpodoga* (January 2000) focuses on four items, namely, an account of the centenary celebration of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church at Botoku, titled **Botoku xɔ fe 100** (*Botoku is 100 years old*)], the debate on bush fires, captioned **Agbledelawo uli nuka** (*Farmers had a debate*), announcements, titled **Gbefāɔɔɔ na lānyilawo** (*Notice to farmers*), and answers to previous Ewe language assignments meant for high school students, written under the heading **Dɔdeasiwo** (*Assignments*). *Kpodoga* (September 1998) also features four items on its back page: the exchange program between Denmark and Tsito delegates, titled **Tsitoto 12 tɔɔ tso Denmark** (*Twelve Tsito citizens returned from Denmark*), non-traditional

funeral rites, captioned **Kunuwɔwɔ to mɔ vloɛ nu** (*Inauthentic funeral rites*), reports on the donations to Ketu district teachers, written under the title **Ketunufialawo xo nunana** (*Teachers in Ketu received awards*), an account of the agricultural machinery donated to the Ho district in Eweland, captioned **Trakto na Ho nutome** (*Tractor donated to Ho district*), and an article on the importance of preserving local customs and traditions, titled **Beléle na dekɔnu hia** (*Preserving local traditions*). In the case of the English-language newspapers, the back page of *The Ghanaian Times* (November 11, 2004) has four news items, namely, stories on soccer, a seminar for importers, announcements, and the anniversary of a local soccer team. Whereas *The Independent* (December 6, 2004) displays only an article on the winner of the 2004 presidential election, the *Free Press* (April 1, 2005) focuses on five news items, namely, the conclusion to the story on recent political demonstrations in Ghana, a report on the taxi drivers who were robbed, a conclusion to the report on a speech by a member of parliament, the wrapping up of the story on the pastor who accidentally caused a bush fire, and advertisements. The *Daily Guide's* back page (March 3, 2005) focuses on news items, namely, the vandals in Kumasi who were remanded, the unsuccessful NDC political demonstrations in Ghana, the investors' discussions with the President of Ghana, Kufuor, and the advertisements. This page of the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005) reports on news items, namely, the rights of children, the missing iron railings in Ghana, the trachoma-endemic regions in Ghana, the Tetteh Quarshie interchange scheduled to open soon, and advertisements.

E. Salient features of newspapers

In this section, I summarize the salient features of selected newspapers, showing how Ewe and English-language differ. Whereas both language domain newspapers cover news items such as politics, development, and sports, they differ in that the English-language newspapers primarily feature information on investments, mining companies, awards ceremonies, and advertisements for public service providers, while the local-language newspapers focus on folktales, customs, traditions, and rudiments of the local language.

Based on the discussions of formatting, headlines, advertisements, prices, and contents, I observe that each of the two language-domain newspapers constructs the identity of its readers, and in a reciprocal manner, the readers create the identity of the newspaper through their expectations. The Ghanaians thus associate the English-language newspapers

with academic professionals, urban dwellers, and modernity, whereas they associate the local-language newspapers with farmers, rural dwellers, less schooled people, and traditional adherents. These observations explain why whereas the English-language newspapers have flourished in Ghana, not only in a pragmatic dimension but, particularly, from the perspective of ideologies of language, the Ewe newspapers have not.

Additionally, the two language domain newspapers differ with respect to their coverage of the political economy of language. For instance, in the *Daily Graphic* (November 22, 2004), a letter from a reader complained about the standard of English of certain journalists of the Ghanaian-English newspapers, namely, the *Daily Guide*, the *Lens*, the *Ghanaian Democrat*, and the *Statesman*. The letter stated that the grammatical mistakes in the news reports influence the uncritical readers, given that English-language newspapers serve as valuable reading material for many Ghanaians. The writer urges journalists to improve their English (Appendix 8, Excerpt 2). The views of the writer reflect ideologies of language, which are based on the use of the purest form of the language and the highest linguistic standards. From another perspective, the editorial of the *Ghanaian Times* (November 18, 2004) reports on the accusations made on the incumbent Ghanaian president's use of English, compared with his native Ghanaian language, Twi (a dialect of Akan-language cluster). According to the editorial, an official of the principal opposition party (NDC) allegedly remarked that the Ghanaian language should have been used during the 2004 presidential debate, because it was rumored that the presidential leader of the ruling party (NPP) was not sufficiently proficient in English. The president participated in similar debates during a campaign in 2000, yet no such claims were reported at that time. This situation illustrates the influence of ideologies of language because the president was held as a symbol of the nation, hence he was expected to demonstrate all the symbolic qualities and tastes enshrined in his position, in ways outlined by Bourdieu (1977; 1979). Although the presidential leader has refrained from reacting to the language-based allegations (Appendix 8, Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2), the language situation is apparently one of the focal issues of the political debates because, during the political campaign, each political candidate had to make a choice to use either English or the local language. As a result, the candidates had to take into account the language preferences and attitudes of the electorate. This reflects contemporary aspects of ideologies of language: certain segments of the Ghanaian electorate opt for either English or the Ghanaian language. By contrast, Ewe newspaper readers send letters to the local-language editor complaining about how the Ewes use their language. For instance, in *Midim* (August 2001, p. 2), a writer urges Ewes to read the Ewe newspaper, *Midim*, to the same extent as they read the

Daily Graphic, the state-owned English-language newspaper (Appendix 9, Excerpt 10.2). In *Midim* (September-October 2001, p.8), it is reported that Dzobo once again complains that some Ewe emigrants are reluctant to use their own language. To encourage the Ewes to use their language, he reveals that in spite of his long years of study and several years of travel abroad, he always dreams in his native Ghanaian language, Ewe. In the same article, the writer encourages the Ewe chiefs to speak their native language during all of their official ceremonies (Appendix 9, Excerpts 11.1 and 11.2), because the chiefs are the principal authorities for promoting the Ghanaian language. They preside over and maintain the variety and strength of the indigenous cultural forms. As leaders of their communities, chiefs are the custodians of the language, customs, norms and symbols of their people (see Verdon 1983; Nukunya 1969; Ellis 1890 [1971]; and Busia 1964). On this view, the chiefs are expected to reflect the color, vigor and vibrancy of their culture. Consequently, during traditional events, when they choose to speak in English rather than their local language, journalists see such a choice as a contradiction and a blurring of the symbolic essence of their social position, rooted as it is in language and culture. In this regard, those promoting the use of Ewe reflect conservative or neotraditionalist sentiments, based on ideologies of language and the domains of language: English is associated with modern lifestyle, whereas local languages are associated with traditional lifestyle.

Overall, the examples cited from the different newspapers clearly illustrate the range of varied and even contradictory attitudes concerning the values, preferences, options, choices, and interests which reflect ideologies of language.

CHAPTER V
PRAGMATICS OF ENGLISH AND EWE

In this chapter, I will examine the pragmatics of English and Ewe, paying close attention to, on the one hand, the aesthetics of the two languages, and, on the other hand, literacy in the two languages, to investigate how these topics shed light on instances of ideologies of language regarding Ghanaian print media.

A. Aesthetics of English and Ewe

Journalists often tap into language aesthetics across texts in their newspapers. Bate (2002) affirms this fact, drawing attention to the use of language aesthetics as a means of representing leadership qualities, for instance, in Tamil Nadu newspapers. In particular, he explores the use of political poems these newspapers, analyzing how literary genres, such as poems, political praises, political speeches, and so on, are deployed in newspapers. He thus offers clues for interpreting the significance of literary forms of representations in the print media.

My Ghanaian informants' discourses on features of Ghanaian media language validate Bate's (2002) observations. During an interview the informants, they often spoke about density of language to denote the aesthetic and stylistic use of language in Ghanaian media. According to them, Ewe youth – for example, from the junior secondary school, grade seven, mastering literacy in their language are expected to demonstrate the density of the language in their writing. In this regard, Dzobo (1997) refers to the use of proverbs, whereas Egblewogbe (1975) points to the usage of unfamiliar vocabulary, when they discuss aesthetics and stylistics. For instance, the acquisition of the density of Ewe involves the knowledge and skillful usage of components of the entire social life the Ewes; that is, the use of vocabulary of the religious system, social institutions, political organization, economic activities, agriculture, etc. In public discourse, as characteristic of most African languages, speakers are expected to demonstrate mastery of the language, using proverbs, wise sayings, and idiomatic expressions as a symbol of wisdom, status, maturity, and eloquence (Finnegan 1970; Yankah 1995). In every chieftom in Eweland, the chief's interpreter, known in the language as **Tsiami** (*Chief's spokesperson*) is the male person who symbolizes eloquence and oration. He speaks on behalf of the chief, punctuating his discourse with oral stylistics. In a similar vein, journalists are expected to use appropriate stylistics to show their mastery of Ewe.

Achebe claims that oratory is the best literary piece in African verbal culture: “the finest examples of prose occur not in [folktales, legends, proverbs, and riddles] but in oratory and even in the art of good conversation [...] Serious conversation and oratory [...] call for an original and individual talent and at their best belong to a higher order” (Achebe in Whiteley 1964: vii). Finnegan (1970) contends, however, that other forms of oral literature do in fact convey the richness of African verbal art. In particular, she notes that Africans use oratory in social contexts such as a law case where litigants are cross-examined by a traditional judicial council of elders. Other official (ceremonial) social contexts in which oratory is prominent include political discussions, petitions, polite discourse, funeral orations, and elegant conversation. These occasions are marked by the use of speeches of welcome, royal speeches, speeches for election of chief, marriage solicitation discourse, speeches to welcome returning travelers, religious injunctions, and epigrams. The professional or skilled orators in Africa (the royal herald of Ashanti in Ghana, the “Big men” (Elders) of Limba in Sierra Leone, and “Aristocratic boys” of Tutsi in Burundi) intertwine their discourse with proverbs, stories, parables, allusions, figures of speech, and rhetorical questions (1970: 446-52).

Finnegan observes that in similar ceremonial (public) contexts Africans use rhetorical and aesthetic skills to persuade their listeners and to impress them. She also notes that Africans use proverbs in ceremonial occasions to support their arguments:

In Africa, as in antiquity, one of the commonest contexts for public speaking is that of a law case, a formalized occasion which allows both litigants and judges to display their rhetorical skill. Their conscious aims, doubtless, are clearly functional; but aesthetic considerations are also involved, if only to add to the persuasiveness of the speech. Some of these speeches are highly sophisticated and skilled. We often hear of the use of proverbs on such occasions to appeal to the audience or make a point with extra forcefulness. (1970: 445)

Finnegan notices that the Anang Ibibios, for instance, maximize the use of proverbs in ceremonial and official contexts like the court, to impress their audience and to influence

the decision-makers. She observes that in legal contexts among Mbala of Congo public discourse is interwoven with literary forms like allegorical song (1970: 446).

Finnegan asserts that proverbs are found in many African cultures, drawing on their distinctive classificatory names to attest this claim. For instance, proverbs are termed **mallol** in Fulani, **ndimo** in Kamba, **sanza** in Zande, **dále'kpa** in Jabo, **olugero** in Ganda, and **izaga** in Zulu, to refer to the allusive ideas that are compressed in a few phraseologies (Finnegan 1970: 390). She observes that proverbs play a leading role in most African speech forms such as oratory, stories, anecdotes, songs, praise names, and poems to the extent that they serve as a syntactic device of concluding or summarizing other oral genres or as an aesthetic tool to embellish other speech forms: "Similar connections between story and proverb are mentioned for the Azande, Zulu, Ashanti, and many others, and a moralizing story may end with, or imply, a proverb to drive home its point" (1970: 391). She notes that the Anang Ibibio, the Kikuyu, the Yoruba, and the Limba use them to mark crucial points in a judicial speech in order to influence the decisions of the audience and traditional judges (1970: 408). This said, she notices that proverbs are so frequently used in most African speech forms such that they occur in everyday conversations (1970: 391). Most African societies consider proverbs as language in its most condensed form. Rattray (1916), for instance, contends that proverbs are viewed in Africa as the flesh that provides body for the skeleton, namely, the language.

Other forms of ceremonial speeches interlaced with stylistic devices include salutations, oaths, prayers, and solemn instructions (Finnegan 1970: 457). Finnegan therefore calls on researchers to explore the interrelation between the literary genres of African languages, pointing out that most forms of African verbal art are interspersed with other literary genres. For instance, African panegyric poetries of Yoruba, Zulu, and Hausa often comprise significant names that enunciate the characteristics and deeds of chiefs or traditional personages. She notes that names are an elliptic means of alluding to neighbors, expressing ideas obliquely, and acclaiming the deeds of a traditional personage. The Ibos in Nigeria, for instance, adopt proverb-names to indicate the metaphorical features to which they aspire (Finnegan 1970: 472-474). Finnegan affirms that this form of name is significant in most African verbal culture, evidenced by the

ways that various societies designate it: **tige** for the Dogon, **oriki** for Yoruba, **izibongo** for Zulu, **kirari** for Hausa, and so on. She thus contends that oratory, ceremonial speech, and other forms of African verbal art serve aesthetic, syntactic as well as social functions in African discourse, exhorting researchers to pay close attention to how they interlocked in traditional discourses.

Ghanaian (and African) traditional oratory is marked with aesthetic and rhetorical devices (Yankah 1995). Orators often suffuse their discourses with forms of verbal art, on the one hand, to demonstrate their linguistic skills and, on the other hand, to illustrate the density of the local languages. For instance, Ewe orators “adorn” their discourses by imbedding them with Ewe verbal culture which comprise **lododowo** (*proverbs*), **adaganawo** (*idiomatic expressions*), **halowo** (*song proverbs*), **hakpanyawo** (*poetry*), **hawo** (*songs*), **fefewo** (*drama*), and **adjetronyawo** (*tongue twisters*). There are also **tsifodinyawo** (*libation prayers*), **dzokanyawo** (*magic verses connected with spells*), and **Afa nyagbewo** (*divination verses*, known in the literature as “Ifa divination verses”).

To illustrate the African aesthetic practices, Yankah describes the role of Akan royal spokespersons, the *akyeame* (plural form of *okyeame* in Akan), noting in particular their functions as orator, editor, counselor, and intermediary: “Being counsellor and intermediary to the chief, he is responsible, among other things, for enhancing the rhetoric of the words the chief has spoken. In the absence of an *okyeame*’s editorial art, the royal speech act is considered functionally and artistically incomplete. The public art of the *okyeame* thus turns on creativity” (1995: 3).

As Yankah notes, royal discourses are couched in aesthetic devices (forms) that involve circumlocution, metaphorical utterances, rhetorical oratory, and proverbial speech. He asserts that in the social mediation of speech among the Akan, the royal spokespersons embellish the chief’s message with verbal genres like witty-sayings, poetic pieces, proverbs, and so on: “The speech they [*akyeame*] report is often ornamented with witticisms and poetic embellishments not part of the original message” (1995: 8). He further describes the roles of the Akan royal spokespersons, noting how they creatively reports royal messages by paraphrasing, elaborating, and adorning them with aesthetic devices: “In the *okyeame*’s care, royal words, whether whispered or spoken, may be paraphrased, elaborated, punctuated with history, ornamented with metaphor, enlivened

with proverbs and allegories, or even dramatized outright. Through the art of the surrogate orator, royal words are refined, poeticized, and made palatable for public consumption” (1995: 19). Royal spokespersons are thus models of oration and public discourse in traditional African societies, particularly Ghanaian traditional settlements.

Yankah contends that the art of oratory (i.e., skillful mastery of words) among the Akans is a natural talent rather than the outcome of institutionalized training. Although this may be accurate with respect to Western institutionalized education, I argue that orators (in traditional African societies) acquire their skills through systematic processes, such as regularly participating in situations in which the components of public rhetoric are used. Yankah acknowledges this systematic acquisition of rhetorical skills by noting that “[the orators come] naturally with constant exposure to traditional speaking situations” (1995: 45). He adds that the Akan okyeame, for instance, acquires his skills by participating in traditional meetings, initially as an observer or courtier, and later as a royal spokesperson, elected by the council of elders or by appointed by the chief, and sworn in his new role. This means that the art of oratory is acquired through a gradual process of learning. That the Akan’s okyeame learns his skills through informal but systematic processes can be confirmed by the appointment of an eleven-year-old (Okyeame Agyei of Nwamase in Ashanti region) in 1988 to ensure that he would command most of the elements of the social system required by his royal function as he matured (1995: 85-88).

Yankah cites instances where techniques of oratory were deployed among the Akans in Ghana. One includes the necessity to address sensitive topics, for instance loan solicitations, where the speaker should resort to the technique of “indirection,” that is, using verbal devices such as circumlocution, proverbs, idiomatic expressions, and metaphors to communicate with the addressee (Yankah 1995: 51). These techniques are maximally used by epitomes of traditional oratory like okyeame, mediums, elders, priests, and so on. Yankah notes that, among the Akan and other West African tribes, these techniques are used in ceremonial speech events like judicial deliberations, libation prayers, marriage rites, greeting interactions, court proceedings, and statements disclosing purpose of visit in Akan such as *amannee* (1995: 53, 58).

Yankah also notices that a **dwamu kasa**, an Akan term for oratory as opposed to conversation (**badwam** or **adwabɔ ase**), is marked by features of density of the language: “Dwamu kasa is characterized by a greater density of ornate expression (such as proverbs and metaphor), honorifics and politeness formulae, and metacommunicative signals” as well as poetic devices (Yankah 1995: 53; Levinson 1986: 91). He also notes that ceremonial speeches are replete with traditional titles (e.g., **Nana** for *Elder*), epithets (e.g., **Otumfoo** for *The-All-Powerful*), and disclaimers (e.g, **mepa wok yew**, **mesre wo** for *please, I beg your pardon*).

As Yankah observes, Akans use forms of oral genres to portray verbal artistry, saturating their speeches with discursive devices like **kasakoa** (*veiled utterances*), **tete kasa** (*archaic expressions*), and **ebe** (*proverbs*) (1995: 57). This practice, he notes, renders ceremonial speeches “more condensed and obscure”, unlike ordinary conversations, which are more simple and clear. In light of the profuse amount of verbal art in discourse, Yankah affirms that verbal eloquence is so valued among sub-Saharan African societies that high-profile traditional leaders lacking this sociocultural feature could lose their social position as a chief or okyeame (Yankah 1995: 62; Saah 1986). He points out some qualities expected of an okyeame, specifying that this royal functionary must have command over most of the components of the social system like “traditional lore, custom, and history, as well as wisdom, experience, and skills in the forensic arts, oratory, logic diplomacy, and public relations” (Yankah 1995: 85), in order to adequately accomplish his duties. Similarly, he enumerates the competencies expected of a chief, citing among others their “effective use of speech” and aesthetic devices, their good command over verbal wit and diction, their perfect “combination of wisdom” and eloquence, and their thorough “knowledge of custom and traditional matters” (Ibid., p. 85), as they exercise their responsibilities. He affirms that in communicating royal messages, the Okyeame focuses primarily on the aesthetic elegance of the message by embellishing it with oral genres, anecdotes, historical events, customary norms, and so on (Yankah 1995: 100, 113; Leech 1983:147).

Ngugi, for instance, describes aesthetics in African literature written in European languages in terms of “[...] how best to make the borrowed tongues carry the weight of our African experience by [...] making them [tap into] African proverbs and other

peculiarities of African speech and folklore” (Ngugi 1991: 7). He asserts that the literature that African writers produced in English and French integrates African lore, such as fables, stories, riddles, and wise sayings.

In writing about a chief, for instance, a journalist is expected to specify features of the chiefdom, using **abebubuwo** (*panegyrics*) of the throne, **lododowo** (*proverbs*), and **adaganawo** (*idiomatic expressions*). Hence, Ewe writers are expected to use these elements of stylistics in their writings, as specified in written Ewe grammars (Westermann 1907; 1930) and pedagogical Ewe texts (Obianim 1964).

The Ewes use proverbs, idiomatic expressions, and classes of names to reflect aesthetic beauty in the language, but especially as techniques of brevity, conciseness, summary, and sublimity. For example, to reduce verbosity in verbal discourse and written text, a journalist writing about education is expected to quote **lododowo** (*proverbs*), for example, **nunya aɖido ye asi metu nɛ o** (*wisdom is like a baobab tree, the hands cannot encompass it*). Similarly, in recounting stories about an Ewe community or a chief, a writer is expected to interweave his/her story with relevant panegyrics, proverbs, throne motto, etc. which reflect the anatomy of the language as well as the specificity of the topic. Awoonor, for instance, says:

I have Ewe, and I know how to use the Ewe in that level of density. It is very important. People think that Ewe or any African language is not capable of thought of complex ideas, if you listen to Hesino Akpalu, the old Ewe Poet, who composed the dirges, you will see the complexity of the text:

Xexea me fe dzogoe dzi nyea mele, *I am sitting in the way of street corner,*
Nyemele amewo amewo kasa o. *I am not the same as the enemy.*
Ame siwo nye aklamatoɔwo, *Those are lucky,*
Wonɔ anyi de me nu. *They have sat down and they have something*
on which they leaned

That metaphor, **wonɔ anyi de me nu**, if you say it in regular everyday speech, the Ewe speaker will not understand, unless you explain what it means by **wonɔ anyi de**

me nu alo dzogbe tre fafegbe na mi *They have sat down and they have something against which they leaned or destiny has reserved fortunes for you.* Those are the highest level of the language in all its complexity. And that is why the great poetry is not nursery rhymes. The great poetry is made up of complex forms and ideas [...] (Appendix 1, Q3)

Awoonor claims that he uses the literary techniques of the Ewes in his novel to portray the anatomy and density of Ewe. Similarly, Ewe newspaper writers draw on the verbal art to intersperse their news reports (see Bate 2002). The three Ewe newspapers which exemplify the language's denseness are *Midim*, *Atumpani*, and *Kpodoga*. Among these, *Midim* is the best example of an Ewe newspaper that deploys components of the language's denseness, because its editors did not have journalistic training. The editor of *Midim* thus depends solely on his knowledge of Ewe for the writing of news reports. This is followed by *Atumpani* newspaper, but in a lesser extent compared with *Midim*, because the editor of *Atumpani* trained as a teacher in English-language literacy and adult education which he applies to Ewe, in particular, in writing news reports. Among the three Ewe newspapers, the editor of *Kpodoga* least uses components of the language's denseness, because he depends on his training as a journalist in English-language literacy, which he deploys in the Ewe newspaper. The editors of *Kpodoga* and *Atumpani* thus transpose into Ewe newspaper part of the tradition of English-language style and journalism, namely, unveiled language and direct stylistics in news reporting, yet occasionally switch to the use of a few forms of Ewe verbal art in the news reports. Overall, the two editors apply to the Ewe newspaper the principles of journalism partly based on the use of unveiled language, familiar words, and factual points, as characteristic of English-language newspapers. In contrast, the editor of *Midim* applies to the newspapers discourse-based aesthetics, that is, veiled language, unfamiliar words, and rhetorical points found in the Ewes' public and ceremonial discourse.

To illustrate the expectations of aesthetics indicated above, I cite examples from *Kpodoga*, *Midim*, and *Atumpani* newspapers to illustrate the degree to which they demonstrate the constituents that mark the density of the language, as well as the language divide. While the writers of *Kpodoga* often use unveiled expressions and

familiar words, the writers of *Midim* use veiled expressions and vocabulary, common in the oratories of chiefs, royal spokesmen (interpreters), elders, ritual specialists, poets, priests, diviners, and medicine men in oratories. For example, in *Kpodoga*, the writers use unveiled expressions and vocabularies such as **anyo be** (*it will be good*), **dzro nu me** (*review things*), **dji dase** (*witness*), **kuxi gā** (*big obstacle*), **tsā** (*ancient days*), and so on. In contrast, the writers of *Midim*, often use unfamiliar words and veiled expressions, such as **gologoe** (*vicinity*), **blema** (*ancient days*), **agbadrē** (*always*), **fudename** (*disturbance*), **no ta dom da** (*emerged; that is, to rear its ugly head*), on so on. This demonstrates that the writers of *Midim* make use of expressions and words to illustrate the density of the language, as expected in the Ewe literacy program.

On the front page of *Kpodoga*, it is the norm for journalists to use an unveiled style of the Ewe language. For example, the following lines appeared advising on resolutions for the year 2000: “**Agoo! De alesi miege de fe yeye me fifia ta la, enyo be miadzro nu me tso fe siwo va yi la nu eye miade adzogbe de ale si mianɔ agbee le fe yeye sia kple esiwo akplɔe do la me ɲu,**” *May I have your attention! As we have entered a new year, [suggested translation: it would be good for us to reflect on the previous years, and to make resolutions for how we will live in the next and coming years.] it is good that we should review the things of the previous years, and we should make resolutions on how we would live in the new and subsequent years.* In the same article, the following unveiled expression appears: “**Ame akpa gāto dji dase be kuxi gā evee Ghana tso le gegem de fe 2000 la me,**” *The majority of the people testify that Ghana begins the Year 2000 with two main problems. The first concerns the spread of HIV/AIDS virus. The second regards the degradation of the land and natural resources, irrespective of the population increase (Kpodoga January 2000: 1).* There are no words which readers would be unfamiliar with in these sentences.

The writers of the *Kpodoga* newspaper, who were trained in an English-language journalistic program, often use unveiled expressions in their articles. Occasionally, even the writers of *Kpodoga* revert to the use of proverbs, traditional songs, praise-names, and components of the Ewe social repertoire to portray density of the language. For instance, the following proverb occurs in an article on how the weather has become increasingly

unpredictable: “**Afi aḍe kpɔkpɔ nyo wu ya me kpɔkpɔ,**’ *Looking somewhere is better than looking into the air*, or equivalently, *Doing something is better being bone idle*. In this article, the journalist incorporates this proverb into his report, first observing that the weather in Eweland used to be predictable, so that farmers and fishermen could reliably plan their activities. He notes the persisting instability in weather conditions, contemplating the possible causes of this instability. He then uses the proverb, exhorting farmers to productively use the changing weather conditions to accomplish other household tasks. It is noteworthy that this particular newsprint had only one proverb (*Kpodoga* January 2000: 5).

Another reporter for *Kpodoga* includes the following proverb in his report on the importance of educating girls: **Vimatsakpɔ be ye dadae foa detsi vivi** (*A child who has never traveled thinks his/her mother prepares a delicious soup*). The reporter first recalls the contention of Dr. Aggrey of Ghana that educating men leads to educating a few individuals, but educating women leads to educating a nation. He then argues that since most women in Africa perform more duties on the scale of division of labor, their lack of education will adversely affect the development of their nation, and cites pregnancy care and child delivery precautions as examples of women’s roles that require education in schools. He also notes how African women work on farms after men have ploughed the land, and then argues that in schools women learn about pregnancy cares, childbearing, child rearing, farming, trading, cooking, and so on. Finally, he sums his report up with the proverb, contending that an uneducated woman will lack the experiences and examples necessary for the efficient exercising of her social roles (*Kpodoga* Special edition September 1998: ii).

Another example comes from an article on the disadvantages of applying fertilizer to yam farms, in which the journalist uses the following proverb: **Gake nutefekpɔkpɔe hea dzixɔse vanɛ** (*Experience is the best teacher*). The journalist begins the article by comparing farmers’ use of fertilizers for bigger yam harvest with traders’ beliefs that the use of fertilizers leads to poor quality yams. He draws particular attention to a buyer who returned the rotten yam tubers to a trader amidst anger and frustration. He then examines the natural and common causes of poor quality of yam tubers in Africa, specifically

noting extreme cold, intense heat, excessive rain, and tainted yam tubers planted as the major causes of poor yam harvest. He observes that yam tubers nowadays deteriorate due to the use of fertilizer on the field, particularly as is the practice in the northern parts of Ghana and Nigeria, arguing that excessive use of fertilizer leads to deterioration of the natural fertility of the land, a stage that in turn leads to an increased use of fertilizer which eventually results in the poor quality of yam tubers. The writer then suggests measures for curtailing the low quality of yam products, encouraging in particular the use of natural manure derived from decayed plants and animal droppings, the proper tilling of the land before planting yam products, the practice of shifting cultivation, the seasonal planting of beans and groundnuts to rejuvenate the land, and the use of fertilizer to reinforce the fertility of the land. The article then concludes with a summary of the main points with the proverb that calls on farmers to seek professional advice from their district agricultural specialist on relevant ways to improve their yam cultivation (*Kpodoga* January 2000: 3).

The writers of the newspaper *Atumpani* also make minimal use of the Ewe verbal art, similar to style of the writers of *Kpodoga*, because its writers trained in English-language literacy. For instance, in one article, a columnist discusses the functions of proverbs in Ewe, noting how they serve as verbal art for educating Ewes on moral conduct. The columnist observes that proverbs may function as aesthetic tools for the brevity, conciseness, and summarizing of a lengthy message: **Nenye be Eweawo le nu xlōm ame eye womedi be yewoafɔ nu fūu o la, wozāa lododowo be wòanɔ kpuie** (*When the Ewes are admonishing a person, to avoid lengthy exhortation, they use proverbs to render the message brief*) (*Atumpani* February 1995: 3).

Another example comes from a front-page *Atumpani* article on the Ghanaian Catholic Youth's 1996 resolution to abstain from alcohol, in which the reporter uses an idiomatic expression and a proverb. He first recounts the events of the congress of the youth, recalling in particular the theme of the congress, namely, "The Wellbeing and Safety of the Youth." He then reports on the allocution (speech) of the Ghanaian Minister of Food and Agriculture, who exhorts the young people to avoid alcohol and hard drugs, and he recalls the Minister's admonition to the young people to use the messages of the Bible as guiding principles in life. In describing this biblical exhortation, the reporter uses

the idiomatic expression [...] **woatsɔ Mawunya ado abe akpoxɔwu** [...] (*use the word of God as a shield*) rather than more familiar **woatsɔ Mawunya akplɔ wodɔkuiwoe** (*use the word of God as a guiding principle*). Interestingly, the morphology of the word **akpoxɔwu** is not what is in common usage (oral or written), which is actually **akpoxɔnu**. Thus the reporter is using a form of the morphology that would not be used in common speech or writing specifically for the report. Although both forms mean *shield*, the first emphasizes a shield as a “protective dress” to denote an armor, whereas the second references a shield as any “protective object” to reference a life-protection measures.

In the same article, the reporter also notes how the Minister encourages the Youth to spread the word of God. He recounts how the principal of a high school admonishes the young people to steer clear of unhealthy relationships as well as family planning ads on television. The reporter then concludes the article, summarizing his points with the following proverb: **elabena ne to meseɛ o eye ŋku ha mekpɔe o manye tetekpɔ o** (*If ears do not hear, and eyes do not perceive, there would be no temptation*). This implies that whenever the young people are exposed to unhealthy experiences, they are also inevitably influenced by them, and thus should avoid events that could have adverse effects on their lives (*Atumpani* July 1996: 1).

An *Atumpani* editorial on funeral rites in Ghana provides yet another example. Here, the editor intersperses the text with proverbs, unfamiliar words, and idiomatic expressions. He begins by postulating that funeral rites differ from place to place, supporting his statement with the following proverb: **du sia du kple efe koklo kokoe** (*each town has its own tradition; that is, when in Rome, do as the Romans do*). He contends that there is, however, one fundamental aim of funeral rites that cuts across all cultures, namely, the need to remind the living of death and mortuary rites. Put a bit differently, funeral rites serve to make the living conscious of the reality of death in their lives. At this textual locus, he cites another proverb: **elabena ku megbɔ ame aɔke nu o** (*death does not discriminate when it strikes; that is, all humans are mortal*).

In this same piece, the editor observes that mortality rites are performed by means of mourning, weeping, singing dirges, and drumming. He points out that some funeral

rituals may offend sensitive attendees. Further, in describing these sensitive participants, he uses the idiomatic expression **amesiwo fo dzi mele o la** (*those who lack courage; that is, those who have the jitters*) rather than **amesiwo vɔna** (*those who are nervous*). He cites certain funeral rituals, using unfamiliar words like **hlɔ̄tsi** (*clan-ritual bath*) instead of **ɲutikɔklɔtsi** (*purification bath*), **ɔdo agba** (*exposition of the mortal remains*) in place of (*laying of the dead body for viewing*), and **ameyinugbea** (*the deceased*) in lieu of (*the dead person*). The editor also observes in this editorial changes in the practice of funeral rites in Ghana. To mark transitions both in the history of mortuary rites as well as in the textual layer, he uses the following idiomatic expression: **Egbe la, gbediɖia trɔ kura** (*Nowadays, the tune has changed*), that is, *A new era has dawned*. He then notes that funeral rites are no longer performed for the purpose of cultural observances but also for people to display their wealth and glamour. Funeral events, he states, have moved from observance of custom and tradition to pure fanfare due to video coverage, photography, hired “professional” mourning, and banquets. He notes that some individuals even use funeral events as occasions for courtship or debauchery, contending that this new mode of mortuary rites has led to excessive expenses, debt, poverty, and scuffles, and concludes the editorial with the following proverb: [...] **hiãtɔ megbea fome aɖeke me o** (*no family is without a poor person*). With this proverb, he exhorts readers of the newspaper to write their own views on ways of redressing the new import of funeral events, and in particular to suggest ways of reducing excessive expenses involving funeral rites (*Atumpani* November 1994: 2).

A final example comes from an article on the precautionary measures for bushfires, in which the writer uses both unfamiliar words and idiomatic expressions. He first recalls the suggestion of the Minister of the Volta Region that the firefighters in Ghana should construct fire-prevention barriers around residences, farms, and property. He then notes the Minister’s caution that the Ewes should be more vigilant during the peak of the dry season when the risks of bushfires escalate. To describe the upcoming dry season, he uses the idiomatic expression **pepi tu afe** (*the dry season at our door*) instead of the familiar form **pepi si va ɔdo vɔ** (*the dry season that is near*).

In this article, the writer reports on the messages of Kpando District Commissioner, who exhorts the Ewes to alert her office about any illegal lumbering in her district. The writer uses the unfamiliar word **ɔe gbe** (*command*) rather than the familiar form **gblɔ** (*say*). Using this unfamiliar word symbolically marks the position of authority from which the District Commissioner addresses her audience. The writer concludes the news report by noting the occasion's chairperson suggestion to firefighters to use the appropriate gear for facilitating their work. In this sentence, he uses the idiomatic expression **anɔte ɔe dɔ la ŋu awɔ** (*have firmer ground to withstand the nature of their work*) in lieu of a familiar form “**be woate ŋu awɔ dɔla**” (*have necessary tools to do their work*) (*Atumpani* February 1995).

The writers of *Midim* newspapers generally adapt their reports to the style of Ewe discourses by maximizing the use of verbal art in their news reports. For example, the front page of one paper describes the ongoing reconstruction of Keta using proverbs, idiomatic expressions, and unfamiliar words to draw the reader's attention to the anatomy of the language. The writer introduces the report by observing that Keta was one of the well-known seaports where mainstream churches (Catholic, Presbyterian, and A.M.E. Zion) established their sees or headquarters, and international traders converge to exchange goods. He then inserts the following idiomatic expression and proverb: [...] **E! Gbe aɔe gbe lé gbe ŋaɔe gbe fu anyi na Keta vavã! Aɔukpo dzi fu xoxo be ye hã yeno dze me kpɔ. ε, nyatefe sɔŋ koe nye lododo sia**, translated as , *Eh! Gone are the ancient days of Keta. The old bones in the dunghill have said they used to live among salt. Yes, this proverb is so true.* This text contains an idiomatic expression, namely, **Gbe aɔe gbe lé gbe aɔe gbe fu anyi** *Gone are the ancient days*, which replaces an unveiled expression, **nuwo megale abe tsã ene o** *things are no longer as they used to be*, or **tsã nuwo trɔ** (*things have changed*). The text also has the proverb: **Aɔukpo dzi fu xoxo be ye hã yeno dze me kpɔ** (*The old bones in the dunghill said they used to live among salt*). In plain words, this should be **Aɔukpo dzi fu xoxo be ye hã yeno tefe xɔ asi kpɔ** (*The old bones in the dunghill said they used to live in an affluent place*), which means *Keta used to be an affluent and prosperous city, but it is now reduced to wasteland*. The writer uses both the expression and proverb not only to denote a transition in the news report,

but also to convey a twist in the history of the development of Keta. The causes of the diminished fame of Keta are then enumerated, highlighting the sea erosion that decimated the littoral commercial town, which forced most of the residents to relocate to other towns. The erosion also destroyed stores, public infrastructure, market facilities, ports, and the harbor. After noting the efforts of traditional and government leaders to prevent the sea erosion and to rebuild the town, the writer quotes the following proverb to mark another transition in the text, as well as the history of Keta: **Go nyuie ha de ama ame** (*Elegant clothing can also strip a person*). This proverb implies that when a person longs for a good that pertains to a higher order, he/she should bear in mind that that same product can expose him/her. By application, local and government leaders were forced to expose their plight before Exxim Bank, which required collaterals for the loans. The following proverb is at this point used to mark textual and historical transitions: **Esi wònye ñoti mele naneke dim abe gbogbo ene o ta** (*Given that the nose seeks nothing but the ability to breathe*). This proverb conveys that the leaders longed for nothing but the ability to procure loans for the project, hence they provided the necessary collaterals to receive the loans for which they applied. With the loan, the dyke project of rebuilding Keta began under the supervision of Great Lakes Dredge and Dock Company. The writer also notes the comments of the project supervisor, in particular the behavior of workers, the problems regarding good wage, and the safety of construction materials. The news reporter concludes by exhorting all natives to provide all that is necessary for the success of the project (*Midim* May 2001: 1 and 3).

Midim writers generally opt for aesthetics of Ewe oratory, rather than more unveiled expressions, as the former illustrates the density of the language (*Midim* May 2001: 1 and 3). For example, in the aforementioned article, the writer uses unfamiliar words in place of more familiar expressions, e.g., “intertwined” for “joined”, “vicinity” instead of “area”, “immense” in place of “a lot”, and “overlaid” in lieu of “crowded.” These examples are representative of how the writers of *Midim* mostly use the style common in Ewe oratory, illustrating the density of the language, as expected in literacy in the language and, particularly, in forms of Ewe discourse (*Midim* May 2001: 1 and 3).

In another report, a writer makes use of idiomatic expressions, historical narrative, unfamiliar words, and songs in writing on the migration story of the Ewes. The article

begins with the assertion that from time of creation era human beings migrated from place to place, and thus no individual possesses the total story of human origin. Researchers, the writer continues, have attempted to document migration stories and history for future generations, to prevent the loss of such accounts. At this point of the text, he cites the following Ewe idiomatic expression: **kpakple nunya nagazu dze abu de ama me o** (*So that the information may not be salt lost in spinach stew*). Ewes use similar idiomatic expressions to express an irremediable situation, which metaphorically is analogous to the inability to retrieve the natural salt once the grains are dissolved in spinach stem. The columnist intends to use this analogy to emphasize the importance of recording and documenting historical accounts before it is too late to do so. Based on this proverb, he discloses his motivation for documenting the history of Ewe migrations. At this textual *locus*, he cites the following proverb: **Vavāe, togbenu metsia gbe o!** (*Indeed, ancestral legacy is not abandoned in distant land!*). This implies that collective memories and ancestral traditions must be kept alive by each succeeding generation. On this note, the he intends to recall the historical account of the migration of the Ewes, particularly drawing upon Ewe historical narrative (**xotutu**) to retell the Ewe migration story. He notes, for example, from the historical narrative of the Ewe ancestors that the Ewes migrated from a putative “origin of humanity,” located in the area of the east with respect to their current location. He points out that the lack of written historical records has led to the mistaken belief that Notsie town in Togo is the Ewes’ **Hogbe** or place of origin. He contends that the Ewes actually migrated from a place in eastern Egypt, traversing locations like Abyssinia in Sudan, Sahara desert, and Timbuktu (Ketu/Keketu), arguing that the Ewes temporarily lived in Ketu where they acquired curative knowledge about different kinds of wounds and fractures. Based on the historical narrative, he describes the migration of the Ewes, from Ketu, along the banks of Kuara (Niger) River to Ayo (Oyo) where they shared territories with other tribes (the Fons or Dahomeans, Yoruba, Adagme, Ga, and Akan) under Oyo Empire. He claims that the Ewes migrated from Oyo to Ile Ife where they learned the art of divination by Ifa, and maintains that some Ewes (Anlo, Agu, Be, and Fon) migrated together, as a result learned Yewe religious cult from their neighbor, the Fons. He holds that this later migration-cluster continued from Ile Ife to Dogboland, where they learned how to brew local gin. He then quotes an Ewe

migration-based song to attest the sojourn at Dogbo territory and the new skill of the Ewes concerning locally-brewed alcohol:

Aha le Dogbo,	<i>There is alcohol at Dogbo,</i>
Mayi anoe mava.	<i>Let me go to drink it and then return.</i>
Dogbotowo qa nane,	<i>Dogbo natives brewed something,</i>
Ye woyoe be sodabi,	<i>Then they called it “sodabi” alcohol,</i>
Dogbotowo qa nane,	<i>Dogbo natives brewed something,</i>
Ye woyoe be akpeteshie,	<i>Then they call it “akpeteshie” alcohol,</i>
Dogbo, mayi anoe mava.	<i>Dogbo, let me go to drink it and then return.</i>

The writer uses the verses of this song to engage the attention of the reader, to show the veracity of the narrative, and to illustrate the genres that portray the density of the language. He then points out the final settlement of the Fons in Benin, noting the migration of the Anlo and their neighbors from Dogbo to Notsie. He affirms that at Notsie, a cluster of Ewes (Anlo, Be, and Agu) constituted the Dogbo clan as opposed to Agbogbome and Tado clans.

In recasting the story of Ewe migrations, the columnist also uses unfamiliar words like *fitsofitso* (*exhaustively*) in lieu of *keŋkeŋ* (*completely*), *xo anyi no* (*inhabit*) instead of *tsi* (*reside*), *kui de nu* (*migrate*) in place of *zo mo* (*journey*), and *klu mozozo la de nu* (*they forge on, riding roughshod over [their clansmen]*) instead of *yi mozozo la dzi* (*continue the journey*) (*Midim* May 2001: 1 and 3). Although some of his claims (Egypt as Ewe origin, journey along Niger River, various stop points, and so on) markedly differ from mainstream historical accounts, he makes a striking illustration of the density of Ewe, combining in the same text the idiomatic expressions, the historical narrative, the song related to migration, and the names of significant places that reflect his knowledge of the Ewe social system, which are not concerns of historians (like Amenumey 1986; 1997; Asamoah 1986; Cornevin 1988; Medeiros 1984; Pazzi 1984; and Mamattah 1978) who researched the same topic.

Another writer integrates in his news report unfamiliar words and idiomatic expressions that reflect density of Ewe. He reports on Chief Gabusu VI, Gbi traditional area's paramount chief's exhortation to all chiefs of the Volta Region in Ghana to fulfill their roles as leaders who enforce unity in the government. In doing so, the reporter uses the unfamiliar word **doe d̩a** (*suggest*) which denotes "to tilt toward" instead of a familiar form **gblo** (*tell*) or (*say*). He thus formulates the following clause: **Togbuigā Gābusu VI [...] doe d̩e nutoa me fiawo gb̩ be [...] Chief Gabusu VI "tilted word toward" the chiefs in the region that [...]** rather than **Togbuigā Gābusu VI [...] gblona nutoa me fiawo be [...]** (*The Chief Gabusu VI (told) the chiefs of the region that [...]*). The verb "tilt toward" connotes a physical movement, that is, "to tilt something toward" in order to suggest something or express an opinion by making a physical gesture. Given that the chiefs command royalty, respect and reverence, using the verb "tilt word toward" represents a syntactic form of symbolizing royalty, respect and reverence towards the chiefs addressed in the report. The writer also notes how Chief Gabusu VI encouraged the chiefs to collaborate with the political party in power (i.e., the party that forms the government), again using an idiomatic expression **ahawo do kplii asi-le-asi-me** (*work hand-in-hand with the [government]*) instead of **ahawo do kplii** "collaborate with the [government]." He also uses the idiomatic expression **yeabla alidzi** (*be resolved*) instead of **do tame** (*determine*) in the following sentence: **d̩ee gblo be agbalēsrōnyawo tutuḍo le nutoa me enye nu gbāto si ŋu yeḍo be be yeabla alidzi d̩o** (*He revealed that the improvement of educational programs in the region is his foremost priority on account of which he was resolved to [...]*). More simply put: *He revealed that the improvement of educational programs in the region is his foremost priority on account of which he is determined [...]* The writer also uses the idiomatic expression, **woḍe afo le d̩ekawowo me** (*they should move in unity*; which is equivalent to the expression *it takes two to tango*) rather the familiar expression **woawo do le d̩ekawowo me** (*They should work together*). Likewise, the sentence, **fiawo fe ata tae woko dziḍuḍua d̩o** (*They elevated the government under chief's thumb*) is used in place of **fiawo fe kpokplo tee wotia**

dukplolawo le (*They elected the government within the leadership of the chiefs*). The reports ends with the following idiomatic expression: **nenye be dziɔɔɔua le tatram le efe nuwɔna aɔe me la, ele vevie fiawo naɔo afo afoɔta ne** (*if the government is getting astray in its governance, the chiefs should stand on the government's shoes; that is, the chiefs should find ways to set alarm bells ringing*); the writer uses this sentence in place of the more plainly put: [...] **fiawo nana woanya** ([...] *the chiefs should notify them*) (*Midim* January-February 2002: 3).

Having noted these attempts aimed at modeling the local-language newspapers on the aesthetics and stylistics of forms of the Ewe verbal culture, the journalists still have a long way to go to attain the level of density of Ewe exemplified by traditional orators (royal spokespersons, mediums, poets, and so). This situation partly explains why some of the journalists claimed that the two languages require different writing schemes. As journalist of the *Daily Guide* contends:

It took me some time because all these years of my life, I was working with an English newspaper, and to come out of it suddenly and to do this [Ewe news reports], it took me quite a time, because even how to express yourself, maybe, in English, you use just two words and it will mean something, it is not like that in Ewe. You know our language, it is very rich, but we don't have that wealth of words in the Ewe language. I cannot speak for other languages, but in Ewe whatever you may say, maybe, in two words in English, may be about six words and so, and so forth and so on. And the accents and other things, that is where the difference is. But we started making headway with the paper. Imagine that we were selling some of the paper in Togo. Maybe if that gentleman had lived up to this time and, maybe, if I had continued to work with him, and we had had faith in ourselves, we would have [left] a mark on the paper. (Appendix 5, Q 29)

Similarly, part of the multiple factors contributing to the unsuccessful attempts at promoting the local-language newspapers is precisely the writers' lack of the level of

density of Ewe expected by the readers. This situation contributes to the ideologies of language regarding the role of Ewe in Ghanaian print media.

In contrast to the aesthetics and stylistics of Ewe newspaper writers, the journalists of Ghanaian English-language newspapers use unveiled expressions, familiar words, and direct denotational stylistics (see Irvine 1989; Silverstein 1979). In similar comparative analyses of language aesthetics deployed in English-language magazines, Koller contends that “[...] the *Financial Times* [contrasted with the *Business Week*] shows by far the lowest metaphor density [...] (2004: 78). In the Ghanaian context, one journalist’s report in the *Daily Graphic* (February 2005) demonstrates this point. The journalist gives a straightforward account of the events, introducing the topic by listing the names of those who met, and providing the location of the meeting. Specifically, he recounts that eight chiefs in Eweland have resolved to collaborate in ensuring the development of their district in Kpando area. He cites the local-language name of the assembly of chiefs, namely, **Balimefiawo** (*Chiefs of the Valley*), relating the members’ determination to work harmoniously in lobbying for district projects. He then states the traditional titles of the Chiefs, specifying those who were enthroned and those yet to be crowned. By revealing the names of the chiefs-elect in the English-language newspaper, the journalist shows that he is more concerned about factual and denotational (Irvine 1993; Silverstein 2004) characteristics of English-language news reporting rather than the Ewe oblique and veiled method of reporting with proverbs and other forms of verbal art. In fact, traditional decorum requires that information about a candidate awaiting coronation and enthronement should be concealed until the time of the ceremony. Despite this, the journalist adopts the English-language aesthetic and stylistics at this point of the news report by stating the facts of the event. He recalls the speech of a member of the chiefs’ assembly who exhorted his colleagues to unite in distributing projects in the district proportionate to the sustainable capacity of each area. He reports that the incumbent leader of the joint group handed over the mantle of leadership to a new leader, calling on all of the chiefs to cooperate with him. The new leader in turn exhorted the district government officials to organize forums for the public discussion of development projects, urging the young people to collaborate with the chiefs to accomplish their respective district projects. The journalist also recounts how the district’s Member of

Parliament exhorted the chiefs to put aside their chieftaincy disputes, and to work cordially in their chiefdoms and acknowledge the wisdom of other opinions: “Mr Kosipah also warned the politicization of development and said they [chiefs] should respect wisdom from all shades of opinions irrespective of political affiliation because it was ‘the best way to move forward.’” The suggestion that the chiefs should accept the “wisdom” in public “opinions” ties in with English-language direct and denotational stylistics of news reporting (in Ghana) that comes with democratic politics, whereby citizens contribute to democracy by expressing their points of view. By contrast, the density of Ewe goes hand-in-hand with a traditional system where a chief and his council of elders are repositories of wisdom and oratory, and as such require no public opinion for their decisions (Rattray 1916; Yankah 1995). The journalist concludes the news report by recalling how one of the chiefs claimed that a non-governmental organization would arrange chieftaincy programs for members of the district to learn how to work together. The report thus reflects the cohabitation of two worlds: democratic politics, with a direct style of journalism, versus a traditional system of politics, which has a verbal culture imbued with dense aesthetics and stylistics. In this report, the journalist uses familiar diction in his clauses. For instance: “Addressing [the chiefs’ assembly] at Wusuta to mark the third anniversary of the integration last weekend, the Paramount Chief of Tsrukpe, Togbe Sasraku, **said** [My emphasis] the new order of civilization was to unite for development.” These clauses contain plain and unveiled expressions with which all readers would be familiar. Similarly, he uses the following familiar verbs in reported speeches: “say”, “advise”, “caution”, “add”, “warn”, and “announce”. He sets the report in a direct and denotational scheme based on uncovering facts, events, and leaders. Throughout the report, he uses direct and literal expressions to communicate the news, beginning the article with the following: “Eight paramount chiefs in the Kpando district of the Volta Region have reaffirmed their commitment to work with one voice and common agenda to foster the rapid development of their areas.” The journalist thus portrays the aesthetics and stylistics of English-language journalism in Ghana.

In another news item of the *Daily Graphic* (February 21, 2005: 17), a journalist reports on how the Ghanaian education programs should be skill-and-knowledge-based. In this report, the journalist uses familiar diction, unveiled expressions, and denotational

stylistics. He begins the news item by recounting that the principal of a polytechnic proposes a reorganization of Ghanaian education from academic-based to skill-based. This initial paragraph reflects a denotational stylistics and direct aesthetics because it couches the report in familiar words and literal expressions based on referential concerns of Ghanaian news reporting. The editor of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator* describes this style in the following terms:

So there is a tendency for people to assume that when they write about something, the reader already knows a certain background, and therefore they don't have to write a whole lot of things. But I keep on telling the reporters that every story should stand on its own. For example, if you look at today's paper, you will see that there is something on Ako Adjei's intersection. I don't know whether you read about it that they have renamed it [that is, the interchange]. The original story is not talking about [the historical reason for that name]. I said, look, the importance of this report is that Ako Adjei was one of the Big Six [at the dawn of Ghana's independence]. First of all, who do we refer to as Ako Adjei? Some people may not know. Secondly, what is the importance of this commissioning? Who knows where Ako Adjei came from at the independence time? So this is the kind of background that we need to take into account. This is a historical record. What we are publishing today will be [a point for reference] for some people, some time, somewhere. So even if it is one paragraph, we need to explain it, but I am sure that if you read three reports on this Ako Adjei, not all of them will include this very background. (Appendix 6, Q 12)

This is evident in the entire first paragraph: "The Principal of the Accra Polytechnic, Professor Ralph Asabre, has called for a shift from mere acquisition of academic qualifications to knowledge and skill-based education if Ghana should become an industrialized nation." Similar denotational stylistics and unveiled aesthetics occur throughout the news item.

The journalist quotes the Principal's suggestion that Ghanaian education should be productive, that is, it should generate abundant and quality goods for both the local

and international markets, as expected of an educational institution like the Polytechnic. Specifying the occasion of the speech, namely, the graduation ceremony of Polytechnic graduates, he recounts the Principal's claim that tertiary education in Ghana has recently focused on national economic and developmental needs rather than the achievement of mass education objectives. He notes the Principal's suggestion that there should be in-depth discussions on the relevance of the tertiary education's form and substance to Ghanaian context: "He said the relevance of tertiary education to national needs was still a growing concern for both government and citizens, and called for critical and meaningful discussions about the future form and substance of higher education in the country." This paragraph also contains familiar diction ("relevance", "needs", and "discussions"), denotational stylistics (in phrases such as "national needs", "growing concern", "critical and meaningful discussions") and direct aesthetics (in clauses such as "He said", "the relevance of tertiary education [...] was [...]", and "[he] called for [...]").

The journalist also notes the contention of the Principal that the recent Higher National Diploma program in Ghana should be maximized by establishing similar skill-based institutes in Ghana, given that most local and foreign institutions lacked such skill-and-knowledge-based programs. He cites the Principal's argument that delays in reorganizing the education programs would have a series of consequences in Ghana: the situation would continue, the Ghanaians would migrate to other places for work, and the Polytechnics would lack instructors. He notes the number of annual applicants to the Polytechnic contrasted with the institute's capacity for admissions, recounting the Principal's advice to students to use the resources that lead to the Polytechnic programs. He concludes the news item by quoting the following declaration of the Principal: "If polytechnic graduates are known to be punctual, efficient, knowledgeable, hardworking and dutiful, morally upright, fair and honest, then society will make the polytechnic a first choice in the quest for tertiary education." The journalist thus uses familiar words and direct style, utilizing the verb "say" (of reported speech) to communicate the referential-centered news report. He makes no attempts to veil the information through the use of figures of speech, tropes, or other aesthetic devices, as characteristic of writers of Ewe newspapers.

A journalist of the *Ghanaian Times* uses a referential-centered style, in deploying neutral aesthetics and familiar words to report on a shortage of gold for the local industry in Ghana. He commences the report by noting that although Ghana supplies gold for the world market, it provides little gold for the local jewellery industry. He recounts the political speech of the Ghanaian Minister of Mines, who stated that the Ghanaian government would ensure that the mining industry would supply enough gold for local use. He notes that the Minister delivered the speech during a college students' jewellery exhibition at Weija (near Accra). He reports that the Minister lauded one of the mining industries that donated some gold for the exhibition. He recalls the speech of the Ghanaian Minister of Trade, Industry, and President's Special Initiative, stating that the education sector should organize programs in high schools, enabling students to begin acquiring jewellery skills at an early stage of their education. He reports on how the Minister exhorts the gold mining industries to sell their product in strategic world markets. He also notes the speech of a manager of one of the gold mines who announced the dividends that his company paid to the government. This journalist of the *Ghanaian Times* uses familiar verbs of reported speech such as "urge", "stress", and "say". He also uses phrases such as "shortage of supply", "local use", "quality of its training", "supply anomaly", "industry's stagnation", and "strategic markets" that reflect neutral aesthetics. He uses familiar words such as "need", "produce", "refine", and "receive", which reflect referential-centered style.

Another example of the aesthetics, stylistics, and language of the English-language newspaper appears on a front page of the *Evening News*. A journalist reports on Ghana's parliamentarians' drivers, who petitioned the parliament for a raise in salary. He gives the gist of the story in the introduction: "The drivers of Members of Parliament have petitioned the leader of the august House, complaining that they are being cheated by their bosses" (Ibid., March 4, 2005:1). In this introduction, he set the clauses in familiar words, such as "petition", "complain", "cheat", and "boss." This paragraph contains unveiled expressions such as "petition the leader", "complaining that [...]", and "they are being cheated," which illustrate unconcealed language.

In subsequent paragraphs, the journalist notes the drivers' complaint that their salary is way below minimum wage. He recounts the following requests that the drivers

made to the Ghanaian parliament: to investigate the low wage, to pay the difference on their received salaries, and to take up the payment of their salary. He uses unveiled expressions, such as “petitioners prayed the parliament to investigate the issue,” “compel the cheating MPs to pay them,” and “the stipulated wage.” In reporting that 150 drivers signed the petition, the journalist utilizes the unveiled expression, “150 [...] appended their signatures,” as an example of direct and plain forms of communication.

The journalist uses other familiar words, such as “receive”, “want”, “pay”, “arrears”, and “collect,” to specify that some MPs have paid the appropriate salary to their drivers. He recounts that the parliament organized a meeting to discuss the issue with the MPs, formulating this point in the following plain and direct expressions: “Mr. Bagbin said based on the merits of their petition, the leadership [of parliament] summoned a meeting with the MPs for a redress.” The journalist recounts further that some MPs claimed they used part of the salary allocation to provide food for drivers. He reports the suggestion that the accounts office of parliament should deduct from the MPs’ salaries the difference in salary that the drivers are entitled. He recounts that the leader of the committee for the complaint assured the newspaper inquirer that the issue would be resolved. Utilizing familiar words, such as “assure”, “say”, and “deplore,” he concludes the report by recalling how the MPs were urged to treat their drivers well. He also uses unveiled expressions like “deal with their drivers humanely,” “it would free the drivers from whatever purported exploitation they were going through, ” and “the accounts department unfortunately did not have the capacity, both human and technical, to carry out this policy.” These examples illustrate the directness of language characteristic of the Ghanaian English-language newspapers. This denotational style specific to the Ghanaian English-language newspapers contributes to the writers’ views about the roles of language in Ghanaian print media. These views attest to the ideologies of language in Ghana.

B. Literacy in Ewe compared with English

The pragmatics of Ewe literacy differs from that of English-language in Ghana. Given that this topic occupied a central stage in the discussions of my Ghanaian

informants on language policies and education programs, I intend to examine how the different types of literacy in Ghana contribute to the ideologies of language on the print media. Unlike Finnegan (1988) who contrasted literacy with orality, Scribner and Cole (1981) conducted similar studies, contrasting three distinctive types of literacy in the Vai society of West Africa, which could shed light on my explorations of this topic. In particular, they observe three types of literacy corresponding to three different languages, namely, traditional socializing for the initiation of boys and girls in Vai, English-language school for children whose parents could afford the money and time, and the Qur'an memorization program in Arabic, mostly for children with a Muslim background. They notice that apart from the linguistic distinctions that characterize these forms of literacy, they are also marked by a dominant social sphere. Specifically, whereas Vai literacy operates on "traditional economic and social activities", English-language literacy centers on modern economic activities and administrative functions, and Arabic literacy hinge on religious activities. The authors also observe that while the socialization of natives in English and Arabic requires literacy skills for written texts, traditional socialization does not require knowledge of written Vai (Ibid., p. 31). Similarly, whereas English-language and Arabic (Qur'an) literacy require a cash economy, Vai literacy takes place without a cash economy (Ibid., p. 54).

Scribner and Cole report that the Vai people begin learning Vai script at the age of fourteen. Individuals who learn Vai script are motivated to do so for personal reasons, such as the mastery of writing skills for correspondence with family members, and the utilization of writing skills to document farming activities (Ibid., p. 64). They notice that Vai literacy does not involve institutionalized learning, given that the Vai people generally learn Vai script from a friend, a colleague, and only occasionally an instructor. In these cases, the learning process operates on an individual basis. Scribner and Cole observe that the learning of Qur'an (Arabic), in contrast, takes place in a comparatively institutionalized setting, with about six to twelve children per instructor. They note that English literacy involves institutionalized schooling, a teacher, and pupils. Further contrasting the three, they observe that Vai literacy is related to traditional life, Arabic literacy involves Muslim religion, and English literacy is directed toward practical events such as official language policy, governmental administrative positions, and commerce.

English literacy enhances the social status of the person (i.e., acquisition of social position and new ways of thinking in the nation-state system), while the Vai script does not lead to a social position. Rather, it reinforces the status of Vai person, given that Vai landlord, property-owner, elder, and so on, are those who often partake in such literacy (Ibid., p. 71). The authors further point out that the most striking difference between literates in Vai and English is reflected in fact that there is an abundance of written media (newspapers, magazines, and books) in English, as compared with the scanty amount of reading texts in Vai (Ibid., p. 86).

Scribner and Cole's (1981) explorations of literacy in Vai society provide relevant points for inquiry into the goals, the agents, the contents, the programs, the expected linguistic skills, and the targets of the forms of language literacy in Ghana.

1° Goals

Ewe literacy aims to enable adults to develop writing skills in their own language, and in particular to be able to document their farming activities, record property contracts, and write letters. It also works toward the mastery of reading skills, especially the Bible, as well as tracts on rural development and hygiene. By contrast, the goals of English-language literacy are directed toward the acquisition of professional skills in scientific subjects such as the sciences, politics, journalism, medicine, and so on. For example, the Graphic corporation organizes workshops to enhance the language of those working on Ghanaian-English newspapers. As the editor of the *Daily Graphic* states:

[...] The assumption is that anyone who has successfully passed his exams is at least qualified, but sometimes, you realize that he studied in journalism but he did not study English formally as a subject. Therefore, even though he has the degree, he has the deficiency in the language. You cannot foresee some of those things. So, what we do here is that, on a very regular basis, we run programs on English proficiency for our staff. We organize seminars and training workshops on how to write, including language use, and we bring lecturers from the university, from the English Department to have interactions with our people [...] (Appendix 4, Q5)

This testimony demonstrates that the goals associated with Ewe literacy are different from those associated with English-language literacy.

2° Agents

Missionaries, colonial traders, and educationists established Ewe literacy in Ghana (Togo and Benin). For instance, missionaries established schools and missions where they used Ewe as the medium of instruction (Verdon 1983; Ansre 1970). Colonial traders, too, were interested in Ewe because they wanted to directly communicate with the native traders (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh 1975; Graham 1971; Debrunner 1965). As a result, the traders convinced the colonial administration to set up basic schools in the colony. In this way, the early colonial schools were established, first in the castle and forts, and then gradually within the colony. Eventually, the colonial administration established a few public schools for a number of reasons, including the need to gain more administrative control over the natives, to demarcate boundaries of various local languages, and to determine land ownership (Engmann 1986). However, in comparison with the missionary schools, the colonial public schools gave prominence to European languages, because they pursued different goals.

The colonial and postcolonial governments implemented English-language literacy to train future government functionaries, political leaders, and professionals (doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, and so on). Government officials, such as politicians, educationists, and administrators, sustained English-language literacy by formulating education policies, which they backed with social infrastructure, such as schools, textbooks, teachers, and subsidies. For example, the government officials enforced a compulsory basic education for all children between six and twelve.

3° Contents

The contents of the Ewe literacy program differ from those of the English-language literacy program. Whereas the missionaries focused on hymns, prayers, the Bible, and the Christian liturgy for Ewe literacy, officials directing English-language

literacy focused on politics, journalism, sciences, medicine, and career development. As attested in *Atumpani* (November 1994; March 1994), the contents of the letters of the adult literacy students in general comprised everyday life concerns, such as exchanges of greetings, requests for information on the wellbeing of the addressee, expressions of gratitude to their instructors, requests to government representatives (concerning textbooks and remuneration of instructors, appeals for donations (i.e., tools for crafts), and invitations to illiterates to join the program.

The contents of the English-language literacy program can be found in the *Daily Graphic* of February 21, 2005 where it is reported that the politician, J. H. Mensah, urged the Ghanaian students to articulate the Queen's English and to study adequately so that they could obtain lucrative career, as well as partake in the reconstruction of their nation. In the same report, Kwesi Andam (the vice chancellor of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology) exhorted students to study science and technology programs in view of obtaining good careers after their education. He also urged the school administrators to enforce discipline in the public schools. Similarly, in the report, the Principal of Sunyani Polytechnic, Dr. Kwasi Nsiah-Gyabaa, implored the education administration to reintroduce moral education programs in the schools to help students avoid negative tendencies such as drug abuse, alcoholism, occultism, and disrespect toward authority (Appendix 8, Excerpt 3). The contents of literacy in this way contribute to the language divide in Ghana: while Ewe literacy centers on rural activities, orality and religion, English-language literacy leads to career development and good citizen formation (see Fernandez 1986).

4° Programs

The Ewe literacy program is mostly oriented toward reading. By contrast, the English-language literacy program is aimed at offering skills in creative writing, as well as reading, governing, and administering. For instance, a student enrolled in the Ewe literacy program wrote a letter to the government suggesting that the adult literacy program should not be restricted to the teaching of the local-language, but the teaching of both English and local language. The adult education program excludes the teaching of

English because the program operates on non-formal schooling basis, which is characteristic of local-language programs.

Another student appealed to the Ghanaian Ministry of Education to allow students from adult literacy programs to continue their education at a junior high school level. The student also entreated the Ministry to remunerate the instructors of the adult literacy program so that they could be more committed to their work (*Atumpani* January 1994: 3). In another edition of *Atumpani*, a writer attests to the poor remuneration given to Ewe literacy instructors, recounting that the administrative personnel for the Ewe adult literacy program awarded the instructors bicycles and sewing machines for volunteering their time for the adult literacy program. This shows how Ewe literacy is not as professionalized as that of English, and as such most adult literacy workers are not included on the payroll.

The two types of literacy programs in Ghana differ in a number of ways. For example, whereas literacy in English is institutionalized (schools, professional teachers, administrators, and so on), literacy in Ewe is non-institutionalized (non-formal environment, volunteer instructors, facilitators, and so on). This difference is reflected on the front page of *Atumpani*, in which students of adult education wrote a letter to the editor thanking a benefactor for allowing them to use his home facilities. Likewise, the Ewe literacy program has more women than men enrollees (*Atumpani* March 1994: 4), while the English literacy programs have more men than women. According to Ghana Statistics Service's 2002 census, the percentage of women enrolled in Ewe literacy program is 60%, compared with 40% for men.

5° Expected linguistic skills

Concerning the linguistic skills pursued, the missionaries encouraged the learning of Ewe and English, but the government officials promoted the learning of the administrative language of the time (varying between German, French, and English), so that Ewe was taught only during the first three grades of primary school. As a result, the mission schools, which were private schools, tended to produce more bilingual education

programs, whereas the colonial and postcolonial administrators concentrated on monolingual programs.

Because the mission schools implemented more bilingual programs, those schools graduated more individuals who later occupied administrative positions in the country. For example, the first President of the Republic of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was a former student of a minor seminary, that is, a Catholic mission school where Ghanaian seminarians train. Like other officials and administrators in Ghana, Jerry John (J.J.) Rawlings who has been the President of Ghana in 1990s also trained in mission schools.

6° Targeted groups

Whereas Ewe literacy was first intended to convert people to Christianity and create better-informed Christians, English-language literacy historically involved the elite, the politicians, the administrators, the lawyers, and teachers. During an interview, Yankah reveals that some politicians seek proficiency in a local language, so that they can communicate with the ordinary people. He says:

[...]ow, it is an advantage to have a Public Relation Officer who speaks two Ghanaian languages or who speaks more than one Ghanaian language. At Makola market, they are not going to talk to them in English. Ga, or Ewe, or Akan is what will be expected. That is what will be expected. That is part of being a good PR: the ability to communicate with clarity to the ordinary man. I think there is some goodwill there that the newspapers have not exploited. And I think it is for the National Commission of Culture not just to ask state-owned papers and so on to devote a page or two, but to start, themselves, to do appeals for funding and do a pilot project, and to see how the people have [favorably] responded. (Appendix 3, Q5)

As indicated in this citation, the interest of the politicians and the administrators is not centered on the written language. Usually, it focuses on the proficiency in the spoken language.

Politicians seek to use the medium of the local languages to communicate the government's intentions and plans to the ordinary people, particularly those dwelling in the rural areas. In this light, the *Free Press* of April 1, 2005 reports that Daniel Botwe, minister of information in Ghana, launched the Ga-language version of the Ghanaian president's speech on the state of the nation in 2005. The news quotes the minister to have stressed the relevance of translating such speeches from English into other Ghanaian languages. He further adds that the translations should be aimed at establishing "an open society" in Ghana and rendering the government more "accountable to the people" (Appendix 8, Excerpt 4). English literacy is intended for those who will be leaders and functionaries of the government, whereas Ewe literacy is more necessary for future Christians and a few language teachers.

Overall, in mastering literacy in either English or the local languages, the only common variable for learners is the desire to attain symbolic proficiency. While those who seek English literacy discuss the necessity to acquire Queen's English (pronunciation especially, grammar, and lexical items), those who seek local-language literacy focus on attaining density in the language. To illustrate the symbolic identity related to adopting the Queen's English (that is, the Received English), the *Daily Graphic* of February 21, 2005 reported that the Senior Minister of State of Ghana, J. H. Mensah, urged both teachers and students in Ghana to always communicate in Queen's English. The Minister of State stressed the need for students to opt for Standard English, since proficiency in English would ensure a better performance in their courses. He also exhorted the students to read newspapers, periodicals and library books to acquire more vocabulary. He announced that a language laboratory would be built in one of the secondary schools to help the students attain proficiency in English. He admonished the students to avoid "negative tendencies" such as drug abuse, alcoholism, and sexual promiscuity (Appendix 8, Excerpt 3). This exhortation shows that some Ghanaians attach symbolic value to perfection in the spoken language: some Ghanaians view chiefs, elders, chief's interpreter, poets, and so on, as symbols of perfect local-language speakers, whereas they see the Queen as the model of perfect English speaker.

CHAPTER VI
IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES

In this chapter, I will examine topics, such as the discourse of writers on roles of language in the media, language-attitudinal issues, and translations, drawing on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) definition of ideologies of language, as well as Spitulnik's (1993; 1998) discussions on media perceptions. I will also tap into the views of Fernandez (1986) on lexical territoriality to examine why Ghanaian writers associate English with written media, and Ewe with orality and speech genres. I will also include the works of Ngugi (1991), Appiah (1992), Bourdieu (1979), Irvine (1989), and Simon (2000) to discuss language policies, social class, hierarchization of languages, nation-state strategies, political economy of the language of media, cultural components of translation, and so on. Throughout this investigation, I will draw attention to the implications of these topics for the development of Ghanaian-language print media.

A. Language factors

1° Trends of discussions on the use of Ghanaian languages

Certain scholars argue for the use of a local language in schools when it is the first language of the children, noting how it enhances their learning (Brock-Utne 2000). Others oppose this stance, arguing that it would lead to distinctive hierarchical social groups, or sectarianism with low political, social and economic developments of those using the vernacular in school. Some scholars recommend the use of the local languages in schools and media for the cultural and economic development of the nation (Fafunwa 1967; Ansre 1970), and for international politico-economic ties (Pellow & Chazan 1986; Shillington 1992).

For independence, African countries adopted colonial languages as official languages, and a number of local languages as national languages (Foster 1965; Graham 1971; Brock-Utne 2000; Mfum-Mensah 2005). Ghana, for example, adopted English as the official language for administration and education, as well as for inter-regional communication. At the same time, the Ghanaian languages serve as mother tongues and, as such, mediums of expression for national commerce, music, funerals, religious ceremonies, traditional social life and other forms of oral tradition. In Ghana, the views on language use in schools and media have lead to the association of languages to two

domains: English is associated with institutionalized education and print media, whereas local languages are associated with traditional life and orality. These perceptions of language use in a multilingual situation are therefore based on ideologies of language, which shape the preeminence accorded to one language over another. Ideologies of language are thus depicted in language policies, perception of educated Ghanaians, official language versus national identity, and ranking of languages. Yet previous studies give little attention to the multilingual context versus ideologies of language. Rather, they explore secondary topics such as colonial and postcolonial ideologies (Mfum-Mensah 2005), politico-economic (Fafunwa 1967; Ansre 1970; Graham 1971), international relations (Pellow & Chazan 1986; Shillington 1992), and cultural issues (Ansre 1970). To investigate these topics, I draw on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) broad view of ideologies of language, Irvine (1993) and Cohn's (1987) explorations of colonial perceptions and politics that influence language usage, Bourdieu's (1979) study on *habitus*, commoditization, and the acquisition of language-related social signifiers, Silverstein's (1979) notion of formal linguistic features and assumptions about language, Fernandez's (1986) ideas about lexical territoriality of language, Spitulnik (1993; 1998) discussions of the media perceptions, as well as Ngugi (1991) and Appiah's (1992) discussions on the attitudes of postcolonial African writers.

I will first take a close look at the views of Ghanaian novelists and journalists (henceforth writers) with regard to the ideologies of language. Given the multifarious factors that contribute to ideologies of language (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), I will then examine language-attitudinal factors which contribute to the roles of English and Ewe in Ghanaian print media.

2° Ghanaian writers

The Ghanaian writers reflect ideologies of language in their discourses, a set of views that concern the use of English as opposed to Ewe in the print media. They describe the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media in terms of a social divide: whereas they attribute to Ewe features of orality, they ascribe to English features pertaining to written texts, categorizing the languages in linguistic territoriality (see

Fernandez 1986). For example, one journalist, having worked both with the English-language newspaper, *Daily Guide*, and Ewe newspaper, *Midim*, holds that English permits a writer to express the basic idea of a story more directly, beginning with the particular and proceeding to the more general, whereas Ewe makes a writer proceed from the general to the particular points. He contends:

Yes, there is a difference, because in writing English newspapers, when it is news, we go straight to the point, and then begin to unpack it. However, with the vernacular newspapers, we start out at [the base of] the pyramid, and work our way up. Conversely, in English we start with the gist of the story, maybe beginning with the first paragraph, then proceeding to the second paragraph, and so on, but in vernacular newspapers, it is the other way round. (Appendix 5, Q28)

He also claims that whereas English vocabulary facilitates concise and precise or syntactically measured expressions of thought, Ewe words are prone to syntactic verbosity (Appendix 5, Q29). These claims about English and Ewe contribute to the roles that writers associate with them regarding the Ghanaian print media. The writer attributes to the languages in Ghana features related to separate lexical territoriality (Fernandez 1986). That is, they view English and Ewe in terms of stylistics and expository traits that pertain to the written versus orality versions of the languages rather than to the intrinsic features of languages themselves. For instance, writers claim that the best literary productions in English are seen in the texts of writers, such as novelists, poets, journalists, and so on, yet when they describe the best literary productions in Ewe they refer to the speech of chiefs, royal spokespersons, oratory, and so on. These ideologies of language have contributed to a series of articulations of perceptions about the social roles of English and Ewe in Ghana: orality versus written text, illiterates/less educated versus specialists/professionals, local languages versus English, traditional versus urban, and so on.

Ideologies of language are reflected in discourses that favor language purism and standards (Kroskity 1994; Milroy and Milroy 1985). For instance, the editor of the *Daily Graphic* points out that, given the three instances of determiners in English (definite,

indefinite, and zero articles) as contrasted to those (i.e., definite and zero articles) of the Ghanaian languages, some English-language journalists tend to omit determiners, adopting unconsciously the constituents of syntax of their local languages (Appendix 4, Q1 and 2). The Ghanaians critique this unconscious linguistic event, advocating the use of the appropriate constituents of English syntax in their news reports.

Another example that lends support to ideologies of language arises in the way Ghanaians have gained proficiency in English as opposed to the Ghanaian languages. For instance, while Ghanaian Ewes are proficient in the written version of English, most of them are often found to be lacking mastery of the written form of Ewe. For example, the editor of both the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator* admits that many of his colleagues lack literacy skills in their native Ghanaian language (Appendix 6, Q17). The editor of the *Daily Graphic* acknowledges this situation, pointing out that some of his colleagues speak the local language, but do not write it (Appendix 4, Q23). This situation arose because as the Ghanaians trained in English-language literacy they tend to associate English with written texts, written proficiency, literacy, professionalism, urban community, and so on, whereas they associate Ewe with verbal messages, proficiency in orality, absence of literacy, absence of professionalism, rural society, and so on. These perceptions regarding the roles of English and Ewe in Ghanaian print media have contributed to social classes and representations in Ghana (see Fernandez 1986; Irvine 1989), such that whereas Ghanaian print media evoke English-language as the medium of writing, the print media do not count Ewe as a medium of writing. For instance, the journalist of the *Daily Guide*, who worked at *Midim* in the past, lends support to these perceptions. He admits, for example, that he has shortcomings in the written form of Ewe, recounting long hours he spent translating articles from English into the Ewe newspaper, *Midim*, contrasted with the amount of time he spends writing reports in English (Appendix 5, Q24, 29 and 36).

Unlike some Ewes who lack proficiency in written Ewe, Awoonor, a Ghanaian novelist who writes in English, describes the extent of his immersion in the local language (Appendix 1, Q12), thereby partly contradicting Ngugi's (1991) views of the colonization of the mind of the Africans. Yet in affirming how proficient he is in Ewe, he refers to constituents regarding Ewe orality. In particular, he discloses how he transposes

aspects of the complexity and density of Ewe verbal art in his novels written in English (Appendix 1, Q3, 8, 12, and 13). Thus, on the bases of Fernandez's (1986) explanation of lexical territoriality, and Irvine's (1989) notions on the differential social roles of language usage, Awoonor's views, as exemplar of the common perceptions of Ghanaian writers on the roles of English and Ewe, reflect the ideologies of language, given that whereas he identifies Ewe with the domain of verbal genres, he associates English with the domain of written genres.

The editor of *Kpodoga*, for instance, observes that when a local-language journalist works solely on a Ghanaian-language newspaper, he or she stands little chance of ever gaining recognition from the general public or from colleagues who work for English-language newspapers. He points out that to gain public recognition, local-language journalists must contribute articles to national and international English-language newspapers and magazines, publishing articles on the rural community in the national newspapers, which are written in English (Appendix 7, Q15, 16, and 20). He also observes that the value attached to the use of the local languages, such as Ewe, in print media and education, is dwindling. He notes that while Ewes in their sixties value works in their local languages, those younger show no such interest (Appendix 7, Q15 and 16). He observes just how difficult it is to find a professional journalist to work for a local-language newspaper, noting that, for example, professional journalists are unwilling to work for Ghanaian-language newspapers because they know that English-language newspapers are more valued than local-language papers (Appendix 7, Q10). As he asserts:

[English-language journalists] will not be willing to come down to their roots and work on local language newspapers. On the other hand, if you were willing to work on local language newspapers and, at the same time, you were able to convincingly write about the problems of rural dwellers in the national newspapers, such as the *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Graphic*, then of course, they would value your work very much and respect you. The community members, too, know very well that their problems can reach the authorities more readily through the National newspapers than through the local language newspapers. (Appendix 7, Q15)

This statement reveals that both social recognition and the value attached to the language, for instance English versus Ewe, contribute to the status ascribed to the newspapers, as well as the relevance of newspapers as textual byproducts within limited temporal frame (see Bate 2002), in the Ghanaian public sphere.

Another factor significant for the emergence of ideologies of language regarding print media in Ghana concerns the economic aspect of ideologies of language (see Marx 1989). Yankah, for instance, thinks that most Ghanaians are entangled in their cravings for foreign culture and economic products. As he remarks:

[...] It is our attitudes to our own culture. It is purely attitudes to our own culture and our own environment: the yearning for anything foreign, the alien, western, and so-called global phenomena, they look at the economics of language, and only consider what job their sons can get in studying Ewe or Fante, or Ga for a degree at the University? This is a serious part of the problem we have inherited [...]
(Appendix 3, Q3)

Ghanaian writers attribute degrees of status to social roles of languages in Ghana with respect to linguistic valuation (see Spitulnik 1998), social recognition (see Irvine 1989), preferences (see Bourdieu 1979), linguistic transpositions (see Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Fernandez 1986; Silverstein 1979), and economic value of language (see Irvine 1989; Bourdieu 1979; Cohn 1987), which contribute to ideologies of language regarding Ghanaian print media. For instance, in *Midim* (May 2001, p.2), an editor bemoans the lack of value that most Ewes accord to their local language. Instead, the editor notes, most educated Ewes have manifested an interest in international languages such as English, French, German, and so on. The editor urges young Ewes to renew their interest in the language by using it regardless of their geographical location (Appendix 9, Excerpt 8). Similarly, in *Midim* (June 2001, p.2), Dzobo grieves how the Ewes, in particular those who sojourn abroad, have abandoned their native language. He urges them to regain an interest in their language, for example by translating works into the language, by producing books in it, and by speaking it, regardless of their geographical location (Appendix 9, Excerpt 9). The attitudes addressed by the *Midim* editor and Dzobo

are the instances of ideologies of language that contribute to the perceptions of the roles of language in Ghanaian print media.

Ghanaians contend that English is the language that provides economic value, social status, and medium of sociocultural transpositions in Ghana. In a counterargument published in *Midim* (August 2001, p. 2), a writer urges Ewes to read this newspaper in the same extent as they read the *Daily Graphic*, the state-owned English-language newspaper (Appendix 9, Excerpt 10.2). Similarly, in *Midim* (September-October 2001, p.8), it is reported that Dzobo once again encourages Ewe emigrants to use their language, giving examples of how in spite of his long years of study and several years of travel abroad, he always dreams in his native Ghanaian language, Ewe. In the same vein, a writer exhorts the Ewe chiefs to speak their native language during all of their official ceremonies (Appendix 9, Excerpts 11.1 and 11.2), reminding them that as the principal authorities for promoting the Ghanaian language, they are expected to use the language in all public discourses. As leaders of their communities, chiefs are the custodians of the language, customs, norms and symbols of their people (see Verdon 1983; Yankah 1995, Finnegan 1970; Nukunya 1969; Ellis [1890]1971; Busia 1964). On this view, the chiefs are expected to reflect the color, vigor and vibrancy of their culture. Consequently, during traditional events, when they choose to speak in English rather than their local language, journalists see such a choice as a contradiction that blurs the symbolic essence of their social position, rooted as it is in language and culture. Similarly, in *Midim* (April 2004, p.6), a writer decries the attitudes of some teachers and students who believe that only the less educated Ghanaians should study their local language in schools (Appendix 9, Excerpt 13). These attempts which aimed to promote interest in the use of Ewe as a medium of writing reflect conservative or Neotraditionalist sentiments (see Kroskity 1994); they thus contribute to views on the lexical territoriality of languages and their roles in Ghanaian print media. One implication of these perceptions for the roles of languages in the print media is that, whereas Ghanaian writers associate English with modern lifestyle, they associate Ewe with traditional lifestyle. As a result, the contents of the English-language print media, for example, tend to focus on urban and modern lifestyle, promoting social status signifiers with which Ghanaians associate themselves.

In contrast, the contents of Ewe newspapers center on rural lifestyle with which most Ghanaian attempt to dissociate themselves.

Overall, the examples cited from various newspapers clearly illustrate the range of varied and even contradictory attitudes concerning the values, preferences, options, choices, and interests in the manifestation of ideologies of language, and how these attitudes relate to the language divide: official language, in this case English, versus the Ghanaian languages, ranking from those designated the national languages to those local languages deployed in political discourses and those that are not part of the political discourses.

B. Language-attitudinal factors

In this section, I also explore the interplay of other complex factors that contribute to the roles of languages in the Ghanaian print media. I examine four basic factors as follows: language policies since the colonial period in Ghana, emergence of educated professionals in Ghana, incorporating different language communities in a nation-state, and various attempts made to neutralize Ghanaian languages in favor of the Official language. I begin by discussing the historical context of language policies in Ghana.

1° Language Policies

When the Ghanaian-language issues first surfaced during the British colonial period in Ghana, the administrators were initially perplexed because they could neither see the importance of the local languages nor imagine their role in education (Foster 1965; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Graham 1971). However, missionaries and merchants advocated for a systematic study of local languages, and for the use of these languages in their missionary and mercantile enterprises. These officials contribute to the codification and perceptions of the language in print media (see Irvine 1993; Cohn's 1987; Ngugi 1991; Appiah 1992). For instance, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975) note that, at the time when schools were conducted in castles and forts, schoolmasters, chaplains, traders, travelers, and those directly involved in education had all made significant attempts to

reduce the local languages to writing, but those actively involved in education could not often see any value in developing the writing and teaching of the local languages. The co-authors observe that, in addition to the negative attitudes of some of the colonial administrators in connection with the Ghanaian languages, those working on the written form of the local languages “had to wrestle with the manifold problems of orthography” (Ibid., p. 24-26). Thus, language policies have been politically influenced since the British colonial era in Ghana. English has been adopted as the official language for administration and education, and has become the inter-regional mode of expression.

Thus, while the Ghanaian languages spoken in the various regional areas remain the first languages of those originating from and dwelling in those regions, English serves as the primary medium of education from Upper primary school (grade four) through to the university. A few local languages (Akan, Dagaare, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, and Hausa), termed the “national languages,” were used as the initial medium of instruction in the primary schools, but there were no quality pedagogic materials in the Ghanaian languages, due to the official language policies.

Graham (1971) notes the anomalous situation of official language policy in the history of education in Ghana, recalling how the colonial education board categorized three local languages as worthy of examination in the schools. He writes:

In 1932 the two Akan languages of Twi and Fanti – and by 1938, Ewe and Ga – were accepted by the Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate as examinable subjects equivalent to other languages, and were included in the curricula for all three schools. (Graham 1971: 162)

Though Akan (with its dialect-cluster), Ewe, and Ga are now studied even at the university-level in some universities in Ghana, official language policies are still changing. Whether these language policies were promulgated by the colonial administration or by the postcolonial governments of Ghana, there are no significant differences in what they formulated (Boahene-Agbo 1987). Starting with the language policies of Governor Guggisburg in 1925, to the education review program of the PNP government in 2004, the same inconsistencies can be found regarding the use of local

languages in Ghana's educational system: the use of local languages is sometimes encouraged, and at other times discouraged by government officials and scholars.

As another example of inadequate implementation of language policies in Ghana, the government negatively reviewed these language policies several times without offering any alternative. In 2002, the government declared that the previous language policies did not address the economic needs of Ghana. Until 2002, the national languages were compulsory from the primary school level to the senior secondary level, alongside English. Since 2004, these new language policies have prioritized English and French, attempting to prepare Ghanaians for international economic and trade relations in the sub-Saharan Africa. As a follow-up measure, in 2004, the government came up with a whitepaper in which it reviewed and reframed its stance on language instruction, stating:

[...] the facts of geography impose on Ghana a necessity to promote among wide segments of the commercial and financial sector's work forces a proficiency in the French language. Being an English-speaking country is also a source of considerable competitive advantage in international economic and political relations, which Ghana needs to build upon. Therefore, government has in the past encouraged a policy of **early introduction to English and French** [...] (Appendix 10, Government Whitepaper)

Yankah comments on these policies regarding the language of instruction, stating: “[...] we used to have the Ghana language as compulsory, but very unfortunately that policy was discontinued for no good reason that I can think of [...]” (Appendix 3, Q1). He notes two key factors that have contributed to the lack of implementation of favorable policies on Ghanaian-languages: first, the lack of political will on the part of politicians to back policy decisions and, second, legislative initiators' lack of courage to pursue policies on the Ghanaian languages (Appendix 3, Q1 and 4).

Awoonor observes that the new language policies elicited uproar throughout the country. Many reactions ensued, particularly on the part of the Ghanaian-language teachers and workers, who argued that not only was the new policy scientifically unfounded, it was also linguistically inappropriate, given that it opted for English as the

medium of education in kindergarten and primary schools, whereas the majority of pupils dwelling in rural areas began their education possessing exclusive knowledge of the Ghanaian languages. The reactions toward the 2002 language policies culminated with a press conference organized by the lecturers and deans of some of the Departments at the University of Ghana to denounce the changes (Appendix 1, Q1).

Throughout the history of education in Ghana one factor deserves special attention concerning the role of local languages in education. The language policies have failed to provide what is required to develop and subsequently sustain written media in the Ghanaian languages. And since colonial times, there has been a lack of political initiative to back local-language policies. By the same token, there has been a lack of political will to implement the policies that would improve the status of the written media in the local languages.

2° Emergence of professionals

In Ghana, the system of education that propagated English as the official language precipitated the emergence of a new class in Ghanaian society, namely, the elite or educated professionals. This class was, and remains, amorphous, because unlike the typical organic social class, as described by Bourdieu (1979), it is a coalition of educated people who do not necessarily share other properties. Because of their education, these educated professionals have been associated with the English language and other status signifiers that have characterized their privileged education and position in the Ghanaian public sphere. How did the phenomenon of the emerging educated professionals affect the development of the written media in the African languages? Appiah sees the attitudes of the elite or educated professionals in Africa as a contributing factor to the emergence of African literature in English, French, and Portuguese rather than in the local African languages. The elite have become what Appiah terms “europhones” (1992: 4, 54), that is, African writers who promote literature in the European languages rather than writing in the African languages.

De Graft Johnson confirms the emergence of this quasi-social class by delineating the social values and attitudes that they adopt:

Below the British caste, a new African elite gradually emerged. These were those who had access to British and European schools in Ghana and overseas... This group of educated Africans came to be referred to as the Intelligentsia (although the term is now less frequently used). What were the characteristics of this group? They were mostly in occupations which enabled them to live well. In many instances, they had access to family wealth. They affected a European style of dress [...]" (1966: 109)

In these words, De Graft Johnson indicates the values cultivated by the elite. Did the emerging social class in Ghana find in the local languages a sufficient mark of "distinction," in Bourdieu's (1979) sense of the word, to sustain the media in the local Ghanaian languages?

Some educated Ghanaians demonstrate unfavorable attitudes towards their own local language, although the editor of both the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator* argue that those who are literate in, or have worked with, Ghanaian languages should not be perceived as illiterates or as uneducated. In this regard, the editor cites a Ghanaian, popularly known as Koo Nimo, who is a professional researcher in the sciences, yet also sings folk or popular music in Akan, mainly as a pastime (Appendix 6, Q20). This is significant in the public sphere as it reveals that performing in the local languages is not synonymous with illiteracy. Nonetheless, this instance of the local language use pertains only to the domain of orality. In fact, instances of negative attitudes towards local languages are widespread. Some educated Ghanaians have promoted views that dissuade young adults from developing positive attitudes towards their own local languages. Examples of such negative attitudes are manifold: formulating school rules that outlaw speaking African languages in school vicinities, deriding those who have made an effort to gain written proficiency in the local languages, and failing to attribute value to the Ghanaian languages in scholarly development in Ghana. It is not hard to find examples of neglect and negativity. According to the editor of the *Daily Graphic*, negative attitudes towards Ghanaian languages are publicly displayed by prohibiting the speaking of local languages in the schools. As he asserts:

There are a number of schools where they say you cannot speak your mother tongue. Within school hours, no mother tongue is allowed, only English. Is this not a way of killing the mother tongue?

It is. I experienced that in the middle and secondary schools. I don't know whether it was the same experience in your schools.

[...] But you are not allowed to speak it. So for the ten hours that you are in school, let's say, the Elementary School, from the time that you get to school until you get home counts against you [...] (Appendix 4, Q14: 29)

These attitudes go beyond the sphere of mere school rules enacted by the educated professionals to dissuade pupils from speaking in the Ghanaian languages. Awoonor, for his part, believes that these measures hinder the use of the local languages. These events also contribute to the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media.

Another source of evidence of rules marginalizing the use of local languages on school premises can be found in Ghanaian novels, written in English, given that novels often provide concrete and specific ethnographic documentation concerning a variety of issues (Bibeau 1997). In this respect, in his novel, *This Earth my Brother...*, Awoonor describes some of the measures of discipline administered within the colonial education system in Ghana. As he writes:

Mr. Adama, bring class Four register. There and then, Paku's name was crossed out with red ink. This was to be a lesson to all the boys. Disobedient boys had no place in Deme Roman Catholic School so long as he remained Headmaster.

Paku walked into class Four classroom, pulled down every cupboard and picked out his exercise books. Arithmetic, Dictation, Civics, Nature Study, English, Vernacular, Hygiene and Religious Knowledge. He walked out to the compound, to the envy and alarm of every boy. (Awoonor 1983: 80)

Although the aforementioned account is cast in a fictional framework, it highlights key aspects of the day-to-day experiences of pupils within the colonial education system in Ghana, which contribute to the roles of language in the Ghanaian print.

The editor of the *Daily Graphic* comments that most Ghanaians are literate in both spoken and written English but illiterate in the written form of their local language (Appendix 4, Q13 and 23), because English is the hallmark of elite status and the gateway to obtaining a social position (Appendix 4, Q5) in the precarious job market in Ghana. He adds that during an awards ceremony in a secondary school in Ghana, a negative attitude towards the local languages was openly displayed by booing when a student was awarded the prize for best student in the Ghanaian language, Twi (Appendix 4, Q14). Such an instance is enough to curb any interest in the local languages and, by extension, in the print media of the local languages.

The editor of both the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator* holds that those endowed with the natural ability to write with exceptional skill in English can be recruited as news reporters without necessarily counting their formal journalistic training as the sole condition for the accordance of a position (Appendix 6, Q12). Yet these recruits are not deemed unskilled or unqualified journalists. These instances illustrate the ideologies of language, and contribute to the language use in print media.

Somehow, certain Ghanaians hold that those working in Ghanaian languages are respected within the local language context, while those working in English are accorded respect without reservation. One typical example is that those working on the broadcast media are often recruited solely on the basis of their proficiency in the local languages; that is, they are recruited regardless of their professional training in journalism. Consequently, those reporting in the English-language media consider as unqualified and unskilled those working at the Ghanaian-language broadcast media (Appendix 4, Q 16 and 17). These attitudes are found among the Ghanaian population. Often the public exhibit a muddled admiration for educated Ghanaians who participate in public speeches, performances, and debates on local-language programs. This is the case within various professions involving the elite. The experience of the editor of the *Daily Graphic* provides a typical example. According to him, he has received a number of compliments for his performance in the Ghanaian language, Akan. As he recalls:

[...] there are some journalists who do appear on local-language programs, and, what is funny is this: that people expect that you don't know how to speak the local

language. There is a certain perception, and so when you speak, they are full of praise for you, which is not meritorious because the fact that I speak this way does not make me any better, because it is my mother tongue and I'm supposed to be able to speak it, but the perception is that: No. No. No. You, at your level, you cannot speak three sentences without introducing some English word into it. So, if you are able to speak, quote proverbs, use language reflectively, draw on metaphorical devices and all that, then they are bemused with you. [...] I, for instance, can speak the local language. There are times when you appear on the local language program, and before you come out, people are ringing and saying: "How wonderful you sound even though you speak English!" Yet what is the wondrous thing about it? You should marvel more about my ability to speak English, which is my second language, than my ability to speak the local language, which is my mother tongue, since I was not born outside [the country]. (Appendix 4, Q18)

In a similar vein, Azasu, an English-language novelist, notes that Kofi Anyidoho received compliments simply because he made an Ewe performance that the public considered phenomenal and wholly unexpected. Unexpected because the Ghanaian public have somehow adopted elitist attitudes and perceptions, thinking that the highly educated Ghanaians must have nothing to do with their local languages, let alone be proficient in them (Appendix 2, Q16).

The aforementioned attitudes of the public towards the elites who speak their local languages have had a crippling effect on the way in which local languages are perceived. In fact, such displaced admiration for the elites who perform well in their local languages invariably accentuates their positive attitudes toward English while intensifying negative perceptions of local languages and their print media.

These elitist attitudes are nurtured in Ghanaians at an early stage in their educational development. As the editor of the *Daily Graphic* points out, however, there is one English-language newspaper, the *Junior Graphic*, specifically published to enhance children's proficiency in English. He reluctantly admitted that some newspapers in Ghana were written purely for the sake of pedagogy. He asserts:

[...] You can say anything about anything, because what is important is once it is a reading material, this medium serves the purposes of the people. But there are people who don't have other reading materials. This is their only reading material. For instance, one of our own publications is for children, and we call it the *Junior Graphic* as it is geared toward children. Basically we are very careful with this publication. Even in the words we pick we have to be very careful as children are still learning, and so we serve the purpose of providing them not only with information but with an education in learning words and other things from our publication. (Appendix 4, Q27)

Because of these unfavorable attitudes towards local languages, Yankah is surprised to see a Ghanaian-language newspaper in circulation in Eweland (Appendix 3, Q1). It is noteworthy that Yankah was a significant informant during my fieldwork: while being a member of the Ghana National Commission on Culture, and a columnist at one of the English-language newspapers, he lectures at the University of Ghana, Legon, and, above all, he was a member of the group that founded the local-language radio station, Radio Universe, based at the University of Ghana. During an interview with him, he comments that there has been some renewed interest in the spoken Ghanaian languages, largely because of the proliferation of local-language radio stations with talk shows, phone-in programs, interviews, and so on, which have engaged the attention of the public (Appendix 3, Q1).

Yankah also observes that in the past there have been a number of prejudices towards Ghanaian-language workers, but he is convinced that the situation has gradually changed over the past ten to fifteen years. He notes:

[...] Ghanaian language teachers in secondary schools and Ghanaian language workers who produce papers have certain prejudices. They will tell you that people don't look highly on them, except that I think the situation is now changing. It is changing considerably, especially given the attention that the Ghanaian languages have received over the past ten years through the radio. Now we have Ghanaian language broadcasters and newspaper staff in the country. Men and women are

being welcomed and celebrated all over the place, wherever they go. They are celebrities, and so that aspect is also changing. Many radio stations are looking for outstanding and experienced people, who can read and write the Ghanaian languages and analyze news at the same time [...] (Appendix 3, Q1)

Although Yankah is convinced that prejudices toward those who work in Ghanaian languages are an issue of the past, the experience of at least one of *Midim's* vendors shows that these prejudices are still pervasive. In an interview, the *Midim* journalist recounted this vendor's experience of the grim reality of prejudice in 2005, when he was selling the Ewe newspaper in one of the junior secondary schools in Eweland. According to him, he met with two main types in the school: those who were uninterested in the local-language newspapers, and those who requested a reduction in the price of the Ewe newspaper, saying it was just a local-language newspaper, hence the price should be reduced.

From yet another perspective, in examining literacy in Ghana, Yankah remarks that most educated Ghanaians are inclined to classify only those who are uneducated in English as illiterates, but fail to acknowledge that some Ghanaians, in their sixties and above, are literate in their own local language because they read and write in such languages in Adult Education Programs (Appendix 3, Q3).

Similarly, Azasu, a native Ewe and a novelist who writes in English, confirmed in an interview that those who study Ghanaian languages in the universities are wary about disclosing the topic of their studies to those in the towns and villages, as they fear a response characterized by scorn, rejection, and disgust. As he states:

[My experience] provides more than enough evidence. Do you know that Ewe or Ghanaian languages are being studied in the [University College of Education], Winneba, in the [University of] Cape Coast and in the [University of Ghana], Legon? Do you know that when our students go back to their towns and villages, some of them feel shy about relating that they are studying Ewe or another Ghanaian language. This is a key problem with us. And the other day when I gave a lecture on Chaucer, I told them that at the time that Chaucer wrote in Middle

English, people were looking down upon him. They thought that he was not educated enough to write in Greek or Latin, that was why he was writing in English. We see the same thing with students in Africa, and in Ghana in particular [...] (Appendix 2, Q7)

These accounts reveal the degree of intensity of the prejudice displayed towards the local languages.

Awoonor, an English-language novelist, is convinced that African (and Ghanaian) writers should be encouraged to write in the African languages for the sake of the local languages themselves, without necessarily comparing African languages with European languages. This is unlike Ngugi (1991), who advocates for the use of African languages primarily in the written media. In addition, Awoonor cautions that such endeavors should not be undertaken to the exclusion of English, given that English is now indisputably part of the Ghanaian language medium of communication (Appendix 1, Q3). He also states:

[...] So, I want to confirm that, yes, writing in the Ghanaian languages [is legitimate]. People should still write novels in Hausa, in Ibo, in Ewe, in Ga, or in any other African language. They should do this for their own sake. This provides room for the languages themselves to participate in the expansive milieu of literature, which enriches the language and, as long as these languages are being taught in the schools and colleges, the literary works studied in them are very important. However, this must not be to the exclusion of works in English since there is some kind of symbiosis: languages require dialogue, and Ewe enters into dialogue with English. (Appendix 1, Q1)

By all accounts, the negative attitudes of most educated Ghanaians toward literacy in their own local languages have had considerable and even consequences for some Ghanaian writers.

Some writers fear that if they produce works in the Ghanaian languages, the Anglophone elites may not be interested in such works. Azasu points to this when he contends:

It would have been better if I wrote that story in Ewe. But I might say that a lot of Ewes already know these things. I want other people to share in the knowledge of our people. It may well be that I want a Ewe reader to share [the idea] of the spirit of our people with other people. If I had written in Ewe, may be you wouldn't have been interested [...] (Appendix 2, Q7)

Given such fear and anguish, it cannot be expected that yet more writers will venture to produce works in the local languages.

Awoonor has opted for English as the medium for writing his own novels because he holds that English is readily accessible and that it transcends the existing language barriers in Ghana (Appendix 1, Q3 and 10). But he regrets the inability of the “euro-centered” system of education in Ghana to knit together the English and Ghanaian cultures, particularly through reintegrating the local languages within a symbiotic relationship. He comments further:

[...] One of the things that I have been fascinated with is the inability of our euro-centered educational system to create a transposition or a relationship between this original milieu in which we are rooted and the language that we have borrowed, thereby structuring the domestication of the language [...] (Appendix 1, Q3)

Overall, the negative attitudes, testimonies of writers, and reality of public opinion are all evocative of the emergence of an amorphous elite class. Amorphous because unlike the typical organic social class described by Bourdieu (1979), the Ghanaian example only constitutes a coalition of educated Ghanaians without any cohesion among its members. Nonetheless, the elite represent a force to be reckoned with, particularly because their taste and preference influence the use of language in the media.

3° Nation-state and language communities

Cohn (1987) accounts for the use of language in drawing regional political boundaries in India in late eighteenth century, and Fabian (1986) points out that the

elevation of Swahili as a national language in Congo reflects the colonial appropriation of power in its southeast regions, as well as the entire country at large. He affirms that: “There is in my mind no doubt that Shaba Swahili, like other African languages, has in its development been deeply influenced by colonial administrative choices and expert linguistic decrees” (1986: 8). This use of language in nation-state formation, since the colonial period, is another crucial element that has contributed to the lack of sustained development of Ghanaian-language print media. The demarcation of the confines of Ghana involved the incorporation and separation of people within the same language territories, whereby a group of the Ewe inhabit three different countries, namely, the southeastern part of Ghana, southern territory of Togo and southwestern region of Benin, given that segments of Eweland were divided among different colonizers, namely the British, German, and French (see maps in appendixes 12 to 17).

Due to the colonial political borders, the Nzema-speaking people are located in both the western part of Ghana and the eastern part of the Ivory Coast, whereas in the northern part of Ghana the Dagbani and Sisala languages are split between Ghana and Burkina Faso. The examples of languages cited here are just some of the several language territories that the colonizers partitioned between Ghana, Togo, Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast, in regard to the establishment of European colonies in these territories.

One implication of the nation-state can be linked to Gérard’s (1981) observation of the local-language media in Togo. He notes that in 1894, a monthly Catholic journal *Mia Holo* (*Our Friend*) was founded in Eweland when the Germans colonized the territory within the greater jurisdiction of Togo. In 1903, the Protestants proved equal to the challenge with the inception of *Nutifafa na Mi* (*Peace Be With You*) in Eweland, which was still under Togo’s jurisdiction. After incurring substantial losses in the 1914 World War, the Germans lost this colony, resulting in the partitioning of Eweland by the English, who occupied Ghana, and by the French, who appropriated Togo. While the Protestant journal continued to be published for a while in Ghana, its Catholic counterpart was discontinued (1981: 273).

The creation of a nation-state through the process of incorporation of various language communities has had implications for those local communities. The conscious separation of people of the same language community into four different countries has

reduced the likelihood of the members of those communities to unify forces and pool resources to develop and sustain written media in the local languages. In fact, just as Anderson (1983) discusses the emergence of “imagined communities” since the inception of the print media in Europe, one can argue that the print media in English-language has contributed to the formation of the amorphous class, the educated professionals, as well as the nation-state, Ghana. By contrast, the lack of development of the written media in the local languages has partly led to the weakening of the local-language communities.

The distribution of roles of languages for a nation-state’s media is influenced by ideologies of language. According to Spitulnik: “As mass media build the communicative space of the nation-state, all of a nation’s languages, dialects, language varieties, and speech communities associated with them, are automatically drawn into relations with one another” (1998: 165). The roles of languages are thus regulated in view of promoting unity in the nation-state. The implication of this goal, namely, the promotion of a nation-state, is that the roles of languages in the Ghanaian print media and public space are defined in terms of the language(s) that best serve this political goal.

4° Ranking of languages

The hierarchization of indigenous languages within Ghana’s multilingual situation has resulted into the speakers’ distancing from the use of the local language in print media (Appiah 1992; Ngugi 1991). That is, the ranking of the languages has reduced the chances of sustained written media in Ghana. The language policies and the system of education in Ghana have consciously contributed to marginalizing the local languages, given that they put official language in the highest position of the hierarchy, followed by national languages, then local languages occasionally deployed in political discourses, and finally local languages absent from political discourse

Some Ghanaians as well believe that their local languages are unfit to treat serious academic materials, and that they even bore the mark of underdevelopment. Such characteristics, as associated with the local languages, have reduced any efforts to develop an adequate and sustained written media within these languages.

Given that the local languages occupy the lowest rank of the language hierarchy in Ghana, the speakers of these languages have not been motivated enough to write significant books in their respective languages.

In Ewe, for example, a small number of novels, poetry, primers, and translations have been written: *Toko Atolia* and *Tuinese: Fia Yi Dziehe*, written by Fiawoo, have been translated into English as *The Fifth Landing Stage* and *Fia's Upland Journey* or *The Anabasis*, respectively, Obianim's *Amegbetao alo Agbezuge* translated into French as *Amegbetao ou les aventures d'Agbezuge*, and Awonoor's (1974) English translation of selected collections of three Anlo poets.

Even Nkrumah (1965) and Busia (1964), presidents during the first two republics in Ghana who advocated on behalf of African unity and culture, were confronted by the language dilemma: either promote English-language on the African united front or promote local languages within local sectors or regions. In the end, they opted for one official language at both the national and the inter-African levels, namely, Ghana and West African-Anglophone countries. In addition, the government used the official language to promote national unity (Ansre 1969).

C. Translation

Translations occur both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically. Friedrich (in C. Jourdan and K. Tuite 2006) attributes the origin of translation to language contacts:

Translation from distant tongues has, of course, been flourishing since ancient times, as in the Ugaritic to Hebrew [...], or in sub-Saharan Nilotic to Egyptian, long before "the Age of Discovery." The translation harvest or often hunting and gathering, or just poaching, accelerated greatly during the nineteenth century partly as a result of massive contact with Native American, African, Asian, and Near Eastern literatures, both written and oral, within the ideologies of Western Romanticism. (2006: 211)

He notes that the agents of translation -- including poets, scholars, explorers, missionaries, and polyglots -- conduct translations, often with historical and sociopolitical influence, negotiating between the “linguistic and cultural reality of the original” language and the “target language” (Ibid., 212). Translations thus attract criticisms and controversies.

In Ghana, writers, as participants of translation practices, show ideologies of language, viewing Ewe-English translations in two opposing ways. They accept Ewe-English translations of various local-language verbal genres in novels, but disapprove of such translations in Ghanaian-English newspapers, labeling them as misappropriations. These attitudes of Ghanaian writers reflect a language divide in Ghana, namely, associating English with a specific domain in the public sphere, while associating the local language with a different domain of public discourse. These attitudes are byproducts of ideologies of language that Ghanaian writers have.

Simon (2000) discusses the roles of translations in colonial and postcolonial contexts. She contends that translation serves as a fertile “site” where the languages (and cultures) of the colonizers and colonized came into contact, yielding, for example, hybrid languages like pidgins and creoles. She maintains that language itself bears traces of translations that reveal the process of European and non-European intercultural contacts. She thus views translations as a medium not only for cultural contact but also as a platform for cultural intrusion, fusion, and disjunction (Ibid., p. 12).

Simon calls on researchers of translation studies to examine the language issues underlying intercultural contacts in translations, and to emphasize how translations operate within the constraints of ideological, commercial, commodity, and ownership frameworks. She notes for example that “exotropic” translations (that is, translations from local languages into English) emerge as a result of the interests of Western educated audiences who long for exotic commodities, a situation which sets the local literature of non-European communities on an international stage (Ibid., p.19).

Simon observes hybrid practices in novels, where for example an author may produce “hybrid cultural realities” by using translations and transpositions of a language in a single text to evoke “two languages simultaneously”. In particular, she notes “conventional translation equivalents”, a process which involves transposing “meanings

from a colonized people's native language into a postcolonial text in the colonizers' language" as a form of "cultural recuperation" (Ibid., p. 23). She contends that the scope of translations should not be viewed in terms of a cultural exchange. Rather, the range of translations should be perceived as a production which involves the "translingual practice" of "writing across languages" (Ibid., p. 28). Drawing upon Simon's discussions, I will overview the cultural components of translation that contribute to the roles of languages in print media in Ghana, emphasizing instances of ideologies of language in the productive process of translation practices.

Views of interviewees

Throughout my interviews with Ghanaian writers, including English-language novelists, journalists, radio presenters, and television broadcasters, translation has come to the fore as a significant issue. This is because English-language writers in Ghana have translated ideas from the Ghanaian languages into English, and vice versa. Thus, translation, considered an act of interpretation, is an intricate part of multilingual environments. Numerous accounts bear eloquent testimony to this fact.

Further evidence demonstrating ideologies of language can be found in other newspapers in Ghana. In the *Free Press* (April 1, 2005), Daniel Botwe, Minister of Information in Ghana, launched the Ga version of the Ghanaian president's speech on the state of the nation in 2005. The Minister stressed the relevance of translating political discourses from English into the Ghanaian languages, asserting that the translations were aimed at establishing "an open society" in Ghana and rendering the government more "accountable to the people" (Appendix 8, Excerpt 4). In this instance, translation served as the medium of ideologies of language, because features of one language were transposed into another.

Awoonor (1971), for instance, draws upon the Ewe language to develop the significance of Ewe names, as well as to tap into the productivity of nominalization process in the local language. By using Ewe subtexts and literary genres in his novels, he demonstrates dimensions of the local language's complexity and denseness. Yankah contends that English-language works of Ghanaian novelists and poets are forms of

translation, arguing that these English-language writers are virtually communicating Ghanaian languages and thought through the medium of English (Appendix 3, Q8).

Critiques of translations practices in Ghana also attest to the significance of reinterpretation. The different layers of translation in Ghanaian novels, written in English, are significant because the characters are rendered more authentic by transposing the local language genres into fictional forms. The translations are often used to lend credence to the social status of the characters in the novels, and above all, to echo the nuances in the verbal art or in the literary genres of the Ghanaian languages. In this light, the testimonies of the Ghanaian writers clearly place translations in the context of language ideology, as even those who write in English draw upon hidden aspects of the Ghanaian languages, which either forcibly underlie or poignantly echo passages in the novels.

In Ghana, English-language journalists translate components of the local languages into English. Likewise, local-language journalists translate items from English into the Ghanaian languages. Although the journalists recriminate each other for “impoverished” writing, “literal translation practices,” “lack of standard,” and “transposition of ideas,” the same writers applaud instances where components of one language are transposed into another language. As a result, in some cases, those who advocate high standards in the written language appreciate translations of proverbs, metaphors, wise sayings, panegyrics, lyrics, songs, etc. in written works, while in other instances, they critique the use of such elements in English-language texts, claiming that these constituents are inappropriate syntactic structure, imprecise diction, erroneous semantics, and misappropriation of local languages features in English-language texts.

These testimonies indicate that translation intricately relates to the interplay between Ghanaian-language and English-language print media in Ghana. How Ghanaian writers utilize translations reveals the hidden dimensions of ideologies of language in Ghanaian-language literature.

Literal interpretation

Literal interpretation (Ngugi 1991; Priebe 1988) considered an aspect of translation, is an intricate part of multilingual environment. Three radio presenters,

working in the Ewe section of the Ghanaian-language quarterlies, and a television presenter of Ewe programs, reveal in an interview that the core of their work entails translating various news items from English into Ewe for Ewe broadcasts on GBC radio in Ghana. Typical news items translated include daily news, presidential speeches, and political discourses of ministers of State. According to an editor of the *Daily Graphic*, for example, some of the grammatical mistakes observed in the English-language newspapers are ascribed to the improper translation of ideas from the Ghanaian languages into English. He decries the poor translations in English-language newspapers, stating:

[...] So, now and then, there is an intrusion. And what people sometimes do is to look up or have a mental image of something that is formed in the local language, and then translate that into English. Some of the mistakes come because of this: that engaging with the sense in English at the local level before translating it into English and coming up with the appropriate words [...] (Appendix 4, Q1 and 2)

Likewise, Yankah (2005) contends that translation practices are definitely part of the multilingual situation in Ghana, because several renowned Ghanaian authors such as Kofi Anyidoho and Kofi Awoonor have incorporated varying degrees of local-language features in their English-language literary works, as advocated partly by Njugi Wa Thiongo (1991). As Yankah asserts:

[...] Occasionally, even beyond that you can find Ghanaian-language expressions flashing within articles, and colloquial expressions here and there. Occasionally, you can find a proverb even as part of the caption of a story. As for the written literature in English, if you are lucky enough, particularly regarding the authors who are closely in touch with the world, including Anyidoho, Awoonor, among others, you will clearly see that what they are presenting is virtually Ghanaian culture presented through the medium of English. So, largely, many of our authors, though still through the medium of English, express their residual loyalty to the Ghanaian language. Anyidoho's poems, for instance, are virtually Ewe dirges; the English is only an accidental aspect. He is virtually speaking Ewe. But apart from

that many of them are also turning to their Ghanaian language, like Anyidoho himself with his recent poem (using English as medium for communicating Ewe), and taking after Ngugi Wa Thiongo with his experimentation based on Gikuyu, in one of his recent works. (Appendix 3, Question 5)

In a similar vein, Azasu, an Ewe and a Ghanaian novelist who writes in English, disclosed during an interview that he wrote his novels because of three compelling reasons: his eagerness to translate features of Ewe into English for his English-language readership, his desire to bring Ewe ideas to the attention of the world, and his attempt to document what constitutes *Eweness* in a world where particular cultures are subjected to rapid change. He also states:

I tried to depict the Ewe color in English. That was why I used a lot of literal translations. I didn't do what we call idiomatic expression, because in literal translation, you have to tune in to the Ewe system, to the Ewe idioms. I would not have put it across, if I had done what may be referred to as idiomatic translation, or grammatical translation, for instance, in **Xe de nyui**, "go well." You must read the *Slave Raiders* and the *Invitation*, which are sequels to this novel. (Appendix 2, Q8)

Azasu (2004) demonstrates the above goals throughout his novel *The Stool*, translating into English Ewe idiomatic expressions, proverbs, poetic names, invocatory words, libation prayers, **Afa** incantations, hypnotizing incantations, protective incantations, and even Ewe syntax. In this novel, we find examples of Ewe syntactic structure, namely: "It is good. Turn, and let us go [...] nothing will happen to him," which portrays the following expression in Ewe: **Enyo. Trɔ ne míayi [...] naneke mewɔ ge o**. In interpretative translation, the English equivalent should be: "Well, then. Let us go [...] he will be fine." In this example, we observe the transposition into English one feature of sentences in Ewe, that is, conjunctive coordinators are sometimes omitted, while serial verbs are often used.

Another eloquent example of literal translation in Azasu's (2004) novel is the sentence: "What is this that you are doing?" (Ibid., p.7) in Ewe "**Nukae nye ya wɔm**

nele?” This sentence should simply be, “What are you doing?” Also, instead of simply mentioning that a character calls for attention, he uses the Ewe onomatopoeic word, “**Ago-oo nami**,” together with the English equivalent (Ibid., pp. 38, 61, 80). In the novel, other examples include the use of the epenthetic *e-* with Ewe nouns to illustrate surprise, admiration, or familiarity. For instance, we find the names **eZegui** versus **Zegui** (Ibid., p. 4), **eSenu** versus **Senu** (Ibid., 74), and **eKame** versus **Kame** (Ibid., p. 170). These examples, as embedded in the English-language novel, are significantly framed by the cultural context in which the novel is created, and they are rooted in the local language from which these genres originally sprang.

From a different perspective, Azasu (2005) notes that his maiden novel, *The Stool*, has been translated from English into Ewe by Togla, who teaches Ewe in one of the universities in Ghana. It is striking to note that Azasu, an Ewe, who still lives in Eweland in Ghana, first wrote his novel in English, and another Ewe, Togla, translated it into Ewe.

Awoonor (1971), an Ewe and Ghanaian novelist who writes in English, utilizes various Ewe literary genres, such as proverbs, significant names, panegyrics, appellations, historical narratives, metaphors, dirges, songs, idiomatic expressions, syntactic structure, prayers, invocations in libations, etc., to enrich his novels, translating them into English. According to him, he owes his narrative inspiration to the Ewe and Ghanaian traditional society that helped to foster his literary development. Several examples in Awoonor’s (1971) novel, *This Earth My Brother*, attest to the layers of translation often embedded in the works of Ghanaian writers. He writes, for example : “... cooing little goat, your mother is not at home, your father is not at home, for whom are you crying, who beat you little goat, spit in my palm and I will smack him for you, little one, keep silent” (Ibid., pp. 18-20). In these words, he actually makes use of a very common Ewe lullaby, which every Ewe, young or old, happens to know. The words of the lullaby in Ewe with the accompanying English equivalent are as follows:

Tu tu gbõvi;

Crying, crying, little goat;

Tu tu gbõvi;

Crying, crying, little goat;

Dada mele afea me o;	<i>Mother is not home;</i>
Papa mele afea me o;	<i>Father is not home;</i>
Meka nafa avia na?	<i>For whom will you cry?</i>
Bɔ nu, bɔ nu, kpoo!	<i>Quiet, quiet, softly!</i>
Ame kae fowò, gbɔvi?	<i>Who beat you, little goat?</i>
Tu ta, ne foe na wò;	<i>Spit, so that I can smack the little one for you;</i>
Ao, dzedzevinye!	<i>Oh, little one!</i>
Bɔ nu, bɔ nu, kpoo!	<i>Quiet, quiet, softly!</i>

In the novel *This Earth My Brother*, Awoonor (1971) also frequently uses certain genres from Ewe orality, for instance **ahanɔkɔwo**, which are classified as “rum names” (Awoonor), “praise names,” “personal appellations,” “drinking names” (Kofi Anyidoho 1997; Agblemagnon 1969), and “personal names” (Finnegan 1970). Since this literary device of invoking personal names is used by the Ewes to recount the splendid qualities of the person apostrophized, it is commonly used throughout Eweland. It is therefore not at all surprising to find in Awoonor’s (1971) novel examples of this genre, notably, “Nyidevu, the canoe-upturning hippo, the hippos of Agave tried to upturn the canoes heaped with sand. Their necks snapped in the attempt [...]” (Ibid., pp.15-16), or “Amamu [...]the man has fallen, do not help him to rise; if he rises, he rises against you” (Ibid., pp.15-16). It is noteworthy that the name **Nyidevu** is a compound name formed by two processes of nominalization in Ewe. The first process entails a compounding of a noun, a verb and a noun to form a word, thus:

Compounding

noun	verb	noun	=	noun
nyi	ɖe	vu	=	Nyidevu
<i>hippopotamus</i>	<i>overturn</i>	<i>canoe/vehicle</i>	=	<i>Canoe-upturning hippopotamus</i>

The second process involves abbreviation or summary of the sentence by which the person is apostrophized. In that regard, the compounded part of the sentence that occurs at the sentence-initial position denotes the entire apostrophe:

Sentence	= Abbreviation/summary
“ Nyidɛvu , the canoe-upturning hippo,	= Nyidɛvu
the hippos of Agave tried to upturn the canoes heaped with sand.	
Their necks snapped in the attempt.”	

Consequently, by using this example of Ewe nominalization in English novel, Awoonor draws upon the Ewe language to develop the significance of Ewe names, as well as to tap into the productivity of the nominalization process in the local language. By using literal translations of Ewe subtexts and literary genres in his English-language novels, Awoonor demonstrates dimensions of the complexity of the local language in English, which Ghanaian writers appreciate as successful. These instances of translation attest to the significance of interpretation through translation in Ghana, because these examples are used to lend credence to the social status of the characters in the English-language novels, and above all, to illustrate the nuances in the literary genres found in the Ghanaian languages. In this light, the testimonies of the Ghanaian writers clearly place translation practices in the context of ideologies of language, as Ghanaian writers reject such practices in English-language newspapers in Ghana, but accept them as successful stylistic techniques in English-language novels in Ghana. They reject them because they consider such translations as inappropriate in English, associating Ewe with such forms, whereas they associate English with literary forms in the written tradition, as well as with well-written syntactic structures. This attitude contributes to the language divide in Ghana and ideologies of language, where writers insist on keeping each language in its own domain of use in the public sphere (see Fernandez 1986; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Irvine 1989).

These evidences point to the fact that Ghanaian writers transpose components of African language and thought into the Europeans languages in which they produce

literature. These testimonies thus contradict both Ngugi's views on the colonization of the mind and Appiah's discussion on African literature written in English.

To sum up, translation practices clearly relate to ideologies of language. English-language journalists in Ghana translate components of the local languages into English, and Ghanaian-language journalists translate constituents of English into the local-language newspapers. However, Ghanaian writers view translations of elements from local languages into English-language novels as successful stylistic techniques, but consider these techniques as misappropriation in English-language newspapers in Ghana. Writers also approve the use of forms of translation, in particular calquing, loanwords, and symbolic features from English into Ghanaian-language newspapers, but critique the use of these forms of words in English-language newspapers. Ghanaian writers manifest differentiated attitudes toward the use of translation in Ghanaian print media. In the light of this, whereas they associate the local languages with features of orality, they associate English with features of written texts; this has contributed to the perceptions on the roles of language in Ghanaian print media. Consequently, whereas writers sustain production of print media in English-language, tapping into the components of the local languages, they sustain production of broadcast media in both English and selected local languages, regulating the airtime allotted to each language in the broadcast media.

Through the analyses in this chapter, it comes to the fore that ideologies of language in Ghana are while Ghanaians associate English with specific identity markers such as print media, professionals, literacy, urban life, and sciences, they associate the local languages with markers such as orality, non-professionals, illiteracy, rural life, and traditional customs. The interplay of these factors thus contributes to the roles of languages in print media production and promotion in Ghana.

CONCLUSION

Ghana Statistics Service's 2002 population survey reports that the total number of literates in the Volta Region was 963, 811. Of this, 51, 613 were literate in only English, 365, 710 were literate in both English and Ewe, and 106, 605 were literate in only Ewe. Although there have been many attempts to establish print media in the Ghanaian languages for the literates, no sustained Ghanaian-language print media (newspapers) have yet been successful. This thesis explored why this is so. The situation is especially interesting given that broadcast media (radio and television) have, in contrast, been quite successful in using certain Ghanaian languages. This thesis also explored why print and broadcast media differ in their use of local languages. Throughout the investigations, I have argued that in the Ghanaian multilingual context (of fifty-five languages), *ideologies of language* contribute to the roles and preeminence attributed to English contrasted with Ghanaian languages, given that English is the official language for literacy, government administration, and print media in Ghana, yet selected local languages have been reduced to writing, and used as national languages in lower primary schools, broadcast media, and regional programs. I have contended that the ideologies of language involved the interplay of complex factors, such as language specific, language-attitudinal, and language aesthetics, which contribute to the unsuccessful production of Ghanaian-language newspapers, using Ewe language as a case study.

In Chapter One, I have detailed ideologies of language as the theoretical framework that informed the investigations in this thesis. I have also specified the analytic models for interpreting the empirical data that lent evidence to the theory. I have maintained that ideologies of language involve multiple topics and approaches to language issues. In light of this, I have adopted a multidimensional theoretical approach to the investigation of ideologies of language. I have relied on Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), who observed that the "new direction in research on linguistic ideology has also moved away from seeing ideology as a homogenous cultural template, now treating it as a process involving struggles among multiple conceptualizations and demanding the recognition of variation and contestation within a community as well as contradictions within individuals" (ibid., 1994: 71; see Woolard 1998). Woolard and Schieffelin's multidimensional approach to ideologies of language embraced studies on the ethnography of speaking (see Yankah 1995; Finnegan 1970), which provided clues for

multidimensional approach to ideologies of language embraced studies on the ethnography of speaking (see Yankah 1995; Finnegan 1970), which provided clues for examining topics, such as discursive forms, aesthetic components, stylistic varieties, and rhetorical constituents, comprised in ideologies of language with regard to print media in Ghana. I have also included in the multidimensional approach works on the politics of multilingualism, which offered clues for investigating ideologies of language in language competitions, politics, borrowings, and policies. Based on this broad theoretical stance, I have taken into account Bourdieu's (1979) study on topics such as *habitus*, commoditization, and the acquisition of language-related social signifiers, which are relevant for exploring ideologies of language in Ghana.

I have applied the term *ideologies of language* to the two broad categories of Woolard and Schieffelin's definition, namely, : "[...] selected research on cultural conceptions of language – its nature, structure, use – and on conceptions of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order" (1994: 55). Throughout this thesis, "cultural conceptions of language" refers to beliefs about the grammatical features of language (see Friedrich 1989; Heath 1989; Rumsey 1990; Silverstein 1979; 2004) as investigated in topics, such as standard orthography, word division, loanwords, and technical concepts, whereas "conceptions of communicative behavior" denote beliefs about the roles of language in social communicative systems (Irvine 1993; Cohn 1987; Fernandez 1986; Ngugi 1991; Appiah 1992; Spitulnik 1993; Bate 2002; Woolard 1998).

I have cited authors whose explanations of the term "ideologies of language" provided relevant points for the multidimensional approach taken up in this thesis. For instance, Woolard (1998) maintains that ideologies of language should be interpreted within broad views about *ideology* as a concept, given that this concept involves issues regarding language, culture, conception, and praxis (see Friedrich 1989; Heath 1989; Rumsey 1990; Silverstein 1979; 2004). Her point is relevant here, because it captures ideologies regarding language-specific topics, language-attitudinal issues, and aesthetic claims investigated in this thesis. Similarly, the language inquiries of authors, such as Humboldt (1825 [1968]), Whorf (1940 [1956]), Demetracopoulou Lee (1939), and Leavitt (2006), have offered relevant points on what I identified as *ideologies of language* in certain linguistic works.

I have also incorporated into the multidimensional approach the relevant points of colonial and postcolonial studies, which offered the background for examining ideologies of language through topics, such as language standardization, missionization, policy formulations, and literacy. In this regard, I have tapped into Irvine (1993) and Cohn's (1987) discussions on the impact of European language views on the codification of colonial languages. Similarly, Irvine's (1993) work provided important parameters for this thesis, as it described actual events that have contributed to the perceptions and politics influencing the formulation of African language grammars. I have also examined the contentions of Ngugi (1991) and Appiah (1992), pointing out how their points attest to the contemporary African situation. In particular, I have argued that Ngugi's ideas about liberating the African mind from colonial influences required elucidation in view of intercultural relations, cross-national interdependence, and development. I have also emphasized that certain Ghanaian (and African) writers have abstained from Ngugi's views of producing literature in local languages, because they believe that, in a multilingual situation, writers should produce literature in a language irrespective of the social role attributed to other languages. Taking Appiah's (1992) view that African intellectuals are "europhone," in adopting European languages for the production of literature, I have inquired why Ghanaian writers opt for literature in English compared with that of local languages. It was evident that multifarious factors contribute to this situation, factors which Appiah and Ngugi did not give sufficient attention in their discussions. I have also included in the multidimensional theoretical perspective certain prominent studies of the mass media, namely, those of Spitulnik (1993) and Bate (2002). In particular, their works provided the relevant theoretical bases for examining media topics, such as oral genres, textual components, and aesthetic issues in the Ghanaian context. Using these works, I have uncovered how ideologies of language are reflected in Ghanaian mass media.

I have also built on Woolard and Schieffelin's (1994) multidimensional approach to the discussions on the ideologies of language. I have thus discussed a three-fold model (i.e., a language-specific model, a language aesthetic model, and a language-attitudinal model) to interpret the data, tapping into the works of selected authors. The language-specific model concerns certain features of languages. Silverstein (1979) makes

important points on this topic, which he views in two broad perspectives, namely, “ideologies about language” and “scientific statements” regarding language. He claims that the structure and ideology of language are interconnected. He examines the interconnection between language structure and ideologies of language by drawing attention to “rationalizations about the use of language.” He sees rationalizations about language use in terms of the functional way that language users project and objectify basic structures of propositions. Drawing upon this work of Silverstein’s, I have examined the grammatical components deployed in formulating rules for orthography, technical concepts, and Standard Ewe.

For the language aesthetic model, I have tapped into Bate’s (2002) notion of aesthetics as a means of representing leadership qualities, as well as the use of political poems in newspapers. As he claims: “[b]oth aesthetics and ideology are in constant interaction in people’s everyday engagement with the word. And both, in turn, are the templates for that engagement. The ‘state’ or other aestheticizations of power, in no matter what form it may be imagined, probably partakes more of the embodied aesthetic end of the continuum than of the conscious rationalizations of ideology” (Ibid., p. 309). I have thus made a comparison of the journalistic style informed by the conventions of the English-language print media with those of Ewe language.

In setting a language-attitudinal model, I have taken as a starting point Woolard and Schieffelin’s (1994) discussions on institutionalized and attitudinal issues regarding language. I have incorporated into this model the views of both Fernandez (1986) and Bourdieu (1979; 1990), to discuss language policies, the hierarchization of languages, nation-state strategies, pragmatics of language, literacy, and so on. I have drawn attention to the implications of these topics for the development of Ghanaian print media. Lastly, I have detailed the empirical data on which I based my discussions and interpretations. I have put the relevant interviews and excerpts in the section on appendixes, inviting readers of the thesis to refer to them, given that these data lend support to all of the points to which I have drawn attention in the discussions.

Based on the three-fold model, I have examined topics that emerged from the empirical data, such as language standardization, ethnography of newspapers, textual components of the media, perceptions of writers about language, translation, pragmatic

issues, and so on. The discussions on these topics, among others, have revealed the multifarious factors regarding the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media. The investigations have also uncovered the ideologies of language underlying all of the empirical data (interviews, excerpts from selected newspapers, and field notes).

In Chapter Two, I have overviewed the ideologies of language underlying the productions of Standard Ewe, and their implications for the role of Ewe in Ghanaian print media. I have noted that missionaries, as well as colonial and postcolonial linguists, have contributed to the standardization of the Ewe. German linguists, for instance, contributed to Standard Ewe, by drawing data from the Ewe dialects in Anlo, inland, and Lome areas to define Standard Ewe (Westermann 1907; 1930; Ansre 1961). They used these dialects in the initial codification of Ewe because German missionaries happened to establish their mission centers in those areas, where they began learning and documenting Ewe. What is now Standard Ewe was first started after Germany declared Togo as German protectorate in 1884. The establishment of Standard Ewe reached its height in 1900, when the German colonial administration attempted to regulate the Ewe used in written grammars, pedagogical books, liturgical texts, schools, and government documents, by calling on all concerned linguists, missionaries, and ethnographers to produce a uniform Ewe. Up until 1900, each missionary society codified the Ewe dialect spoken within the area where its mission was located. For instance, Bremen missionaries used Anlo in Ghana, and Catholic missionaries used Anecho in Togo. Whereas Härtter and Bürgi (Bremen missionaries) opted for the Anlo dialect as the basic Standard Ewe from 1900 onwards, Schmidt (Catholic) encouraged Anecho (Ansre 1971). Each missionary body thus argued in favor of the dialect they had already started codifying.

Härtter, for instance, argued that a substantial work in Anlo had already been produced, claiming that this dialect showed the best features of “purity and clearness”, contrasted with Anecho, which he held to be “corrupt in its expression” because it contained a large proportion of loanwords from the Ga, Fante, Fon and Yoruba languages, with which it shared boundaries. In counterargument, Schmidt favored Anecho, arguing that some of its purported borrowed words were actually archaic words that the dialect had conserved from Ewe. He asserted that the dialectical differences between Anlo and Anecho were due to sound changes rather than corruption through

borrowing. He further argued that Anecho would be the best choice for the German protectorate because it was located at the littoral zone, where the German administration was established, as opposed to Anlo, which was located within the British colony. Schmidt also argued that Anecho would be the best choice for Standard Ewe given that it provided an entrance to the German colony from the dialects eastward, as well as a suitable geographical location that offered a bridge between the Gold Coast in the west and Benin in the east. After the debates on the initial Standard Ewe, Anlo dialect was ultimately selected as the basis for producing subsequent writings on grammars, wordlists, pedagogical texts, and Scriptures.

Westermann's (1907; 1930) works on Ewe were significant in establishing Standard Ewe for literacy in the language. Berry (1951) and Benveniste's (1958) works were relevant for the production of Standard Ewe because they contributed partly to Ewe scholarship and ideologies about the language. The emergence of Standard Ewe continued through the postcolonial works. In the 1960s, several native speakers examined the language. Ansre (1961), for example, described its tonal structure and grammatical units for his master's and doctoral degrees, respectively, whereas Baeta produced a primer on the language. Language commissions in Ghana and Togo also contributed to the production of Standard Ewe, by revising the rules on topics such as orthography, word boundaries, and new words. Ewe writers also contributed to the production of Standard Ewe, by adopting loanwords from English into the language. Whereas the standardization of English occurs through the influence of writers, the standardization of Ewe involves language commissions. With regard to grammar, the Ghanaian writers and language commissions tend to be more concerned with orthography, word division, and technical words for emergent concepts, as they write their texts and news reports. These are therefore the relevant topics for understanding the ideologies regarding the print media in Ghana. The process of the production of Standard Ewe does reflect ideologies of language, which eventually contribute to the Ghanaian writers' perceptions about the roles of Ewe in print media.

In Chapter Three, I have sketched an ethnography of print and broadcast media, emphasizing the inception of local-language media in the history of the Ghanaian mass media. I have observed that the local-language newspapers could not have survived in

Ghana because of the interplay of complex variables related to ideologies of language, such as preferences, choices, policies, pragmatics, literacy requirements, education, perceptions, aesthetics, and so on. The conditions surrounding the emergence of the local-language newspapers affirmed Bate's (2002) observation that newspapers are textual products, and, as such, products "for the moment". As such, newspapers tend to cease if they fail to make an impact on the public. I have noted that, in contrast to local-language print media in Ghana, there has been a surge in the use of Ghanaian languages in broadcast media. Evidence of this trend is abundant, as there has been a clear increase in radio stations throughout the country since 2003. This fact attests to the language divide in Ghana: English is associated with print media, while local languages are associated with broadcast media.

I have explored the economic, political, and sociocultural production of both print and broadcast media, noting particularly how those components specific to the Ghanaian context have been deployed in media production. For instance, certain Ghanaian-newspaper corporations (both English and Ewe) have adopted names, such as **atumpani**, **nkwantabisa**, **kpodoga**, and so on, from the traditional mass media as a form of syncretism of the traditional and modern mass media. I have brought to the fore how economic materials and political regimes have influenced the production of Ghanaian media in terms of censorship laws and printing presses, as well as the professionalization of journalism.

I have contrasted broadcast media with print media, both pointing out how English and Ewe are regulated in each, and drawing attention to the perceptions of those working in each. I have also pointed out how different media workers perceive each other as well as the language they use. I have found that whereas print media workers are employed because of their journalistic training, broadcast media workers are usually hired for other qualifications, such as fluency and spontaneity. I have also uncovered how both the audience and broadcast media determine the choice of language for communication at the different Ghanaian radio stations. I have observed that the Ewe newspapers serve as reading material, as well as a medium for writing for adults who partake in the non-formal adult education in the local languages. In contrast, English-

language newspapers serve as a medium only for news reporting, advertisements, and democratic politics.

I have brought to the fore that ideologies of language also influence the distribution of the roles of languages for a nation-state's media. According to Spitulnik: "As mass media build the communicative space of the nation-state, all of a nation's languages, dialects, language varieties, and speech communities associated with them, are automatically drawn into relations with one another" (1998: 165). The roles of languages are thus regulated in view of promoting unity in the nation-state. The implication of this goal, namely, the promotion of a nation-state, is that the roles of languages in the Ghanaian print media and public space are defined in terms of the language(s) that best serve this political goal.

In Chapter Four, I analyzed selected newspapers, examining the contents of English and local-language newspapers, based on notions such as indexicality (Silverstein 2004), language preferences (Bourdieu 1979), identity (Anderson 1983), and media perceptions (Spitulnik 1993). In this vein, I have contrasted the topics prioritized for English-language newspapers with those for Ewe papers, as well as how newspaper journalists focus on format with regard to photographs, layout, captions, and the price of newspapers. Further, I have shown that the contents of the newspapers of the two languages illustrate ideologies of language. Whereas the material production of English-language newspapers indicates the technological sophistication and an urban setting, the material production of Ewe newspapers reflects a lack of technological sophistication, and a rural setting. Similarly, while English-language newspapers focus on advertisements, national/international news, and political officials, Ewe newspapers concentrate on folktales, regional/local news, and local chiefs. The content analysis also reveals that whereas the topics of local-language newspapers reflect a rural-agricultural economy that operates with little or no cash, the topics of English-language newspapers reflect an urban-industrial economy that relies on cash transactions.

In Chapter Five, I have discussed my informants' views about the aesthetics of English and Ewe. I then contrasted English-language and Ewe literacy components in Ghana. Throughout my collection of empirical data, the informants contended that Ewe writers were expected to use language in its density, as characteristic

of Ewe aesthetics and stylistics. For instance, Dzobo (1997) speaks about the use of proverbs in discourse, Egblewogbe (1975) mentions the usage of unfamiliar vocabulary, and the editor of *Midim* points to the use of verbal art in Ewe. Grammarians (Westermann 1907; 1930; Ansre 1961; 1966, 2000) and pedagogues (Wiegrabe 1938 [2000]; Obianim 1964 [1999]) have contributed to the role of Ewe verbal art in written texts, by including forms of speech genres in their texts that students use in schools. I have observed that, to use the density particular to Ewe, one is expected to acquire components of the entire social life of the Ewes, such as the vocabulary of the religious system, social institutions, political organizations, economic activities, agriculture, etc. In African public discourse, speakers demonstrate their mastery of the language, by using proverbs, wise sayings, and idiomatic expressions as symbols of wisdom, eloquence, and social status (Finnegan 1970; Yankah 1995). In Ewe chieftdom, the chief's spokesperson, known as **Tsiami**, symbolizes the mastery of eloquence and oratorical skills. He speaks on behalf of the chief, interspersing his discourses with forms of verbal art. In light of this, journalists are expected to use appropriate stylistics to show their mastery of Ewe.

Ewe newspaper writers make use of verbal art, interspersing sentences in each news report with forms of oral genres. The three Ewe newspapers that exemplify the language's denseness in varying degrees are *Midim*, *Atumpani*, and *Kpodoga*. Among these, *Midim* best exemplifies the language in its density, because its editors did not have journalistic training. The editor of *Midim* thus depends solely on his knowledge of Ewe for the writing of news items. The editor of *Atumpani* newspaper shows the language's density less frequently, because he trained as a teacher in English-language literacy and adult education, which he applies to Ewe, in particular, in writing news reports. The editor of *Kpodoga* is least exemplary in depicting the language's denseness, as he trained in English-language literacy and journalistic institution. Consequently, he often transposes the tradition of English-language journalism into his Ewe newspaper, namely, a direct, clear, denotational style in news reporting, just occasionally reverting to the use of Ewe verbal art. In this light, the editors of *Kpodoga* and *Atumpani* apply to the local-language newspaper principles of journalism only partly based on referential information. In contrast, the editor of *Midim* applies to the newspapers discourse-based stylistics, that is, the elegant style found in the Ewes' public and ceremonial discourses.

Notwithstanding the attempts made by Ewe newspaper writers to model the local-language newspapers in the aesthetics and stylistics of forms of the Ewe verbal culture, they still have not attained the level of density of Ewe exemplified by traditional orators. This situation partly explains why some of the journalists have claimed that the two languages require different writing schemes. In contrast to the aesthetics and stylistics of Ewe newspaper writers, the journalists of Ghanaian English-language newspapers use unveiled expressions, familiar words, and direct denotational stylistics (see Irvine 1989; Silverstein 2004).

In Chapter Five, I have also taken a close look at English and Ewe literacy concerns. The empirical data gathered for this study attests that there is a distinctive pragmatics for local language literacy as compared with that of English. Previous studies confirm this point. For example, Scribner and Cole (1981) explore literacy practices in West Africa, observing that there are three types of schooling in Vai society: traditional socializing for the initiation of boys and girls, English-language school for children whose parents can afford the money and time, and Qur'an schooling, mostly for children with Muslim backgrounds. These three forms of schooling are each associated with a specific language, namely, Vai, English, and Arabic, respectively. The authors notice that besides the linguistic distinctions characterizing these literates, a dominant social sphere also marks them. Specifically, local-language operates on "traditional economic and social activities", while the use of English-language centers on "modern economic and government sector", and Qur'an hinges on "religious" issues. They also observe that English and Qur'an educations require literacy skills such as knowledge of written texts, whereas traditional socialization does not require knowledge of the local language. Similarly, whereas Westernized schooling and Qur'an education require cash economies, the traditional education takes place without a cash economy (Ibid., p. 54).

Similar to the situation in Vai society, the differences in English and Ewe literacy can be seen in terms of the goals, the agents, the contents, the forms of the program offered, the linguistic skills expected, and the groups targeted in Ghana. For instance, whereas literacy in Ewe is ordinarily based on the stylistics of orality, that is, density of language found in the ceremonial speech of chiefs, and the writing of letters, literacy in English is directed toward the acquisition of scientific subjects, such as the sciences,

politics, journalism, and so on. Similarly, whereas literacy in Ewe is intended to convert people to Christianity and create better-informed Christians, and to help Ewe adults improve traditional methods of agriculture, literacy in English-language targets the elite, the politicians, the administrators, the lawyers, and teachers. Finally, whereas literacy in Ewe is based on Standard Ewe, literacy in English-language in Ghana is based on British Commonwealth English, in particular the metropolitan English. For instance, a member of Ghanaian parliament urged both teachers and students in Ghana to communicate in the Queen's English (Received English). The minister of state stressed the need for students to opt for good English, since proficiency in English would ensure a better performance in their courses. He also exhorted the students to read newspapers, periodicals and library books to acquire more vocabulary. He announced that a language laboratory would be built in one of the secondary schools to help the students attain proficiency in English.

In Chapter Six, drawing on the works of Bourdieu (1979) on the foundations of preferences, as well as those of Fernandez (1986) on linguistic fields and domains, and those of Cohn (1987), Ngugi (1991), Appiah (1992), and Irvine (1993) on language codification policies, I have interpreted the data. I have also analyzed the views of Ghanaian writers, as well as the language-attitudinal factors contributing to ideologies of language with regard to the Ghanaian print media. I have observed that several factors determine language use in Ghanaian media in the context of the multilingual situation. These factors involve issues such as the language policies, the emergence of educated professionals in Ghana, the incorporation of different language communities in a single nation-state, and the ranking of languages. For instance, the language policies have minimized the role of local languages in education, and as a result, the policies have failed to provide language professionals who could sustain written media in the indigenous languages.

Similarly, the amorphous Ghanaian elite class (De Graft Johnson 1966), in contrast with the typical organic social class (Bourdieu 1979), have transposed aspects of the local culture into English-language media, but have not paid sufficient attention to print media in the local-languages. The elite represent a force to be reckoned with, particularly because their preferences regarding literature influence the use of language in

the media. The nation-state formation is another crucial element that has contributed to the lack of a sustained Ghanaian-language written media.

The demarcation of the borders of Ghana has involved both the incorporation and separation of people within the same language territories, whereby Ewe groups inhabit three different geographical locations, namely, southeastern Ghana, southern Togo and southwestern Benin. This geo-political event has reduced the likelihood for the people in the area to gather resources for a sustained local-language print media. Just as Anderson (1983) argues that imagined communities have emerged in Europe due to the inception of print media, I contend that the English-language print media has contributed to the formation of the nation-state, Ghana (see De Graft Johnson 1966), including professionals. In contrast, the lack of development of local language print media has led in part to a weakening of the local-language communities.

The hierarchization of indigenous languages has also contributed to ideologies of language. For instance, in the context of Ghana's multilingual situation, the ranking of languages on a scale of official, national, and regional languages has reduced the chances of a sustained local-language print media, because the Ghanaians have put the local languages on the lowest part of the scale, thereby generally associating them with orality and the speech genres of chiefs.

Building on Simon's (2000) discussions on the intercultural components of translations, I have explored aspects of ideologies of language reflected in translation practices in Ghanaian-English language print media. For example, whenever Ghanaian journalists translate news items from the local languages into English, they transpose components of the local languages. In the same vein, local-language journalists translate items from English into the Ghanaian-language newspapers. Although the journalists recriminate each other for "impoverished" writing, "literal translations", "lack of standard", and "transposition of ideas," the same writers applaud instances where constituents of one language are transposed into another language. As a result, in some instances, those who advocate high standards in either local languages or English appreciate an aspect of translations of proverbs, metaphors, wise sayings, panegyrics, lyrics, songs, and so all in the written works. Yet, in other instances, they critique the use of components of the local languages such as inappropriate syntactic structure, imprecise

diction, erroneous grammatical elements, and misappropriation. Overall, these testimonies show that translation is intricately connected with the language situation in the interplay of Ghanaian-language and English-language literature in Ghana. The way Ghanaian writers utilize the translations reflects the hidden dimensions of language ideology in Ewe or Ghanaian-language literature as set out in this study.

Throughout the investigations in this thesis, I have discovered that instances of ideologies of language regarding the roles of languages in Ghanaian print media involve the interplay of complex factors, such as the productions of Standard Ewe, the professionalization of the Ghanaian print media, the political economy of the Ghanaian print media, the contents of the media, the differentiated literacy, the language aesthetics, the writers' perceptions of language use, and so on. These factors have contributed to the roles of English and Ewe in the Ghanaian print media, so that whereas Ghanaians associate English solely with the print media, they associate Ewe mainly with the broadcast media.

The ideologies of language underlying the regulation of the roles of language in Ghanaian broadcast media are similar to those of Zambia. Spitulnik (1998) explores ideologies of language by investigating how Zambian state institutions (radio, television, schools, and publishers) use only seven local languages, elevated in status out of the seventy-three indigenous languages. In doing so, she argues that ideologies of language in institutional practices should be understood in terms of a complex and manifold process involving language valuation and evaluation, which she views as "processes through which different social values and referents come to be associated with languages, forms of speaking, and styles of speaking" (1998: 164).

Radio Zambia had the task of promoting national unity as well as diversity by mediating the commonalities and differences of the various ethnic groups and languages, as well as regulating the airtime allotted to selected languages in Zambia. Essentially, the Zambian broadcast media, as a state institution, must mediate unified national identity along with regional diversity, and in so doing, "publicizes, legitimizes, and empowers" certain languages over others (Ibid., p. 166).

Radio Zambia was started in 1941, to use English and selected local languages (Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja, and Tonga) for the transmission of

information, as stipulated in the Zambian language policy. This institutionalized use of the mass media created a hierarchical ranking of the languages in Zambia (Ibid., p. 167). In this light, the state's discourse recognizes seventy-three languages, but elevates seven to a higher level on the language hierarchy, setting the official language, English, on its apex, backed by the national motto, "One Zambia, One Nation". The state discourse – articulated by Zambian public figures like the colonial administrator and politicians – thus serves as the basis for regulating national unity and diversity, which in turn is translated in Zambian mass media practices. The principle of a unified nation has also been manifested in Zambian's one-party rule from 1972 to 1990 (with Kenneth Kaunda as president).

The antecedents of Zambian language policies occur in colonial language policies, missionary activities, and migration patterns in Zambia. These factors have contributed to the initial ranking of two local languages, Bemba and Nyenga, as the lingua francas of the Zambian urban localities. Later, the colonial government allowed the use of Lozi and Tonga on the radio, arguing that the inhabitants were multilingual, speaking and understanding the four languages. The colonial government further added Lunda and Luvale to represent the northwestern provinces of Zambia, this time arguing that it was necessary to represent the geographical distribution of the languages in Zambia: north (Bemba), south (Tonga), west (Lozi), and east (Nyanga). Finally, the post-colonial government added Kaonde to the elevated northwestern Zambian languages, to complete the distribution of languages within northwestern Zambia (Ibid., p. 169).

The Zambian broadcast media use English for the national programs, while the vernacular service utilizes the seven Zambian languages. The national channel has been renamed Radio One, whereas the local-language channel has become Radio Two, because some of the Zambians claimed that the previous names were derogatory. Their contenders argued that the name "national service" for the radio operating in English presupposed that other languages were not national languages. Other Zambians have contested the different contents and programs of Radio One, calling for a unified program. This situation has led to the use of English scripts, which the seven languages translate for transmission. In Zambia, as well as in Ghana and Nigeria, English thus serves as a medium for regulation media production in the local languages, whereas the

indigenous languages serve as a cultural site for the Africanization of the media (Ibid., p. 175).

I have observed that local-language newspaper productions are successful in other parts of Africa. For instance, in Nigeria, while Henry Townsend established the Yoruba newspaper, *Iwe Irohin*, in 1859, Gaskiya Corporation started the Hausa newspaper, *Gaskiya Tafi kwabo* (Truth is worth more than a penny) in 1937, and Alaroye Group established the Yoruba newspaper, *Alaroye*, in 1996. These local-language newspapers are vibrant in the market because they adopt the scope and format of English-language newspapers in Nigeria, modelling their cover designs, headlines, news reports, and topics on those of the English-language newspapers (see Salawu 2006).

One line of research for investigations is to detail the influence of European languages on the codification of the Ghanaian languages, as well as the influence of the local languages on English-language in Ghana, drawing upon Smith's (1987) discussions on world Englishes.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

Interview with Kofi Awoonor, Ghanaian and English-language Novelist

***Interviewer: (**Q1)** As a distinguished novelist with exquisite mastery of English and Ewe, what do you consider as the distinct features of Ewe compared with English?

Awoonor: The answers to the language question, vis-à-vis Ewe, and its use as a sub-text, as a sub-linguistic text, for an English-language book, this book [*The Stool*, written by Azasu] does brilliant work, linguistically. It is a very exciting (book) and I want you to look at it.

Let me begin by answering a large question of the narrative itself as a form in which social intercourse and social relationships, and the artistic reconstruction of social reality is done. The novel as we knew came from the European [tradition], but we do have in Ewe a narrative form, a storytelling form and what, on occasions, constitutes historical narratives: people telling the story of how things happened, how they came to where they are. Ewe is full of it, various festivals, and so all. These stories are told, and they are not told in any ritualistic form: they are pure narratives that are accounts of journeys and so on, and a degree of embellishment and fictionalization occurs. So, events are also revisited. My reason for saying that is to underscore the fact that we do have in Ewe a longstanding narrative tradition -- either of fictional stories, or of what we call **Xo nyawo** *Historical narratives*: the stories of creation, the stories of how things happened, of migrations, of kingdoms, and the stories of specific stools, and leadership, and so on. And a great deal of it is told in highly imaginative force.

So, I want to confirm that, yes, writing in the Ghanaian languages [is legitimate]. People should still write novels in Hausa, in Ibo, in Ewe, in Ga, or in any other African language. They should do that for its own sake. This provides room for the languages themselves to enjoy the expansive milieu of literature, which enriches the language and, as long as these languages are being taught in schools and in colleges, the literary works in them are very appropriate. It could not be to the exclusion of work in English; there is some kind of symbiosis: languages do dialogue. Ewe dialogues with English.

* The Interviewer refers to Paul Anyidoho

**Q represents "question"

Interviewer: (Q2) What features do you use to determine a Ghanaian-language influence on a Ghanaian-speaking English?

Awoonor: It is purely phonology. It is not in the syntax. For example, the Ewe have a problem with the English vowel (e). So you will hear “when” [wen]. They turn also to choose Ewe rhythm: Where are going to? That is purely Ewe: [tonal representation of a rhythm of a sentence in Ewe] tá tà tá tá tà tà?. **Áfi ká yím nèlè?** I am very much particular with that, but as I was saying, languages do dialogue, and the rich value of any language is its capacity to take on another language. That process of dialogue enriches the language and Ewe has that.

A lot of us [Ewe], when we speak, unconsciously, we are always using English words, in the conversation in Ewe. There is no harm in it, but what it does is that it doesn't allow the kind of linguistic dialogue that, I think, is authentic, because you are borrowing too much. There are certain words that can become Ewe-like, let me use the word; that is, a direct borrowing. For example, the famous word “burial ground,” in Ewe, it became **benigla** [from English]. **Woyi de benigla**, *They went to the burial ground*. So, if you look at certain Ewe words, they are borrowed, **sabala** [from Portuguese], **goma** [from Portuguese]... Our languages have not been exclusive; they have always opened their doors to other languages.

One of the abilities that Ewe has alongside with other languages is to take a word from another language and domesticate it within the scope of its own language; for example, “He is going to school” -- **Eyina suku**. “School” has become **suku** [borrowed from English] and that has become an Ewe word. **Mi, sukuviwo**/*You, school boys/You, who go to school*, and so on. And that is allowed in linguistic transformation, in linguistic adoption, and so on; if the word does not exist in that language, you borrow and domesticate it, letting it work according to the rules of your own language.

Interviewer: (Q3) Why does English or Ewe serve as the only or most relevant language to express habitual thought in literature or written media in Ghana?

Awoonor: The path of history and historical decision to use English as a colonial language has provided a means of intercommunication and communication between the

various ethnic groups that are in Ghana. We have a communication link which is created by this language [English]. Even when Ngugi was talking about writing in Gikuyu, if he wrote in Gikuyu for the Kenyan-market readership alone, the Luos can't read it, the Kalenjins can't read it, the Maasai can't read it and so on and so forth. That's the realistic scope of the problem. And not to forget the fact that those who are outside [the vicinity] of Kenya can't read it, I can't read it.

I have not written much in Ewe. My last book, a collection of poetry, I tried to write in English and I have a manuscript in both English and Ewe where I will put the Ewe version [beside] the English version, but the publishers did not handle it well.

But that is an effort to get to an Ewe readership who did not have access to my work. There are people who read Ewe and do not read English. Not only that, there are people who read Ewe and English, but do not get into the anatomy of the language. My poetry is very easy, but people say it is very difficult to understand.

I have Ewe, and I know how to use the Ewe in that level of density. It is very important. People think that Ewe or any African language is not capable of thought of complex ideas, if you listen to HesinO Akpalu, the old Ewe Poet, who composed the dirges, you will see the complexity of the text:

Xexea me fe dzogoe dzi nyea me,	<i>I am sitting in the way of street corner,</i>
Nyemele amewo amewo kasa o.	<i>I am not the same as the enemy.</i>
Ame siwo nye aklamatowo,	<i>Those who are lucky,</i>
Wonɔ anyi de me nu.	<i>They have sat down and they have something against which they leaned.</i>

That metaphor, **wonɔ anyi de me nu**, *they have sat down [and they have] something [on which] they leaned*, if you say it in regular everyday speech, the Ewe speaker will not understand, unless you explain what it means by **wonɔ anyi de me nu alo dzogbe tre fafegbe na mi** *They have sat down [and they have] something [on which] they leaned or destiny has reserved fortunes for you*. Those are the highest level of the language in all its complexity. And that is why the great poetry is not nursery rhymes. The great poetry is made up of complex forms and ideas.

One of the things that I have been fascinated with is the inability of our euro-centered educational system to create a transposition or a relationship between this original milieu in which we are and the language that we have borrowed, structuring the domestication of the language. For example, if I ask a city boy the name of any bird that flies by, he will not be able to say it, but if I ask a village boy from Wheta to name the bird, he will readily name the bird. The education system that we have has not woven into this.

Interviewer: (Q4). In your excellent novels, *This Earth, My Brother* and *Comes the Voyager at Last*, what Ewe ideas, events and daily life could be more precisely expressed in Ewe than in English?

Awoonor: This is a difficult question. What this novel, *Comes the Voyager at Last*, is about is: what I wanted to do is to construct for the African who has been away for 400 years the enduring spiritual personality of art which is found in daily relationships, daily rapports, the basic rituals of relationship, all the way to daily [life]. And so when you come into this, and once you get the brilliant African, the authentic African that you have been looking for, you will not find in Accra. Besides the relationships, there is a point of certain taboos and prescriptions. The life forms that are defined by the Ewe world are certain principles that are part of the spiritual person; [for example], uncleanness and expiation.

I wanted to demonstrate that, in this novel, for this man, the energy that controls and incubates life makes that world what it is. This is the crux of the whole novel. So, the Voyager who has gone home, and on his way, the confusion that he sees in Accra, the so-called modern [ways], underneath it all, there is a value system in Africa.

Again, in *This Earth My Brother*, the hero or the main character represents, for me, the modern Ghanaian, modern African, who has gone very far: learned, scholarly, and so on, [but when he comes, he experiences] alienation. As they say in Ewe: **wo be, devi ya, nane fu dem ne, nane fu dem ne gododo, elebe woayi**, *They must go and find out what it is that is happening; that is, his problem*: there is mental imbalance, aberrant behavior, all kinds of things. And sometimes, they tell you, the ancestral offences have not been properly atoned for. So I was exploring that particular concept. And I have even an image of internal forms as the factor for that; [that is], putting together reconciliation, so

that at the end of the novel, and when he finds it, [he is at peace]. This is just summarizing the book. But I am taking all these from the Ewe cosmology and cosmogony. This is where I have gone to take my inspiration as a writer. I am also looking at the sociological structure of my own society.

Interviewer: (Q5) What components of (English or Ewe) language of your singular novels, *This Earth, My Brother and Comes the Voyager At Last*, should readily and spontaneously attract the attention of readers?

Awoonor: I am hoping that all of it, particularly when I journeyed in that world of social class structure of relations. I tell stories that reflect not only original forms of social relationships, but also those who are involved. For example, I tell a story of a [temple that] has come back, and so on; that is, a historical fact which happened to our people. Our storytelling as novelists covers or should cover the whole gamut of the society as we have undergone. I cannot write a novel setting [in the United States], even though I lived in the United States, but it should reflect very much the world of the African [sojourner]. This is why *Comes the Voyager*, [though the plot commenced in the United States], was only part of a format to bring him home to Africa to show him something else other than what he was familiar with. And language, if you know English, my American language, the style is not as good as when I came to Africa. I was at home. That was why when I was talking about America, I used some of the lyrical things that I borrowed from American narratives. I even borrowed a character straight from the American milieu. I couldn't get some of the nuances of the American black speech. I tried very hard but it is not as successful as when I was dealing with my African world. When I finally arrived in Accra, it is better, then, I felt at home. So the world which you are describing demands its own linguistic discourse.

Interviewer: (Q7) Does the language of novels attract certain readers in Ghana? Why does the language attract certain readers?

Awoonor: *This Earth My Brother* was a text for "A Level" for years, almost eight years. Once it moved out of the [list], the publisher did not renew it. And I have been looking for some publisher without success. This one is still printed [*Comes the Voyager at Last*].

The question is: do Ghanaians read novels? But I think what should happen a lot more is domestic policy, and we must publish books domestically, but we have not yet developed the publishers. One of the publishers who is doing fairly well is Woeli. So that is also part of his problem, vis-à-vis the readership.

Interviewer: (Q8) Which materials in literature did you write in Ewe and then translate into English as Ngugi of Kenya exhorted?

Awoonor: I have not written first in Ewe and then translated into English. If I am translating into English then I will be doing it [directly in English]; for example, when I had that poem that I gave you about Akpalu, **xexe fe dzo...nyemele amewo amewo kasa o**, when it occurs to me that way, I just put it down in English, but I can write it also in Ewe. I do write Ewe well. I am quite at home with it.

Interviewer: (Q9) In the Ghanaian situation, how does the reader's preference for a given language influence the writing of poems and novels in English or in the Ghanaian languages, respectively?

Awoonor: The question of the reader's preference, for example, after I have written my novel, *This Earth My Brother*, somebody said to me: "Look, but we, those who don't read any Ewe, cannot read your novel." That was when it struck me. I have not done any publication in Ewe, apart from the abortive attempt that I made [with the manuscript of the Ewe text put alongside the English translation].

Interviewer: (Q10) How would you consider the status of novelists in English language with those in Ghanaian languages?

Awoonor: I always believe that because of the problems of modernity and the prestige of English, we turn to enjoy a higher level of public acclaim. Also, in addition to that, more people have access to our works than if I have written in Ewe. English does have a prestige, you know how it is. But I can assure you also that if somebody is speaking Ewe or Twi, and he is speaking it very well, Ewe speakers or Twi speakers say: "**O, ame ya fe Ewegbea eme kɔ, Ewegbea eme fu.** [*Oh, this person's Ewe is clear, the Ewe is*

precise and profound].” So, linguistic appreciation has various constituencies. I didn’t know Hausa, but I used to hear some guy on GBC, years ago. When he was speaking Hausa, I said, this language... this man can really handle it well. I didn’t know [or] know very little of Hausa, but I could hear a language alive. And it really had an effect on me, [which was purely from] the acoustics. But if I went to some meetings of the elders, and they are speaking Ewe, there are some people I just want them not to stop talking at all. The way they weave it with proverbs, wise sayings and so on. I think there is a whole culture of language. Each language has its own constituencies. The modern age, which transcends the barriers of the individual ethnic languages, prefers English because of its accessibility.

Interviewer: (Q11) What language requirements and obligations do novels impose on novelists of Ghanaian-English literature or on those writing in Ewe?

Awoonor: The question you are posing here has to do with good writing, a writing that is successful. If a piece of writing is good, it speaks for itself in terms of language. A good writer must spend time in developing his linguistic capability. When you think of language, you are coming face to face with an authentic [chunk] of what would be acceptable to the reader, and to have an impact and relevance, vis-à-vis the story, or even the characters that are used in the narrative.

Good writing. If I take *Amegbetɔa alo Agbezuge* [by S. J. Obianim] or F.K. Fiawoo, *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia*, I am coming face to face with good Ewe writing. The other writers in Ewe (I won’t mention their names), when I take them, I am not as excited because they just could not handle the Ewe well. By handling the Ewe well, I mean not only the force of the ideas, but the whole stylistic of putting a piece of language together to reflect a certain situation. So, there are good writers in Ewe, just as there are poor writers in English, the same thing. Achebe has done experimentation in Ibo, and he is very successful.

So the requirements are imposed by the highest linguistic attainment of the languages themselves. Except in the case of English, if someone is writing for me and it is the English of a senior common room at Oxford and it is supposed to be telling me about a situation in Ghana, I will have a problem with that; it is not relevant. Or, I have seen a

text in which somebody has as a character, a Ghanaian illiterate woman, and he put very huge English words in her mouth. It doesn't make sense, very sophisticated words for this woman who has not even been to school. She would not be speaking even her own native language in that way. That is where a misuse of or a mismatch of language and material is. Your characters must reflect the linguistic reality; your situation must also be the same thing, and the location of your story must also be part of the language which describes that location. The narrator, the writer, is not only an observer; he must be an observer-participant in the situation in which events are unfolding, even though he may be telling the story in the third person. To me, this is very important.

Linguistic qualifications required by the novelist are the same as what we have been saying. The writer must of necessity immerse himself in the best form of the language, whether it is Ewe or English, but make the languages authentic vis-à-vis the character, the location and the situation. If you put old, ancient Ewe in the mouth of a seven-year-old boy in a village at Anloga, I have a feeling that you are missing the point.

Interviewer: (Q12) Did your education during the European period in Ghana direct you toward Ghanaian literature in English or Ewe, or both?

Awoonor: Yes because what happened to me in particular was that, I was growing up in a period where the teaching of Ewe was taken seriously at least by the mission school. When I went to secondary school, which was Zion College at Angloga, and founded Dr. Fiawoo, we also had an opportunity to do Ewe again. Zion College was a very culturally motivated school; we were into drumming and singing Ewe songs, and doing performances like *Atsyiagbeko* in school, which was very famous, and we used to travel all over in Ewe country, and on the founder's Day. And then being in Angloga, we were soaked into the Ewe culture: Angloga is very traditional. So, in spite of the fact that we were doing English literature and what not, we were also exposed to Ewe. In fact there was a theatre group that did *Toko Atolia*, and took it all the way to Lome [Togo]: [it was] performed in Ewe. I was not a member. It was done by our seniors. Then too there was one Bedi Setsoafia who translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into Ewe. That play was also acted, and it was a very good success.

So, the Ewe language and its sociocultural milieu were very alive when I was growing up

and that contributed very much to my understanding of that milieu and to use it in transposition in the English language.

Interviewer: (Q13) Did your education during the post-European period in Ghana direct you toward Ghanaian literature in English or Ewe, or both?

Awoonor: By 1957, I was a student at Legon. So I was sort of ending my education. We were the first batch in the year of independence. Also, we were the last batch to take the London University degree. The University was then called the University College of Ghana. We were College of the University of London.

But to answer the question more directly, our English institution at Legon paid no compliment whatsoever to Ewe literature. So, English education did not take interest in the vernacular literary tradition. When I became a teacher, for example, now I teach in the university [Legon], I used to ask the students to go and collect stories from their own languages. We had exercises, and I still do for my old graduate students [in] a course in oral literature that I taught. I taught it in a way after laying out the structure of oral literary forms. I sent the students back to their communities to collect anything: it could be folktales, it could be folksongs, cults, recitations, or whatever, and then, to translate them into English so that the class could discuss the material. I thought it was a good exercise. We did not have that exposure. Many of them were very excited about what they found when they went back to the communities. Basically, this is it. I am still excited by Ewe.

Let me just round up by saying that the writer's craft coils upon the use of language as the most immediate and the most pressing and the most important tool with which he creates his story. But the stories do not exist in isolation from the history, the culture and the entire civilization in which the writer grew up, in which the writer develops the literary imagination, unconsciously. In my case, of course, I grew up in a very traditional society. It is a society which was very rich, and is still very rich in folklore, storytelling, narrative, and I did not cut myself off from it, except the years that I spent abroad. But when I came back, I went back to them. I listened carefully to what the old people say and now. I am part of the traditional structure itself. And it is where I take my first inspiration as a writer. The Ewe language and its various forms: its use of proverbs, its

use of metaphors, its constructional techniques and so on and so forth; I believe I have tried as much as possible to take them into English, particularly in my poetry. In my novel, a novel which is a more extended kind of literary genre, the elaboration that comes only in terms of a situation where I need to create for the reader the Ewe milieu. If I don't need to create for him this specific Ewe milieu, I provided the entirety in the English language.

I think the argument that the African writer should write in his native language has been overflawed; the point has been overstated. Overstated, because it does not seem to take cognizance of the fact of history that the English language came into West Africa, in the seventeenth century, and it took root with the implantation of English education and English administration. Schools were built; the missions came to build their schools, and used English as the language of communication. So the Ewe scholar also has the capability of using the English, and not an Ewe scholar *per se*, like the old man, C. K. Nyomi, who was more than an Ewe scholar, because he was also able to teach Ewe to non-Ewes. That applies to all the other languages. The force, the power of Ewe, I believe, teaches us also; the power of Ewe or the power of English imposes upon us, or upon me in particular, the necessity to write these languages or to use them with great skill. My English usage therefore takes a cue from my interest in Ewe.

So, I suspect this segment of your work would have to discuss not only the use of language for communication but also the use of language as a tool in creativity, in defining aesthetics. [To the young writers], that is the first thing I tell them. The second thing I think about language is that, for the occasion of a novel and so on, is the structure of creativity. Creative imagination depends on the [goal], and we have that tradition in Ewe. Even from the story, they say, “**Gli tso uuu keke va dze Yiyi dzi**” [The story is about the Spider] and they would create a world of myth and conflict, and so on, and all the way up to the end where the conflict will be resolved. This is what all novels are about: the dialectics of human existence transposed into a world of imagination, and difficulties are encountered, moral dilemmas occur, and then these are resolved after a period of contest. And a writer is able to construct this world in the story.

There are other problems that are coming in, and one particular problem that I am interested in is the problem of publishing.

The word commodity is a difficult word because this is a cultural material, cultural value. So how it is produced, and how it is disseminated and so on is all apart of the problem of the economy and also the educational policy agenda because, a couple of years ago or so, suddenly, we heard one day this government announced that the Ghanaian languages would no longer be taught in second-cycle schools. There was uproar. [It was] in 2002. So the Department of Linguistics at Legon, Professor Anyidoho, the current Vice, and others even called a press conference to denounce this policy mitigation. So the government became a little jittery. They somehow backed down, but they didn't want to say they had backed down. But they have left the subject in a limbo; they don't want to touch it again. They don't even understand that if a child gets a good Ghanaian language background his or her English is automatically going to be good.

They have created now a serious problem whether this subject would ever be taken up, because the schools don't know what to do; the colleges don't know what to do. Cape Coast [University] is very much ahead of Legon, in creating the Department of Ghanaian languages long ago, where they attracted some of the old teachers: Mr. C. K. Nyomi, Mr. Anobil for Fante, Mr. Opare for Twi, and so on. So, you could go to Cape Coast and take a degree in Ewe, Twi, Ga, Fante, and I heard they have added some of the other languages: Dagaari, Dagbon, Dagomba, which is good so that these teachers that will train can go into the Teacher Training Colleges and then from there to the second-cycle schools. And they will in turn produce teachers to go to the elementary schools.

I was bearing a kind of testimony to my education that all these things that I have thrown into these novels are part of my growth process. They are not things that I have invented. I was immersed in Latin as a subject, as a language, when I went to school. Basically, what I wanted to tell my reader is that here is an African who is virtually subjected to this kind of European classical education and he didn't suffer for it: his Africaness was not taken away from him. In fact, he is enriched. So this is why when I tell my stories all these are part of his linguistic landscape from where I draw my various nuances, etc.

Interviewer: (Q14) In your novel, you mentioned that you were not allowed to speak Ewe at School.

Awoonor: Exactly. This was a very commonplace. You were not allowed to speak Ewe on the school compound. There was a board if you were seen; they will give it to you to wear on your neck and if you heard anybody speaking Ewe you give to him. And at the end of the day, whichever pupil was found with the board on his neck went to the Headmaster's office and he was lashed.

When I went to secondary school, particularly, the kind of secondary school I went to, these problems vanished, because Fiawoo himself was an Ewe scholar, so he encouraged the use of Ewe at the appropriate time, of course. When I came to Achimota for Sixth Form, this problem was not there, because somehow the colonial education system in Achimota also encouraged the ethnic language, and I became the college tribal head.

Appendix 2

Interview with Kwakuvi Azasu, Ghanaian and English-language Novelist

Interviewer: (Q1) In the celebrated novel, *The Stool*, instead of using the English equivalents, why did you retain the following Ewe words: **bokɔ**/ **bokɔviwo** (p. 3) (*Afa* diviner), **vodu** (p. 6) (*minor god*), **Togbe Dzoli** (p. 5) (*legendary personage of Tsiamé in the Volta Region*), **efa nagonu** (pp. 6-7) (*Afa or Ifa cult of Benin*), **Dete and azizawo** (p. 9) (*minor gods*), **Mawu Segbolisa** (p. 9) (*Ewe divinity*), **husikonui** leaves (p. 12) (*leaves of a local tree*), **atsitoe** tree (p. 15) (*a tree, African species*), **azadzo** (p. 26) (*evil spells*), **eflaxɔxɔ** (p. 29) (*Ewe rite of purification*), **nyakpe wood** (p. 29) (*a tree, African species*), **liha** (p. 29) (*local drink*), **aboboboi** (p. 31) (*exclamation of fear in Ewe*), **solagawo** (p. 32) (*minor god adherents*), **alaga** (p. 34) (*minor god adherent*), **afɔyi** tree (p. 45) (*a tree, African species*), **fiasidji** (p. 49) (*Trokosi female slave*), **logo** logs (p. 50) (*a tree, African species*), **Hunua Ataku** (p. 59) (*diviner*), **atsible** (p. 60) (*ritual bundle of sticks*), **kakla** (p. 60) (*religious object*), **ago-oo nami** (p. 61) (*manner of calling for attention*), **fɔfɔli** wood (p. 66) (*a tree, African species*), **efidodo** (p. 96) (*help with intention for reward*), **nutsuviatsi** (p. 126) (*praise name*), **dɔdɛmakpɔwoe** leaves (p. 170) (*a tree, African species*), **kpɔtsiyia** leaves (p. 171) (*a tree, African species*), **atrikpui** steps (p. 190) (*ritual dance*), **dzoquametsɔ** (p. 218) (*hypnotizer with evil intent*), **adɔadzo** (p. 219) (*spell*), leaves of **efla** (p. 225) (*a tree, African species*), **nutsugbeade** (p. 266) (*praise name*), **nyela** leaf (p. 272) (*a tree, African species*), etc. (in Ghana University Press, Second edition, 2004)?

Azasu: These are expressions for which we do not have the English equivalent, for example, **bokɔ**, means anyone, male or female, who is initiated into **Afa**, a devotional cult. Ordinarily, the diviner in the **Afa** tradition is referred to as **bokɔ**. In the reality of my research, I discovered that it isn't only the diviners of the **Afa** tradition who are referred to as **bokɔ**.

Interviewer: (Q2) Why did you not use the closest English Equivalent of **bokɔ**, but you retained the Ewe word?

Azazu: Because it would not be able to reflect the local color and the connotation of the word **bokɔ**. If I used a diviner, there are many types of diviners. But I want to be exact; that is why I call them **bokɔ**.

Interviewer: (Q3) In your view, and also considering the views of the readers of the celebrated novel, *The Stool*, and other comments, how effective is the use of such Ewe words in the novel?

Azazu: If I had used any other word, I would have denied the reader the Ewe instance of the word diviner in the **Afa** tradition; that was why I supplied a glossary. I think that many things in other traditions are getting lost. They are not getting lost only to the Ewe people; they are getting lost to the whole world. That was why I insisted in writing the original words.

Interviewer: (Q4) Why do you think those [Ewe] words are getting lost?

Azazu: They are getting lost because of the foreign religions that are invading other milieu [religions]: Islam and Christianity are foreign religions. And now, even other religions are coming in. There are some Ewes who are becoming Buddhists, and there are Ewes who are becoming Hindus. In fact, if we are not careful and if we do not record who we are, the local [features] will get lost.

Interviewer: (Q5) In your view, why do Ewes and other indigenous Ghanaians give in easily to the impelling and the eroding effect of the foreign religions and the languages that come along with them?

Azazu: The foreign religions are powerful, economically. There are certain people who say: "I have a call to become a Pastor." But, in Ghana, the majority of people know that they don't have any call, except for money and livelihood; that is the call.

In African traditions, we don't have any money to support our traditions, to support our belief system. This is why many are becoming foreigners among our people.

The reason is that, those of us who are lucky enough to be educated, and have the ability, I think that it is our duty to at least document what we know about ourselves so that, in case the whole thing is bought out of existence, I'm using the word 'bought' seriously, if

we are even bought out of this world, there will be something in books for people to refer to.

Interviewer: (Q6) In your excellent novel, *The Stool*, what Ewe ideas, events and daily life could be more precisely expressed in a novel written in Ewe than in English?

Azasu: The novel [portrays] the forces of evil and the forces of good. The forces which are for the people, and the forces for those who are working for their own personal gain. [The latter] seems to triumph, until the end.

Interviewer: (Q7) Considering the belief system of the Ewe, do you think your novel could be more effective if you had written it in Ewe?

Azasu: It would have been better if I wrote that story in Ewe. But I could say that a lot of Ewes already know these things. I want other people to share in the knowledge of our people. You can think that, may be, I want an Ewe reader to share [the idea] of the divinity of our people with other people. If I had written in Ewe, maybe, you wouldn't have been interested. [The novel has been translated into Ewe by Togla, who] teaches Ewe in the Department of Ghanaian languages at University of Cape Coast.

Interviewer: (Q8) What components of (English or Ewe) language of your singular novel, *The Stool*, should readily and spontaneously attract the attention of readers?

Azasu: I tried to depict the Ewe color in the English. That was why I used a lot of literal translations. I didn't do what we call idiomatic expression, because in the literal translation, you have to tune to the Ewe system, to the Ewe idioms. I would not have put it across, if I had done what may be referred to as idiomatic translation, or grammatical translation. For instance, **Xe de nyui**, "go well." (Read the *Slave Raiders* and the *Invitation*, which are sequels to this novel).

Interviewer: (Q9) Which materials in your novel did you write in Ewe prior to its English version?

Azasu: I wrote directly in English, but with a mind of Ewe, because when I started the story, I started it with the idea of revealing who the Ewe is. So it was written directly in English, with Ewe as the background.

Interviewer: (Q10) In regard to precise representation of thought, aesthetics, polysemous use of words, etc. in Ewe, how did the language impose the precision of these elements on your novels?

Azasu: Incidentally, I hadn't been very interested in Ewe until I became interested in who we are as a people. Then I got to know the beauty of the language itself, especially the idioms of the language. All these I take to work to fashion my perfection for the language itself and, then, the way of life of our people.

Interviewer: (Q11) As a distinguished novelist with exquisite mastery of English and Ewe, what do you consider as the distinct features of Ewe compared with English?

Azasu: I think that my Ewe is stronger than my English. And if my English expressions happened to be attractive to you, then it is just accidental. It is my Ewe which is attractive. Once I came to know the beauty of the language, then I tried to translate it into English.

Interviewer: (Q12) In using Ewe orthography for the Ewe words in the novel, what are some of the elements of the language that we should be more attracted to?

Azasu: You know that the Ewe expressions of surprise are so subtle that if I'm surprised about something you did that was very good, I may say: "Oh! eAnyidoho!" You realized that I used a small letter [for "eh"] to indicate that the "e-", which was there, is actually not part of the original name Anyidoho. That seems to be unique, especially in West Africa. In Shona, in Zimbabwe as well as in Ndebele, they have a similar thing, where a word [for a] name begins with a phoneme which is not part of the original word, to express surprise, or appreciation, or even shock.

Sometimes there are expressions in the opposite [sense]: Somebody wants to say that he is very happy, and instead of saying that he is very happy, he will say it in the opposite way, that is different from sarcasm. Somebody is very happy, and he will laugh and say: "Oh! Let me laugh as if I were happy," [in Ewe] **Mako nu kpɔ abe dzi ye dzɛ yem ene**. These are some of the subtleties of the language which I think scholars like you should at some moment take seriously.

Interviewer: (Q13) Does Ewe compete well with English in expressing thought in literature in Ghana?

Azasu: To say that one language compares favorably or unfavorably with another is presumptuous, because languages are the same, yet [they are] very different. There are certain thoughts which you can express in Ewe, but you can never express in English. There are so many things in English which I don't find have been expressed in Ewe. There are so many things which I can express so vividly in Ewe, which I cannot also express in English. That is why it is wrong for some people say that one particular language is superior to the other: The superiority is unique in many ways.

Interviewer: (Q14) Apart from your wish to share Ewe ideas, thoughts and expressions with the world, what other reasons motivated you to write in English, rather than in Ewe?

Azasu: Writing in English, as I told you already, brings you some advantages. Incidentally, there are some people who are Ewes, who may not appreciate the book as you have. There are some Africans who are not able to appreciate *The Stool*.

As I said, the Ewe one would have been better. This is why I said you should speak with Mr. Torgla, because he did a good job on it. If I had written in Ewe, maybe, many copies would have been sold in Eweland: Ghana, Togo and Benin. I was eager to share my 'Eweness' with the world rather than communicating in English. That's the way I look at it.

Interviewer: (Q15) In your view why do some educated Africans sometimes fail to appreciate the image of their culture, thoughts, ideas, and values?

Azasu: That has been our [problem] all along, and that is why we are where we are today. We are too busy glorifying other people, for that reason not appreciating who we are.

Interviewer: (Q16) Regarding the linguistic features of the Ewe language, do you think that the language provides enough material for written media in Ghana?

Azasu: [It provides] more than enough. Do you know that Ewe or Ghanaian languages are being studied in [University College of Education], Winneba, in [University of] Cape Coast and in [University of Ghana], Legon? Do you know that when our students go back

to their towns and villages, some of them feel shy to say that they are studying Ewe or a Ghanaian language. This is the problem with us. And the other day when I gave a lecture on Chaucer, I told them that at the time that Chaucer wrote in Middle English, people were looking down upon him. They thought that he was not educated enough to write in Greek or Latin, that was why he was writing in English. The same thing we see with students in Africa, in Ghana, in particular. If I have written in Ewe, I'm sure that I would have gotten a lot of readers, more than what I get in English. Have you ever read *Agbezuge*? Do you know that *Agbezuge* sells a number of copies every year as any book [novel] written in English? You see, our people are eager to read, but we are not writing for them. The market is there, but sometimes also, if I write a book, we don't have publishers; that's one of our problems. If we were to have a publisher, the publisher can make more money publishing in our various Ghanaian languages than publishing in English.

Do you know Professor Anyidoho? [He] wrote a lot in English. He does a lot of programs in English and, then, he needs to work in English. But when he did an Ewe performance on a study, it was phenomenal: The reaction was phenomenal. So you realize that if his works were in Ewe, he would have got more admirers among his people, but if he wrote in Ewe, who will publish it? This is our problem.

So our main problem is [the lack of] publishing avenue. Maybe what can be done in modern technology, the need of alternating management for the press, maybe, we would be able to overcome that problem, but before that, this is the problem that we have. Our people are ready to read, but we haven't got the materials. Yet people are writing, but they are not being produced for them to buy. One other problem is the general poverty in our country. If you have sufficient to eat, then you want to feed your mind by reading: is that not it? If you are not able to feed the body, how can you feed the mind?

Appendix 3

Interview with Kwesi Yankah, a former columnist and a founder of local-language private radio station

Interviewer: (Q1) What are some the contributing factors for the lack of development or lack of sustained development of the media in the Ghanaian languages?

Yankah: I think some interest has been shown in the Ghanaian languages. Your own records would show that from the 1930s onward a number of newspapers were in Ghanaian languages, at least in Akan. Quite a number of them came out, particularly missionary-sponsored publications like the *Asenta*, *Nkwantabisa* (*Nkwantabisa* in particular was very well-known throughout the country). Then in the '50s we had the *Amansuon*, *the Public* and the *Akan Kyerema*, literally, the *Drummer of the talking drum*, then, *Wonsuom*. Of course, some of these were produced by the Bureau of Ghana Languages. This was done nearly in the '70s. And then in the '90s, within the past ten to fifteen years, there was no communication system, so we started a project, a Ghanaian project called **Mbwosom**, like *All hands on deck*, which was mainly based in Swedro, the community newspaper that we started. All these have happened in the past. And of late, I realized that some Ghanaian newspapers in Ewe have been appearing. I was even surprised to find out when I attended a burial service in one of the Presbyterian churches, somewhere in the past two years, and I was surprised, even a bit surprised to see a Presbyterian newspaper, in Ewe, circulating. So this clearly tells you that there are some Ghanaian-language newspapers.

And as you said, one of the [Ghanaian Anglophone] newspapers, in the past year or so, devoted a page of their papers to one type of the Ghanaian languages or the other. But the past year or so, some newspapers were doing it, and I thought that was very good policy. I do remember also, in my capacity as a member of the National Commission on Culture, we also discussed the possibility of compelling some of the newspapers to devote some of their pages to some of the Ghanaian languages, but with the boom, the "media boom," all over the place, you cannot very easily dictate to any newspaper, not even to the state-owned media, [to write partly] in the Ghanaian languages. There is some interest there,

but the reason why it does not catch on in a very sustained way can be explained in various ways. I think you are right when you said that those who would be interested in the Ghanaian languages at the moment would be those who were interested in the Ghanaian languages when they went to school, but I must say that even though the use of the Ghanaian languages within the media went down considerably in the past, it has in the past two to three years risen. That is mainly due to the proliferation of radio stations throughout the country: Ghanaian-language radio stations throughout the country, communication centers that speak Ghanaian languages, and also city-based radio stations where Ghanaian languages are [used]. Our own radio [Voice of Legon, now known as Radio Univers] in the University, I found it, it has been ten years. I was part of it at the beginning until recently. We surprised everybody when we produced a Ghanaian-language news center. People thought "Wow, the University?" I said no, no, no. The public out there ought to know what we are doing here in the University, because they own the University, through their taxes, that this university was built, and sustained the monuments that they gave to staff, apart from government [subsidy], there is no [harm] to be responsive to public interest and so on. And so, all the other radio stations followed suit after Legon. But I am saying this to say that there is some interest there. One time [people] express this interest in Ghanaian language by introducing more and more Ghanaian newspapers. But, of course, to read a newspaper is not the same as to listen to the radio. We are talking about literacy, so the interest may be there but the individuals may not be literates, and not be able to read and understand and analyze [the] Ghanaian languages. So, that is part of the reason, and that literacy aspect of it can be traced to the interest or lack of interest in Ghanaian languages through educational process right from primary school, JSS, SSS, we used to have the Ghana language as compulsory, but very unfortunately that policy was discontinued for no good reason that I can think of. But I think it was just because children of elites, like you and I, may probably not need it. Rather than thinking of the majority of those from rural areas who are probably doing better in Ghanaian languages and so on, they went ahead and stopped that. But, even though it is compulsory in the JSS, it is not compulsory; it may be offered as an option among the SSS, it is no longer compulsory. The attitudes to Ghanaian languages are not very positive. Ghanaian-language teachers in secondary schools and Ghanaian-language

workers who produce papers have prejudices. They will tell you that people don't look highly [at them]. Except that the situation, I think, is changing. It is changing considerably in the value that we have added to the Ghanaian languages over the ten years through the radio. Now we have Ghanaian-language broadcasters, newspaper staff in the country. Men and women are being welcomed and celebrated all over the place, wherever they go. They are celebrities, so that aspect is changing. Many radio stations are looking for very good, experienced people, who can read and write the Ghanaian languages, analyze news at the same time. So I think you are right in attributing the reasons for lack of interest in attitudes and also in policy, as governments have not backed policy with the "political will." Many of them have only readily referred those situations to the Bureau of Ghana languages and the Minister of State.

[There is] lack of support for their publishing of tons and tons of manuscripts which are lined up there on their shelves. They don't have enough funding. So it is partly also policy. And the policy also derives partly from the people's attitudes. The policy of using a language as a medium of education in the lower primary dramatically changed from Ghanaian language to English, which runs against all reason. I'm sure, currently, it is also being changed but it was so embarrassing. So we are the only country in the Sub-region with that queer policy, when children have started with their mother tongue from home, when they come and, suddenly, they have to learn in English. They cannot easily retain the concept that we learn in language. Whereas if we rather start with a Ghanaian language, what they know, gradually, they can move on to English from their own language. So it is partly policy. We have not backed policy. Taking the right policy decisions and, even though we have the right policy decisions, we have not backed the policy decisions with political will.

I believe there is a good chance of things changing. Now, we have Ghanaian-language studies at the B.A. level, taken in the University of Cape Coast and the University of Ghana. We have M.A. courses in Ghanaian language. So, for the first time, a student did M. Phil. in Ewe in the English department; they are doing it for the very first time. It was about two years ago in the Language Center. That tells you that, at least, with the right attitude within the educational milieu, this can be used as a guiding light for the rest of the public that there is absolutely nothing wrong in doing a degree in a Ghanaian

language, in this permeating society, in the secondary schools. But that is the problem we are having, but even so, I don't think we have experimented enough. We should have taken the advantage of the improvement of the use of the Ghanaian languages on radio; exploited that to introduce the newspaper [in Ghanaian languages].

Interviewer: 2. Can you recall some of your experiences of the language situation in the primary school, particularly in upper primary onward, before and after independence?

Yankah: That was a long time ago. I was born before independence but once we achieved the independence, I was only six years [old]. I wouldn't recall enough exactly what happened. But, at least, in the secondary schools, Ghanaian language was very articulately taught. Ghanaian languages [were taught] in the primary schools. Of course, in those days, there was nothing like school policy in Accra, or national school policy. But I must tell you that each time they had national school proprietors, they realized that there is something missing in the absence of cultural studies, and many of them highly appreciated that. Even with these [cultural studies], they still realize that they are missing something, so many of them sometimes arrange programs for people to go and talk to their children about Ghanaian culture, Ghanaian language and so on. It is the circumstances that compel them. I still think that we have not been bold enough to respond to the changing attitudes. I think the attitudes are changing because of radio.

Interviewer: 3. What features of the Ghanaian languages promote such attitudes?

Yankah: I don't think the attitudes come intrinsically from the languages themselves. No, I don't think so. It is our attitudes to our own culture. It is purely attitudes to our own culture and our environment: the yearning for anything foreign, the alien, Western, and so-called global. They look at the economics of language, what job will my son get in studying Ewe or Fante, or Ga in the degree level at University? It is part of the problem that we have, but how far can English, otherwise, take you? But, of course, to learn a Ghanaian language that will nourish this. Many of the best scholars in English are also very good in a Ghanaian language. It is not either/or. Unfortunately, many of our students here are complete illiterates in Ghanaian languages. They cannot write one single sentence in the Ghanaian language. That is why we started the Language Center. Part

their program in the Language Center is the teaching of English life, but also they teach the Ghanaian languages on top of it at the Centers: from Dagbani to Ewe, Akan, and Ga, they are all taught to first-year students or new students, as part of the requirement; it is one of the options, and besides, learning things in the Ghanaian language that you don't otherwise know. So, Akan will go and learn Ga, Ga will go and learn Dagbani, part of the process of promoting mutual ethnic understanding and also enhancing their own literacy status.

Talking about the literacy the colonial situation has changed -- the so-called Westernization. In those days, and even now, most of our mothers who didn't go to school or didn't go far, they can at least read the Bible in their Ghanaian language. You go to church and the Bible is being read in their Ghanaian language. They follow everything that is happening. They sing too in their Ghanaian language. They are literates, but literacy limited to the Ghanaian languages, not English. But these days how many 20-year olds or 30-year-old's children are literates only in the Ghanaian languages? Either you are literate or illiterate in English and therefore the Ghanaian languages. When they say literacy, they are referring only to English. They don't even define as literates those who know how to read and write Ghanaian languages. But, in the churches, the older ones [are], but you can't get any young, even 30-year-old girl, or boy, or man who has not been school, who has not been to an English school. That is what the Mass Education is: to help our fathers to read their own language. I think that that policy has not been [pursued] enough from government to government.

Interviewer: 4. I would like to know the reasons why the government promoted Mass Education in the past and will not promote it now?

Yankah: I think it is courage. They haven't got the courage enough to pursue the Ghanaian language Policy and so on. They are moved easily by current global trends, and I think they listen more to the voices of the urban elite, and forget about the majority of the people in the rural areas. They probably don't even know the trends in other West African countries, as far as Educational policy is concerned -- taking the rightful decisions. As I was saying, from what had happened to the Ghanaian language on the radio in the past five to six years, this can be used as a trigger, pedestal. The government

has to respond to the good work. Many ministers [of state] now want to improve their Ghanaian language -- whether Ministry of Education or Finance -- because the radio stations are constantly calling you to come and explain the budget to the people, to come and explain the specific policies in the Education to the people. And the people are all out there. So, it compels you to sharpen and improve your competence in your own local language. So, that is gradually permeating ministries and even business office [outreach]. Now, it is an advantage to have a Public Relation Officer who speaks two Ghanaian languages or who speaks more than one Ghanaian language. At Makola market, they are not going to talk to them in English. Ga, or Ewe, or Akan is what will be expected. That is what will be expected. That is part of being a good PR: the ability to communicate with clarity to the ordinary man. I think there is some goodwill there that the newspapers have not exploited. And I think it is for the National Commission of Culture not just to ask state-owned papers and so on to devote a page or two, but to start, themselves, to do appeals for funding and do a pilot-project, and to see how the people have [favorably] responded.

Interviewer: 5. What is the Commission on Culture's recent Policy on Language?

Yankah: You better get a copy of Ghana's Cultural Policy which was launched by the Commission and read the area on language. They clearly support the need of the Ghanaian languages in the lower primary schools. They clearly stated their position on it. And I remember the time the Commission was inviting the Education Minister to come and explain the Policy. And it was very interesting. When the Policy had been reversed, we invited him. The Commission will probably tell you that the Commission wasn't convinced about the new policy. If you also lay hands on the Government White Paper on Education Reforms, you will realize that there is a section on language, and that section will clearly tell you that government is probably having second thoughts about the language [policy]. It has not been officially articulated, but you can clearly tell from the language section that the medium of instruction has been [reviewed]. They reversed the policy back to the Ghanaian language, where teachers are available.

Interviewer: 6. How does literature, English literature in particular, demonstrate the

multicultural situation in Ghana, taking into account riddles, proverbs, and such elements of the Ghanaian languages?

Yankah: Even for those of you who used to write whether the newspapers did or not, if you read the newspaper critically, even though it is English that is being written, it is like our version of the standard English that is being used. Occasionally, even beyond that you can find the Ghanaian language expressions flashing within articles, and colloquial expressions here and there. Occasionally, you can find a proverb even as part of the caption of a story. As for the written literature in English, if you are lucky enough, particularly the authors who are closely in touch with the world, Anyidoho, Awoonor, among others, you will clearly see that what they are presenting is virtually Ghanaian culture, presented through the medium of English. So, largely, many of our authors, through the medium of English, all right, but they still express their loyalty to the Ghanaian language. Anyidoho's poems, for instance, are virtually Ewe dirges; the English is only an accidental [part]. He is virtually speaking Ewe. But apart from that many of them are wholly also turning to their Ghanaian language, like Anyidoho himself with his recent poem, (English as medium of communicating Ewe) [taking] after Ngugi Wa Thiongo with his experimentation based on Gikuyu, in one of his recent [works].

Appendix 4

Interview with a journalist and an editor of *Daily Graphic*

Interviewer: (Q1) I would like to know whether the issues raised by Denkabe and Gadzekpo concerning the proficiency of language, accuracy in coverage of news items and decency in the use of language are still raised today?

Editor: Yea! Definitely, as humans, in using foreign language we are bound along the way to make mistakes. And we have to make a clear distinction between the improper use of language because of lack of understanding and the intemperate use of language. These are two different things. In terms of the intemperate use of language, definitely, there has been some qualitative improvement. And if you should do some qualitative analysis of some of the newspapers, you realize that the intemperate use of language has considerably improved. Even in the study, the mainstream newspapers were not found to be doing that.

The problem with the mainstream newspapers is about poor grammar, sometimes, improper spelling, and those kinds of things. But some of them are unavoidable because, when you are dealing with large volumes of printed matter every day, you are bound to skip some of these. But definitely we make efforts to ensure that whilst we have not developed a uniquely Ghanaian English, and therefore, we are using the British English, it imposes on us some constraints in terms of making sure that we use the language in the way that the British want it to be used, in the formal sense. But, somehow, there are some intrusions of local words which I don't find any difficulty about, because, definitely, there is difference between British English and American English.

It is important that we encourage the development of a distinctive Ghanaian English that will meet the needs of Ghanaians better than taking the British or formalized form of the language, when even in Britain itself, there is the Scottish and different variations of the English that they use. So our problem has been that we try to limit ourselves and try to use only the Queen's English, but somehow, when you are communicating you cannot take the mother tongue completely out of English discussion. So, now and then, there is an intrusion. And what people normally do sometimes is to look or have the mental image that is formed in the local language, and then translate that into English. Some of

the mistakes come because of this: that looking at the sense in the English at the local level before translating it into English and coming up with the words. It influences you somehow; but definitely, there has been some qualitative improvement since that publication.

Interviewer: (Q2) Can we talk about the standardized indigenization of some terms in reporting as against certain terms that, outright, will not be accepted?

Editor: That is what I'm saying because, unfortunately, unlike in Nigeria or unlike in the West Indies, where they have developed uniquely their own style of English, call it Pidgin, or Cru, or whatever, which they use in writing, we have not developed that style. And, therefore, we are constrained. That is why, when people see the intrusion of some of the local languages, they get offended because they think that we must use the formal English standard and not mix English with any other thing.

The other study also shows sometimes the use of articles and other terms before certain words. Sometimes, because of this localization "for", for some of them, we don't introduce any of those articles because in the local languages, when you say that you are [going somewhere], you just say that. So, like somebody would say, "I'm going to Post Office", instead of saying, "I'm going to *the* Post Office," because, if you bring it to the local language, like in my language, you will say, *meko pose ofise*. So, because of that, sometimes we don't use articles very well, because we are informed by the local languages. These are some of the basic influences that those who insist on the formal Queen's English find [to be] the problem in the way we go about it. Then, there is another thing about spelling. You know most of the computers that we use are produced in the U.S, and the U.S. spelling is different from the British spelling. So, sometimes, when the computer is American, it gives you, especially, between "z" or "s". Most of the time, the American version will give you the "[z]" like "[nationalize]". In British English, it is "[s]". Those people, conservatives, when they see "[nationalise]" with "[z]", definitely, they will call you and say: "How can you spell the word like that?" But that is a problem.

Interviewer: (Q3) Talking about the conservatives and those critics, normally they send a letter to the editor. Can you categorize the education standard of those who send their critiques, who are part of the readers of your paper?

Editor: Not necessarily. It is not a segregated kind of thing. It is rather that there are people, it doesn't matter their level, who show us that they have taken interest in language; I mean, there are people who went to Training College, even colleagues, and the university professors and all those, who write or call us once in awhile to remind us that we made this mistake or this thing. But when it is about some of those things which are not strictly a mistake or grammatical error we are not so much bothered. But sometimes, there are slips where there is a plural verb against a [singular] noun.

Interviewer: (Q4) Do the readers influence the use of language, in the production of the *Daily Graphic*?

Editor: Yes, definitely, because if we use bad language and our attention is drawn to it, and we find out that we made [a] mistake, we will definitely change it. Once our attention is drawn to it, we will definitely make the correction. There are sometimes, too, some words that are similar in nature which mean different things. I, personally, I had problems, sometimes, between "diffuse" and "defuse". To *defuse* tension, you end up *diffusing* the tension. If it happens like that, there is no way that you can ignore anybody who points out the problem to you [other] than to do the correct thing. In as far as that is concerned, and indeed, for two years, we had a columnist, who used to write on the right way to speak the language. He has published that into a book, as way of pointing out some of the mistakes that the educated Ghanaians make in their use of language. That one was also for us. One of the things was about cutting the sod, commissioning a building, which now we talk about [as] the "building was inaugurated". "Commission a study" and not "commission a building". Those are some of the things that we have done or are writing out of course or rejoinders, and that confront the public.

The people who are working here, not every one of them studied English as a language, in the formal sense. And we are not outside of the main trained Ghanaian population. So the everyday mistakes that the Ghanaians make, we are prone to make those kinds of

mistakes too. Therefore, any time our attention is drawn to some fundamental [mistakes], what we do is to check on [them].

I, myself, I studied English; therefore, there are some issues that we resolve here and we have recruited proofreaders who also studied English. Therefore, the volumes of those kinds of mistake we talk about are very minimal. If you read through Dankebe and Gadzekpo's book, you will realize that *Graphic* was not one of those that had a lot of problems. The people are concerned about us because, as a leading national newspaper, even one mistake is not tolerable. That is why we have a lot of these difficulties. Sometimes, it is because of proofreading errors or technical things, because we are trying to type in a certain way, we end up typing another way. I remember one classical example where we were talking about chemically modified food against organic food. We ended up saying people should refuse organic food instead of inorganic; I mean, those kinds of things. Definitely, you realize that it is a mistake and the next day you have to do a correction and apologize to the public. For some of those things, it is not because you don't understand the language, but it is the normal mistake that people make as human beings through human weaknesses.

Interviewer: (Q5) When recruiting journalists, how do you take into account the language requirements and obligations that newspapers in English impose on journalists of Ghanaian Anglophone newspapers?

Editor: The issue is that there are certain international standards. You cannot go beyond certain standards because you are *Graphic*. For instance, the normal thing is that people who have studied at the second level, or the point is this, once the person has the qualification; for example, in terms of the lower, we take the Diploma from the Institute of Journalism or degree. The assumption is that anyone who has successfully passed his exams is at least qualified, but sometimes you realize that he studied in journalism but he did not study English formally as a subject. Therefore, even though he has the degree, he has a deficiency in the language. You cannot foresee some of those things. So, what we do here is that, on a very regular basis, we run programs on English proficiency for our staff. We organize seminars and training workshops on how to write, including language use, and we bring lecturers from the University, from the English Department to have

interactions with our people. On our own - as I have indicated to you before, I did English in my first degree - we discuss some of these things and in terms of usages and other things, and those words that appear, sound the same but are not the same, like the “diffuse” and “defuse” [issue] I was talking to you about. We try to inform ourselves from time to time about some of those things. Beyond that, the last time we were doing the recruiting, we pushed them through a written test, and the import of that written test was not only about journalism, but also to test their competence in the English language. Therefore, we give the scripts first to the English Department to mark in terms of the grammar and the English, and, afterwards, we give the scripts to the School of Communication Studies to evaluate the journalistic aspect so that we evaluate both the language aspect and the journalistic aspect, as a way of informing us as to the competence of the people in terms of language use. So that is what we did the last time, and that is what we intend to do from now onwards.

Interviewer: (Q6) How does language determine the framing of captions and headlines of the newspaper, when some pictures meant to buttress the report are rather sensational in outlook?

Editor: No. That one is not so much of a language, because as for the language, whether it is about pictures or about anything, the difficulty is not just about pictures. It is about the use of language. You will realize that some of the things that Dankabe and Gadzekpo noted were also the consequences of the political system that we were coming out from in the past. In the revolutionary days, revolutionary language was used. In public discourse, a lot of vocabulary of the revolutionary language entered into that. When you are in a revolutionary era, the formality is the least thing that you are interested in. There is so much arbitrariness and a whole lot of other things.

About emotions, the ones that they talked about were consequences of that. It's like you have insulted me and I'm insulting you back, and I don't care which is the form of environment within which I am addressing you. Then you begin from there, then you carry language that ordinarily would have been spoken in the market into the newspaper. That is how some of those things came about. Now, we all appreciate the fact that democracy does not mean that you should have your way and I shouldn't have my way;

but democracy always requires that you tolerate me and I tolerate you. Now, you will see that the use of language has become more measured than in those times. You are not likely to come across very bad language, the way that they appear. It has definitely gone down. Even in the most vitriolic private newspaper, you are not going to find, say, that kind of language. No. You will not see that. Definitely, it is better now than [at] that time.

Interviewer: (Q7) You were talking about the columnist who was writing on the use of language. When was that?

Editor: I think, when you go back, two years, you will find it.

Interviewer: (Q8) What is the title of the series in the column?

Editor: We call it “Mind your language.” That was the series in the column. All the infractions that were being observed either from our own paper or from what educated Ghanaians were making, he was analyzing and writing about.

Interviewer: (Q9) What is the name of the columnist?

Editor: He is a retired educationist. He has published his articles into a book called “Mind your Language.”

Interviewer: (Q10) I would like us to talk also about local language newspapers.

Editor: Have you seen any local [-language] newspaper?

Interviewer: (Q11) Yes, a couple of them in the Volta Region and elsewhere.

Editor: Where? I have not seen any local-language newspapers.

But in the 50’s the *Evening News* newspaper used to devote [a] few pages to some Ghanaian languages. Where would I have been?

Interviewer: (Q12) That is the question. But in the Volta Region, they have published *Midim* from 2000 to 2004, also *Kpodoga*, sponsored in the beginning by UNESCO, from 1976 to 2000, then *Motabiala*, alongside others in other Ghanaian languages.

Editor: I know there used to be some Twi papers, *Nkwantabisa* and *Akwansasem*, but I don't know how long ago they stopped publication. It is a long time.

Interviewer: (Q13) With those papers you mentioned, what are the characteristics of the language of those papers written in Ghanaian languages compared with the Ghanaian-English newspapers that enforced the production of the papers for years, or, in the case of the local-language newspapers, did not at all?

Editor: It is because we are more illiterate in the local languages than in English. Because, how many, maybe the Ewes are doing better, but even within the Ewe community more of them will understand written English than written Ewe. So, that comes across, even though we say that the majority of our people are not literate in English. If you were to segregate the indigenous languages, you would see that there are more illiterates in the indigenous languages than we are in English. We speak it, but speaking alone does not make you literate in that language. We can hardly write or read. The average work that you expect in Twi: out of ten Akan people, about nine of them are not able to read it. So that is part of the problem of the local languages. Radio is getting on better, because it is only speaking. Speaking, you hear it but reading is different from speaking. So that, for me, is one of the major problems. We can hardly read and write in the mother tongue.

Interviewer: (Q14) Can you advance some of the reasons why the situation is so, that we, Ghanaians, are literate in English and illiterate in our mother tongue?

Editor: There are a number of schools where they say you cannot speak your mother tongue. Within school hours, no mother tongue is allowed, only English. Is it not a way of killing mother tongue?

[Interviewer:] It is.

[Editor:] It is. I experienced that in the middle and secondary schools. I don't know whether it was the same experience in your schools.

I don't know, but the problem is this: is it bad to speak your mother tongue? How do you get proficiency in it? The only way to attain proficiency in any language is to speak. But you are not allowed to speak it. So for the ten hours that you are in school, let's say, the

elementary school, from the time that you get to school until you close and go home, counts. And within some homes also people prefer speaking to their children in English than in their mother tongue. In those situations, how do we expect children to pick up the proficiency? And somebody narrated a story where, at Achimota Prize and Speech-giving Day, when somebody was mentioned as the most outstanding student in Twi, instead of applause, they booed, because they thought that he is not intellectual enough. You see the problem? What is the difference between the one [who] topped in Physics and the one who topped in English? Why the one who topped in Twi did not receive applause? You see the problem? So these are some of the things.

Interviewer: (Q15) If we include the presenters on Radio among journalists, can we say that in the way the journalists have trained, not much attention is given in the School of Journalism and the School of Communications to the local languages?

Editor: They don't study English as a subject. So it means that the formal studies of English end at the senior secondary school. So, if you did not pick up, you are not going to pick up again, because nobody will teach you how to construct a sentence. So that is the problem.

Interviewer: (Q16) I would like to shift a little the language issue to the social realms, that is, when there are, maybe, Award Ceremonies or meetings of the journalists from written media to the radio and television. They are going to meet and interact with a lot of journalists in the local languages, etc.

Editor: But they are not journalists in local languages. I mean a lot of people who are talking in the local languages are not journalists. That is why we have a lot of problems also with the radio, because they don't understand the norms of journalism. Their only qualification is that they can speak the local languages, and they have gotten the job, and they are using it without understanding the basics of journalism. That is another problem. And the journalists also cannot use the local language in the way it has to be used.

Interviewer: (Q17) So, there is a big problem.

Editor: Yes, there is a big problem. It is a big problem. In a way, what we need to do is to encourage those people to have some basic proficiency in journalism to complement their mastery over the local language. That is the only way to go around it, because the journalists who did not study the local language, it will be difficult to change them in the proper way, because, you know, to understand language use and the register, the environment determines the nature of the language that you use. If you don't have any idea at all, you'll just use any language and it will be inappropriate for the occasion. And that is the problem that Denkabe and Gadzekpo established, where people are using intemperate language because they think that they are standing in front of people and talking to them, instead of understanding that these are written words. And there are rules about written words which cannot apply to oral delivery; there are differences between oral delivery and formal word, in terms of written material. Once you don't have an idea about it, you will think that language is language, it doesn't matter where you are standing. You can say what you want to say and end up offending people, because you should not have used that language, because you must be mindful of the concept, the environment and all that. That is a problem. The people who understand the local language don't also understand the analysis.

Interviewer: (Q18) I was going to talk about the prestige associated with journalists trained in the category of English print journalism as against those trained for the local-language media, but, since you don't have that problem, then which language, or languages, in Ghana enable journalists to acquire social advancement or prestige?

Editor: No. No. No. Not that, but you see, not in terms of the people who produce rural programs, but there are some journalists who do appear on local-language programs, and, what is funny is this: that people expect that you don't know how to speak the local language. There is a certain perception, and so when you speak, they are full of praise for you, which is not meritorious because the fact that I speak that, does not make me any better, because it is my mother tongue and I'm supposed to be able to speak it. But the perception is that: No. No. No. You, at your level, you cannot speak three sentences without introducing some English into it. So, if you are able to speak, quote proverbs, use language, deep [thought], metaphorical [words] and all that, then, they are bemused with

you. So that is the thing. So, there are exceptions to that. It is not that there is no journalist who can communicate in the local language effectively. I think that the majority of those who are causing problems to the Ghanaian citizens [on the radio], and you hear them all the time talking, most of them are not trained journalists. There are some journalists who can speak the local language. I, for instance, I can speak the local language. There are times that you appear on the local language program. Before you come out, people are ringing and saying that “Eh! Even though you speak English...” What is the wondrous thing about it? You should marvel more about my ability to speak English, which is my second language, than my ability to speak the local language, which is my mother tongue, since I was not born outside [the country].

Interviewer: (Q19) So, at meetings and ceremonies, and places such as that, which language do you use?

Editor: Yeah, in the formal setting, we use English, because English is the official language, so, we cannot presume. When we meet as a group, you cannot presume that one local language is to be preferred. In avoidance of that, in all formal ceremonies English is used.

Interviewer: (Q20) During the meetings and ceremonies, did you observe that those on radio programs, particularly, in the local-language sector do not associate with those on English programs?

Editor: There are many of them, as I have already indicated to you, [who] are not journalists, and, therefore, they are not part of the Journalists Association. So, they will not even have the opportunity of being there. But there are some who are.

Interviewer: (Q21) Those who are, during the meetings and in groups such as that which language do they use?

Editor: No, because we use English.

Interviewer: (Q22) But those who work on local-language programs, don't they feel that they are working in a second class category?

Editor: No. Those who are journalists and who are able to speak, that is what I'm telling you, they are more with pride than otherwise [then] those with no profession at all, because they are able to speak English and they are able to speak the local language, so they don't have a problem.

Interviewer: (Q23) Since you have proficiency in the local language, too, will you say that there is some distinctive way of reporting news in a Ghanaian language as compared with English?

Editor: Definitely, if you have the flair and you are doing the thing [reporting] in your mother tongue, you are more confident, because you know the language in and out, and therefore this question of verb-and-noun agreement, it doesn't arise at all, because you are not bothered about rules. You see the point? You know the way to [do] this thing, but the difficulty is the inability of a lot of people to write the same thing in the local language. What it means therefore is that if they are writing, then they are more likely to have mistakes and not when you are speaking.

Interviewer: (Q24) As a journalist, did you also have some training outside Ghana?

Editor: I trained more in Ghana than outside. I did up to the postgraduate level before I was in India for another postgraduate [study]. But basically, my training is Ghanaian and not outside.

Interviewer: (Q25) About the distribution of the papers in the Volta Region, how many copies do you send there?

Editor: I can't give you all, but, I think, we sell about three to four thousand copies in the Volta Region.

Interviewer: (Q26) In Ghana how many copies do you print?

Editor: We produce on the average about ninety thousand copies. We go beyond that, sometimes.

Interviewer: (Q27) Can we say that language is an aspect of the production of the newspapers, by making it a commodity for consumption by the readers?

Editor: Well. Well. You can say anything about anything, because what is important is once it is reading material, this medium serves for the purposes of people. But there are people who don't have other reading materials. This is the only reading material. Especially we have one of our publications, it's for the children, we call it the *Junior Graphic* and that is geared toward children. Basically, therefore, we are very careful with that production. Also, because the words that we pick there are this very thing [careful] as they are training, so we see that we are serving a purpose of providing people not only with information but that they also learn words and other things from our publication.

Appendix 5

Interview with a journalist of the *Daily Guide*

Interviewer: (Q1) Please would you introduce yourself?

Journalist: I am a senior editor responsible for news. I worked with the *Ghanaian Times* for 35 years, retired and I came to the *Daily Guide*. As at now, I have worked with the *Daily Guide* for the past three and half years.

Interviewer: (Q2) So that brings along a lot of experiences since you have worked on one of the mainstream newspapers.

Journalist: If you choose to say so.

Interviewer: (Q3) May I know how many you are on the Editorial Board of the *Daily Guide*?

Journalist: We are six on the board. If you look at our paper and compare it to, maybe, some of the national newspapers, you will see that it is relatively a very small newspaper, so that size of the Board, that's what we need for the Board at the moment, but in the course of time, when the paper becomes bigger, it is likely that we increase, we will widen up the Board membership.

Interviewer: (Q4) Since you are six on the Board, I would like to know how many of the members trained in the Institute of Journalism or the School of Communication Studies.

Journalist: All of us have trained in the Institute of Journalism, and two of our members, including our Managing Editor, have trained at the School of Communications Studies at Legon in the University of Ghana.

Interviewer: (Q5) Did any one of you on the Board have a special training in the use of the English language, in addition to your training as journalists?

Journalist: Yeah. Our editor did English Honors at the University.

Interviewer: (Q6) Did your paper, the *Daily Guide*, receive comments from the readers on, maybe, the inappropriate use of language in terms of, maybe, grammatical mistakes?

Journalist: If you will understand what we are talking about, we are the people making the strangest mistakes in the least, we don't have enough time to check everything, but to [the] best of our ability and capability we are able to write to suit the readership in Ghana. I wouldn't say that because of that we don't make mistakes. We make mistakes, and at times our public points out those mistakes to us, at other times we also look at the mistakes of what we have produced the previous day and compared, you know that this one, maybe, the grammar is not up-to-date, and at times, during the system in which we are, we will say that, at times, people draw our attention to the semantics that we use over here and say that, at times, there are elements of sensationalism in some of our stories. But all said and done, we feel that the people have accepted our paper. Our paper is not all that old, but we rank among the best in private newspapers in the country, if not the best. Who told you that we rank among the best? It is because of our circulation, we feel that even the very big newspapers, the papers that I will call very big ones are not circulating more than twice as much as what we are circulating. So, I will say that our papers are acceptable to the people.

I would also say that we don't receive so many rejoinders. There are times that we write something, then, the other party will come and tell us that this is not actually what transpired. Then, if we put it, it is accepted by the people, except that somebody would really like to take us to court. I think we have two cases pending at the court at the moment; even the big newspapers, I wouldn't like to mention names, may have piles of cases at the court. So, I wouldn't say we are perfect, but we are always working towards perfection.

Interviewer: (Q7) Concerning the circulation of the papers, how many do you circulate?

Journalist: That's our secret, but we are very close to the very big circulating papers. Let me tell you that so far as the private newspapers are concerned we are leading.

Interviewer: (Q8) Is the paper circulated only in the city or..?

Journalist: No. We go to all parts of the country. In fact, Accra being the capital, the bulk of the paper is circulated in Accra, then we go to Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape Coast, Ho, to all places, Tamale, Wa. You can't imagine it. Not only that; our papers are popular in the districts.

Interviewer: (Q9) So how many copies are circulated in the Volta Region? The number of circulation will help to compare with other papers in the Volta Region.

Journalist: Maybe, if you had asked about another place, I would have given you a specific answer. If you look at our paper you will see that it is politically inclined, it is tilted to the pattern of the political divide that is in the country. Incidentally, the Volta Region is not at a very good side of our political divide. I went there and they told me that they have been receiving copies of the paper and that it sells like hot cake.

Interviewer: (Q10) In your paper, do you print some of the letters from the readers concerning the language issue?

Journalist: We receive a lot of letters and depending on who is writing, which is part of our political divide that the person belongs to, but all said and done, I would tell you that the letters that we receive, as much as 80% of them praise us. Quite a number of them do not find our paper very palatable, that is, some of the stories. And I will say that this is not peculiar to *Daily Guide* alone. You will see a lot of newspapers that people from various political divides of the issue praise and others condemn.

Interviewer: (Q11) Can you cite any letter from the readers that indicated that some of your stories were not palatable?

Journalist: Just last week, we published a letter from somebody threatening our editor. Incidentally, that letter came from Kumasi, of all places, threatening our editor that the stories that they had been publishing about the NDC were not true, or they were half-truths and so forth and so on. We felt that it was some sort of threat, so we published the letter, not edited, in the paper. I wish I could get that copy and show it to you.

Interviewer: (Q12) Can you cite a reference of your paper in which a reader's comments on the use of language were published?

Journalist: It's true. I told you that we are the people who are making the strangest mistakes in the least. So, some of these things actually happened. I think at the tail end of last year, some university donors organized a workshop of a sort for some for us and pointed out some of these things not for the *Daily Guide* alone, but primarily for the private newspapers. All said and done, they all told us that in the Ghanaian parlance, it is the person who goes to fetch the water from the river who breaks the pot, because we are a handful number of our staff over here [that] prints a sixteen-page newspaper, which is not very easy. I told you that I worked at the *Ghanaian Times*, and over there we were also printing sixteen pages; but the number there is three times what we are, yet we are matching them in many ways.

Interviewer: (Q13) During your editorial conferences to discuss the stories and news that will be printed, do you discuss the language issue?

Journalist: No, we have not been doing it. What happens is that, when we come from some of these workshops, we transmit whatever transpired there to the editor and we see to it that we make corrections whenever it becomes necessary.

Interviewer: (Q14) How long is it since the paper has been in circulation?

Journalist: About ten years.

Interviewer: (Q15) When selecting news items for publication, which item/s do you give more attention to as far as language is concerned?

Journalist: In fact, predominantly, when you look at our newspaper, it is purely a political newspaper, so that is where we stress so much, and if it is the desire to frame through the language, much attention is devoted to political stories.

Interviewer: (Q16) How do you find the response of the readers to the political stories?

Journalist: In this country, we have two major political parties, that is, the NPP and the NDC. If the leaders of NPP say something, we publish it, so also we do to the utterances and activities of the NDC. Last week, the NDC organized a demonstration against the,

let's call it, "financial and economic hardships in the country." We give it equal publicity. So whatever comes out of it becomes very hot news for us. Yesterday, they said that they were not satisfied with what they did the previous day, so they are going to organize something, so we'll publish that also on the front page. But when we do these things, whatever the reply is from the NPP, we put it as well. Last, two or three weeks ago, the government read the budget and the NDC attacked the budget. The government increased the fuel prices and the opposition attacked it, and gave them all equal space. But we know, government is government, the majority of the people voted it into power so we will have to do something to satisfy those people and not at the expense of the minority. So this is what we do.

Interviewer: (Q17) Do you recall some Ghanaian-language words that are used in the stories?

Journalist: There are words like **wahala**, **kalabule**, etc, but they are not very many.

Interviewer: (Q18) So are those words now accepted in Ghana?

Journalist: Even if you are not a Ghanaian and you have not heard those words before, what you come to realize is that, [if] you take the newspaper and you read the context in which you are, you can form your opinion on what they are talking about.

Interviewer: (Q19) Do you receive comments from the university students, teachers, professors, etc, on the use of some of those words?

Journalist: Some of those words come from them, so we also have to accept them, [and pass them] on to our reading public.

Interviewer: (Q20) So do you see the language fulfilling an important role in political reporting?

Journalist: Yes.

Interviewer: (Q21) If so, how does the language of the paper attract the readers as compared to other papers?

Journalist: If the people don't like the language, they wouldn't [buy] the paper, as I told you, we are the leading private newspaper in this country, so I will say that they like the language. If they didn't like it, we would be seeing it by now.

Interviewer: (Q22) As a journalist who worked with the *Ghanaian Times*, and now with the *Daily Guide*; how do you see the prospects of journalists of Ghanaian-language newspapers?

Journalist: As a matter of fact, if we want to talk about the use of the Ghanaian languages in newspaper publication. I think the popular ones are [fewer] than ten. At times, some of the young ones speak Pidgin English when they go out, even [when] they meet their friends on the street, but when it comes to writing, they don't write that one at all. I think that is the only difference. Apart from that, we speak English to each other.

Interviewer: (Q23) So do some of your colleagues who use the local languages, as radio presenters, have an inferiority complex at meetings, conferences, etc?

Journalist: Well, if some young men and women are feeling that at all, we match them on equal foot, so there is no inferiority complex between us at all. Some of them even knew me at the *Ghanaian Times* before I came here. They always tell me, "Eh, Mike, I think you are picking up!" So, I have always been telling even my friends that if I have not come here, I would not have realized some of my potentials.

Interviewer: (Q24) All the same, when we compare those who work at the Ghanaian-language program to you and your colleagues who work at the English sector, do those working at the local-language feel inferior to you?

Journalist: I don't think so. Before I came to the *Daily Guide*, I was working on an Ewe newspaper. And that Ewe newspaper, I wouldn't say that I was a master of the language, I could write it alright, but the spoken one from the southern sector, I felt wanting. But when it was a matter of writing it, I did not feel wanting at all. But when I listen to people read the Ewe language on the radio and on television, that is where I feel that, maybe, I did not measure up to their standards.

Interviewer: (Q25) What is the name of the Ewe newspaper on which you worked?

Journalist: *Midim*. The editor has been consulting me from time to time, on that paper.

Interviewer: (Q26) So, as you have worked on the Ewe newspaper and that of the English language, which language did you use with more passion?

Journalist: Yes, I felt it, but I have a bad story to tell. The gentleman with whom I started the paper died suddenly. As we started the paper the money was not coming, when an opportunity opened here [at the *Daily Guide* corporation], I had to leave it. So I know that a gap has been created since my departure from that place, but there was nothing I could do.

Interviewer: (Q27) So where were you during the time of the publication of *Midim* in the Volta Region or in Accra?

Journalist: I was still here. Even when I came here, first, the editor [of *Midim*] was coming to me everyday for small articles that I was writing.

Interviewer: (Q28) When you were writing the articles for the Ewe newspaper, did you see any difference in the thought pattern, in the ways that ideas are put together in the Ewe newspaper compared to the way that ideas are expressed in the English newspaper?

Journalist: Yes, there is a difference, because in writing English newspapers, when it is news, we go straight to the point, there that we descend. Unlike the vernacular newspapers, we started like [the base of] a pyramid, that is how it was. In English, we start with the gist of the story, maybe, the first paragraph, then the second paragraph, and so forth as so on, but in vernacular newspapers, it is rather the other way round.

Interviewer: (Q29) Did you think it took too much time to put together news items in Ewe as compared with news in the English language?

Journalist: It took me some time because all these years of my life, I was working with an English newspaper, and to come out of it suddenly and to do this [Ewe news reports], it took me quite a time, because even how to express yourself, maybe, in English, you use just two words and it will mean something, it is not like that in Ewe. You know our

language, it is very rich, but we don't have that wealth of words in the Ewe language. I cannot speak for other languages, but in Ewe whatever you may say, maybe, in two words in English, may be about six words and so, and so forth and so on. And the accents and other things, that is where the difference is. But we started making headway with the paper. Imagine that we were selling some of the paper in Togo. Maybe if that gentleman had lived up to this time and, maybe, if I had continued to work with him, and we had had faith in ourselves, we would have [left] a mark on the paper.

Interviewer: (Q30) Did you receive some comments on the use of the language [Ewe]?

Journalist: That one, if there were some comments at all, they were coming to the editor. You will be surprised that we didn't even have an office. He would only call me and I call him saying, "let us meet at the printing press."

Interviewer: (Q31) Which year did it start?

Journalist: I think it was 1999.

Interviewer: (Q32) They stopped printing last year [2004]

Journalist: In fact we started doing this, we actually wanted to print monthly but other times, we were not able to go accordingly, so if the gentleman told you it was, maybe that was the time he joined the editor.

Interviewer: (Q33) In the circulation of the paper [*Midim*] did you sell some of them in the city?

Journalist: Yes, we were selling some in the city, but the bulk of it was sold in the Volta Region and in Togo.

Interviewer: (Q34) Since you mentioned the richness of English in expressing ideas, it comes out clearly from that point of view that English language serves as more relevant for newspaper publication.

Journalist: Yes, in Ghana.

Interviewer: (Q35) If so, how do you see the Ewe language sustaining or promoting newspapers when we use Ewe as medium of expression?

Journalist: The Ewe language can play its own small part, because we still have people around, especially in the Volta Region, who will like to listen to news, wherever they are coming from, but they [can] read English, so we will have to cater for those people, too; but that cannot compete with English-language newspapers.

Interviewer: (Q36) Why?

Journalist: It is because, almost every young man in Ghana today is able to read English. The people who want to listen to news but can only hear news in Ewe are from the age 50 upwards. The young men and women who would like to read specific newspapers in Ewe, they just want to read some columns, because when I was on that newspaper, I introduced a column where I was picking very strange stories from various newspapers and magazines. So some people like that column very much because for a woman of 110 to have a child, a thing like that from a newspaper, or you go to the Internet to get a thing like this, then you translate it into Ewe for them to read. So these are some of the things that they want, but it is a parochial area of people.

Interviewer: (Q37) Sometimes they say that the parochial or segment of Ewe speakers who go for Ewe-language news is serious.

Journalist: I was saying that, quite apart that section of people, there are some young men and women who also would take that paper because of the small column [of the newspaper]. I made sure that every week, we put some of those strange stories, about four of them and the response was quite marvelous. People were writing to know more of those things.

Interviewer: (Q38) So those who were writing to know more about those things, do you publish what they write?

Journalist: We publish them.

Interviewer: (Q39) Can you give me the time-frame so that I can cross-check what they write on?

Journalist: That could be 2000, 2001, 2002, even 2003.

These were some of the things that I was saying the Editor was coming to me for. I was collecting these things, translating them and giving them out to him.

Interviewer: (Q40) Talking about the young men and women who were interested in some of the stories of the Ewe newspaper, and the elders who have had Adult education and want to read in Ewe, can we say that comparing the English-language newspapers with the ones in Ewe, those who are for English papers occupy higher status in the society than those for Ewe ones?

Journalist: That is definite.

Interviewer: (Q41) Why should that be so?

Journalist: Well, I don't know what time you left Ghana, because what I was going to say is that almost every young man or woman at school going age at the moment is going to school. There are a lot of drop-outs anyway, but before even a person drops out he/she will be able to read Ewe. Unfortunately, at this time, that sort of importance is not attached to the Ewe language. So, almost everybody, if you go to my village today, maybe, about 80% of the people are able to speak English; if not good at all, they speak English of a sort. So they would like to hold the *Daily Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times*, and so forth and so on, especially *The Mirror*. So if I tell you that most of the people prefer the English-language newspapers to the Ewe-language newspapers, you can imagine why it is so. Even in this country, how many English-language newspapers sell out vis-à-vis the newspapers in vernacular? So that tells the story.

Appendix 6

Interview with an editor of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator*

Interviewer: (Q1) Audrey Gadzekpo and Dinkabe have done some research on the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Spectator*, particularly on the use of language in the media, that is, the newspapers. This was done in 1996. They examined language proficiency, language decency, sensationalism in framing captions, and so on. I would like to know whether you receive letters, rejoinders and comments from the readers on such issues.

Editor: First of all, I don't know anything about what you said or are referring to. Secondly, I have been editor of the *Ghanaian Times* for one year, so I am not aware of the issue.

Interviewer: (Q2) I would still like to know whether since you were editor, language has been a key issue in the publication of the newspapers.

Editor: I am not sure I understand you. [It is] language that we write or language that people write to me?

Interviewer: (Q3) Language that you write, particularly the way that the readers look at it. As I mentioned, the readers were mentioning that sometimes there were the use of certain terms which are particularly Ghanaian; that is, indigenization of English by the use of certain words like **kalabule**, **enstoolment**, and so on? The use of those words was being commented on by the readers.

Editor: As far as I am aware, we haven't had any complaint by the readers. In fact, I am very careful that when we use such expressions, we should explain in the text what we mean or even use the appropriate or formal equivalent. I am always aware of the fact that it is not only in Ghana that the paper is read; the paper goes as far as even Japan. So I am very alert and I always try to ensure that if we use what I call Ghanaian English, we should at least explain what we mean.

Interviewer: (Q4) I would also like to know whether in your editorial policy you have an element or a component that has to do with particular attention to language in the

publication of news items.

Editor: The paper is targeting the average person in Ghana and the average person is, maybe, somebody who has middle school, or let's say, J.S.S, and therefore you cannot pitch your language too high. And even though we are making conscious effort to pitch the language at that level, we had the report that some people think our language is too high. Which I myself seriously think or believe that it is not on that level that we put people off. But certainly I agree with people who say that the standard of English has fallen in the country. This is why we are getting this kind of complaints, and also that is why we also need to bring the language down because you can't always be sure that people are understanding what you are saying.

Interviewer: (Q5) It is excellent that you mentioned the reports that you have heard that the language is too high and, maybe, some of the readership wanted the words and the framing to be pitched at their level of understanding.

Editor: No. It was not the readership that complained. We had a market research and we sent somebody round to go and find out what people think. Even I doubted that because I wanted to know which particular area the person went, because if it is true that our language is too high, that will be good news because that will mean that university people and high classes are buying the paper. And those are the people who read, so if our language is pitched too high, I will not have a problem with that.

Interviewer: (Q6) That is the thing I am interested in. I would like to know the categories of people who are making comments or even sometimes critiquing. I wanted to know whether those making the critique are lecturers at the University, university students, the categories of readership, social classes and so on.

Editor: As I said we didn't have any reports. This was somebody our marketing department sent round. Just one time, it is not something like it is a regular thing.

Interviewer: (Q7) I was expecting that, maybe sometimes, the readers would send letters to you. They normally send letters to the editor, or rejoinders to the editor on things such as that. So you never received such things?

Editor: We get a lot of letters, but they are mostly about topical issues, things that bother them. It is not the language of the paper. I don't recall receiving even any letter complaining about the language. No. No. They are complaining about sewerage problems, or school fees, or travel problems, cheatings. Not really that our language is too high for them.

Interviewer: (Q8) Or even too low?

Editor: No.

Interviewer: (Q9) I would also like to know how many you are in the editorial board.

Editor: We call it Editorial conference. Newspaper Editorial conference includes sectional heads, so that is how it is: editor, deputy editor, features editor, news editor, and so on.

Interviewer: (Q10) I would like to know what you do as members of editorial conference.

Editor: Some papers have two conferences. Ideally you should have two: one in the morning and in late afternoon. We have one at three o'clock. What [happens] is the news editor is going to bring the news reports that we have to compile. So you will read every story and you would be making comments and suggestions: maybe this paragraph should have gone to the middle, maybe the paragraph should have been the first. And then when you have gone through all these, you decide which one should come to page one. And even the page one, which one should be the number one story, which should be number two, which should be number three, and so on. So when we [have] dealt with page one, then we go on to the next news page. So the editorial conference is basically to decide on the news stories coming tomorrow: which should come on page one, which should come on page three, and which should come on page four. That is basically what we do.

Interviewer: (Q11) So who at the conference pays more attention to the language, about an error...?

Editor: No. It is not at that stage that we will be talking about language. When the stories have been selected, the stories will go to the sub-heads. That is where they do the editing

and after the subheads, sometimes, I might like to see the final product. If I want any changes, I also make the changes.

Interviewer: (Q12) That brings me also to the question of professional journalism. I have been reading in the papers that for some time now there has been a question on professional journalism in Ghana. Some journalists on the job of journalism now have not trained in the Institute of Journalism or the School of Communication Studies. This question is linked not only to your job as editor but also as the president of the Ghana Journalists Association. So in that capacity how would you define or look at professional Journalism in Ghana?

Editor: Let me say that academic training is not enough. There are a lot of people who have the right academic background. This person may have got a certificate in the Institute of Journalism, this person might have gone to Legon to get a degree and he may still not write satisfactorily the newspaper. You may have somebody who has not had formal training, but this person may be able to write a better newspaper than somebody who had at least some degree. The problem is, generally, it is not really that people don't have the academic qualification, but that some people simply don't have the skill for the job, even though they had the academic training. So, you don't rule out people because they don't have the academic training. If somebody is willing to learn, somebody is ready to be corrected, I think that there is a good chance for that person becoming a good reporter. But unfortunately, we think to have created a form of people, some of whom are very sure of themselves. They think they know everything, and therefore, there is no need for them to listen to any suggestions or any comments, because there are so many mistakes that we see in the papers or even when we listen to the radio, we hear colleagues making mistakes. So the problem is people having the humility to understand that this kind of work is a learning process; you will never complete learning, and therefore you should always continue to improve on your work, on your writing. Even your background research will indicate whether you have seriously approached your subject or not. So there is a tendency for people to assume that when they write about something, the reader already knows a certain background, and therefore they don't have to write a whole lot of things. But I keep on telling the reporters that every story should stand on its own. For

example, if you look at today's paper, you will see that there is something on Ako Adjei's intersection. I don't know whether you read about it that they have renamed it [that is, the interchange]. The original story is not talking about [the historical reason for that name]. I said, look, the importance of this report is that Ako Adjei was one of the Big Six [at the dawn of Ghana's independence]. First of all, who do we refer to as Ako Adjei? Some people may not know. Secondly, what is the importance of this commissioning? Who knows where Ako Adjei came from at the independence time? So this is the kind of background that we need to take into account. This is a historical record. What we are publishing today will be [a point for reference] for some people, some time, somewhere. So even if it is one paragraph, we need to explain it, but I am sure that if you read three reports on this Ako Adjei, not all of them will include this very background.

Interviewer: (Q13) On that account, as an aside, you yourself did have a formation or training in the Institute of Journalism?

Editor: Yes.

Interviewer: (Q14) How about some English proficiency courses?

Editor: No. I am basically a professional journalist. I got a Diploma in Journalism. I have been on many courses abroad but I am not a university graduate.

Interviewer: (Q15) I would like to know how you recruit reporters and journalists for the job, taking into account what you referred to as experience and natural ability in writing reports and news items (all that natural flair and skills) that the journalist bring to bear on what they write.

Editor: It is quite a difficult process because someone may do well at the job interview but when they are employed it would be a different story. Normally, I do not have much to do with that process; the editorial manager, the administration chief-manager would put an advertisement in the paper and people would be called for an interview; and somebody will represent me, but normally I am not part of the process.

Interviewer: (Q16) Now, let's shift the discussion a little bit, as you are Akan. If you

look at Akan and English as editor of English papers, do you see anything that is very particular and easier to write in English compared to Akan?

Editor: I don't think there is any subject area that I can't write in both languages.

Interviewer: (Q17) Some people were thinking there are some ideas, thought patterns, because they are African, are easier to write in Akan.

Editor: It is if you can write Akan, because not many colleagues can write Akan.

Interviewer: (Q18) In your editorial policy, do you have anything on language?

Editor: No.

Interviewer: (Q19) When you go for meetings, you see various journalists, broadcasters both from the radio and television; Do you see or sometimes observe that there is a kind of class level, that some people feel, maybe, prestigious or that kind of it?

Editor: No. No. No. Not at such meetings. No. But some, generally reporters, are quite timid. Others have just, maybe, entered the profession, so there is such effect, but it doesn't mean that the senior [ones] would not like to mix with them. No. No. No. Generally, [they] are very friendly.

Interviewer: (Q20) One other reason prompting that question is because those of you, or you particularly, work on English paper, which is a state newspaper that is widely read, so people hold you in high esteem, including myself. So actually, it is an honor for me to meet you for this interview and discussion, so when you meet the people on the radio who are working in the Ghanaian languages, do you not feel that, maybe, they are only working on the Ghanaian languages while you and others are working on higher newspapers?

Editor: No. But, you should not forget that those who work in the Ghanaian languages also have equivalent qualification in English that everybody else has. If you know this musician, Koo Nimo, he is a scientist and he works at UST [University of Science and Technology]. He is a researcher. He plays country [traditional] music that we called "Palm Wine Bar Music." So you can make the mistake of thinking that he is certain rural

singer, and therefore [uneducated]. I think he has a degree.

Interviewer: (Q21) Do journalists constitute a special class or part of the high class in Ghana?

Editor: No.

Interviewer: (Q22) Why?

Editor: No, because there is nothing that shows that we are special class. We are just a link between the public and the government.

Appendix 7

Interview with and editor of *Kpodoga* newspaper

Interviewer: (Q1) I would like to know from you the elements of Ghanaian life that you reported in the *Kpodoga*.

Editor: We were mainly concerned with the rural areas. So, we were reporting on life in the rural areas.

Interviewer: (Q2) Cite the examples of the elements of Ghanaian life that you reported.

Editor: Anything at all we experience in the rural areas because the belief was that our national newspapers were all concentrating on the urban centers like Accra. So, the University of Adult Education Department told me that there is a newspaper that prints in the local language for the benefit of rural people. So, we were mainly concerned with what is happening in the rural areas.

Interviewer: (Q3) I would like to know about those who are sent to gather news on things happening in the rural areas. What obstacles do they experience, like you, the editor of *Kpodoga*, in trying to collect the materials?

Editor: We thought that it would be a good idea to have our editorial office in the centre of events, that is, in the rural area. But, as you are aware, there were no printing facilities in the rural areas, so we had to talk to the team, though we were collecting news items in the rural areas, we have to travel all the way back to Accra, to printers, in order to print the newspapers. In fact, that created problems and caused delays in the printing of the newspapers: lack of printing materials in the rural areas is a problem.

Interviewer: (Q4) Can you enumerate some of the problems caused by the lack of printing materials, besides the necessity to go and publish the materials in Accra?

Editor: We found it difficult to advise our printers who were in Accra. Also, we did talk about the means of production of the paper; our readers were not sure about the survival of the newspaper. So, there were delays in producing; delays in having stories brought in

by our leaders. Sometimes the delays that occasion further delays in the publication of the papers.

It was decided that the paper should be published monthly; sometimes, it appears only two times in a year, sometimes, three times.

Interviewer: (Q5) Which year, as you can recall, was more fruitful?

Editor: That was when we had a lot of (printing) materials from UNESCO, within the first five years.

Interviewer: (Q6) Did UNESCO withdraw its sponsorship of the project?

Editor: Yes. UNESCO assisted us for three years. We even had to carry on the remaining years.

Interviewer: (Q7) I would like to know also, even though you mentioned that you collected materials of events that were happening in the rural areas, what aspects of Ewe life and thought do you consider very important for the readers to buy the newspaper?

Editor: First of all, we wanted to know what the people themselves would write. We would like to see what they were writing about. We saw that a lot of people were coming in with storytelling, **Ananse** [spider] stories and also stories about what they will do at their work places, farms places, market places, and so on and so forth. We thought that, though this area is an agricultural area, we need an Adult Education newspaper, which will not concentrate only on farming. So, we should also cover their political life, obituaries, any aspect of life at all that we experience, we report in the newspaper.

Interviewer: (Q8) The people were bringing their stories about **Yiyi** or **Ananse**, and the Editorial board was thinking of bringing stories in a larger area like politics, did it work out when you brought in the politics?

Editor: Yes. They liked it very much. For the first time, they were seeing things about themselves which they were not thinking of seeing in the national papers. Now, for the first time, they were seeing photographs of their community leaders like chiefs, head

teachers, landlords, etc. in the newspaper now, so they were happy. They were even surprised about that.

Interviewer: (Q9) Which aspect of the Ewe language did you mostly use in the newspaper?

Editor: We were using mainly the standard Ewe. We were using dictionaries like that of Westermann, the standard Ewe is there. That is what we were using. But knowing very well that things have changed now since Westermann created the standard language of the Ewe dictionary for us, the time has passed, and now there is nowhere which the Ewedome person will speak to the Anlo but does not understand and vice versa. So, we try to use their dialect as much as possible, in which [way] we help to enrich the language.

Interviewer: (Q10) Do readers comment on the use of dialects in the paper, for example, the Ewedome commenting that there is too much Anlo dialect in the paper and vice versa?

Editor: There were various groups of people, people who were highly literate who happened to be Ewe tutors; they are teaching at Ajumako. They would like it to be that way. There are also others who were educators with a degree of the colonial period. They will argue that this is not how Ewe is spoken; this is not a standard language. So you are wrong. But there were many people who were supporting us to understand that language grows.

Interviewer: (Q11) Did any of those who were colonial-trained write letters and rejoinders to you, asking you to use standard Ewe, or did they just come to see you personally to complain?

Editor: That time, we were receiving letters from readers commenting on the news items we were carrying, about the language, etc. We were receiving letters from the readers.

Interviewer: (Q12) Did you publish some of those letters, or they were personal?

Editor: No, we were publishing those letters, because the idea was that much of what we published in the newspaper should come from the readers.

Interviewer: (Q13) Did the coverage of news items on rural life develop in the course of time or did it dwindle because of lack of material to collect?

Editor: No. From the beginning there were few stories, but as time went on, we were receiving more stories on the wider field.

Interviewer: (Q14) Now that you are a freelance reporter for the Ghanaian Times, did you see that people value working for the *Ghanaian Times*, as one of the English newspapers in Ghana, more than when you were editor of *Kpodoga*?

Editor: Oh, yes. Ghanaians value the foreign language newspapers more than our local language newspapers. For instance, if you are looking for somebody to work, it is difficult to get the person. We now have three schools of journalism: Ghana Institute of Journalism, School of Communication Studies at Legon and [Institute of Communication] But if you are looking for an editor for the local language newspaper, you will never get one.

Interviewer: (Q15) No?

Editor: No. They will not be willing to come down to the roots and work on local language newspaper. On the other hand, if you were willing to work on the local language newspaper and, at the same time, you are able carry the problems of the rural dwellers in the national newspapers like the *Ghanaian Times* and *Daily Graphic*, of course, they value your work very much, they respect you.

The community members, too, know very well that their problems can reach the authorities more through the national newspapers than the local language newspapers.

Interviewer: (Q16) So, what would you say about the way the Ghanaians see their own language and the English language in terms of honor and prestige?

Editor: Ghanaian languages are losing or seem to be losing prestige. The older generations still attach importance to their local languages, but the present generation, I don't see them taking keen interest in their local language.

Interviewer: (Q17) When you talk about the present generation can you cite or precise the age limit so that we can locate how they are trained or educated at school?

Editor: I mean those who are in the junior secondary schools, senior secondary schools and the universities, right now; they don't attach importance to their local languages.

Interviewer: (Q18) You know that the Ghana Journalists' Association organizes some ceremonies like end-of-year parties, get-togethers, etc. Maybe recently they have invited you as a freelance reporter for the *Ghanaian Times*. So how do they introduce you? Do they say a former editor of *Kpodoga* or reporter for other newspapers?

Editor: They don't invite me, while I am on retirement from the organization, to attend the conference. When I was editor of the local language newspaper, they were always writing me to report on events together with the national newspapers reporters.

Interviewer: (Q19) So, when they had get-togethers like parties at the end of year or award ceremonies did they invite you?

Editor: Yes, because I was a member of the Ghana Journalists Association.

Interviewer: (Q20) At such gatherings, did those working only for the English language papers interact or associate freely with you as an editor of a local language paper?

Editor: Oh yes. But, I will tell you something. If you are a rural newspaper editor, at the first, it is you yourself who will make yourself have recognition. You yourself have to do that. I, though I was a rural newspaper editor, I was always also reporting and publishing articles in the national newspapers, on the radio and in international newspapers. So, I was known in that perspective. But, if I had stacked myself to the local language newspaper alone, they would not have known me. That is one of the problems we have with the local language newspapers.

Interviewer: (Q21) When was the first publication of *Kpodoga*?

Editor: April 1976.

Interviewer: (Q22) What date was the last publication?

Editor: January 2000.

Interviewer: (Q23) Who was the actual founder of *Kpodoga*?

Editor: UNESCO came in with the idea which was discussed with the Director of the Institute of Adult Education.

Interviewer: (Q24) You said the printing was done in Accra.

Editor: We had the editorial office at Tsito but the actual printing work was done 140km away, in Accra.

Interviewer: (Q25) What is the name of the publisher?

Editor: The Institute of Adult Education was the publisher.

Interviewer: (Q26) In which areas did you distribute *Kpodoga*?

Editor: At first, we were targeting the Ho district alone. Later on, we covered the whole of Ewe people in the Volta Region.

Interviewer: (Q27) Did your distribution go beyond the Volta Region?

Editor: No.

Interviewer: (Q28) How was the paper patronized by the readers? How did they like?

Editor: It started with 1000 copies to 5000.

Interviewer: (Q29) Again about the readers, would you say that more of interest in the papers depended on what we call the literacy program, to educate the rural folk who didn't go to school? Is it people from the adult education who read the paper more or the literate at the colonial time who read it more?

Editor: Those in the literacy program, they were the minority. The Extension workers also read the paper, but covering their activity...

Interviewer: (Q30) Which were some of the group of Extension workers?

Editor: The agricultural workers. We also had our readers' club. The club brought in not only literate people but also the illiterates. Any time the paper was printed, the group members would come together, including the illiterates, to read the paper at each session.

Interviewer: (Q31) What did they (readers' club) normally do?

Editor: Whenever the paper was printed, the members would come together to [discuss relevant issues emerging in it].

Interviewer: (Q32) Did you attend any of those sessions?

Editor: Oh, yes. I attended most of them. Also, the readers' Club had their local organizers. The organizers of the groups were taking minutes at the meetings, which they were passing on to us and from us back to the members. So, if you answer questions in the newspaper, of course, the local organizer will not answer all the questions, they had to refer them to us.

Appendix 8: Excerpts from Ghanaian-English Newspapers

Excerpt 1. Daily Graphic. November 18, 2004. p. 26

Daily Graphic, Thursday, November 18, 2004.

'Salvage country's culture'

A 15-MEMBER Birnin South District Cultural Advisory Committee was inaugurated at Akim Oda on Thursday with an appeal to members to work hard to salvage the country's culture from the grips of foreign domination.

The Eastern Regional Director of the Centre for National Culture (CNC), Mr Kwaku Ankamah, who made the appeal said indiscipline which characterises the society of now was a result of the fact

that 'we are losing some of our important cultural values'. He said the youth had become easy prey to all forms of foreign culture and called for hard work from the adult population to save them by restoring disciplines to the national life.

Mr Ankamah appealed to the district assembly to assist in the establishment of a Cultural Trust Fund with an initial donation of €10 million to enhance the activities of the Cultural Advisory

Committee.

Earlier, the District Cultural Officer, Mr Effah Adu announced that the district CNC would be embarking on a series of cultural programmes next year to sensitise the youth in schools to cultural practices.

This, he said, would include vacation youth camp at train, them in languages, philosophy, food and culture, health and education among others intended to gradually occupy them during vacations.

Mr Adu said capacity-building programmes such as workshops in textiles, screen printing and soap making would feature in the programmes to

enhance self-employment for school dropouts.

In an address, read on his behalf, the District Chief Executive, Mr Yaw Amponsah urged the CNC to come out with programmes that would help sensitise the public on the negative impact environmental degradation, teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS have on the society.

He called on the people to disabuse their minds that culture is drumming and dancing pouring of libation and festivals adding that culture permeates all spheres of life.

Mr Amponsah said the identity of a people was lost when infiltration of foreign culture took precedence over theirs. - GNA

These controversial sanitary inspectors...

I REFER to your editorial on Friday, October 28, 2004, which supported the re-introduction of sanitary inspectors in the national bid to improve sanitation in our towns and cities. I believe that you are already aware of the presence of sanitary inspectors in cities such as Accra.

The question is whether they have helped the city authorities to improve and maintain high standards of sanitation at public places under their care for households to emulate.

Our commitment to improving sanitation in the country is questioned when households are prosecuted for insanitary conditions while public places are dirty and weedy.

My bitter experiences with the present-day sanitary inspectors compel me to sound this note of caution to the authorities and impress upon them to redefine the role of the sanitary inspectors

and lay emphasis on corrective, rather than punitive measures, currently being relied on.

Many people can testify to the fact that some of these sanitary inspectors have been used by people to settle personal scores.

Thus, some of these inspectors suddenly descend on innocent citizens, claiming that they are on their normal rounds and however decent your home is, they will definitely find something from the by-laws to slap you with a summons to appear before court.

Charges include overgrown weeds, burning of rubbish on the bare ground and creating a compost at your backyard! Meanwhile, just take a drive through the major streets in the city such as the High Street through the 28th February Road as well as the Castle Road and you will be shocked at the level of poor sanitation.

For instance, the 'dwarf' wall bordering the Ghana Commercial

Bank is surrounded by weeds and not flowers as can be seen in other banks. The surroundings of the Accra Community Centre, now occupied by staff of the city authorities, are weedy, unkempt and a total disgrace to the nation.

A further drive towards the Independence Square exposes our poor sense of beautification of the capital city with the singular exception of the surroundings of the Customs Excise and Preventive Service head office. Not even the way leading to the junction to the seat of government is without weeds.

One is then at a loss why individuals who put in a lot of effort to maintain their backyards are prosecuted and not rather advised on how best they can maintain their surroundings.

Mrs Felicity Sese-Djan,
P. O. Box C 932,
Cantonments,
Accra.

Abstinence still best for UDS, not condoms

I AM always amazed when people see the clarity of issues and decide not to accept its basic truth. This is what I observed about the contents of a letter, written

adopted for the programme.

Mr Crispin's arguments are premature and grossly embedded with intellectual dishonesty since he could not specify what makes the condom idea better

appropriate HIV/AIDS campaign materials.

The fact that the disease is spreading at an alarming rate should not compel us to introduce condoms to students, most

Ghanaian journalists need to be more professional!

IN addition to a lack of balance and objectivity (in sections of it), one of the tragedies about the Ghanaian media is that far too many practising journalists, have failed to master the basic tool of their profession: language. From the one-sided and largely vacuous pro-Government political babble of *The Daily Guide*, to the tortuous cliché-ridden syntax of *The Statesman*, the English language is 'crucified' on a daily basis, in the Ghanaian media.

On the other side of the (tarnished) coin, is the cynicism of the anti-Government press, such as *The Lens* and *The Ghanaian Democrat*. The impression one gets, reading the pro-NDC newspapers, is that most of them believe that the truth is so precious, that a bodyguard, made up of a phalanx of big mendacious "sources" (with poor language skills!), must always accompany it.

And if one adds to all that, other irritants, such as the constant mispronunciation of words like: "segment", "kudoa" and "incumbency", so prevalent in the electronic media, the result, is a lethal cocktail, which Ghanaians are forced to imbibe, as they read their newspapers every morning (or as they

watch television or listen to their radios).

The professional association of journalists in Ghana, the Ghana Journalists' Association (GJA), really faces a truly gargantuan task, in uplifting standards in the profession. It is important to point out, that the lack of objectivity and balance, so prevalent in many privately owned media establishments, is part of the miasma, which poisons our nation's political discourse.

The irony is that were such incompetence, to be so widely displayed by the members of any other body of professional people in Ghana, the media would be quick to point it out to the nation - and demand that standards be improved. Clearly, there is a desperate need for balance and objectivity in large parts of the private media. The GJA really has its work cut out.

If the reading public has to pay as much as \$3,000 to buy a newspaper to read every morning, then Ghanaians demand that journalists in this country, adopt a more professional approach to their work - and if that entails even taking remedial lessons in English, then so be it!

Kofi Thompson,
kofi10m@yahoo.com

Excerpt 3. *Daily Graphic*. February 21, 2005. p. 21.

Senior Minister blames poor results partly on pidgin English

Story: Samuel Kyel-Boateng, Sunyani

THE Senior Minister, Mr J. H. Mensah, has attributed the poor academic performance in some second-cycle educational institutions to the way some masters and students communicate in pidgin English.

He noted with concern that since students consider the habit of their masters as the best, when they hear them speaking pidgin English among themselves either in the school compound or in masters' common room, they emulate them and the practice becomes part of their lives.

Mr Mensah who was speaking at the 45th anniversary/speech and prize-giving day of Sunyani Secondary School (SUSEC) in Sunyani at the weekend, therefore advised masters to speak the Queen's English at all times to inspire their students to learn to do the same.

He also cautioned students to refrain from communicating with their colleagues in pidgin English since that negative practice could adversely affect the study of other subjects, stressing that students who have a good command of English perform better in the other subjects.

Mr Mensah advised the students to attach special importance to reading of library books, newspapers and periodicals to enrich

their vocabulary, stressing that many students were handicapped because they were deficient in basic numeracy and reading.

He promised to establish a language laboratory at SUSEC to help the students to improve their English language.

Mr Mensah also urged the students to eschew negative tendencies like drug abuse, alcoholism and sexual promiscuity but instead study hard in order to secure lucrative jobs in future and contribute their quota towards the national reconstruction programme.

The Vice Chancellor of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Professor Kwesi Andam, encouraged the students to offer science and technology programmes for good careers in future since the two programmes were the vehicle with which Ghana could become a great emerging country.

He said KNUST continued to be the best first choice of SUSEC students, adding that in 2003/04, the university admitted 32 students and the number increased to 46 in the current academic year.

Prof Andam implored the school authorities to instil discipline in the students and also employ more teachers to supervise dormitory life since no institution could make any headway in its academic pursuit with undisciplined students.

He advised the students to be

patriotic, study hard to make it to the tertiary level, read wide and build their vocabulary, be spiritually redeemed and desist from alcohol, drugs and promiscuity.

Dr Kwasi Nsiah-Gyabaa, the Principal of Sunyani Polytechnic, who chaired the function, commended the government for its decision to pay special attention to the development of technical/vocational skills under the new educational system to be implemented since it would go a long way to reduce the unemployment problem facing the youth.

He called on the educational authorities to reintroduce moral education in the school curricula since its neglect had resulted in the upsurge of drug abuse, alcoholism, occultism and the utter disrespect for authority.

The dignitaries at the function including Mr Ignatius Baffour-Awuah, the Deputy Regional Minister-designate, Prof. Kwasi Adarkwa, the Pro Vice Chancellor of KNUST, Mr Michael Nsiah-Agyapong, the Asutifi District Chief Executive, and Mrs Akua Debrah, the Regional Director of Education, presented prizes to outstanding students and staff of the school.

Earlier in the day, Mrs Akua Debrah inaugurated a €800 million library financed by GETfund and a €20 million Internet cafe funded by Mr J. H. Mensah, for the school.

Excerpt 4. *Free Press*. April 1, 2005. Vol.43. p. 3.

HOME ST

Dan Botwe Launches Ga Version of President's Address

By Simon Aqianab

Hon. Daniel Botwe Minister of information has noted that it was only when people are well informed on the government's good intentions in its development agenda that they would lend support to those efforts.

He made this statement at the launch of the Ga Version of the president's state of the nation address at Ga Mantse's palace in Accra.

He said that the president's address to parliament has been translated into a number of local languages with the expectation that the visionary message of hope which the N.P.P administration has, was well understood by the people particularly at

a time when some compatriots would refuse to accept the realities of the situation.

Mr. Botwe, said that in order to ensure that government realizes its objective of establishing an open society and it was seen to be accountable to the people, it was important for us to ensure a free flow of relevant public information on a sustained basis.

He added that information on access to credit to the small scale operations particularly in the rural areas requires a medium which was not dominated by a tendency to politicize every development. He stressed that government has clearly demonstrated its commitment to good gov-

ernance, the prevalence of which would give impetus to both resource development and private sector growth since resource utilization would be more efficient and effective in such an environment.

He noted that through the ministry of private sector development, a programme would be put in place to bring the small enterprises which operate outside the purview of the state and private sector into the formal economy.

He added that this would not only improve employment generation but it would also widen the tax net there by improve the revenue generation and reduce the Nations dependence on external assistance.

Excerpt 5. *Ghana Palaver*. December 21-January 6, 2005. Vol.11. p. 5.

Ghana Palaver: Dec. 21 -- Jan 6, 2005 Page 5

HOW THE MEDIA FARED THIS YEAR

back as returns every week, by the end of the year you might be contemplating suicide.

The business is a hazardous one, also because news have short expiry. Dead news is like rotten yam. It doesn't sell.

I am not in anyway saying that the radio stations should not hint the public about what they can find on the newsstands. But the word here is 'hint'. They should not read the stories and even turn to other pages to read the continuations.

Once you read even half the story, there is no motivation on the part of anybody to buy the paper apart from those who have not heard it on air or are addicted to buying papers, or those who buy to read their favourite columns.

The print and electronic media must be partners in news dissemination. One must not be the Achilles' heel of the other. And none should be the cause of the downfall of the other, because the people need both media now that the country's democracy is growing and there is the need for free expression to become totally unrestricted.

PEACE, GOLD, JOY AND HAPPY

NOW, how did the radio stations themselves fare as far as patronage was concerned. Apart from stations like "Atlantis" and "Sunny FM" and perhaps "Channel R" which have their own choice listeners, almost all the stations

had their share of listeners.

The reason was that politicians were junketing from one radio station to another, putting their cases across and almost pleading with voters to vote for them. Listeners were also busy tracking down their favourite politicians, roaming the radio station via the dial.

However, the real active stations that got a good number of listeners included 'Peace FM'. A predominantly Akan station, it is the darling of illiterates, semi-illiterates and even Akan-speaking literates.

In the taxi cabs, the dial was almost always on Peace FM, especially during the 'Kokrokoo' newspaper review time. Kwame Sefa Kayi, formerly of Radio Gold is the key fellow of the station. The guy has improved tremendously over a relatively short period and must have a large following. Certainly, he is gifted.

Next is Radio Gold with James Agyenim Boateng in the seat with Omanso Kwakye, a humour-loving translator, may be the best in the field so far. Radio Gold's English-Twi broadcasts makes it appealing to both the lettered and the unlettered.

English-speaking listeners were either on JOY FM or Uniq FM. JOY FM has an upper-hand here with Komla Danson in the seat, sometimes alongside a sweet voice, Matilda Asante. She is a lady we would want to meet. Sounds very lovely.

The Super-Morning Show

begins with a newspaper review and last week, Komla corrected the Media Cop, but too hastily. He said the Media Chief Inspector wrote something that was wrong and yet Komla failed to state what should have been the right thing. I would have doffed my hat to him if he had. He is a fine broadcaster though. Quite intellectual too!

Talk about 'Happy FM' and you are talking about the station that has latent energy that would explode into unbelievable achievement. I have taken keen interest in the station lately and believe me, something good will come out of that station.

During the period before the declaration of the results, I was amazed at the way traffic vanished from the streets of Accra. Most people were glued to their radio sets, some documenting the results, others arguing and still others looking on vacantly.

Though NPP was leading from the beginning, they were careful not to start celebrating too early like they did in 1996 and had the shock of a lifetime. Once beaten twice shy.

Immediately the vote-counting began and the Ashanti votes were being announced in 1996, horns began tooting uncontrollably. There was merry-making and a free-flow of 'akpeteshie' and 'buba'. When the other votes started trickling in, NPP supporters realized they were in for one hell of a battle.

Sooner than expected the tooting stopped and sorrow took

hold of the supporters who jumped the gun. They lost and learnt their lesson.

So this time around, they became more circumspect about how to express their joy when they were leading. They were very impatient and some wanted the Electoral Commissioner to announce the final results, otherwise, they couldn't sleep or celebrate. They did not want to start celebrating only to be told something heart-breaking the next minute.

They were right to wait, however, impatiently, because NDC's performance was not expected to be that powerful. It was frightening.

After denigrating the party with a lengthy National Reconciliation exercise, it was a great surprise to everybody that the NDC still had such popularity as to post over 44%. It means in 2008, the NPP should be making the exit.

CONGRATS TO THE PRESIDENT

NOW the Cop takes this opportunity to congratulate the President, John Agyekum on his success at the polls. I urge him earnestly to seek good governance to make Ghana a better place.

To Bruce, my Editor, I congratulate him for a good fight fought. To fight almost single-handedly in an almost enemy environment where money was spread like butter all over bread, to come out not disgraced, I say more grease to your elbows.

WELCOME TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA

Excerpt 6. *The Chronicle*. March 31, 2005. Vol.14. p. 5.

The Chronicle
EDITORIAL
 Thursday, March 31, 2005
THE GA-DANGME CONCERN

EVERYWHERE IN the world, people take great pride in their origins and lineage. Land, language and culture bond people of a particular lineage. Anything therefore that has the resemblance of a threat to this lineage, generally rallies the people together to collectively combat it.

Over the past few years, a cross section of the Ga-Dangme people under the Ga-Traditional Council, has been agitating persistently over issues they perceive as threats to their culture, heritage, and their economic existence.

Many of the concerns that this group has raised have been situated in the broad context of the cultural and customary practices of this country. So, for instance, when they complained about the fouting of a prohibition on noise-making preceding their annual Homowo festival, they have cited examples elsewhere in the country where such prohibitions are imposed and there has never been any question regarding the power of the traditional authorities to impose such practices.

By virtue of Accra being the capital of Ghana, and the location of the seat of government, government and its agencies have automatically overshadowed the influence of the traditional rulers. It is therefore important that the people living in such communities are encouraged by central government to recognize the role of the traditional authorities, even if the manner of the peoples' agitation is annoying.

Even though accession to a stool or skin today, is more by blood than by any special feats of those we call royalty, and seems undemocratic, some of these rulers have lived up to expectation and provided vision and development for their people. Others have however dishonoured and dragged the name of their institution into disrepute.

The youth of Accra, especially, are disillusioned and very apprehensive about their future, especially when they see a lot of wealth being generated all around them in the city, yet knowing they have no portion in them. They are up in arms today, because a lot of their traditional rulers have not preserved any heritage for them. They see their future as very bleak, as they see their kinsmen live in abject poverty.

Some of their greedy rulers have sold the lands entrusted to them as custodians, and have never accounted for the proceeds. Coupled with this, the lack of proper planning has also resulted in a situation where some greedy and fraudulent workers of the land title registration agencies have taken advantage of the situation and transferred titles.

The results have been a lot of the traditional authorities being hauled before the courts today over land litigations. What a shame! The people have therefore lost trust and hope in any established authority addressing their concerns.

People tend to recoil into their ethnic and narrow identities when the wider group they belong to seems to be marginalising them or has failed them. The people of Accra seem to be losing confidence in their chiefs and central government's ability to address their needs.

The strange call by the Ga-Dangme Catholic Community in the Archdiocese of Accra, for one of their kind to be appointed to oversee them is a reflection of this. The report we carried yesterday had it that the people said they "need a Ga bishop, who will encourage vocation among the Ga-Dangme Catholic community."

It is a shame that in spite of the fact that Accra is the location of the headquarters of many multibillion-dollar organizations, the poverty levels are very high. We believe that these companies can do more for the people of Accra, as they do in some of the communities they operate in, as part of their social responsibilities, targeting the indigenous people.

It is also not good enough that in spite of the numerous revenue generating opportunities that abound in Accra, the Accro Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) is not self-financing. The AMA can also do more than it is doing now.

The underlying cause of the agitations of the Ga-Dangme people is development-based. Most of the developments going on in the capital belong to private individuals and organizations. There is an apprehension that the indigenous people would be alienated from their land!

He who has ears to hear, let him hear!

Feature

**Gangster's paradise:
The people's hell**

A GNA feature by Samuel Osei-Frempong

FIVE YEARS ago, a small group of Ghanaian Members of Parliament (MPs) took a stroll in the heart of Lagos, the sprawling Commercial Capital of Nigeria.

This over-crowded city has a lot of things that please and dispense the eye, so they had set out to catch a glimpse.

The group had just returned from Abuja, the political capital, where the business is always political, amidst plush avenues and government buildings.

It is one of the few cities in Africa built from the scratch. The MPs saw the usual Nigerian merchandise, including the "agbada" and the "ushokos" but they met an unusual spectacle too - a group of gangsters.

The gangsters moved like a whirlwind sweeping through downtown Lagos, tipping and tearing through anything they met in their path. Women trembled with fear as men abandoned their wares and straps for safety.

A young woman, who could hardly utter a word from her trembling tender lips, pleaded with the Ghanaian MPs to take shelter in her shop. She had a small hole in her locked door, through which one could peep and watch these deviants roam

the streets with impunity. Some had bottles and drank from them while others smoked substances, which did not resemble cigarettes.

They moved in stages; the young and feeble-looking in front and the big and muscular behind.

Some displayed guns, machetes and small knives while others sang war songs.

The MPs' host had told them that the group was trailing another group, which they accused of humiliating one of their members. When the coast was clear, debris laid in their trail like a tornado, they had swept their path clean of everything and left reminders of horror and mischief.

A young Member of Parliament from Sekondi, who was with the group expressed surprise and wondered why such a thing could happen anywhere in the world.

Five years later, Papa Owusu Ankomah, the MP, sits manfully

Victorian building called the Ministry of The Interior, overseeing law and order in a nation threatened by criminals.

Ghana tasted this phenomenon a few weeks ago in Kumasi when the "Taliban" and "Al Qaeda" groups terrorised the citizens of the city until the Police entered the fray.

They had defied the Police and gone about town, doing what they had known best while the law enforcers were holding a press conference. Many of the gangsters roamed the streets during the day and break into homes during the night.

The armed robberies seen, heard or read about did not cause out of the blue.

vices if serious efforts are not made to keep children in school and give hope to the slum dweller. Years of insensitivity, misadministration and economic problems had rendered education, employment and the pursuit of happiness a privilege rather than a right.

The educated and privileged hung their certificates and prizes, having only money on their mind and neglecting the plight of the unfortunate. The reasons that make people hate decency and love crime grow bigger and more glaring by the day as squatters and hawkers openly threaten law enforcement officers.

A long road divides Nima and Kanda, two residential areas in Accra noted for extreme poverty and affluence.

The poor children from Nima look at the tall walls of Kanda everyday, which were erected to protect the Kanda children from their neighbours. Communities 18, 19 and 20 are springing up while middle-class characteristics as Ashram, which is a stone throw away, scoops in poverty and want.

Mammbi does not juxtapose Roman Ridge but flows from it, thus offering a sad commentary on the socio-economic

injustices that plague the country called Ghana.

In the short term, this modest man who is the Minister of the Interior should urge his Policemen on to protect the women, who cuddle their husbands with trembling hands for solace at night. For the men have lost their virility and the will to fight at the sight of invading masked men.

But the long-term solution is to fight social exclusion, send all the children to school and make every Ghanaian part of the "solution" rather than the "problem".

Until that day, when Ghansians would have achieved some form of equality and nonanimosity, Papa should give them hope before the morning comes, for the night is terrible and harbours dangerous elements. He should not let them turn our world into hell for, that would be their paradise.

The educated and privileged hung their certificates and prizes having only money on their mind and neglecting the plight of the unfortunate. The reasons that make people hate decency and love crime grow bigger and more glaring by the day as squatters and hawkers openly threaten law enforcement officers.

Excerpt 7.1 *The Ghanaian Times*. November 18, 2004. p. 2.

THE GHANAIAN

TIMES

EDITORIAL

Thursday, November 18, 2004

MATTERS ARISING

THE 'Presidential Debate' is now history, but as far as related matters are concerned, the debate will undoubtedly continue for a long time.

Of particular interest to us is a remark reportedly made by an official of the main opposition party, the National Democratic Congress, before the event. He allegedly said that to enable President Kufuor participate in the debate, it should be organised in the Twi (Akan) language because the President does not have a good command of English or does not express himself well.

When we heard about this comment, we dismissed it as an exaggeration because it seemed to us that it was so trivial and so maliciously ungracious that no serious politician would commit that blunder. However, an interview granted by NDC General-Secretary Dr Josiah Aryeh on the BBC yesterday, November 17, has confirmed that the unfortunate remark *could* have come from the NDC ranks.

Dr Aryeh was speaking on the Network Africa programme. Asked to comment on the absence of President Kufuor from the debate, Dr Aryeh said, among other things that President J A Kufuor "has a little problem with articulation and would be exposed".

One is at a loss as to what Dr Aryeh meant. Would it be the first time that President Kufuor would be speaking in public? What is it that would be "exposed" only during a debate in which the NDC candidate would be participating? What hidden, fatal flaw is it that the President has managed to hide so well that only the NDC can see it?

And what about the fact that in 2000, when so much was at stake, and it was a veritable minefield, candidate Kufuor took part in the debate then and it was the NDC candidate who declined? However, evidently whatever is supposed to be wrong with his speech, it was not seen as an impediment by the electorate since they voted for him! Or is the President's alleged speech problem a recent development, something that has afflicted him since the 2000 debate?

Obviously the President has not been hiding from the public or refusing to speak on public platforms. He has been addressing public events here in Ghana and internationally where he has spoken with no prepared text, so everybody can assess whether this

Excerpt 7.2 *The Ghanaian Times*. November 18, 2004. p. 2.

public or refusing to speak on public platforms. He has been addressing public events here in Ghana and internationally where he has spoken with no prepared text, so everybody can assess whether this is a person who cannot express himself.

One wonders what message the alleged remark about holding the debate in Twi was supposed to convey to Twi speakers, or to the millions of Ghanaians who do not speak English — and do not lose any sleep over that. Was it to belittle Twi-speaking? Strange then that on the political party platforms an effort is made to express whatever is said in Twi in order to reach more people.

On the other hand, if the NDC's alleged sneer is about the President's *delivery*, that he does not rush and chooses his words carefully; or if it is that he has a speech impediment, then it is even more serious.

For, even if it were true that the President has a speech impediment, it is well-known that in Ghanaian culture, as elsewhere, one does not mock at or use a person's physical disability to denigrate him or her. In fact, it is taboo for the obvious reason that nobody can be blamed for what they are born with.

We are basing our stand on Dr Aryeh's comment on the BBC because of his stature in the NDC. In our view he is one of the people who should be preventing or sanctioning those making remarks so offensive of the presidency. What are such comments supposed to tell the people of Ghana who chose Mr Kufuor as their President?

What does it tell people in Ghana and all over the world who have overcome difficult physical problems and impairment to make their contribution to society? In the UK there is at least one Minister in the government of Prime Minister Blair who has an obvious physical disability, but we are certain that there is no possibility that anyone in the Conservative Party would dream of commenting on that publicly.

One would have been comfortable with a political party slamming a rival candidate for policies they disagree with, for not being able to honour campaign promises, etc. but snide references to a candidate's supposed physical impairment is simply not acceptable; below the belt.

It is amazing that some people seem to have forgotten that it was not too long ago that a segment of people in this country were campaigning passionately for semi-literates and non-English speakers to be encouraged to stand for parliament.

Again, if the criticism is against the President's *diction*, since when did speaking slowly become a crime? One would hope that a President would choose his words carefully, seeing that everything he says is important to somebody and could have an impact on people's very lives.

And regarding slow speech, those who have an interest in the subject should listen to a speech by Queen Elizabeth II. Every syllable is pronounced carefully and with no hint of rattling the language that bears her name.

Excerpt 8 *The Independent*. December 6, 2004. 88: p. 6-7.

'Cut your headline according to the fabric of your story'

By Peter Adams, Journalist

The President of the Commonwealth Association (CIA) Mr. Alpha Adams, after an advertisement was published in the paper, he called the headline "No 8111-and-disease" regarding the CIA's president, Mr. Adams, in an attempt to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".

Mr. Adams, after seeing the advertisement, he called the headline "No 8111-and-disease" regarding the CIA's president, Mr. Adams, in an attempt to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".

Adams said that the Press Centre, which is a public relations centre and a public relations centre, should be used to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".

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Mr. Peter Adams, President, CIA

Mr. Adams said that the CIA, which is a public relations centre and a public relations centre, should be used to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".

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School of Comm. survey tips NPP to win Wagon seat

The school of communication, which is a public relations centre and a public relations centre, should be used to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".

When the advertisement, Mr. Adams, after an advertisement was published in the paper, he called the headline "No 8111-and-disease" regarding the CIA's president, Mr. Adams, in an attempt to "cut your headline according to the fabric of your story".



**LETTER
TO
DORA**

DEAREST Araba,
Last week I promised sharing with you words from little 'Sit-sofe's funny dictionary of 'big English' as she calls it. Unfortunately, I would have to push that subject to the back burner and deal with something more pertinent.

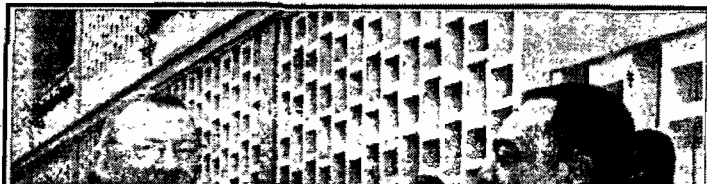
I was invited to a workshop organised by the Goethe Institute in conjunction with the Goviefe Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Goviefe Bureau of National Culture.

The theme for the well-attended workshop had to do with tradition and modernity. Academic papers copiously written and laced with researched facts and figures were presented in impeccable Queen's English by some of the heavyweights in academia.

Each professor was given 25 minutes to address the workshop. Most of them found the time too short and had to plead with the moderator to give them more.

It was very clear that even though Goviefe can be said to be a nation wallowing in poverty, it can boast of scholars and academicians with brains that make mockery of poverty.

One paper that made great impression on me was the great Hill of Knowledge. It had to do with our health delivery system. The statistical figures he marshalled to support his claim made me feel, and I still do, that our health delivery system is a



"NUNYA MELE SUKU DEDE ME O!"

burning train travelling at top speed with no immediate destination in sight. And of course, with all of us as passengers on board. Do we jump off the moving train or remain on board and die? Don't ask me, jump off to where? Be thinking about it for we are all on board.

On the critical issue of tradition and modernity, I had my own thoughts that time did not allow me to express myself at the workshop. Cannot the traditional also be modernity? The insinuation that tradition and modernity are antithetical goes against the grain of logic whereby *Europhilia* has been encouraged.

In the usual mode of discourse, which is unconsciously assimilationist, tradition is of course the African and modernity the European. Hence, to encourage the modernity has meant the emulation of the European. But in reality, within the African and European artistic traditions, any given work can be either traditional or modern where the modernity is understood as depicting, in some distinguishing way, from the traditional within the same tradition.

Anyway, without attempting to sound like any of the professors I listened to at the workshop, I wish to rest my argument at this point.

But the academic presentations climaxed when a personality, a woman, who had never stepped in a classroom in her life, mounted the podium to address the academic gurus.

She did not speak in a foreign language but in her own mother tongue which is one of the languages spoken in the savannah north assisted by an interpreter.

Araba, you should have been there

to listen to the oral presentation of Hajia Salamatu Ibrahim Taimako, Director, Taimako Herbal Plant Research Centre, Tamale. Her opening remarks that defined her topic bringing out the areas she wanted to cover and the general presentation with facts and figures reeled out from memory without looking on any piece of paper, not to mention her concluding remarks that summarised all she had said and beautifully tying it into the main theme of the workshop, won Hajia a standing ovation.

Oh yes! We all stood up, professors, PhD holders, first and second degree holders all stood up and applauded Hajia. Her presentation left not a shred of doubt in our minds as to why the University de Savannah (UDS) found it compelling to confer on her an honorary doctorate degree. She is Dr Hajia Salamatu Ibrahim Taimako.

But the sad thing is that our *scriptographers* who were there to cover the event for their newspapers, radio and television stations did not find anything interesting in Dr Taimako's achievements worth sharing with their audience and the reading public. The reason for me is simply that Dr Taimako is not a politician. It looks like if an event has no political connotation, then it is not newsworthy so no newspaper, no TV camera covered this rare gem from the North.

Araba, listening to this traditional

herbalist has totally changed my perception about certain aspects of life and living. One of the professors after listening to Hajia in the language of my mother's people said thus: 'NUNYA MELE SUKU DEDE ME O!' Indeed, he is right and hasn't Hajia also proved it that the acquisition of knowledge does not reside within the four walls of formal education?

There certainly may be a few other Dr Taimakos in some of our rural communities. Let us give them the exposure and honour they deserve. Even as we take steps to strengthen the fence around our formal educational system, we must not lose sight of the non-formal sector.

Our elders say 'wo sum bodie a sum kwadu'. Any nation that ignores its non-formal educational system is only dragging itself and her people through a long and winding tunnel into the dark ages. Dr. Hajia Salamatu Taimako, you are a real role model.

Please Araba, kindly begin to look around Amedzofe and its environs. Who knows, we may find a misplaced gem that the Ho polytechnic may confer an honorary HND on.

Sincerely yours,
Dora Ofori

(Standing in for Araba Season)
dorafori@yahoo.com.

My Turn



**ISRAEL YEMETEY FORSON,
Student**

LET'S ESCHEW INDISCIPLINE

IN spite of the numerous campaigns on indiscipline in the country, some are still recalcitrant and

somehow help slow down the rise in indiscipline.

The mode of dressing among the

Excerpt 2.1 *Kpodoga*. January 1998. 65 p. 2.

Kpodoga

LETAWO NA KPODOGA

Tɔtrɔ dzigɔ

Mi nufialawo miens GNAT fe takpekpe me le Tsito be miase numedede tso VAT gu hafi wotsɔ Bureau of Ghana Languages fe segbalēvi yeye va do goe na dzadzra. Teti agbalēa me nyawo trɔ miase susuwo da tramaa tso VAT gbo yi Euegbergɔngɔ gbo. Miēda asi de tɔtrɔ siwo agbalēa he ve la domets geɖe dzi. Gake nukutse la tɔtrɔ dzigɔ adewo ha do ta da. Le sea nu la "Tsito dekakpui" azu Tsitodekakpui. Gake sea meda asi de edzi be migɔ Ama togā ya nya dekae o. Sea yi edzi be nkonyawo dedefia kple dɔdɔdo nazu nya evewo. Le segbalea fe axa 11-lia la, gberutise la be miangɔ dɔwɔnya kple fukpelawo fo fui ale: srɔdede, nudada, nyagbogblo. Gake nukutse le agbalēa fe axa 9 la, "nugko wɔwɔ" nye nya eve.

Chris Akuoku,
J.S.S. Hohoe.

Memama

Biabia

Nufialae menye. Nye sukuwiwo di be yewoanya nu si ta yewoangɔ "correction", "exhibition", "test" ("examination") fe Euegbetwo abe nya evewo ene ale: dɔdɔ do, dede fia, dodo kpa? Nyemete gu do biabia la gu o. Anyo kpem ne Bureau of Ghana Languages ana mianya gomesese si le efe se yeye si wɔhe ve la gu.

Steve K. Viviti,
Min. of Education,
Ho.

Mevɔ

Bureau of Ghana Languages fe se enye be tso fifia la, miangɔ nkɔ tɔxe (Tsito) kple nkɔnya bɔbɔ (dekakpui) gbm fo fu ale: Tsitodekakpui. Mevɔ bena ne miēda asi de se sia dzi la, ekema BGL akpa guse agblo na mi mbeba be miangɔ amegko wo ha atsam kple nkɔnya bɔbɔwo ale Kofidɔwɔfe, Kofinɔfe, Kofilɔxo.

Mensah Venyo,
c/o African Studies

Nu tɔxe

Medi be madegomesese si le nya "tɔxe" gu la afia Bureau of Ghana Languages. Le xexemegbe de sia de gɔngɔ me la, wowɔ amegko wo kple tefengko wo abe nu tɔxewo ene alo abe nu siwo nɔa wo dokuiwo si yesiayi. Nu ka ta le Euegbergɔngɔ me ya BGL awɔ se be miangɔ tefengko wo gbm fo fu kple nkɔ bɔbɔwo?

Vincent Aklasu,
NFED, Xedzranawo

Sinii

Ghana Universiti fe dɔwɔla adewo va de sinii na mi nyitsɔ le Vakpo. dedefiawo fo nu tso dɔdɔwɔwo de vidzividzi gu.

Esiae nye zi gbɔtɔ dɔdɔwɔwo de vidzidzi gu fe akpa vevi adewo va ge de tome na mi tomets adewo.

Vavɔ dɔdɔwɔwo de vidzividzi gu li vevie na dukɔ abe Ghana ene si si anyigba le vɔvɔm le eye amewo megale do kpɔm le na wɔwɔ o.

Vavɔ de ale si ganyawo

Excerpt 2.2 *Kpodoga*, January 1998, p. 2.

Memama

Tɔtɔtɔ gã aɖe le ta dom ɖe Ewe, nyigba dzi fifia si gu. anyo be miãho ava ɖo kaba. Fe ewo koe nye esi va yi ɖokuitɔdidla aɖewo he memama va Ewe Kristo Hame tsitsi la me. Fifia memama bubue nye esi gale ta dom ɖe nuɖblawo kple nufialawo hã dome. Le akpa ɖekae nye ame siwo da asi ɖe Bureau of Ghana Languages fe se yeye siwo wɔhe va Ewegbegɔgɔ me la dzi. Le akpa bubue nye ame siwo meda asi ɖe seawo dzi o. Mexɔe se be Obianim, Westermann kple Schlegel ano ta vubum ɖa kpadakpada le wofe yɔdowo me.

Peter K. Deho,
UCE, Winneba.

Legon.

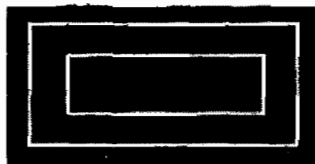
Tɔtɔtɔ

JSS nufialae menye. Mekpa be nye ɖowɔhati geɖe meda asi ɖe gbegutise yeye si Bureau of Ghana Languages he va Ewegbegɔgɔ me fifia o. Vava seawo ahe tɔtɔtɔ gã ava Ewegbegɔgɔ me. Le kpɔdegu me viɖe kae le eme be miãma nkɔnya siwo me:

gufasesenuwɔna
ɖɔɖɔ
ɖɔɖɔ
ɖɔɖɔ
ɖɔɖɔ

abe ale si wɔɖe le BGL fe seɖalevi la fe axa 10 kple 19?

L.K. Peku,
Danyi Tarnu,
Kpeve.



le ta dum eye ahedada kple ɖowuame xɔ afe fifia ta la, edze be miãbu ɖɔɖowɔɔ ɖe vidzividzi gu abe akpoxɔnu gã ene.

Menye dziɖuɖu koe dze na kpododo tso esiawo gu o. Anyo kpem ne dufiawo, Osɔfo Mawunya-gblɔlɔwɔ kple nufialawo hã abu esia abe wofe ɖɔɖeasiwo ene.

Kofi Agboga,
Vakpo.

KPODOGA

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*Editor: Yao
Aduamah General
Manager: Hayford
Ben Kwasi*

MINA MISRŌ EUEGBE

Egbla: Kofi Amekii

Mfagbugbo miafe nusarŏ le tanya sia te dometo geḁe me ato ḁe gberutise yeye si Ghana Degbe Dudawfe he ve fifia la nu.

Nyatsatsa kple nyamama

Le Euegbenḁḁḁ me la, nyaha aḁewo li siwo miḁḁḁna foa fui, gake le go aḁewo me la, miḁḁḁ wo me. Miwḁḁ esia elabena gomeseḁe ḁeka menḁḁ nyaha siawo si yesiaḁi o. Kpḁḁḁḁḁ aḁewoḁ nye:

Nyaha *Kpḁḁḁḁḁ le nyagbe me*
Tame - Mawunundḁḁ da asi ḁe efe tame hafi yrae.

Ta me - Ebuo ta me hafi foa nu.

Tame *Kpḁḁḁḁḁ fo tome na fiafi.*

<i>Adika</i>	-	Ahosi fe vi nyḁḁḁ gbḁḁḁ.
<i>Fafa</i>	-	Ahosi fe vi nyḁḁḁ gbḁḁḁ.
<i>Awume</i>	-	Dutsu si le awu me hafi wodzii.
<i>Awusi</i>	-	Nyḁḁḁ si le awu me hafi wodzii
<i>Dogbe</i>	-	Dutsu si dḁḁ ḁe esi ku la yome.
<i>Dogbatse</i>	-	Dogbe fe yometo ḁutsuvi.
<i>Naviḁḁḁ</i>	-	Nyḁḁḁ si wodzi ḁe esi ku la yome.
<i>Zanu</i>	-	Dutsuvi si wodzi le zame.
<i>Zasi</i>	-	Nyḁḁḁ si wodzi le zame.
<i>Xetsu</i>	-	Dutsu si do afo ḁa le edzidzi me.

Kpodoga

Euegbenḁḁḁ (tso axa 3-lia)

aḁeke nagato Germaniawo fe afofofe le nufafia me o. Esiae wae be Germaniawo fe agbalḁwo va bu keḁ. Esiwo dzaa gasuso miḁḁḁḁna egbea woenye Biblia, Kristotawo fe hadzigbalḁ kple Westermann fe nyagḁmedḁḁḁ. Ke hḁ H. Debrunner fe agbalḁ si woyḁḁa be *A Church Between Colonial Powers* si fo nu tso Germaniatawo fe dḁawo wawo ḁu la ya mabu gbede o.

De ale si gbe aḁe le tsitsimii la, nenema kee

ḁu ḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ afegbe dzi gblḁḁa kokoko.

Gbea gblḁḁa bubuwo ya fe susue nye be menyē ḁḁḁḁ koe hiḁ o, bog le nufu me hḁ la, edze be yewoawo agbalḁmegbe ḁu ḁḁ. Ale Pekito si de suku la

"gagawe" o. Agblḁ be "afo gḁme". Fodometo magate ḁu agblḁ gbede be "tsani" alo "tsenu" o, agblḁ be "nu ka". Haveto alo Agateto magagblḁ be "tsi yḁ" o, agblḁ be "tsi fafa". "Age" axo "ka" teḁe yesiaḁi.

Esia nye susu vloḁ si le amidede ḁem ḁa le Euegbe ḁu alo le ewum.

Agbalḁmegbe nyo kpem. Gake miḁḁḁ ḁḁḁ edzi bena gmedḁḁḁḁ ko wḁnye si dzi ame sia ame awa eya ḁutsu fe susu ḁu ḁḁ atu gbea fe ḁḁḁḁḁḁ. Ne menyē nenema o la

Mina misrŏ
Buegbe elabena
Xegbee xe
dona

Excerpt 4 *Kpodoga*, May 1998 p. 3

kpodoga

Letawo na Kpodoga

Nugomemasemase

Meda akpe gã na Bureau of Ghana Languages de se yeye siwo wòhe ve de Ewegbenɔɔgb nuti la ta. Efia be BGL la le gbea fe tɔtrɔwo gu bum nyuie.

Gake nukutɔe, abe ale si wòdze le Dzove 1998 fe Kpodoga mee ene la, ame aɔewo tɔɔ nugomemasemase le asi dom de BGL la fe nkume. Wosusu be yewo fe nunya gaglo wu ame gbogbo siwo fe numekuku dzi BGL la tu se yeyeawo do la tɔ.

Ɖewo susu be Ewegbenɔɔgb nana pɔpɔe abe Englisigbenɔɔgb ene. Gbedel Esia mate gu adze edzi o. Englisi nato ma sia faa be "It is". Ewegbe hã nato etɔ be "Enye".

Kwame Dikiy,
Gbefi.

Sam Obianim

Le efe segbalevi yeyea *Nyamama le Ewegbenɔɔgb me*, axa ii-lia la, Ghana Degbewo Dudɔwɔfe de gko na ame vevi siwo na kpekpedegu le Ewegbenutisewo fiafia me. Gake nukutɔe la, Dudɔwɔfea meyo Sam Obianim ya fe gko o. Eɔca, le xexemeɔwawo wɔwɔ vɔ megbe, esime Germaniawo ge fu anyi

ta la, wofe agbalẽwo hã va bu keɔ. Ale Sam Obianim dzaa ko fe agbalẽ gu do mieva na wɔwɔm na Ewegbenutisewo sɔsrɔ. Nyemexɔe se be miãte gu aɔɔ Obianim be gbede o ne gbenutisewo va le tɔtrɔm ale keke hã.

- Dan K. Yatse,
Kpedze.

Axawuiasiekegbalẽvi

Mieda akpe de Bureau of Ghana Languages fe se yeye siwo wɔwɔ fiafia na Ewegbenɔɔgb la ta. Awɔe be gbea gɔɔgb aɔɔ bobɔe wu tsa. Gake dzɔgbewɔetɔe la, axawuiasiekegbalẽvi si he seawo ve la le kɔui

la ene.

Medi be mado susu sia da be woagbugbo segbalẽ *Nyamama le Ewegbenɔɔgb me* ata. Ale se siwo kata ku de Ewegbenɔɔgb gu la nadze le agbalẽ la me.

- Elvis K. Sawu

Excerpt 5 *Kpodoga*. May 1998. 67 p.3.

Tsito.

Euegbenḡḡḡ

Togbḡ be Euegbenḡḡḡ xḡ
fe 150 ha la, tsitsi mele
dzedzem le egu tututu o.
Esiḡ mewḡ nuku o elabena
degbefiafia megale afḡ tḡḡḡ
fifia abe tsa ene o. Kpe
ḡe ema ḡue nye agbalewo
fe anyimanḡmanḡ. Sam
Obianim ḡḡ ha fe agbale

megale tsia dzi o le
tḡḡḡ siwo va gbea ḡḡḡḡ
ḡuti fifia la ta. Anyo ne
Ghana Degbewo Dudḡḡḡḡ
ana kpekpeḡḡḡḡ le agbalḡ
yeyewo ḡḡḡḡ me.

Kwame Dikyi,
CBD, Gbefi

ayi dziɖuɖu fe ɔnɖuɖu.

Leta na dodokpɔɖola

Egbla: Evans Yanku

Nu ka ta wogatsɔ gbeɖutise
xoxoawo le dodokpɔ ɖom
tɔgbɔ be Bureau of Ghana
Languages wa se yeyewa?
Le kpɔɖeɖu me le fe sia
fe G.C.E. dodokpɔ me la,
se xoxoa gutidɔ sɔɔ
wowa hetsɔ ɖo
Evegbebiabiawo. Nyawo tɔgbɔ
dze ale:

Dzieha Tɔɖu Nutomedzɔkɔla
na Dziɖuɖu, Afeto Christian
Kofi Sackley na nyanya be
ga si dziɖuɖu naa nutome
de sia de la fe riɔriɔ
kuna de nutomea fe akɔe
si wɔwɔna le dukɔe fe
gawawo me ɔu.
Eya ta: Sackley di tɔa

e fe nutomedu kple nutomekɔfe
de sia de si be nedze si
dɔɖɔɖɔɖɔ fe vevinyenye.
Efe dɔɖɔɖɔ dzadzɔ me
kɔe ɔe na kafe ade nate
na ɔe kɔe ɔe ɔe ɔe ɔe
na ɔe nutomedzɔɖu gbo.
Kofi Sackley na nu fam
na Agardometsɔwa le e fe

tsadidi me le nutoa me
nyitsɔ. Ede gbefɔ be ɖodo
le Nutome Sewatakpekpe la
si be wɔadza brimɔ sue
siwo gbɛ le nutoa me la
ɖo.

Eve 1

- biabia 6: eyata
- biabia 27: amesiame
- biabia 35: nusi
- biabia 48: desiadɛ

Eve 1 Part II

- biabia 1,4: nusiwo

- biabia 7: desiadɛ
- biabia 7a,7b,7e: nuka
- biabia 7g: alesi

Eve 2:

- biabia 3a,3b,5: nusi
- biabia 4: amesi
- biabia 6: alesi

Esia tɔtɔ susu na mi

dodokpɔɖola adɛwo. Nu
ka dodokpɔɖolawo di be
miwa? De wodi be migatɔ
de gbeɖutise xoxoa gwa?
Dodokpɔɖolawo menya
ne de wawɔ se xoxoa
ala se yeyea guda atsa
ɖo biabiawo ɔu o.

Excerpt 6 Kpodoga. September 1998. 68 p.3.

Kpodoga

MINA MÍSRŌ EUEGBE

"Vevi" kple "vevie"

Egbla: Kofi Amekli

"Vevi" nye gkɔnyadɔnya, eya ta miézãne kplɔa gkɔnya si dɔm wòle la dɔ yesiayi. Kpodegwuwo:

Nu vevi wɔe.
Nya vevi adɛ le asinye na wò.
Ame vevi adewo va.

"Vevie" nye dɔwɔnyadɔnya, eya ta miézã dɔwɔnya doa gɔ ne le nufɔfo me. Kpodegwuwo:

Nu wɔe vevie.
Exl̃ nui vevie.

Nenema kee miéwɔa "nyui" kple "nyuie" hã gudo abe gkɔnyadɔnya kple dɔwɔnyadɔnya ene. Kpodegwuwo:

Eno tsi nyui (gkɔnyadɔnya).
Eno tsi nyuie (dɔwɔnyadɔnya).

Gbefãdɛdɛ

Miégale ŋku dɔm edzi na nufialawo kple nusrɔlawo be Euegbegɔgɔ megale fifia abe ale si Germaniatɔwo toe da di ene o. Dziɔduɔ fe Dɛgbewo Dudɔwɔ'e he tɔtrɔ adewo va gbea gɔti sewo gu. Woakpa tɔtrɔwɔ le agbalévi sia me: *Nyamama le Euegbegɔgɔ me*, Bureau of Ghana Languages, Accra, 1997. Efe asi: ₵1,000.

Ahanogkɔwo kple wofofo dɔ

Egblawo: Prosper Dogbey kple Yao Aduamu

- 21. Titriku - Asafo Titriku, Nu kpanakpani
Wowɔe na 'megã wòko
Wowɔe ne wòfa avi.
(Sokpɔe, Tɔgu).
- 22. Hevi - Hevi nyagui,
Ebe yɛnɔ tsi me si ami
(Sokpɔe, Tɔgu)
- 23. Adzogble - Adzo-gblɛ-ame metɔa ma
ame o. Esi wògblɛ Klikɔviɔ
wodo dɛ Hive.
- 24. Tuagbedzo - Tua gbe dzo,
gbemelãwo ko nu.
Womɛnyae be egbea dzo
tso gabina o.
- 25. Bagini - Ba gini, Ba wɔ.
Amea nyo tso hegbɛ.
- 26. Asinyo - Asi nyo, viawo de gbo klɛ
- 27. Tɔkplidzo - Tɔ kple dzo mekea di
Dzo ke di, Dzoa tsi vi.
(Aɔafia, Tɔgɔme, Tɔgu)
- 28. Gidi - Gidimakpe zã.
Ne mekpɔ gɔli ṽ,
Mekpɔe na Gidimakpe zã
Ne mekpɔ adze ṽ,
Mekpɔe na Gidimakpe zã
(Yume, Tɔgu)
- 29. Kplɔdzi - Kplɔ dzi kplɔ anyi.
Lakle dɔmegbadze,
Be yeda ami wu gb̃.

Excerpt 7 Kpodoga. November 1998. p. 3.

Excerpt 8 *Midim*. May 2001. p. 2

OXO & MIMU

DZESIDENYAWO

EUEVI, DE ASIXOXO WÒ DEGBEA ÌJÌ

NYATEFENYA ÌJÌTÒ wònye be, Euevi gedè mekpò alo bu asixoxo na Euegbe, si Wòla de woawo há nu la, o. Wòlò nyatefenya vevi sia be, be Mawu Wòla, si wò yewo há ò ò xexe sia me abe duko bubuawo ke ene la, òwe wòdze wòde gbegbògbò sia yewo há nu. Euevi gedewo ò gbea gbògbò òa, henja ve gbám ò duko bubuawo tó boj òuti. Aol Gugu kae nye esial

Le anukware me la, wóna sia nye asitoto mo na Dzogbese. Agbe sia nólawo òlò be be, domenyinue Euegbea nye na yewo; elabena ne mía fofowo ò womelée ò asi tso tititi va se ò fifi o la, anye ne gbegbògbò bu xoxoxo hafi míawo míava dzo gò há. Mído òku anyi, miakpo xexemedzoxi ke òa. Anye ne mía degbea tsò! Euevi, tó dzime azo. Gbea gbògbò, exelè, efe hadzidziwo kple nono bubuawo megakpe òu na wò o. Ke tso azo dzi la, bu òokuiwò abe denyigba si Mawu na míawo há fe akpa aòe ene. È, bu òokuiwò abe ave, to, tósisì kple nu bubu siwo katá Mawu wò tso ò atsyòe na Eueenyigba la, dometo òeka ene. Bui be ale si ave hca tsidzadza ve na denyigba la, eye wògadoo aòu há; ale si to, siwo le denyigba la dzi la, ò atsyò vavato ne, ale si tósisì, siwo le denyigba la dzi la, dzea lá hena viawo fe nyonyro — È, nu mate òu agbò denyigba la fe agbedodenggonuwo woawo gbede o — la, nenemae ye há yenye videnu gá na Eueduko lae. Ke nyae be, Euegbea òuti dówowo le afi sia afi ye sia xi enye wò videnunyenye ne fe monu vevitowo dometo òeka.

Novinye Euevi, nyae be, togbò be míakaka òe atiwò kple gbewo me, futawo kple gbegbewo há la, nu si bla mí katá òekae lae nye Euegbe, si míegblona. Le susu siawo kple bubu gedè, siwo dze gáglá xoxo ta, Euevi, de asixoxo blibo wò degbea òu, eye nàkpe asi òe nu sia nu si wóm ame aòe le hena gbea fe ògoyi kple dziyi la òuti. Elabena wò òuto wò ngògbeyi kple bubu háe wònye, hena dzidzimeviwo tegbee.

Ke le wo katá me la, ò òku edzi be, kokloxò mekpea òu na koklo o, eye be, ame aòeke metsòa miasi líaa efe dedui o.

MISE GLI LOO!



NU SI TA ADELA MEKPOA KESE FE TOTO O

Mise gli loo!

Gli tso uuu dze kese dzi, wòdze adela dzi, eye wògaoze kesekpomadui kple nuwola aòe dzi.

Eva dzo be kese lé òku òe efe agbenonò òuti uuu, eye wòde dzeaii be, futò òeka koj koe le ye òuti le xexea me Ebui be ne yate òu òe futò ma fe òku òa le ye òokui òuti la, ekema yeazu ablodèvi, ade tefe sia tefe vovòmanomee. Futò mae nye adela.

Amenuvavetoe la, kese se nuwola aòe òko, eye wòyi egbo be wòawo atike aòe na ye, si ana be adela fe òku nado òa le ye òu. Nuwola la lá, eye wògbò na kese be, atikea wòwò le bòbòe na ye, evò ko òeka koe le atikea òuti, si yebu be manya nyi na eya kese o. Kese soe òe nuwola la nu be wòagbò kòa na ye. Nuwola la gbò na be, atikea tsri nana, si woyona be, Kesekpomadui. Tete kese ti kpo, ti kpo, wu efe abo eveawo dzi hegblò be: "Nyea mebu be nane òku yo ge nála mahi, wòzu akòdu. Puii, meko kesekpomadu la vlo!"

Kese yi edzi gbò na nuwola la be, nenyè kesekpomadui koe nye ko woanyi na atikea la, ekema newo atikea na ye enumake, hafi yeafè afò gò. Ale nuwola la di nu siwo hia vi dzi le axa & lia

Excerpt 9 *Midim.* June 2001. p.2

Isa 2 Midim

EUEVIWO, AGOO NA MI!

Englala Osofo Professo N. K. Dzobo

AGOO NA mi, Eueviwoe, agoo na mi lo! Nya vevi ađe fe agoo do na mi mele lo! Tsitsiawo be akpokplo medoa go le gdo dzro o. Nya vevi ađe ta medo agoo na mi gdo sia do.

Le nkeke siawo me la, Euevi gedewo tso vevasese kple hũdede le nya deka kogblom be, "Euegededo, Euegbayigbo, agbalẽwo gamedede de Euegbe me lo to yim vivivi; Euegbegbogblo le dzronyigbawo dzi va zu nu sese na Eueviwo, eye enye nukpe na Euevi adewo be woałẽ wo be wole Euegbe dom. Euevidzala adewo, vevito esiwo le duta, va doe koŋ be yewomado Euegbe na yewo viwo o; ale ne wo viwo di tsa va afe la, Euegededo va zua avu kple ko fe nya na wo."

Eueviwo lee! Eueghadodo le vovom le mia nu, eye mietsi miawe uedewo va vu de ame tutuwo fe gbawo nuti le dodom. Kpuie ko la, Euegbegbogblo fe tsi la mi va; Akpalu kple Nyomi fe Euegbea le nyonyom; S. A. Mote kple Obianim fe Euegbe lae nye oma le to yim!

Agoo na Eueviwo, megado agoo na mi kel Le fe 1913 me la, la Afriko kata la Euegbe mee wogbo agbalẽwo do tso wu gbe bubu de sia de me, gake egbe de? Gbe bubuwo gblolawo va dza le mi nu, da mi de megbe da ke. Mlewa de megbe le asitoto le Euegbea nuti me, ale be miawe Euegbe, si nye dukɔ ene (Ghana, Togo, Benin kple Nigeria) fe gbegbogblo la, va zu "gbato luzu mibeto." Mia tawo, aya si mi la! Nu ku tututu mawo fifia?

Ele be miawo ha miatso kpla, awa abe alesi mia togbawo kple mamawo woe le Ntatsie esime Agakali fe gntasese va wu tsotsa na wo la ene: Wotso eye woho dze ugbe ye ye nono fe uzali dzi, etabna tɔzɔzɔ mele alifo o. Eyata Eueawo lee! Minyo kaba, eye afo netso na mi ne miatso asi le miawe Euegbe kple Euevinyeaye nuti Teto fe nkumee te kpona binu. Mina miho! Mina mitso bla ahi dzi, ado Euegbesotɔ, edofo kple wogbo de ngo le ahi sia ti si Eueawo la, edanye afee alo gbedzie wole o, eye miakpe de Eueawo nuti ne woakpo dzidzifo kple dzidzo ado Euegbe le dzronyigbawo dzi kple sukuwo me.

Mina mido agbalẽwo kple egmedede de Euegbe me kple etata de Euegbe me de ngo. Mayo mi be miawa ne miatso asi le Euegbea nuti, ale be miawe gu azae atso ngbo susu kple nunya goglowo tso dzadzame kple agbenonɔ nuti.

Esi toto ye ye gedewo le miawe agbenonɔ me vam ale gbege ta la, ehia be miawo Euegbe Radio kple Tividawo fe kple nyadzodzogbalẽ anyi de Ho, ube afɔdede gbato ene.

Eueviwo lee! Tsitsiawo be, nu si nku kpo lae asi minyana. Miele nu gede, siwo ehia be miawo atso afo miu degbea kple miawe amenyenyeye de ta la, nuti bum.

Meto asi ve adewo dzi. Gbe bubu gbloto ađeke meli si awa na mi o, eyata mido go va ne miawo Ntatsie fe gli gbogba lu lali. Aklama neqi na mi le do ga sia wowa me

ANYITSI KO DE DZOWJE DZI

Na Nyametola bɔsa, Wò nyadzodzogbalẽ ye ye MIDIM fe tata gbato si do la, mexlẽe, eye wòvivi abe anyitsi woko de dzowje dzi ene. Ene be megase nu gedewo gome nyuia.

Ewo nuku be le Euevinyeaye ga sia dzi la, nyadzodzogbalẽ de de de Euegbe me nkeke meli o. Eno anyi tsa va yi, gake nyemeyi ne deko gali fifia o.

Medo ayekoo na wò! Eye meye yo na wò loo! Mawu nado ala wò bu agbalẽ sia tata nakeke ta de edzi, be wòdado Hiu ađe Ue.

Nya, Felix K. Fianu (Aghalẽa flɛlawo dometo deka) le Akatsi

MIEDO NUGBLEDEBO NU

"NYEMENYA TSA O"
Nkeke ale si ame si si afokpa mele o, eya wole afo fufu zom la, le afokpadolawo kpom ko la, ebua edokui dzogbawo gato E wu amawo kata, eye wòdoo fi bum efe so alo Mawu le ahedzodzome si wòtso ne la ta. Ke gbe si gbe wodo go ame atakpo, si si afo go ha mele o la, eghlona na dokui bu, "Oo! Ekema dzogbenyuito kple kesinoto ga ađe me nye lasia? Nyumeaya tsɔ o!"

MISE NJUTINYA LOO



ALEKE NEWO NYA BE DETSIA FO DZEVE?

NJUTSU ađe no anyi gba de gbe. Sro eve no esi. Nyonu eveawo no anyi nyuie havillatsoe abe dadaviwo ene. Wowo nu sia nu dekae. Wofe nviwo nyo nukpokpo blibo, si to gbe mebo le dadaviwo go ha dome o. Du si me wono la menlawo kata kpo gudzedze blibo le wo nu, eye wokafua wo. Esia nye dzidzo kple dada na wo srɔgutsua.

Gbe deka nyonu gbato di tsa yi wo de, le nyadzodzogbalẽ ađe ta. Eno ahi marleti deka hafi to gbo. Tso efe to gbo si ko la, eya kple srɔnyonu evalia fe gbe megakpena tututu o. See la, mama va do wo dome le wofe nuwo wowa me, de deka wowa tefe. Uee kple uee la, nyonu eveawo te gu uava wo nweo, eye medidi hafi guava kple ame nweo kpokpo defomevii va do de havillatso kple vivi dodo de ame nweo nu tefe o.

Le nugbledede le nyonu eveawo dome kadodowo fe toto alea nuti me la, wo srɔgutsua va kpo be, anyo be yeoma dzo na wo. Ale wòmae nu wo. Ne srɔnyonu gbato da nu ne kwasida deka la, evalia ha dane kwasida bubu. Alea wono li de m dzododo kple afee me dowona bubuawoe. Ke esia mana be gu do do ame nweo, si do wo dome la, do da koŋ o. Eganca edzi yim ko.

dziyiye le axa 8 lia

Excerpt 10 *Midim*. August 2001. p.2.

AGBALÉ DODAWO TSO "MIDIM" XLÉLAWO GBO

SODZA NATU TSI NA MI

Nyametola lalsa,

Maxe sa be nye nungbo sia nkpo tefe vi ode le "MIDIM" me. Akpa.

"MIDIM" je tata sia nye evella si dzi nye asi su moxle, eye wóna nye dzi vu gbláto.

Meda akpe na Mawugá taxee, le ngugbledela vevi siwo je agbagbadzedze na be agbalé "Midim" sia da la ta.

Abaka, drikal Aje nefa, gbe nafa nu mi kekeke. Sodza nata tai na mi.

Amella Akafa Afedo (Ajens)
New Town, Accra.

fewu dum le MIDIM dzalawa gu be woodzudo, eye woado gusa wo bon.

Nyatafe wónye be Afeta Kwami Senyo je dréwo ta eme vava. Dré si wókuna gbo sia gbe anye be, midé Uegbe akuakua dodo me de asi. Enya kutrekula ade si meléna be wofo di mia degbea kura o, eye wóna nu mí ze sia ri le mifonu dzi be miaganbo mia degbea gbagbo be, ale atese adoli kple ame bubuwo to gbagboe o. Meda akpe na eya ha de efe drékuku ayui ma ta be, ele edzi uuu, mí Uoviwo mienyó tsu aló me aza.

Afeta P. W. D. Nutsutsi, meda ayekoo na wó, hedze Ame na wó. Nyemanya aml ka tututue arwó tsaa dno nui na wó neduna hafi wó há neku Afeta Kwami Senyo je dré uyui la, eye méylae o, nehée de go o. Enyo guto; akpe na wó.

Mawugá guto newu be miukpe de guwó, be agbalé sia tata nakeke ta de edzi, be wóade Blu, ade Awusa, ade Ablotsi gá há.

Millicant C. Senyo (Ajens),
Agbasiafe, Ho.

ALO MEŠAKU MI O

Nyametola lalsa,

Enya dzidzo manyagbo ade na mí Uevi gedewo ba mieda nyadzadzagbalé "Midim" je dawofe anyi, be míawo há intase nyadzadza wo de míu degbe me tsitatalo. Aló megaku mí a. Midze agbagbo be woayi edzi.

Nye há medi be manye miafe asaiawo ale edzrolawo dometa deka. Mieda Ewe E. P. Hame kple Ewe E.P./L.A. Gamedzesuku há. Eya ta ehia yevie be míano nyadzadzagbalé vevi sia ube "Midim" ene xam ano xexiam.

Abe nugomadedze ene la, máno "Midim" nyadzadzagbalé blaato xam gbo Joseph K. Kudje,
Kade.

NEDE BLU, WÓADE AWUSA, ADE ABLOTSI!

Nyametola lalsa,

Enye dzidzo kple dada manyagbo ode aum be maxlé wó nyadzadzagbalé yeye "Midim", eye wóde fu tame nana. Meda ayekoo nu wó le da ga si nuwo na mí Uedukwo ta. Mawu Sogbolisa guto negana ofajnu delo wó be nagutsé ayi edzi vu esia.

Nyatafe matromatru wónye be mia degbe lala Uegbe, si nye siku kple adzagba na mí Ueawo lu, le bubum, eye wónye ijukpe na Uevi adawo siwo di tsu yi ame bubuwo de, hetsi ufi ma wa wo dea, eye wotsa miási uwo wo de guto sian lu, ba wóade Uegbea.

Enye nublantú guto be Uevi siwo dzo le ofe yi gbedzi natra wo degbe vava la le Sokakafe alo Adami gbasasá dzi, ano gbe bubuwo gblan nukpemamnamatae.

Enye nublantúya há be Uevi nana Uenyigba dzi, eye woana Uenyadzadzagbalé gulinya gblan, wóabe wonetsé yi de yuvubulosi mee, elabe afi ma kae wóhia la, be wóates adza abaké.

Manu eme nako na dekapui zuzé mo, si de nyo le "Daily Graphic" (Deli Grafik) xexlé me le dzidzudawofe ma be, MIDIM xexlé hia na nye kpili wu, be Uegbea nana mí godo, olabona Mawu nya nu si to wóade Uegbu na mí de.

Mudi be modó adju na ame siwo le

AME KAE KPO GA?

tsa axa 2lia.

datsa di Ga uuu mekpae o, dedi ta egu la, etrona gbona va tsin Miade dua me hanou deviwo blem.

Ga guto há dze aye ale gbege be etron efe gko kple dzadzeme le duko sia dukosi me wódo la me. Esi wódo Accra le Ghana la, egble be ye gkoe nye Sidi, le Togo, Benin kple Abidjan la eyo edokui gko be Fla, le Nigeria la egble be woayo ye be Niara. Esi wódo dádáde ye de lylis-blotsi la, ebe yefe: n-wukadetu gko nye Pog, eye esi wódo Amerika la, atsé ahunogko be, Dala. Togbo be ele alea há la, duko siwu duko si me wódo la, me tawo dea e'e nonameutawo de agbaleviwo azi, ne edidi nana bobae na eyometilawa.

Esi wónye ame adéke menya afi si tututu Ga le o ta, adilawo tou mo vovowo dzi le adidi me. Ame adewo bu be wiko le ewa go tsá, eya ta wobla tsi fufe de oje me da de moyo to, be ne eva eno ge la, yewoulée; dlewo da nududuwo da de agbadawo me hetsi gko na tefawo be TSO/P BAA kple susu siu be ná do wui wóva nuu du ge la yewoolée akpla seseé uva Miadee. Gadila siawo fe akpa gats yi yevudawo me, be yewpabe de afi mawo, be ne enyado mo da ko yewoada edzi kpli. Babuwo do uwo, meliwo kple yameuwo yi dzranigbowo rizi hele tsagblá taam le asinukukuliffo me za kple kele. Dewa ya léa tu kple lánu bubuwo de abo hegenu de ame siwo wóbu be wawoe nye moxenu na yewofe Gakpokpo la dzi le zawo kple kelewo, eye na wóta la, wówua wo ala dea abi wo gu fau.

Gadilawo dometa adewo ya saú dpuwo de afi nna matatawo to kple kpodamewo hansa nu biam, kple

susu sia be ne Ga va yina la, yewoatsyee kple kame afu anyi, ne ngugbedodonunonawo nasu yewo si. Nublantúde la, nyonu Gadila adewo ya le yakasiwo me. Wawo wo dokuiwo dugbotiwoe nu gutsa de sia de fomevi wóle lialiam. Nenem nyonu mawo bu xaa be dlewohi agboti si togbe yewado la je mí ato Ga há, ale ne eva atia de ge ko lu yewoado afu va dzi n: alea akpla seseé ayi Miadee. Wole edzi kpem ka Dikonuku koe dza xols wo, wóna bebem vivivi de agbotia dzi delawo gu.

Nukutse la, yevuwo há ho le wofe ziwo dzi do ta Afrika, Greenland kple fakpo bubu gedewo dzi le Ga la ko dim jkubiatse.

Ukulawo to mele gbagbo me o. Ne wose Ga gko be ele dá si le yewo ng: me lu, wokua uawo seseé ale gbege be gedewo dze anyi, eye zi gede la, woawo gutowo kple uamenlawo káta tsónu.

Qutinyuselawo lee ! Miadetowo gale gbefu yeye dem na mi be, "Ame kae kpo Ga le ufi adé ne MIADETOWO nana wóadu to de enu, ne woayo amea be GATO, ne woatso xexea me nuwo káta nu woanye eto mahá?

Nyaseto globoewo mi loo !

NUSOSRO

Ame adéke mele Gu kyo ge akpo o. Eya ta ame siu ame si le edim la nadii de dodo nyuitu nu, elabenu ame sia ame fomevi le agbe sia me le efe nukpokpo vivivo la gblé ge de ke sia dzi wóazu KE-SI-NONU, eye eya guto nadzo ayi yo me asi gblóe gbe deka godoo.

Excerpt 11 *Midim*. September-October 2001. p. 8.

EUEGBE MEE MEKUA DRÖE DO – Prof. Dzobo

Nutsotsonula

(Tso MIDIM fe Nughla gbo le Anyirawase)

TSODELEME u/c si nye haboba ade si bla ali dzi sesie de Euegbe fofa de te nu la, dze bo de numededewana adawo nu henu degbea fe nuvanyenyè dedefia kple efafa de te. Haboba fe "Nyanyiekakalawo" yi dalé susu adawo kpo kple Awudome nutome fiawo fe takpehaa le Anyirawase—Awudome, le Ho nutome.

Osofo Profeso Noa Komla Dzobo, si nye Tsodeleme Haboba fe zamenla, dea gbo be, ale si Euegbe gbo afe tso Ghana, to Togo do de Benin (Dahome), dawo la de Nigeria fe Yetodafe lafo la be Euegbe zu degbe ade si tso le gbea' wu eto gbe bubuawo le Yetodafe Afrika. Ebe le 'dukowo' gbe degbe' nyenye fe dfofe koko ma le Euegbe si ta la, ele be wanye hafa blibo na Eueviwo hafi.

Profeso Dzobo fa konyi be, enye nubluninya be degbe xasasi si gbadawo va le nu kpem na Euevi gbede, vevito agbalenyala adawo kple Euevi siwo di tsa de du bubu adawo me daso du mawo me towo fe nughawo. Osofo Profeso Dzobo be togo be yewo yefe agbeme nkeke gbe' towo gudo le agbalésoro gbe, henu yevuwo dedukowo me, Euevi yevuwo dome le denyigba sia la. Je gbe ha la, yemekua dröe de Inlisigbe me o, ke bog Euegbe, si nye yewo degbe la, mee yekua dröe do.

Afeto Kwami Senyo, Radio nyakakadawo la ade si nye Tsodeleme Haboba fe Nughla, ha fe nu na anyingbea. Ebe Fiuzikpui siwo dzi fiawo 'bobo no' la de do toxi: si na woameawo abe wofe dekonuwo takplawo ene. Eyi edzi to, le susu ma nu la, manye nu beame be fiawo natu afokpo woawo gadowo degbewo, ahano ko fom de Inlisigbe alo gbe bubu ade si wome henu dodo memie la dzi o. Afeto Kwami Senyo de dze si be togo be ale vevie be fiawo nanya agbale, ahano gbe bubuwo ha la, takpenanya blibo wonye be fia nadsru do le efe dekonu fe atsyadodo blibo me be yeafu nu na efe

dumeviwo le dutofotakpekpe me koa, wofu nu le Inlisigbe, Fransegbe alo yevugbe bubu ade me. Afeto Senyo doe de nyanufiawo gbo be woano nu xlm wofe dumevi siwo le gbedzi la be, aleke kee wofale gbe bubu dolawo domee ha la, wofu Euegbe atu de nu me no wo viwo; elabe vidada gbe devi srua gbe tsona.

Afeto Obed Kokuvi Abadio, si nye Dekonuwo takpo-dwofe (Center for National Culture) fe donunla le Volta nutome, ha de dze si nu vevie adawo na kpekpea me nolawo. Ebe enye nubluninya be, le xeyivi si me tututu degbe bubuwo gbadawo bla ali dzi de wo degbewo lele de te guti la, xeyivi siu mee Eueawo ya le sisim le wofe degbe xasasi la nu. Eyi edzi be zi ale si yevu adake matro efe nko alo du

si me wotso la nko anlo bubu kple susu be eyo nana bobo nu amedzrowo o la, nenema ke koe mahia be Eueawo natro wofe nko anlo be wo yoyo nana bobo na 'maseuegbeawo' o. Afeto Abadio be ema wawo na be gomesese si le Euegbe xasasiwo si la te bubu vivivi. Eto asi nko abe xoe, si wofu wotro zu 'Hohoe' kple xemeku si va zu 'Hehemeku' ene dzi be wohia na dfofo, abe ale si dze ene.

Mama Adomwa I (Gbatu), si nye Awudome Nutome Nyanufiaga la, da akpe na Tsodeleme Haboba gmedocanyilawo vevie de dfofo toxi si wode tome la ta. Edo gbe be Awudome nutome nyanufiawo awo wo to sinua akpo egbo be natou me nyanu siwo le gbedzi la nanyi wo viwo kple Euegbe abe ale si Tsodeleme Haboba tso de enyi ene.

GBEFADEDE

MIDIM Agbaletafa la le gbe fa dem na ame siwo kata si Euegbe gbalé xoxowo le la be woana nyanya mi tso wo guti, henu dodo toxi ade wawo kpli wo Dodo ade woameawo dzi gede.

Agbalé siwo guti nyanyana-nawo miele mo kpom na la, fe kpodenuwoe nye:

- *Le Nye Adaba Te
- *Euegbe gbalé Akpa Atsila
- *Za Akpe deka kple Deka.

Do wo nyanyanana de:

Numetola
MIDIM Publications
P. O. Box CT 1017
Cantonments
Accra.
Tel.: (021) 773077.

EWU EYA JUTO VIA

tso axa 4-liu

fe eto sng, hafi tro gbo nyitso laa sia.

Etefe medidi o, Bebe na nyanya be yele ye noda deka gbo yi ge le Bato. Ale esi dadaa do go le afa me la, eto via sue la kpa nesí kpli. Esi wososo vie ne wofu Batsiwo fe totsofe le Adidome la, ede de gbe me abe afodzi de ge woyi ene. Ke esi woda go va do toa to la, devi si wokpa la megano efe tume o.

Esi mozola bubuawo bia gbe Bebe tso devia guti la, egbo na wo be ye dada va xoe le ye si. Nyagudodo sia medze ameawo nu o, eyu ta wokple do kple biabia buhu gbede. Ke esé nu uuu, va so de esime todzi ukula la ne ati be yeafu, hafi wofu be yeafia devia tefe.

Wokple Bebe do va do agbasasa sue ade, si te tsi xa do la, gbo. Kasia, devi lae nye esi wofu hetsu da de tsia mel Ale wotso devi kukua, kpli Bebe kpe de egati dade asi na kpovitswo le Adidome.

Wokple Bebe ayi vnuu, nenyé be wofu dodo siwo hia wawo la nu.

Excerpt 12 *Midim*. January-February 2002. p.5

Dzove/Dzodze 2002

M

Agbalēdodawo Tso Midimxlēlawo

MIA DE FIAWO, NU KAE DZO DE MIA DZI?

Na nyametola lɔlɔ, |

Mele akpe manya gblɔ aɔe dam na |
míafe Amuga nutome dzikpɔlawo |
kple míafe sɛwɔtakpekpe me yilawo |
kpakple míafe Dume fiawo kata ɔe |
aleyike wowo ɔeka eyime míafe |
Dukpɔlagá bubuto (J. A. Kufɔ) |
kple eɔtímewo va míafe Amuga |
nutoame eye wo xowo atu la ta.

Gate enye nuxaxa kple avifafa |
nam be le bubuto J. A. Kufɔ fe tsadi |
me le míafe Amuga nutomea, míafe |
fiawo ɔe atsɔa ɔe Dekɔnu vavato |
nu. Eye wonyakpɔ alegbegbe he do |
míade Ueduko ɔe dzi.

Nusi na mefa konyi vevie eye |
wohe taɔuame nam la ye nye be, |
míafe fiawo dometo ɔeka teti ha |
me gblɔ be le wafe nufafome do |
miade gbe uegbe vava si gbo |
nyemelɔnu le o.

O, miade fiawo, nukɛe dzɔɔe |
míafe dzi nyitsɔma nenema? Ede |
dzinye guto. Gate edzɔho eye menya |
be maga dzo azo o.

Meto helefeya fe nudzedzi name |
ɔesiade dim na mi kata le venyigba |
dzi godoo.

Nye, Afenɔ Milicent C. Senyo
Texas Garden - Ho

DO DOKU

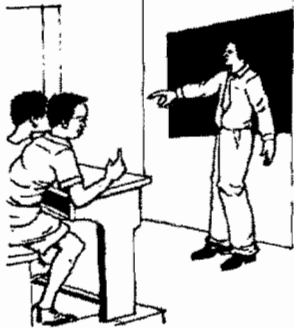
Dodokpɔ 3lia

1. Nyɔnu ka gue wogblɔ le be,
ede vigutsuvi adre nu na lɔxoa,
gbo eme?

Excerpt 13 *Midim*. April 2004. p.6.

Axa 6 Midim

EUEGBE SOSRŌ



Nusosrŏ Na Gomedzesukuwo
& Dzuniŏ Sekendri Sukuwo

GBEŊUTISE

NYAMAMA (NYAHAWO)

Nufiala: Francis Kwao Adzomah

Míafe gbe xasí sí dom mfele la de ngg
abe gbe dengg bubuwo le xexeame ene.
Ave nŏtogbŏ koe medzea to ngg o dzro! Abe
gbe dengg bubuwo ene la, se gedŏ le egu
le edodo kple eŋŋŋŏ me.

Gbea nggŏ fe se vevi dŏka sí dzi
mawomawo hea tadu ve na esrŏlawo kple
efialawo zì gedŏ nye emama. Euegbe sí
woŋŏ dŏ mama nyuitŏ me nye esi
gomesese nŏa bobŏe na exlŏla kple esela.
Nyamama fe manyamanya sía nana be
gbeŋfiala kple esrŏla gedewo sía le enu,
dŏa tse kplaa hegbŏna fewudutŏe be
'Ame manyagbalŏ denggŏwŏ koe tsŏa
Euegbe sosrŏ dŏa dŏe'. Gake nŏvinye, gbe
ka mee nŏbua tame dŏ gbŏ hafi bua
akŏŋta gŏwo alo hoa yevugbe lolowo
kple ke? Mige dŏ Nyamama (Orthogra-
phy) gbŏ kpa.

Hafi míadŏ kuxi sía dzi la, ele vevie
be míanya nu síwo nye Nyahawo; míanya
dŏ sía dŏ fe kadodo kple wo nŏewo le
nyagbewo tutudŏ me. Woawoe nye esiwo:

NYAHAWO

1. Oknyawo
2. Oknyadnyawo
3. Dŏwanyawo
4. Dŏwanyadnyawo
5. Ŋkŏtefenŏnyawo

Dŏwanyawo Gŏa sosrŏ fe...

Excerpt 14 *Midim*. May-June 2004. p.2.

Dane-Masa 2004

MINA MIADO KOKO MIA DEGBEA

ZI GEDE mehua tame tso ale si mi Eueawo mietoa wana adewo me dia gbo miafe gbe xasi si Mawu tso de mia nu la nuti. Le miafe dutakpewo, fefewofewo, azadufewo kple sɔdofe bubuawo, ne wobe woado gbe da na Mawu Yehowa abia wanaa fe dzidzedze la, wowo esia de Iglisigbe me, kple susu sia be vavalawo, vevito amekpekpe siwo menyɛ Eueawo o la nater ase egeme. Ewo la, menyɛ tafea valawo wole gbea dom da na o; gawu la, Mawu se Euegbe ha abe gbe bubuawo ene. Ke ne ehia be dekonutwo mado gbe da la, woawo ya done da de Euegbe me.

Heyi edzii la, taflatse, ne miafe dufiawo, mamefiawo, domegawo kple bubuawo di be yewoafɔ nu le sɔdofe mawo la, wowo de Iglisigbe me. De nuwona siawo menyɛ asixaxɔ bubu na Euegbe o?

Miekpɔne alo sene le miafe nukpɔmɔwo kple mɔfonuwo dzi be gbe bubu tɔwo — Bluawo, Gɛawo, Hawusatowo, Kpamkpamawo kple bubuawo — ya dea bubu wafe gbewo nu eye wowo nu siawo kata de wafe degbewome, ke mi Eueawo ya mlewone nenema o. Nu ka tae? Edze faa be enye ame adewo fe didi vevie be Euegbe nade zo ayi nɔ ahakpe xexea kata do. Le esia ta mele taflatse dom na miafe fiawo, dununlawo, dedulawo kple dua dza kple tsitsiawo fe gbe ma be "Ilo be datsɔ menyɛ fi o" be woawo dɔdɔdo siwo hia la, ale be mia viwo nana dzesi dem Euegbea fe nuvevinyenye kple asixaxɔ, bena ne mia to nu va yi ha la, miafe kesinonu vevi sia ya nu nagayi akpo o.

Mawu Gbeku
Mafi Kpedzegblo

MONU UU DI NA WO!

Se dzidzanya sia da:

De nane le awa wɔm kple wɔ susu,

se apɔ ɔdɔdo siwo nu de ewo gawo am
kekpey.

bilibo de go tso Osama
bala nɔ daikatenfoedan

Appendix 10
Excerpt 1. White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee.
Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, October 2004. pp. 27-30.

Appropriate Technology Industrial Service (GRATIS), ICCES, Opportunities Industrialisation Centres (OIC), Youth Leadership Institutes, the Private Sector and other organisations, including NGOs to increase capacity and expand their coverage and enrolment of apprentices.

13.3 The financial commitments which the state makes to second-cycle education in general education, agricultural, vocational and technical institutions should now be matched by commitments to industry-based apprenticeship and training.

14.0 THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

14.1 Government accepts the recommendation that the children's first home language and Ghana's official language English, should be used as the medium of instruction at the kindergarten and primary level. Government is aware of the importance of children's native language as an effective communication tool for teaching learners at this level. Government is also mindful of the depth of research, which provides a scientific basis for the use of the parental language as a medium of teaching, and of communication generally, in

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WHITE PAPER REPORT ON EDUCATION REFORM REVIEW

High curriculum should accordingly work up to that policy. This means in particular that all pupils at Junior High level should attain good working and communication proficiency in English. Second cycle institutions should then be able to concentrate on enrichment of communication skills in English rather than spending so much study time in the remedying of basic deficiencies that have been carried over from the primary level.

15.0. TEACHER EDUCATION

15.1 Government notes the problems confronting teacher Education as outlined in the Committee's report particularly the lack of sufficiently trained teachers. Government is committed to improving teacher education, which is central to the proposed education reforms. In tandem with the reforms outlined above for pre-tertiary, primary and second cycle education the policy is that by 2015 all levels will be staffed with professionally trained teachers. To this end the following actions will be taken:

- (a) A teaching and licensing co-ordinating body, the National Teaching Council, will be established.

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the early stages of education, it is the formulation of a policy to that effect.

14.3 The difficulties however of implementing that language policy pushed Government to review the possibilities of its education. Given the great multiplicity of Ghanaian languages, the most obvious of these difficulties is how to provide for a population grown with diverse home languages as is increasingly the case in both urban and rural school settings.

14.2 Government is very much aware of its responsibility to promote Ghanaian culture, especially through the use of local languages. Hence, every effort would be made to promote the development of teaching and learning materials in Ghanaian languages, together with support for the training of teachers in the use of Ghanaian languages in teaching. Government, therefore, further accepts the recommendation of the Committee that where teachers and learning materials are available and the socio composition of classes is favourable, the children's first language must be used as the dominant medium of instruction in kindergarten and lower primary school.

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WHITE PAPER REPORT ON EDUCATION REFORM REVIEW

14.4 At the same time, it is also well established that an early and routine acquaintance with second, third or even fourth languages confers on children great advantages in their life-long proficiency in those languages. The facts of geography impose on Ghana a necessity to promote among wide segments of the commercial and financial sectors' work force a proficiency in the French language. Being an English-speaking country is also a source of considerable competitive advantage in international economic and political relations which Ghana needs to build upon. Therefore, government has in the past encouraged a policy of early introduction to English and French which is intended to maintain in a balanced way with the primary use of mother tongues in kindergarten and primary school and then with increasing intensity in high school.

14.5 It is the decision of Government that apart from assuring primary tongue proficiency in English by the end of primary school, the study of French to work a-day standard will also

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Gb̄, alē, koklonyinyi

Aghledelawo yere dya gome fipia. Awewo la wofe lānyinyi dā yi gē. Amē aqawo hā anī be wofedre lānyinyi gura

Yavū vide wofe ate gu adō wō tso gb̄, alē, koklo, hā kplē buruwo nnyinyi me. Lā nyila atē tū kpo lā kplē sē tso lānyinyi se hā quu. 37ad-rā, kplē sē tso kōwū.

Ke hā gūfīle dē nu gu le wofe fīa be aze wofedre le kofewo kplē du sūwō me gale lā nyim kokoko tō blesawo dā.

1. wofedre gu alo xg nyū na lāwō o. lāwō sōn gbo wu xg si wofuna na wō. Lāwō wofuna le wofe xwō me o. Anista wofa avu hedezi abī wō xwō gu. Awigba faga na lāwō togba be lā awōwō sbe gb̄ ene, melā fafaje o hā.

(1) Awewo awewo metes izi de tsi kplē nuqunana wofe lāwō gu o. wofea asi le lāwō gu fna wofedre nu le adukpawo dā.

Lānyinyi tō mō vloo aiawo dāi wofa be :

(1) Lāwō melolona o eye wofedre sri o.

(2) wofē dā.

(3) Lāwōwō kuna kebakaba.

(4) Lāwō metes gu dā dāi wofea gbo o.

(5) Gā fē wofe melolona na lānyila o.

(6) Lā medena na fometowo kplē duko fē duqu o. Efoza na dāduqu be wofedre lā tso duta.

(7) Lāwō gena dē awewo fē agblewo kplē

awewo me va gb̄sē nu. Wofea wofe awewo dāi eye wofe aiwo hea dūfīa vana na awewo.

(8) Lāwō gena dē fīofitowo si me.

Anyo be wofeyi lāwō tō mō aiwo gbona la dāi be vide wofe ko tso wō me :

(1) Lānyila nāto kpo alo adō nūgbawo fē xīlā lānyifē. Tō enia me la lāwō wofedre go va gb̄lē nu le ena butuwo fē anyigba me o. Ko sō nāno kpo tō me na lāwō fē dōfē. Ko deka nanyē lānyūwō tō. Ewelie nanyē lāno siwo si vi matronowo le la tō. Etlā nanyē lāno vīmarositowo tō. Wofeta xawo kplē be alo pampre wofe be gā weli wofīle zigī o. Lānyila

nakpo wofe be lāwōwō me la kokko yesiayi.

(2) tū kpo le wō gb̄wō kplē aiwō nu eye nākpō wō tōas be wofedre gba. Na tsi kokko wō be wofedre. Bli, fō, mōlu kplē tōfē lā siwo tsi anyi awofedre fē wofedre la nyo na koklōwō. Wofe gu tū bli kplē tōfē lā atēka wō na

afmoxewo. Megatso nūqugu fū gba dē fī me la anyigba be koklōwō nāfō mī o. Ewō wō dē wofedre alo kantai gbada si dāi ko nyūla la dāi na wō. Na tsi koklōwō edziadzi.

Gb̄wō gb̄lē nu

Ghana University of Agriculture and Forestry, Accra

Ewā lālōnu- dō



Tso F. K. Buana gbo mīme be Afeto awewo si nye kpo wito le Mlefi la tso lālōnu le dō gblōwō aiwo be dē lorip me la Mlefi la xem kplē oya guto fē dōwawo. Kpovito la vō be nenyē dē dōdōdō meva na mpa kaba o la, dōdōdō gā ate gu dāzo elabe- na dōawo dēa fū dā

tso dā lē tōku dē agble- dede gu le Awudome, Sokode. Feki kplē Abutis nyitso.

Afeto Gb̄blewō dē dōwō be didifegble- dede tso afō nyūla na

ere gōdewo le fē si va yi me. Ke hā xwōgbā- gblōdēdē ya wofe edzi nyūla o dē afelāwō fē nūgbatī tā.

Afeto Gb̄blewō dē ena be anyigba le awewo si le wofe xwō godo gaka wofēna na egudowō elatena alē gb̄ kplē koklo agblē agbeli, bli, atadi kplē awewo siwo wofedre dē afimawo.

Enona na agbledelawo be wofē lē yeyi kplē dōwō hena wofe didife- gblawo dēdē.



Ameka fē gb̄sē nye aiā? Driduqu fē be wofe me be wofedre asi le lāwō gu be wofea nuwo gbl- ēr le afewo kplē agb- lewo me o.

Do biabia sia gu

Agbledelawo Kodzo Nyang- dōe kpo sidi 36,000 tso afe bighledede me le fē si va yi me,

dōe mēre gu nya nenyē be yakpa vide lōo alo yemakpo vide o'

En wō dōdōdōwō dē Kpodoga, P.O. Box 25,

Gbe/fōdēdē
Wofedre lā na enasiawo fōa be wofedre gu tso nya siwo la dōdōdōwō le afe dū me la hapa tata dē nyadōd- wofedre sia me. Mlefi adre- se nenyē : KPODOKA, P.O. Box 25, Taito.



Midim

NE MIASE NYATEFEA



Amyiaqbe Apwala
F. W. D. Ntugutsi, "Midim"
Nwadaazobaleu Gametala

Tata 014. Siamlom 2004. Efe asir 02,000 CFA 200 EU 2 US\$0.50 *Front page*

OSAMA bin LADEN GAYINA AMERIKA?

AGADZO AKEA? Yavalawo le data kple afe he nyanyanawo de go hamehame le gkake siawo me be gblivi Osama bin Laden fe adzamesrafoba, al-Qaeda, gale nu dzidzem de Amerika dzi hena abi dede enu zi evelia.

Amerika fe dudowafe siwo kpoa dedienananyawo kple nyanyananyawo dzi dee gbl wotawotae be dukoa fe adzamenugomekudowofea ke de nugbedodo sia fe kpedadzidzesiwo nu le tefe vovovowo.

Amerikadzidudu fe tonugla si kpoa dedienananyawo dzi. Afeto Tom Ridge, gblu nu nyadzadzogbefadedowolawo be kakadedzi kple adabakodzi tso al-Qaeda fe nugbedodoa guti do go tso sleti odewo fe yavevase kple nugomekuku deio me. Woba be tamedodoa fe ladodzinu nye be wotawo wana ma agblè dukplala yeye tiatia le Amerika fe akodada, si ano edzi le Adesmekpaxe me la. mee.

Amerika fe adzumenyawo gomekufea fe tatowo zo se be gblivi bin Laden yla edokui de Afghanistan kple Pakistan dome de dzi, eye be eya gutae le tade na dodowawo kple manufiafiawo de "avahoho" yeye sia guti.

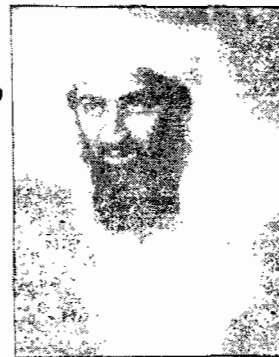
Zimenzla na Ametiadzadzakpofea, Afeto De Forest Soares bia tso Afeto Ridge si be wdana dukoa fe sewatakpefe nadi se guti lidoe ode da di, be ne hosodawana va yi edzi vava la, wdan baboe be woda dukplala kple Sewafeyifawo tiatia fe akodada la.

Le dedienanadzadzikpala Tom Ridge fe nya nu la, tefe siwo al-Qaeda to nkui le "avahoho" sia

mee nye Xexemegadzidafega le Washington kple Abdogawo Dzedofe kple Adzadofega le New York kple New Jersey.

Afeto Ridge meko nu le ale si

Dziyi yi le axa 3lia



Osama bin Laden

Gilchrist Olympio

Ayi Togo Azza?

TOGO FE dumanyugbloha siwo tsi tre de esi le dzi duna guti fe gato gogogla, Gilchrist Olympio, agalag ayi wo de, elabe dzidudu de mo be woana mozogbalevi si ana be wdateg ayi dukoo ma me lae.

Europadukowo fe Dekawha tso dzidudu fe nyamedzrokpla nu nono kple tsiretsidunya-gblahawo da anyi abe nu si ko auu mo nu Togodzidudu fe gomekpkpa le Dekawhaa fe gabadodowo me ene.

Europadukowo fe Dekawha do

Dziyi yi le axa 3lia



Dukplala
Gnasingbe
Eyadema

Gilchrist
Olyr 's

EMENYAWO

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Akpa Gbato Kpute

Mise Ntunya Loo!

WÒE NYE NUTSU MA!

(Akpa 2lia)

Egblala Mawufemo Gbeka

LE BLEMA uti, fiaga xogbo ađe kpo nyanu ađe le tailafe tso efe dzifoax dzi, eye wódròe. **Mete** ɔu dɔ edokui dzi alo bu efe nafe ɔu o; eya ta wónu woye va ne, eye wógbilee, hede fui.

Be nu vódi mu nagadze go o ta, ena be sroɔgutsu, si nye asrafo kaléto ađe, hena nyanu gba mademede fe konyinyi te remari la, nade egba. Ke nutsu melé gblé ko dɔ gbedeghede o, togbo be fiaga la ble ena ale si wáte nui há. Ema ta fiaga la to efe awafia dzi doe de ndzitefe gáto le awa si na ghe dzi no, wo remari la ma, ali si fitawo se gbo wui le, eye wótsi wofe yi nu.

Azo xlé dziyiyi
Enye dodo na awakplawo be nenye be wokpl asrafo wo yi awagbe dzii la, woano nutsotsowo dom de fia alo dukplala le afe tso yeyizi yi yeyizi tso awa fe yiyime nuti henu adagu yeyawo dzedze. Ema ta esi nuwo va yi nenema la, awafia la do asrafo zaze ađe de de fiaga la, ne woato gbea dzi nyawo na.

Wogblé be fiaga sia nuti be, enve awawodanunyala kple kaléwala si fe nka de du tso efe dekapui me ke, háfi wónu za fia. Eya ta esi dolawo nya gblé nuwo fe yiyime, verita ale si futawo fe alo yi dzi de wo nɔ le awadzedze vevi ađe me, na ko la, ekpo afi si vodudan tso xoxo. Ema ta wódo dziku vevie de awafia la nɔ eye vovó do etefenzala.

Tete dolawo yo asrafo si si wáde ngbalé do de awafia la fe nka, ube ale si awafia dee así na wo, ne weakpo nu si wogblé la, ene, hegbli henu, eya ha ku le awadzedze ma

me. Azo fiaga la te ta dɔ sɔ, hegbli fiaa. Eya wáde gbe asrafo dolawo me wogblé na a dɔ la be, meɔaxa nu le usrafo kaléto ma fe ku nuti o, elube awagbete dɔo nu agbe dɔo na ku há. Egbagba dzi de fe nɔ, be wónu te awa tso la de goe.

Nyanu nabinanɔ si fe bléto tsi na melé fe vevie se kple nuxuxu mele gbagba o. Ke ndadawo kple gbedeghede fe bí dɔ wo nuwo ne akawala va ne tso Awawala gbo.

Esi awa ke, eye nyanu nui fu na sraa va la, fiaga la xoo de unoe, nekplae yi edokui gbae, háfi wódayi vi dzi go gbo. Ema nyatefa si le futofu gu nagadze go ta vidzogbe fe natobibiawo me o.

Le yeyizi nuwo kɔta me la, háfi nuwo na didim tso asrafo fe ka kple enghenawo kpekple ale si fiaga la, si tonye nyanu alo aweyingbea funata o na, kplae nyanu yi edokui gbae kpata nui. Ke tete ađeke me dɔo dɔo na le dɔke dɔi la gaglegbe o, dɔi dɔi me sɔo wano, le vovó ta.

Gbe deka esi etefe didi ter la, Mawu Nusekatato do ame ađe, si wóde na yaxawo fime hefua na ne wosenu gblé na me bubuwo le remari la, do de fiaga la gbo, ne wótsa efe nuwona la ađe egku me.

Gbexala alo amedodo la yi dɔto nyu la da atobaloe na fiaga la. Egblé be, "Togbui Fiaga, nye mudi be nana tokpo me na nya sia o, elube menyá be ele wá wunu va ge nenye wo fiaviwo mete gu gblae wáde nyutawo nɔ. Nya lae nye be, nutsu kesinoto ađe le wó duko sia me, ame si si nyiwo, alewo gbowa kple dokuwa le fau. Esi dzise lae wéwuna wou nuɔɔɔ ghe sraa gbe."

Gbexalaa yi edzi be, "Nutsu kesinoto sia fe afelika deka nye amedáhe, ame si si alénoe deka kolii na. Efe asifomee alénoe dɔu blitátoe si wówaa dzee la le, eye efe afonue wómbáa le xogá ma, nenye be efi usi fu me na vo, elube naneke menɔ esi wódaye be kesinonu o,

negbe alénoe ko". Eyi edzi be, "Gbe deka kesinoto xalo ađe va dze amedáhe le fie me. Esi wódo ko dɔ hekpá be amedáhe la menɔ afe me o ta, ena efe subakawo yi dɔlé alénoe, si tseyi ake de afe me akagoe, nublaniwáe ia, yi na wówu tso wo nuɔɔɔ na efe amedáhe.

Gbexalaa wa ena be, "Togbui fiaga, na dzadzazam dɔ, be eva va la, nadzre wádeze nyutawo nɔ".

Tete fiaga la fe mo yɔ. nuto, eye háfi gbexala nuwo efe nyawo nu gu la, ebiaa kple dziku be, "Ame kae dɔ dɔi wo na vódi sia le nye duko me? Meta togbuitogbuinyawo Togbuiga, ame si fa zi dɔi wódom fiaa, kesinoto sia dze na ku! E dze be wóatsa alénoe adre kple agbo adre ađe etefee na unedáhe, eye emegbe wáde ka ve ne de damogá to, umetsolawé nakpo asɔ nu tso eme! Mebe, afi ka gbe nutsu vódi sia le le nye duko me há?"

Esi fiaga la wa efe unudázi kple afiatsetsa nu ko la, gbexalaa za de me gbe afi eto, do nyagblisibidi de egbo hegbli ne be, "Woe nye nutsu ma; wó Togbui tututue nye nutsu kesinoto ma!" Fiaga la fe dɔi ta kpo! Ewo nuku na be wóanye yee Eto dɔi numakemakee, hena gbexalé la kpom dɔu.

Azo gbexalaa yi edzi be, "Tso esi nenye dekapui ko wótsa wó dɔ fiaa de duko gá dranyi sia nu. Na sraa nu si ana wó fiadudu nadze eázi la le asiwá. Gawu la, wó duko me nyanawo kata le wó gbedede te, madede li na wó be náde zexlème si nedi la tso wa dome. Ke esi vo wo wí la, meyo sɔwéwo dometo ađeke ale dɔtugbui sɔmanasito gbogboawo dometo ađeke o, ke bonu ena wokpl asrafo zaze wonutefe ma, si no tawá ulim le awagbe dzi la, sɔsɔ va na wó, eye negblee."

Gbexalaa gayi edzi be, "Togbui fiaga, esi negblé nyanua va la meɔro Mawu Wówóla dɔ o, ke bonu esi nɔta le sɔgutsua nɔ, hena

Dziyiyi le axa 4lia

Front page

kpodoga

Xexlème 74 Dzove 2000 Eje asi: C200

Kpodoga taxε

Esa nye Kpodoga taxε. De ale si xexε me gadoo di dase be anyigba fe kuku kple edznu gede fe tsjε. E nye kuxi gā si miεtsi le je akpe deka bubu gime dzem. Ie anyi be miεtsi Kpodoga taxε oisε ju nu zā tso kuxi sa gu.

Adzɔgbedede na fe 2000



Agaa! De ale si miεya de fe yeye me lifia la la, anyi be miεdzo nu me tso fe siwa va yi la gu eye miεkpo adzɔgbe de ale si miεzo agbe le fe yeye sia kple eswa akpo dε la me gu.

Numezɔdzɔ si tso ame 400 tso Ghana fe nɔtɔ vɔvɔvɔ me tso tso le Winneba nyiε. Wε me numezɔdzɔ le Ghana Yuvreεt fe dodo kple kpo kpo te.

Ame akpa gāti di dase be kuxi gā esε Ghana tso le gagem de fe 2000 la ma. Dekae nye dikanaku fe takeke. Eweke nye anyigba kple edznuwa tsisivi togbo be dukmetawo ya le dziεm de dε.

Fe 20 anyi si dɔkɔtawo dzε si dikanaku fe xexε me vavo.

Gake va se de lifia la dɔkɔtawo kple adzɔgbe bubuwa me gu la atike na dɔkɔtε la kpo a. Ke nu kop dzε na wawa?

Ame siwa de Fe Yeye Sukua le Winneba la fe adagbe nye be anyi kpem ne ame sia ame adzɔgbe be yeεtsi dɔkɔtɔdɔdɔ axe mo na dikanaku fe tso kple takeke.

Le anyigba kple dzɔdzɔmanu bubuwa gudzwawo go me la kusiwεe nye:

- Tsisiwa fe kuku kple tsi fe vavo le tome
- Dinuwa kɔkɔ de tsisiwa me
- Atiwo kple avawo fe vavo
- Anyigbatokkɔ
- Anyigba fe kegbegezεtu

Kuxi siwa kufi tso amegbetawo gɔtε fe wɔwɔ gbo. Eya la nu si dzε na wɔwɔ nye be miεwε de adzɔgbe siwa dzε bo.

- Miεgbe nu le dzε tso gbo gbo eye miεwε dodo de dzɔdzɔmanu bubuwa kɔkɔ gudzwawo gu.
- Miεwε dodo de vɔvɔtɔ gu le fe akpe deka kple eswa akpo dε la me.

Yletingkeke taxεwo

Avo kple afe tafananyakeke, Dzɔdzɔ 2-fo: Dkake siε Xexε me Dukɔfajuwε dε dε be miεtsi adzε gkekenyui si miεtsi adzε gku avawo kple atawo fe tafadodo na xexε me kple veviviviyε dzi.

Nyanuwa fe gkeke, Todaxε 8-fo: Xexε me kɔkɔ oisε gkeke sia adzε nu me tso nyanuwa gu eye wɔwɔwɔ be wonede nyanuwa fe ahadada kple fukpekpewo dzi kpo.

Tsɔkɔkɔ, Todaxε 22-fo: Dkake siε dzε xexε me kɔkɔ adzε tso le na tsi. Tsie nye agbe. Gake le teje gede la tsi le vɔvɔm de amewo fe dɔdɔ tso la. Miεtsi gkeke sia awo dodo de tsɔdzwawo gu.

Famatsɔnyanya Dkake, Dume 15-fo: Dkake siε xexε me gadoo oisε dε gku fametawo fe afewo dzi obe nurofe gbɔtɔ ene.

Nu siwa fo xεt ama fe gkeke, Mawo 5-fo: Dkake siε miεtsi dε gku nu siwa fo xεt ma la dzi eye miεbu

gku kpo be miεtε dzɔdzɔmanuwa gudzwawo wɔwɔ me hε.

Amewo fe agbɔdzɔgkeke, Siamɔm 12-fo: Dkake siε tso dzε miεbia miε dɔkɔtawo se be miεtε adzε wɔwɔ de vɔvɔm ju dε. Eya le veviviviyε abena ame gede tso vi tso dɔdɔ me hasu gɔtɔ siwa dε wɔwɔ eye wɔ wɔwɔ tso anyi sukumademade.

Atigkeke, Siamɔm 16-fo: Dkake siε miεtsi adzε gky edzi bena oti deka mewo ave a, eye miεbia miε dɔkɔtawo be miεtε miwo dum de asiwε gudzwawo miεtε la teje.

Dzɔm fe Eje Cɔtɔ: Ghana kɔkɔ dua agbɔgkeke hedoo dzε na agbɔdɔtawo Dukɔfajuwε wɔwɔ nunanawε na agbɔdɔtawo tso le gkeke sia dzi.

Dikanakugkeke, Dzɔm 3-fo: Enye gkeke taxε si Xexε me Dukɔfajuwε dε dε be miεgadzɔ nuwa me be miεtε agbɔgba dzem be dikanaku nade dε olo miεtε mɔxεm na afe takeke hε.

THE INDEPENDENT

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MONDAY ISSUE

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IT'S DECISION TIME TOMORROW

In this issue
*Why Kufuor will win & Mills has lost - Pg. 5
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*What a Vote for Kufuor means

*What a Vote for Mills means



President J.A. Kufuor

LAST Thursday on this paper endorsed the candidature of President J.A. Kufuor for a second term and asked our readers and Ghanaians to return him and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to power for four more years.

As Ghanaians go to the polls tomorrow, we are obliged to remind them of the backgrounds, capabilities and experiences of the two leading candidates, namely, President J.A. Kufuor and Prof. John Evans Atta-Mills.

J.A. KUFUOR

FREEDOM & JUSTICE

As envisaged by our national motto, the Government of President J.A. Kufuor has ensured that Ghanaians are not deprived of "freedom and justice" under any guise.

A massive vote by Ghanaians for J.A. Kufuor means that Ghanaians will ensure a consolidation of the democratic order that they have embarked upon and sustained since 2001 when they gave power to J.A. Kufuor and the NPP.

As of December 2000, Ghanaians were suffering from a hangover of the Rawlings years, which had Prof. Atta-Mills as Vice President from January 7, 1997.

From sustained disregard for constitutional provisions and the rule of law under the NDC to the suppression of dissent in all forms (even within the NDC), Ghanaians



Prof. John Evans Atta-Mills



THE GENTLE GIANT

Vote for KUFUOR the man TRUSTED by our DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

Kufuor/Niel. Onono Niel!

NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY



motto: DEVELOPMENT IN FREEDOM

ECOWAS slaps sanctions on Togo
Turn to Page 5

New transport fares released
Turn to Pages 14 & 27

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Daily Graphic

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER SINCE 1950

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2005. NO. 149361. PRICE: €3,000



• Emmanuel Sackey Tetteh, alias Mpata — Arrested in Tema at the weekend.



• Two of the 'operation' cars seized from Emmanuel Sackey Tetteh at the weekend. He claimed to have seized them from their original owners.

Hunt for most wanted criminal on course

NO. 2 MAN GRABBED

Stones: Albert K. Salia

THE police in Tema at the weekend captured Emmanuel Sackey Tetteh, alias Mpata, suspected to be operating with the most wanted armed robber, Alaa Ayl. Mpata, who was arrested just when he was preparing to embark on another operation, stated to the police by telling them that the picture of the man posted on their wanted list is Alaa Ayl's and not that of the man. He also gave a catalogue of robberies he and his gang had undertaken to the police. He was arrested at about mid-night on February 16, this year, at his hideout in Tema, New Tema and was in possession of a fully-loaded Remington pistol, bearing registration number OT1171051, which the police said could be a target from between 200 to

• He has a catalogue of robberies behind him

300 metres with precision. Two private cars, a Golf 4 with registration number GW 3074 V, and a Nissan Prisma with number GR 9445 U, which Mpata claimed he seized at Kokumbon in the Mfantsi two Accra suburbs, respectively at gunpoint, were also retrieved from him. An amount of 800 Euro and €1,192,000, was also retrieved from him. Being journalists at Tema after the arrest at the weekend, the Tema Regional Police Commander, Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr Daniel Odu, said that he received information at about 11 pm on Friday, about the location of Mpata at Tema New Tema. He said the informant indicated that it was likely Mpata was going to strike that night. A team led by ASP John Akab, was immediately dispatched under the direct instruction of the Regional Commander to capture Mpata when the police described to him by Alaa Ayl. Mr Odu said Mpata was arrested with 11 other suspects, and is at work as he is held to the retrieval of the various items. He said during interrogation Mpata described himself as '100 per cent' Alaa Ayl and that his gang of four had master

• Continued on P. 3

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RIZA The way to love

2 WORLD NEWS

Daily Graphic, Monday, February 21, 2005

Israeli Cabinet backs Gaza

ISRAELI Cabinet has backed Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to withdraw soldiers and settlers from the West Bank and parts of the West Bank.

The plan to remove settlers starting in July had already been approved by the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset.

The Cabinet yesterday voted 17-5 in favour of the plan during a three-hour meeting.

The Cabinet also approved a new map for the separation barrier in the West Bank. Palestinians fear they could lose West Bank land as a result.

This will not be an easy job, nor will it be a happy day. Mr Sharon said at the start of the cabinet meeting, adding that evicting settlements was necessary for Israel's future.

The Cabinet's decision means about 9,000 settlers and the troops that protect them have effectively been given the five months' notice required before a pullout starting in July. Four West Bank settlements are also to be evacuated.

Israel will maintain control of Gaza's borders, coastline and air space.

Mr Sharon has said his government will coordinate the planned disengagement with the Palestinians.

Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, who had initially wanted a referendum on the plan, was one of those who sided in favour.

"I think we need to give this choice for peace for the first time since 1948 - a small choice, but a must be given," he said before the meeting.

Mr Sharon also won Cabinet approval for a new route for the West Bank barrier, after Israel's Supreme Court ruled the previous route was an unjustified violation of Palestinians' lives.

The new route runs much closer to Israel's boundary with the West Bank than the original one but would still include 94 per cent of Palestinian settlements on the Israeli side.

It will consolidate the long settlements of Ashdod, Be'er Sheva and Gush Etzion, which may be extended to adjacent settlements, correspondents have said. —BBC

Violence mars Iraqi Shia festival

SHIA pilgrims have killed more than 30 people in Iraq as Shi'a Muslims marked Ashura, their holiest day of the week-end.

Religious processions, mosques and funerals were struck as a second day of attacks targeting Ashura.

In the deadliest incident, at least 17 people were killed when a suicide bomber walked onto a bus in a northern district of Baghdad and blew himself up before it left.

But major security in Karbala seemed to have prevented attacks, as thousands of Shi'a converged on the holy city.

Security was tightened two years after the 1991 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait during last year's festival.

Checkpoints were set up around Karbala, where the main commemorative rituals took place, and cars were searched from a wide area.

The BBC correspondent in Baghdad said this year's festival was considered a likely target for Sunni insurgents, especially after the Shi'a victory in last month's elections.

The intention of the last day's attacks was clearly to inflame divisions between the two communities, he says.

Following the bus bomb that killed 17 in the northern district of Baghdad, another man blew himself up in the same area after an attack on a mosque.

The US soldier was killed in the second incident.

A third suicide bomber later killed two Iraqi guardsmen. A fourth killed at least three people at a Sunni funeral in the west of the capital. In yet another incident in Baghdad, four pilgrims died in an attack near a Shi'a shrine.

There were conflicting reports about whether it was a mortar attack or suicide bombing.

In various elsewhere, at least four Iraqis were killed in suicide bombings at busy checkpoints in the towns of Latifiya and Faruqa.

Last Friday, at least 30 people were killed in suicide bombs and

attacks against mainly Shi'a targets around Baghdad.

Thousands of Shi'a gathered in Karbala and Baghdad last Saturday carrying green flame posters of Imam Hussein, the martyred grandson of the holy prophet of Islam, Muhammad.

Ashura marks the death 1,100 years ago of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson, who was cut off the spit between Sunnis and Shi'a Iraqis. Sunni Shi'as find themselves with reasons and cut their heads with swords to emulate the suffering of Hussein, who died in battle at Karbala in the 7th Century.

Iraqi national security adviser Alwan al-Bakr accused militant leader Abu Mujahid al-Daraji and former North Party members of trying to provoke a sectarian civil war.

"It's a paradoxical idea when they claim that they are fighting the infidels and at the same time, they kill Muslims during Friday prayers," he told the Associated Press news agency. —BBC

37 Die in Bangladesh boat accident

A FERRY has sunk in Bangladesh, with 37 people so far confirmed dead.

Bangladesh Police say the ferry, MV Mahorah, had about 200 people on board when it sank at 1700 GMT last Saturday on the Baruganga River, near the capital, Dhaka.

Some 150 people are missing. Hundreds of relatives are at the scene awaiting news as rescue efforts continue.

The boat reportedly sank during a storm, but ferries in Bangladesh are notoriously unsafe, with owners overloading them in defiance of laws.

In the last major incident, around 100 people are thought to have died in May after a ferry capsized in the Meghna River during a storm.

The MV Mahorah was travelling from Dhaka to the eastern town of Chandpur when it capsized in Puga Harar, near Dhaka.

The accident happened in darkness and it is still unclear how many people died or survived. Minhabur Rahman, an area government administrator, told the Associated Press News Agency.

Mr Hasan, 50, told the AFP News Agency he saved his life by jumping from the deck of the boat, although his 20-year-old daughter died.

It was very crowded. There were heavy winds and the ferry turned and then I think it was hit by a trailer. —BBC

Clinton, Bush witness Aceh damage

FORMER US presidents, Bill Clinton and George Bush (center) have visited Indonesia as part of a tour of areas affected by last December's tsunami.

Mr Clinton, with Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the pair flew to the devastated province of Aceh to speak with survivors.

They arrived from Thailand where they had spent the week-end to help the tsunami victims and the reconstruction effort.

The two men have been joined by the White House's former associate press secretary, Mr. Arianna Huffington.

They are now on their way to Sri Lanka, after which they will travel to the Maldives.

Mr Bush and Mr Clinton were in Medan, the capital of North Sumatra, where they were greeted by Mr Yudhoyono for a joint briefing.

Mr Yudhoyono told reporters "both former Presidents and I are very impressed that the people of Indonesia are so involved in rebuilding and contributing to their brothers in the disaster-affected areas."

Mr Bush and Mr Clinton travelled to Banda Aceh, where they inspected the damage and visited some of the hundreds of survivors who have been displaced.

Mr Bush said he was "in awe" of the "faith, spirit and hope" of the people of Banda Aceh, told Reuters News Agency.

Mr Bush and Mr Clinton then visited Lempit and were flanked by the tsunami relief workers who had saved many lives.

The never seen anything like this in my entire life, Mr Bush said. The Associated Press reported.

Clinton said the reality would be that they would have to live with the loss of a half million people.

The tsunami is the result of a continuing conflict between Indonesia's secular government and the Islamic movement to reassert itself.

Mr Bush said on Saturday at a news conference at the Ruan Nara Khim village, just north of the city of Banda Aceh.

He says he spoke long after a fire that had been started by his four-year-old son, but he said he was not aware of it at the time.

Mr Bush said he was "in awe" of the "faith, spirit and hope" of the people of Banda Aceh, told Reuters News Agency.

Mr Bush and Mr Clinton then visited Lempit and were flanked by the tsunami relief workers who had saved many lives.



Former US presidents Bill Clinton (right) and George Bush Sr. inspect the damage caused by the tsunami in Aceh, Indonesia.

Jailbreak Haitian officials held

TWO senior members of the government of Haiti's ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, are back in custody after armed men stormed a jail in Port-au-Prince, officials have said.

A UN spokesman said former Prime Minister Yves Laroche and ex Interior Minister Jean-Marie Benoit were now in the hands of UN peacekeepers.

They were among hundreds who escaped after a second jail in the northern peninsula, which left a guard dead.

Unrest has grown since President Aristide was forced out of Haiti last year.

A UN peacekeeping force was sent to Haiti after the ousted President left in February 2004 but violence between his supporters and the current government continues to be a problem.

Dominique Gosselin-Cardot, a spokeswoman for the UN force, told the Associated Press that Mr Laroche and Mr Benoit were now being held by peacekeepers.

"They are now in the protective custody of the UN," he said.

"They have agreed to return to the prison."

He said the authorities were investigating whether the attack at about 19:00 (2100 GMT) was aimed at freeing the fugitives.

Police spokeswoman Genevieve Casson confirmed that at least one man was killed but said the authorities had not established a motive for the attack or suspects.

Police and UN troops surrounded the bullet-riddled prison, the AFP news agency reported.

BBC report said that some 50

report seeing several vehicles carrying men dressed in black stop outside the prison's barbed wire entrance.

They then stormed the building, forcing out the former prime minister and former minister.

Local media report that several hundred other prisoners, including some of Haiti's most notorious criminals, are trapped at the same time, our correspondent says.

A pool of blood in front of the building marks the spot where a prison guard was killed.

The apparently well-organized jailbreak is an ominous sign of the lack of control of Haiti's government and raises questions over the ability of the UN force to maintain order in Haiti, our correspondent adds. —BBC

Spaniards vote on EU Constitution

SPANIARDS yesterday voted in a referendum on the European Union (EU)'s first constitution.

Both Spain's governing centre and the opposition bank the constitution, as most voters are expected to say "yes".

Before the campaigning ended last Friday, Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero urged Spaniards to vote in favour of the constitution.

At 22:00 GMT on Sunday the EU's constitution signed in 2004.

More than 100,000 voters were on duty to provide security around Spain during the poll.

Early voters in Madrid included King Juan Carlos who cast his ballot at 8 a.m.

As he was about to slip into a ballot box, Queen Sofia reminded him he first had to show his

national identity card, news agency, AFP reported.

The EU constitution is intended to strengthen the EU's decision-making process. It is the first step in a series of changes to the EU's structure, which will be completed by 2014.

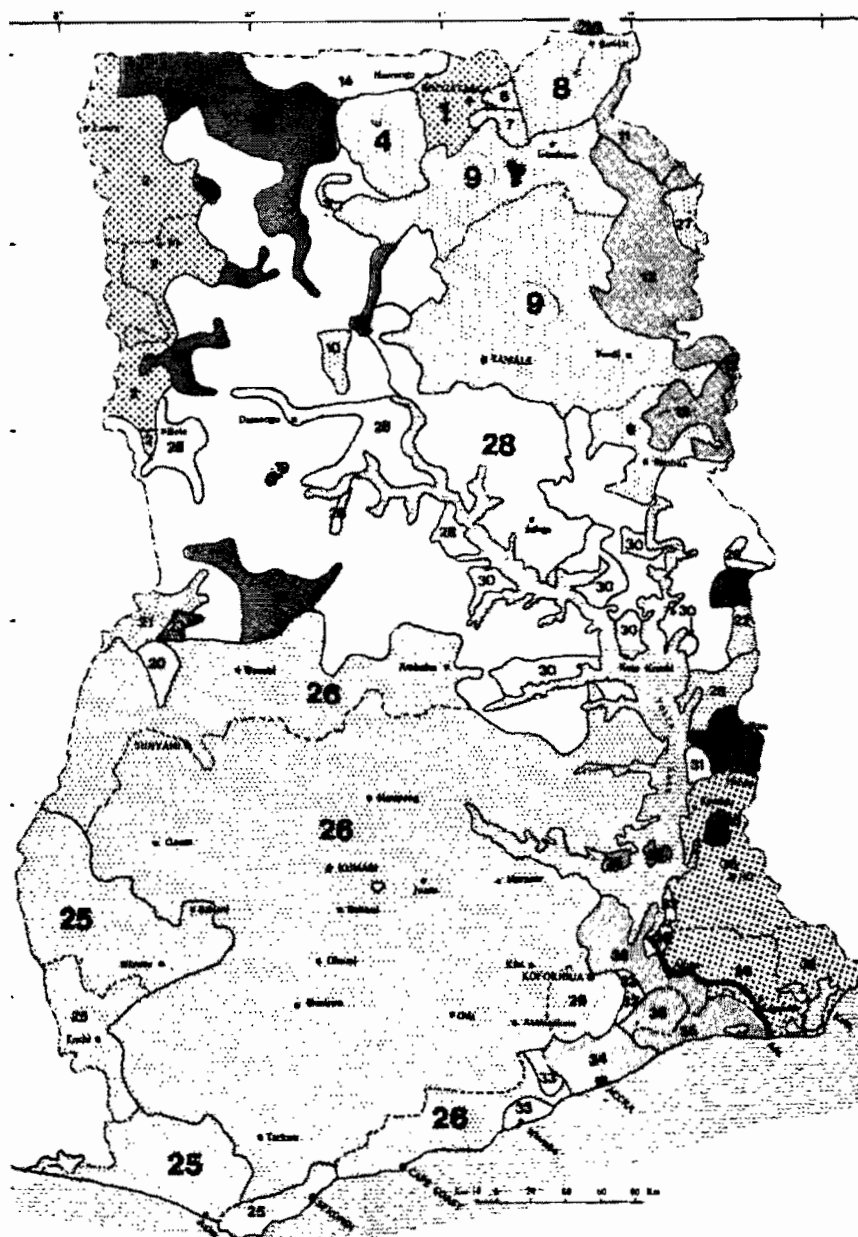
Nine EU members have difficulty and they will hold referendum, with Spain from countries underlined. The referendum are not being held in a referendum.

Nearly 25 million Spanish voters are expected to cast their ballots.

The Socialist government of Mr Zapatero hopes a resounding "yes" vote will send a strong message to other European voters, the BBC correspondent in Madrid observed.

But some polls predict Spanish turnout could be as low as 40 per cent 50 per cent, the correspondent said. —BBC

Appendix 12 Figure 1: Map of Ghanaian Languages 1.1¹



1. Adapted from HALL, E. 2001. *Ghanaian Languages*. Accra: Asempa Publishers.

Appendix 13 Figure 2: Key To Map Of Ghanaian Languages¹LIST AND CLASSIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS GHANAIAN LANGUAGES

- 1 GUR**
- A MOORE-GURMA**
- a WESTERN**
- 1 Frafra
2 Wai-Dagaare-Birfor
3 Sefalba
- b CENTRAL**
- 4 Bull
5 Komung
6 Nabt
7 Taini
8 Kusaa
9 Dagbani-Mampruli-Nanuni
10 Hanga-Kamara
- c EASTERN**
- 11 Bimoba
12 Konkomba
13 Bassari
- B GRUSI**
- a NORTHERN**
- 14 Kasem
- b SOUTHERN**
- 15 Sisala
16 Chakali
17 Tampulma
18 Vagla
19 Mo
- C OTHER GUR**
- a KULANGO**
- 20 Nkuraeng
- b SENUFO**
- 21 Nafaanra
- c TEM**
- 22 Ntrubo-Chala
- 2 MANDE**
- 23 Lighi
24 Bisi
- 3 KWA**
- A VOLTA-COMOE**
- a CENTRAL (TANO)**
- 25 Sehw-Aowin-Nzema-Ahanta
26 Akan
27 Chakosi
- b EASTERN (GUAN)**
- 28 Gonja (Gbanyito)
29 Achode
30 Yeji-Nchumburu-Krachi-Nawri
31 Nkonya
32 Cherepong-Lete
33 Awutu-Efutu
- B GA-DANGME**
- 34 Ga
35 Dangme (Ada-Shal-Krobo)
- C EWE-FON**
- 36 Ewe
- D CENTRAL VOLTA REGION
(TOGO RESTSPRACHEN)**
- 37 Adele
38 Buem (Lelemi; Lefara)
39 Bowiri
40 Sekpele (Likpe)
41 Siwu (Lolobi-Akpafu)
42 Santrokofi
43 Logba
44 Avatime-Nyangbo-Tafi

- Language boundaries
- - - - - Some dialect boundaries
- National boundaries

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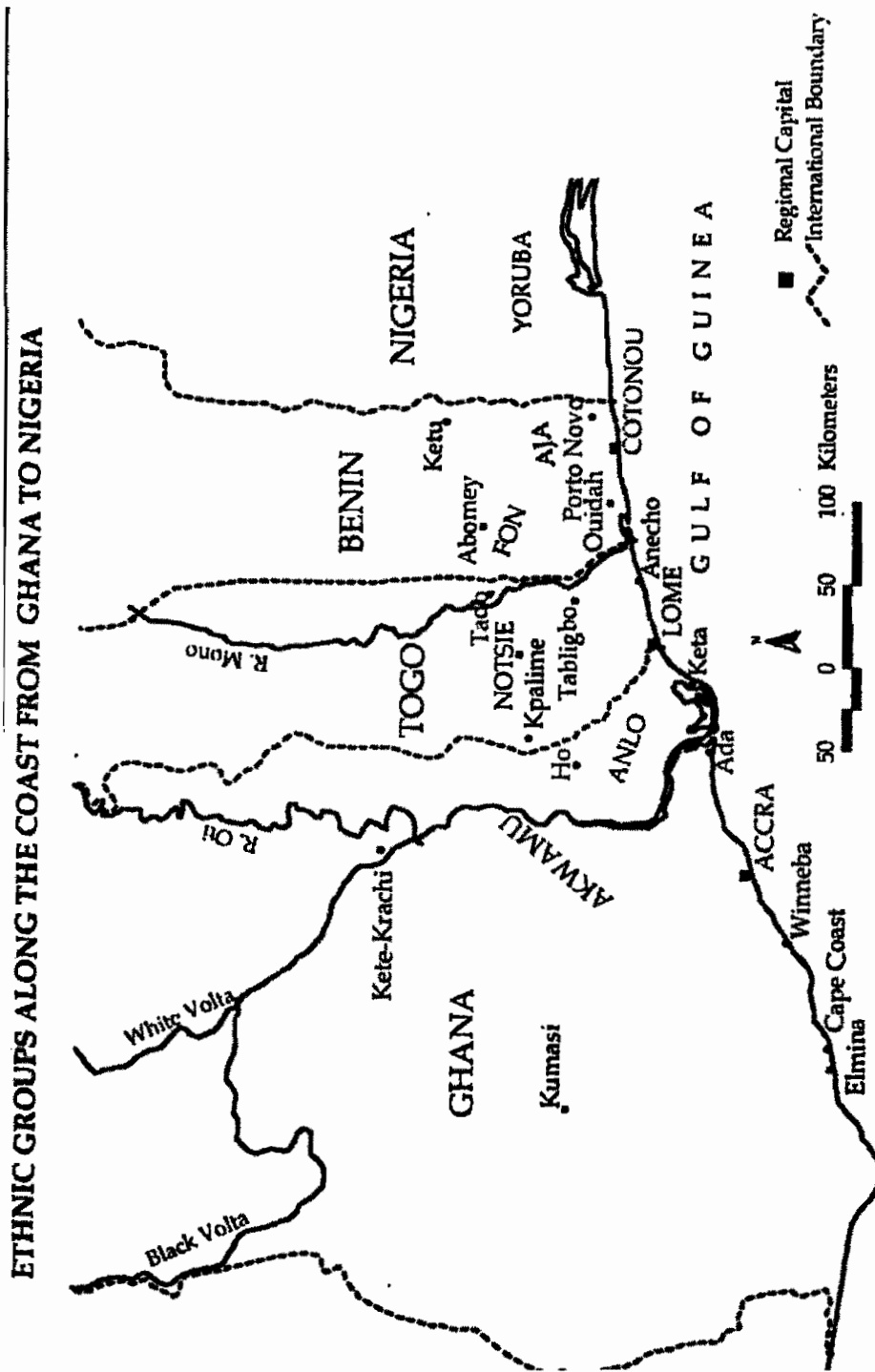
Published by Asempa Publishers, 1980

Jointly compiled and edited by the Language Centre, University of Ghana, and the Institute of Linguistics

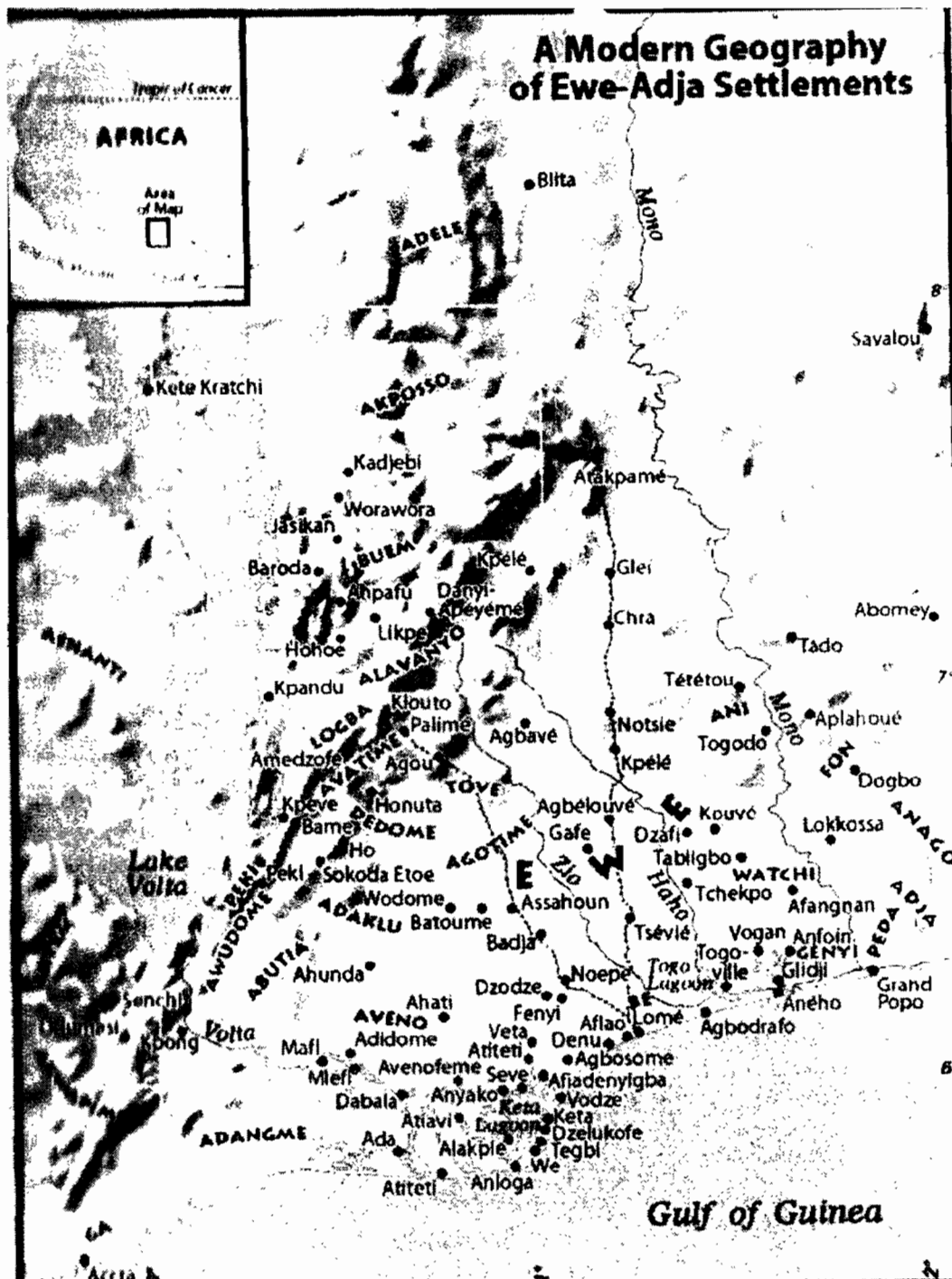
Designed by Joshua Adjabong

1. Adapted from Hall, E. 2001. *Ghanaian Languages*. Accra: Asempa Publishers.

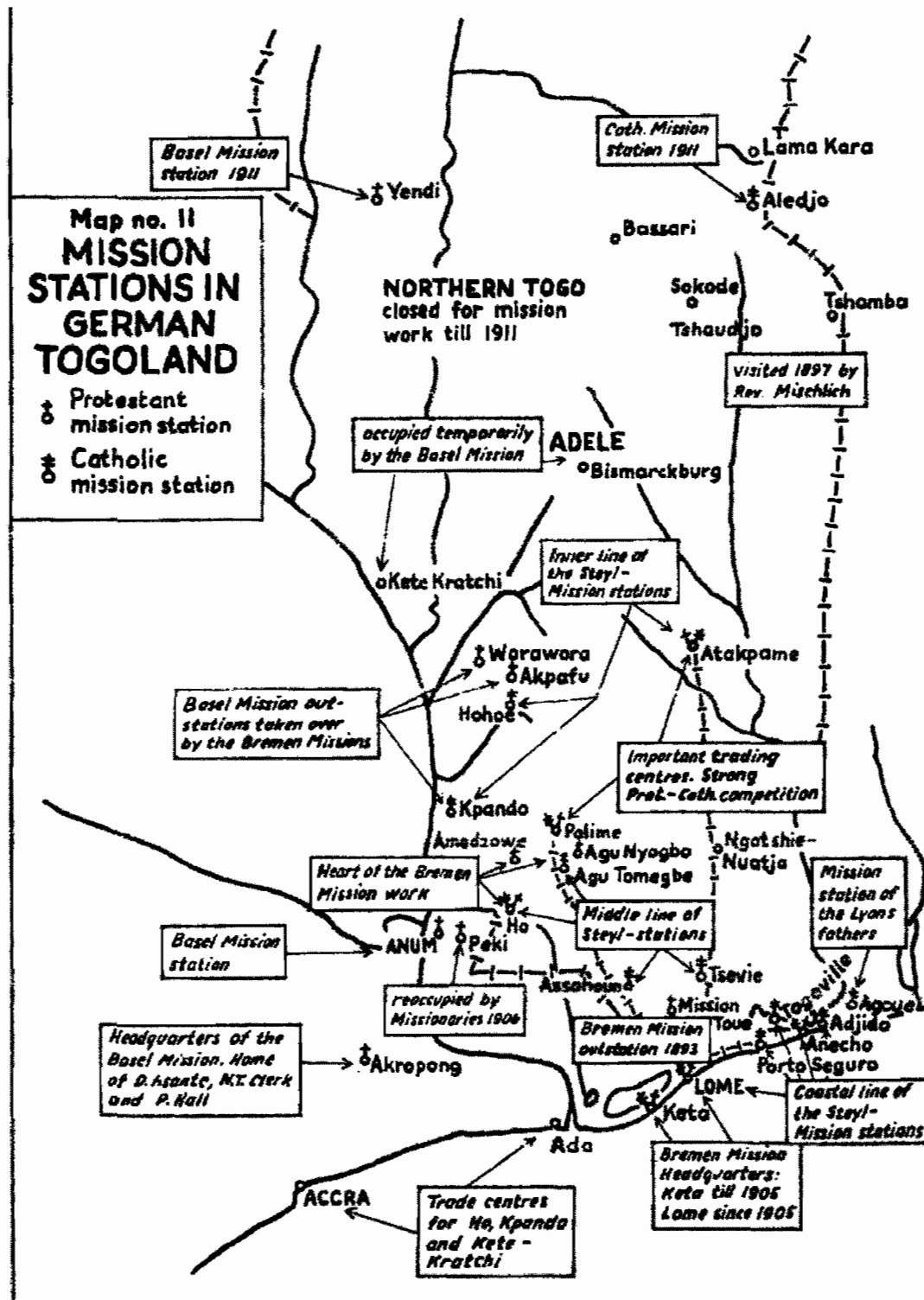
Appendix 14 Figure 3: Map of Ethnic Communities in West Africa¹



1. Adapted from Lawrance, B.N. (editor). 2005. *The Ewe of Togo and Benin*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.

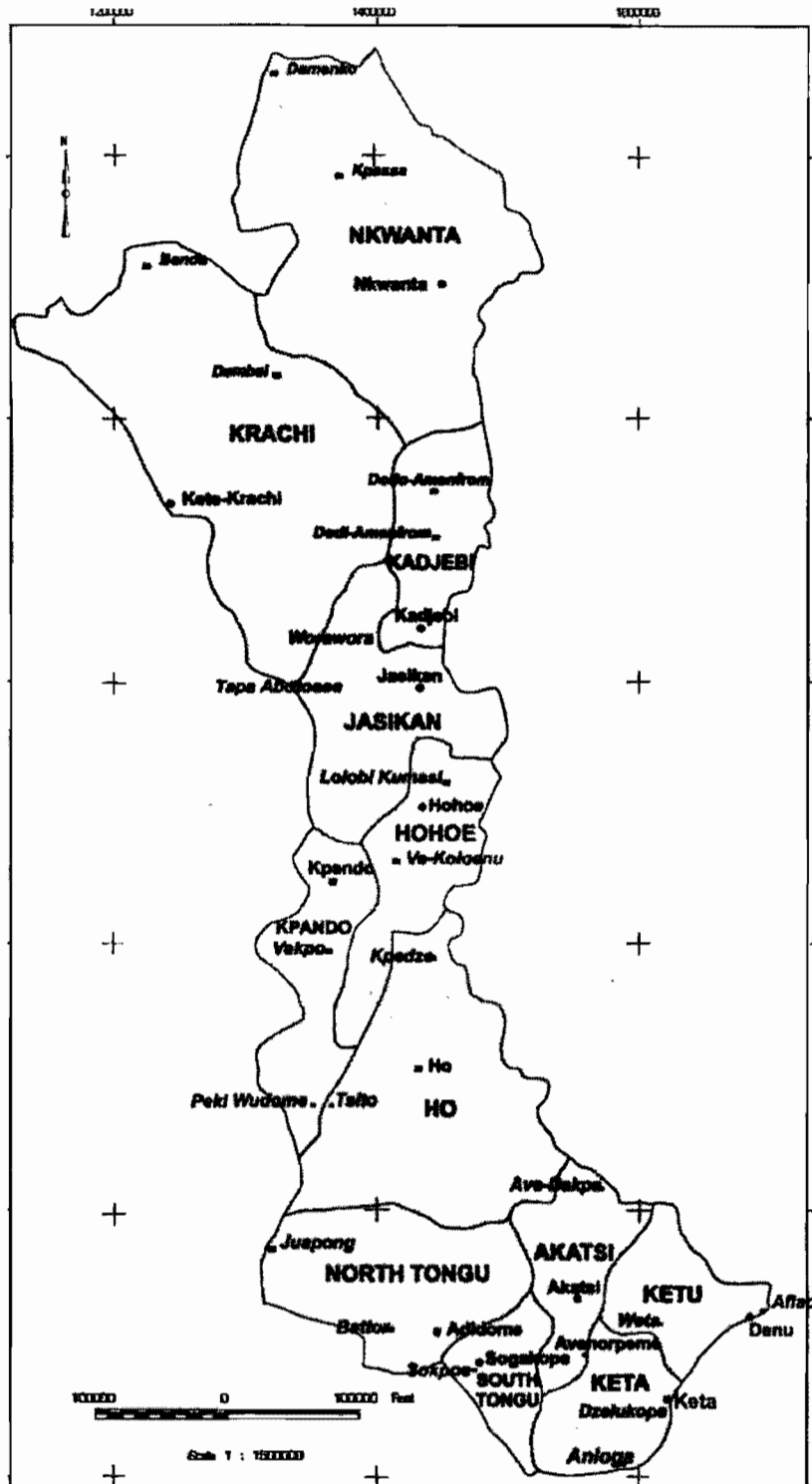
Appendix 15 Figure 4: Map of Eweland¹

1. Adapted from Lawrance, B.N. (editor). 2005. *The Ewe of Togo and Benin*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.

Appendix 16 Figure 5: Map of Missions in German Togo¹

1. Adapted from Debrunner, H. 1965. *The Church in Togo: A Church between Colonial Powers*. London: Luterrworth Press.

Appendix 17 Figure 6: Map of Volta Region¹



Adapted from Ghana Statistical Services. March 2002. *2000 Population and Housing Census*.

Appendix 18 Ewe consonants and vowels based on IPA (1993 and 1996)

Table IV

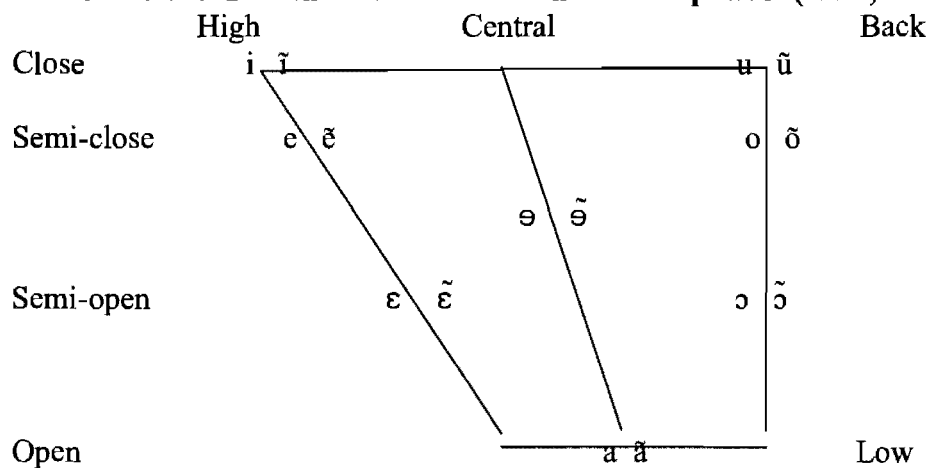
Consonants in Ewe in accordance with the International Phonetic Alphabet (1993; 1996)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				ɖ	k g	kp gb	
Fricative	f [ɸ] v [β]	f v		s z				x ɣ		h
Affricate					ts [ts] dz [ɟ]	tsy [tʃ] dzy [dʒ]				
Nasal	m			n		ny [ɲ]		ŋ		
Median						y [j]			w	
Trill				r						
Lateral				l						

In the chart above, the paired symbols represent the voiceless and voiced consonants, respectively.

Table V

Ewe vowels based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (1993; revised 1996)



Appendix 19 Table VI Historical Emergence of Ghanaian-language Newspapers

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Year Start</u>	<u>Year End</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Publisher</u>
Christian Messenger		1859	N/A*	Weekly	Accra	Presbyterian Book Depot
Sika Nsona Sanegbalo	Akwapim-Twi	1859	N/A	N/A	N/A	Presbyterian Book Depot
Mia Holo	Ewe	1894	1918	Monthly	N/A	N/A
Nutifafa na mi	Ewe	1903	N/A	Monthly	N/A	N/A
Asenta	Akan	1935	N/A	Weekly	Accra	City Press
Amanson	Fante	1937	N/A	Monthly	Cape Coast	N/A
Amansuon	Fante	1943	1960	Weekly	Cape Coast	Mfantseman Press
Akan Kyerema	Akan	1948	1951	Fortnightly	Secondi	Catholic Press
The Evening News	English-Twi, Ga, Ewe, Hausa	1948	1966	Weekly	Accra	N/A
Morning Telegraph	English-Twi, Ga, Ewe, Hausa	1948	1966	Weekly	Accra	N/A
Daily Mail	English-Twi, Ga, Ewe, Hausa	1948	1966	Weekly	Accra	N/A
Nkwantabisa	Fante	1950	1970	fortnightly/monthly	Accra	Bureau G.L.
Kasem Labaare	Kasem	1951	1969	fortnightly/monthly	Tamale	BGL
Lahabale Tsusu	Dagbani	1951	1974	fortnightly/monthly	Tamale	BGL
Mansralo	Ga	1951	1972	fortnightly/monthly	Accra	BGL
Motabialia	Ewe	1951	1970s	fortnightly/monthly	Accra	BGL
Nkwantabisa	Asante-Twi	1951	1970s	fortnightly/monthly	Accra	BGL
Akwansosem	Akwapim-Twi	1951	1970s	fortnightly/monthly	Accra	BGL
Duom	Akwapim-Twi	1953	N/A	N/A	Accra	Oman Nwomaye Fekuw
Bepowsɔ Hann	English-Akan	1954	N/A	Annual	N/A	N/A

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Year Start</u>	<u>Year End</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Publisher</u>
Kakyevole	Nzema	1956	1970s	fortnightly/monthly	N/A	N/A
Mbofra Mfa Adwen	Akan	1963	1966	N/A	Accra	BGL
Odawuru	Akan	1968	1970s	Annual	Accra	Presbyterian Press
Kpodoga	Ewe	1976	2000	monthly	Accra	IAEP
Wonsuom	Akan	1990	N/A	N/A	Legon	University Press
Atumpan	Asante-Twi	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Etumpan	Fante	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Atumpan	Akwapim-Twi	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Timpani	Dagbani	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Atumpani	Ga	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Atumpani	Ewe	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Gulugo	Gurune	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Gangaa	Dagaare	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Ndunlungbane	Nzema	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Tampeniŋ	Sisaali	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Sanpana	Kasaal	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Atupani	Dangme	1992	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Labaree	Gurune	1995	1997	monthly	Accra	NFED
Sanpana	Buli	1998	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Gulu	Kasem	1999	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Labaare	Kasem	1999	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Dawuro	Akan/Volta Reg	1998	1999	monthly	Accra	NFED
Midim	Ewe	2001	2004	monthly	Accra	NFED
Presidential speech	Dangme, Ewe, Ga, Nzema	2005	N/A	irregular	Accra	Min. Inf.

*Not applicable

Appendix 20 Table VII Ghanaian TV programs

GTV Program Guide (May 1, 2002 to May 31, 2002)

Monday		Tuesday	
A.M.		A.M.	
5:00	CNN	5:00	CNN
5:30	Living Word	5:30	Ahamadya
6:00	Breakfast Show	6:00	Breakfast Show
7:00	CNN	7:00	CNN
8:00	Deutsche Welle	8:00	Deutsche Welle
9:00	CNN	9:00	CNN
10:00	WorldNet	10:00	WorldNet
No Broadcast		No Broadcast	
P.M.		P.M.	
3:00	Program lineup	3:00	Program Lineup
3:05	Cartoons	3:05	Cartoons
4:00	Animal Kingdom	4:00	Animal Kingdom
5:00	TBA	5:00	TBA
5:30	Inside Africa	5:30	Story Time
6:00	ABN	6:00	Cosby (ABN)
6:30	*Adult Education in Akan	6:30	*Adult Education
7:00	News	7:00	News
7:30	Program Lineup	7:30	Program Lineup
7:50	*Local-language news	7:50	*Local-language news
8:00	Sports highlights	8:00	Lotto
9:00	*Local-language news	8:10	Mmaa Nkomo
9:10	Straight Talk	9:00	*Local-language news
10:00	Passions	9:10	African movie
10:30	Late news	10:00	Passions
11:00	TBA	10:30	Late news
12:55	Reflections	11:00	TBA
1:00	Close down	12:55	Reflections
		1:00	Close down

GTV Program Guide (May 1, 2002 to May 31, 2002) Continued

Wednesday		Thursday	
A.M.		A.M.	
5:00	CNN	5:00	CNN
5:30	CNN	5:30	Prophetic Hour
6:00	Breakfast Show	6:00	Breakfast Show
7:00	CNNA	7:00	CNN
8:00	Deutsche Welle	8:00	Deutsche Welle
9:00	CNN	9:00	CNN
10:00	WorldNet	10:00	WorldNet
No Broadcast		No Broadcast	
P.M.		P.M.	
3:00	Program lineup	3:00	Straight Talk Africa
3:05	Cartoons	3:30	Cartoons
4:00	Animal Kingdom	4:00	Animal Kingdom
5:00	TBA	5:00	TBA
5:30	Hobby Time	5:30	Teleclass
6:00	ABN/Sincerely Yours	6:00	Damon (ABN)
6:30	*Adult Education in Ga	6:30	*Adult Education in Ewe
7:00	News	7:00	News
7:30	Program lineup/commercials	7:30	Program lineup/commercials
7:50	*Local-language news	7:50	*Local-language news
8:00	Taxi Driver	8:00	Crime Combat
8:30	Young and Old	8:30	Crime Combat
9:00	*Local-language news	9:00	*Local-language news
9:10	African Movie	9:10	Showcase in Ga
10:00	Passions	10:00	Passions
10:30	Late news	10:30	Late news
11:00	TBA	11:00	Investigator
12:55	Reflections	12:00	Deutsche Welle
1:00	Close down	1:00	Close down

GTV Program Guide (May 1, 2002 to May 31, 2002) Continued

Friday		Saturday	
A.M.		A.M.	
5:00	CNN	5:00	CNN
5:30	The Exalted Word	5:30	Deutsche Welle
6:00	Breakfast Show	6:00	Deutsche Welle
7:00	CNN	7:00	God's Miracle Power
8:00	Deutsche Welle	7:30	Winning Ways
9:00	CNN	7:55	Program lineup
10:00	WorldNet	8:00	Breakfast Show
No Broadcast		9:30	This Week
		10:00	Kokrokoo
		10:30	Documentary
		11:00	Creation Station
		12:00	News
P.M.		P.M.	
		12:30	Shopping Window
		1:00	Sports Beat
		2:00	African Soccer
2:30	Juma Prayers	2:30	Trade Focus
3:00	African Journal	3:00	Fun World
3:30	African Journal	3:30	*Kwasasa
4:00	Animal Kingdom	4:00	By the Fireside
4:30	Animal Kingdom	4:30	Business Forum
5:00	TBA	5:00	Wheel of Fortune
5:15	TBA	5:15	Documentary
6:00	Everybody Loves Raymond (ABN)	6:00	Maggi Cooking
6:30	*Adult Education in Nzema	6:30	Generations
7:00	News	7:00	News
7:30	Program lineup/commercials	7:30	Program lineup
7:50	*News in Ga	7:50	*News in Hausa
8:00	Final Conflict	8:00	Agoro
9:00	*News in Ewe	9:00	*News in Hausa
9:10	Showcase	9:10	Concert Party
10:00	Passions	10:10	Girlfriends
10:30	Late news	10:45	Days of Our Lives
11:00	Late movie	11:30	Deutsche Welle
12:30	Deutsche Welle	12:55	Reflections
12:55	Reflections	1:00	Close down
1:00	Close down		

GTV Program Guide (May 1, 2002 to May 31, 2002) Continued

Sunday	
A.M.	
5:00	CNN
5:30	Voice of Victory Living Word
6:00	Deutsche Welle
7:00	Voice of Inspiration
7:30	Christ Apostolic Church
7:55	Program lineup
8:00	Church Bells
9:00	This Is Life
9:30	Turning Point
10:00	Encounter With the Truth
10:30	Gospel Trail
11:00	CBN (Club 700)
11:30	Global Report
12:00	News
P.M.	
12:30	Family Movie
2:00	Cantata
3:00	Sporting Time
4:30	Kajetia
5:00	Women Digest
6:00	Kwaku One on One
7:00	News
7:30	Program lineup/commercials
7:50	What a Family
8:30	*Akan Drama
9:30	Talking Point
10:30	Late news
11:00	In His Presence
11:30	Soko
12:30	CNN/DW-TV
1:00	Close down

Appendix 21 Scripts on GTV adult education synopsis

Hostess: (Name)
 Program title: Adult Education in (local language)
 Topic: National Identification
 Recording Date: 18th October 2007
 Reporting Time: 5: 30 PM
 Reporting Time: 6: 30 – 7:00 PM
 Producer/Director: (Name)

Introduction:

Why was the National Identification Authority [NIA] established and what is the importance of providing information on the citizens of a country? Adult Education in ... will discuss the preparations so far made by the NIS [National Identification System] to register the citizens of this country and its benefits for planning and forecasting.

Areas for discussion:

English version

- 1 What is the national identification system all about?
- 2 What are the preparatory activities being undertaken by the NIA for the mass registration exercise?
- 3 How is the registration for the exercise going to be like?
- 4 What information is required of the public during the registration exercise?
- 5 Is it compulsory and who are qualified to register?
- 6 What happens to those who are unable to register during the registration period? Is there a way they can be registered?
- 7 How secure is the information provided and can the NIS ensure the system is not abused?
- 8 What are the benefits of the system to:
 - a) the individual b) organization c) the State

Ewe Version A Scripts on GTV adult education synopsis (continued)

- 1 Nukae nye “NIS” dzesideame wɔna?
 - 2 Doɔo kawoe doɔo fea le wɔwɔm de ŋkoŋoŋlo ŋu?
 - 3 Aleke ŋkoŋoŋlowɔna azɔe?
 - 4 Nyanya ka woe hia na dukomeviwo le wɔna me?
 - 5 Dzizizie wonyee? *Mekawoe* dze na ŋkoŋoŋlo? (sound change reflected)
 - 6 Nukae adzo de *ameyiwo* meŋlo ŋko o dzi? Woagateŋu ŋlo ŋkoa?
 - 7 De biabiawo kple ŋudodowo *yiwo* le agbalea dzi ana be wɔna ade bliboa?
 - 8 Vide kawoe ado tso wɔna me?
- a) amedekadekawo b) habobowo c) dukɔ
Aɔaŋu kae le asiwo na dukomeviwo?

Ewe version B

Introduction

Fiẽ na mi nukɔlawo. Egbee ganye Yawoɔa. Mieda akpe na Mawu be fiẽ gatu mi. Mianovinyɔnu Adzo Sah be miteva miagale nya de wo kɔ.

Dzidziduɔua do doɔo fe toxe anyi hena dzesideame wɔna. Ame aɔe abia be nukatae wodi veviẽ be woede dzesi dukomevo.

Mina miawoe woanyo kpe Afeto Julius Kwakuvi-Zagbede (National Identification Authority) aɔe nu me na mi tso eŋu.

- 1 a) Nukae nye NIS dzesideame wɔna? Miese mia ŋko edidi nukae dzɔ?
 - 2 Doɔo kawoe doɔo fea le wɔwɔm de ŋkoŋoŋlo ŋu?
 - 3 Aleke ŋkoŋoŋlowɔna azɔe?
 - 4 Nyanya ka woe hia na dukomeviwo le wɔna me?
 - 5 Dzizizie wonyee? *Mekawoe* dze na ŋkoŋoŋlo? (sound change reflected)
 - 6 Nukae adzo de *ameyiwo* meŋlo ŋko o dzi? Woagateŋu ŋlo ŋkoa?
 - 7 De biabiawo kple ŋudodowo *yiwo* le agbalea dzi ana be wɔna ade bliboa?
 - 8 Vide kawoe ado tso wɔna me?
- a) amedekadekawo b) habobowo c) dukɔ
Aɔaŋu kae le asiwo na dukomeviwo?

Appendix 22 Ewe language sound change

There are sound changes in some varieties of the language. The first noticeable sound change pertains to assimilation in the spoken dialect of Ewedome contrasted to the Anlo and Standard Ewe. In this case, voiced velar fricative is rounded and lenited when it precedes a rounded vowel. Specifically, the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] becomes labio-velar median [w] when it is local to [o]. The examples that illustrate this are as follows:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[ɣ]	[w]	[ɣ]	
ɣe	we/wo	ɣe	<i>sun</i>
ɣli	wli	ɣli	<i>shout</i>
ɣesiayi	wosiawoe	ɣesiayi	<i>always</i>
nuɣeyi	nuɣewoe	nuɣeyi	<i>harvest season</i>

The second sound change is a palatalization of obstruents when they precede a high front vowel. This change, which occurs in the current spoken Anlo Ewe contrasted to Ewedome dialect and Standard written Ewe, involves a palatalization of obstruents when they precede a high front vowel; that is:

Obstruent → Palatal/ – high front vowel

This shows that, regarding the current spoken southern Ewe (particularly Anlo and Aveno) the phonemes are not static, as claimed by Janheinz (1963). The voiceless dental stop [t] undergoes sound change when it is followed by the high front vowel [i]. It becomes the voiceless post-alveolar affricate [ts] in the Anlo and Aveno dialects of Ewe, while it remains the voiceless dental stop [t] in inland Ewe dialects (Ho, Hohoe, Kpando, Kpedze, and so on.). The examples of palatalization are as follows:

Anlo/Aveno Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[ts]	[t]	[t]	
atsi	ati	ati	<i>tree</i>
xatsi	xati	xati	<i>trap/broom</i>
gatsi	gati	gati	<i>spoon</i>
tatsi	tati	tati	<i>mortar</i>

Specifically, in the Anlo and Aveno dialects, the alveolar stops [s] and [z] followed by [i] are palatalized as [ʃ] and [ʒ], respectively. For example:

Anlo/Aveno Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[ʃ]	[s]	[s]	
aʃime	asime	sime	<i>market</i>
kuʃi	kusi	kusi/abaka	<i>basket</i>
aʃi	asi	asi	<i>hand</i>
ʃi	si	si	<i>respect</i>

Other specific examples of palatalization pertain to the change either from the voiced dental stop [d] to voiced palatal affricate [dz] (in IPA [dʒ]) or from voiced alveolar fricative [z] to voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] in Anlo Ewe dialect, as indicated in the following examples, respectively:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[dz]	[d]	[d]	
dzi	di	di	<i>look</i>
dzidzi	didi	didi	<i>long</i>

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[ʒ]	[z]	[z]	
ʒi ɖeka	zi ɖeka	zi ɖeka	<i>once</i>
aʒi	azi	azi	<i>egg/peanut</i>

The third sound change relates to lenition. After the palatalization, the second level of sound change occurring in the current spoken Ewe at Keta and Anloga, the towns which represent the core of Anlo dialect, is lenition. In other words, obstruents are palatalized when followed by the high front vowel [i], then the palatals undergo further sound changes, which culminate in the lenition of the phonemes, when followed by high front vowel [i] to yield first [h] and later [y]. That is:

Palatals → lenition/ – high front vowel

Examples of this include:

Anlo Ewe	Ewedome Ewe	Standard Ewe	Gloss
[h]/[y]	[s]	[s]	
ame hia	ame sia	ame sia	<i>everyone</i>
nu hi/yi	nu si	nu si	<i>the/this thing</i>
ehi kple hi	esi kple si	esi kple si	<i>this and that</i>