

Ginyanga Literacy Development: a survey of attitudes and strategies

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Abstract

This paper presents results of a sociolinguistic survey of language attitudes concerning the Ginyanga language (Guang language family) of Togo. The survey was designed to determine a strategy for possible Ginyanga literacy development.

Community and individual interviews were used to investigate contact patterns between Gikyode and Ginyanga speakers, Ginyanga speakers' reported attitudes toward Gikyode, and their attitudes toward the development of their own language. General information concerning population, language use in the Ginyanga language area, and current literacy efforts was also gathered.

Results were used to consider three possible literacy development scenarios: 1) the prospect of the Anyanga using Gikyode materials as they are, 2) the possible standardization of Gikyode and Ginyanga, or 3) the establishing of a CARLA (Computer Aided Related Language Adaptation) project for literacy development.

The survey shows that there is frequent contact between Ginyanga and Gikyode language speakers. Anyanga attitudes toward both the Gikyode language and ethnic group are not negative and reported attitudes toward the development of their own language are positive. Based on the results of the survey, efforts for the standardization of Gikyode and Ginyanga are recommended.

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1. Introduction

This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic survey of language attitudes conducted March 14 to 28, 2000 concerning the Ginyanga language spoken in the Blitta Division of the Central Province of Togo. The survey was designed to determine the strategy for possible Ginyanga literacy development.¹

The importance of understanding language attitudes before implementing programs for literacy development is highlighted by Baker when he writes, “Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community.” (1992:21). Furthermore, Adegbija concludes that, “Language policy formulation not under-girded by thorough, satisfactory, and valid language-attitude research is risky, unwise, and potentially damaging for societal language use and well-being because language attitudes crisscross language-policy planning, policy implementation, and policy consequences.” (2000:97–98).

This paper focuses on overt attitudes reported by the Anyanga people toward their own language (Ginyanga) and toward the Akyode people, who speak the Gikyode language, which is spoken in Ghana and closely related to Ginyanga. Attitudes are broadly perceived as overt and observable. The distinction between “ethnic attitudes” (i.e. attitudes to the speakers of a language) and “pragmatic attitudes” (i.e. the preference for using a language for utilitarian reasons) as argued by Kotze is not clearly delineated as our research aims for understanding both categorizations (1991). For the purpose of this research, Adegbija’s definition of language attitudes is as follows:

Language attitudes will be seen from a broad perspective, which accommodates evaluative judgments made about a language or its variety, its speakers, towards efforts at promoting, maintaining or planning a language, or even towards learning it. In our view then, attitudes could be observable or internal, or both simultaneously; temporary or lasting; or, of a surface-level or deep-rooted nature (Adegbija 2000:77).

In addition to attitude research, a survey of Anyanga comprehension of the Gikyode language was conducted concurrently. Comprehension test results show that there is a good level of Gikyode language comprehension by Ginyanga speakers using the recorded text test (RTT) methodology (Diller and Jordan-Diller 2000).

Jason Diller and Kari Jordan-Diller of SIL International and Emmanuel Agyei of Ghana Institute of Linguistics Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) conducted the field research. Mr. Agyei is the GILLBT Gikyode language project literacy supervisor and has worked in literacy development with GILLBT for the past nineteen years. His mother is Anyanga and his father is Akyode; as a result, he speaks both Ginyanga and Gikyode fluently.

In the following sections, background information of the language area is presented. Some of this information was gathered from individual interviews with Mr. Agyei and from Anyanga community interviews.

¹Acknowledgements: Many thanks are due Emmanuel Agyei for providing an inside perspective on the Ginyanga and Gikyode language situation. We also thank Dr. Debbie Hatfield (SIL) for her skillful direction and careful editing. Finally, we thank Dr. Karen Adams (Arizona State University) for her revision suggestions.

1.1 Language and People Group Name

According to *The Languages of Ghana*, “Anyanga” or “Agnagan” is the proper name of the people and their language is called “Ginyanga” (Dolphyne 1988:79). In the *West African Language Data Sheets*, “Genyanga” is the name of the language used and alternate names include “Anyanga” (Cleal 1977:261). Painter refers to the language as “Anyanga” (1967). Finally, the *Ethnologue* lists the language of “Ginyanga” as having alternate names of “Agnagan”, “Anyanga”, and “Genyanga”, and states that the people call themselves “Anyanga” or “Agnagan” (Gordon 2005). For the sake of clarity in this paper, we will refer to the people as “Anyanga” and their language as “Ginyanga.”

1.2 Language Classification

Anyanga is classified by *Niger-Congo Languages* in the following manner: Niger-Congo, Kwa, Nyo, Potou-Tano, Tano, Guang, Northern Guang, Anyanga. Also grouped with Anyanga under 'Northern Guang' are the following languages: Achode (Gikyode), Gonja, Choruba, Ndmipo, Yeji, Prang, Nawuri, Nchumuru, Krachi, Nkonya (Stewart 1989).

A contrasting classification is presented in *A Guide to the World's Languages*, which notes the classification of Anyanga as follows: Niger-Congo, Niger-Congo Proper, Central Niger-Congo, South Central Niger-Congo, Western, Nyo, Yi, Volta-Comoe, Eastern, North, Anyanga. Classified along with Anyanga are Achode (Akyode) and Krachi languages (Ruhlen 1987 cited in Stampe 2001).

1.3 Previous Research

Previous linguistic work in Anyanga is limited to word lists and brief grammatical sketches. A Ginyanga word list gathered in Pagala-village was printed by the Institute of Applied Linguistics (Takassi 1983). In 1967, a modified Swadesh 100-word list was gathered in Pagala-village and published in *The Journal of West African Linguistics* (Painter 1967). Finally, a grammatical sketch of Ginyanga, which includes a short word list, phrase list, phonology, and explanation of syllable structure and tone was published by the West African Linguistic Society in *West African Language Data Sheets* (Cleal 1977). The Ginyanga language has been greatly understudied over the past two decades. As Adegbija notes, “...most indigenous West African languages have still not been studied, have no orthography, and are not considered worthy of use in the educational domain!” (2000:85). This statement certainly rings true for the Ginyanga language.

In contrast, the Gikyode language has had much more linguistic research. An unpublished grammatical and phonological analysis of Gikyode was completed by GILLBT members Natalie Sand and Linda Neeley. They worked together with Philip Donkor, Augustine Okrah, and Emmanuel Agyei (all GILLBT members) to publish many literacy primers, cassettes, and books in Gikyode. The Gikyode literacy project is more than twenty years old. Further research includes unpublished anthropological research on the Akyode culture and a study on their musical system by Paul and Linda Neeley. A list of the books and cassettes available from the GILLBT literacy office in Nkwanta, Ghana is presented in Appendix A.

In addition, the Guan Unification Movement has published linguistic and anthropological information on Guan languages, including Gikyode. Their goals include literacy development, tracing origins of the Guan languages, cultural research, and fostering ethnic pride. Reportedly, they are neither a formal non-governmental organization nor governmental organization (Neeley 2004). The Guan Unification Congress, which meets every four years, and their executive committee, which meets every year, address orthography and development issues. However, in 2000, the Anyanga were not members of this movement. In 1985, a delegation of Anyanga leaders attended a Guan unification conference but no immediate action followed. At the time of the research survey,

the Anyanga living in Nkwanta, Ghana were working toward gaining representation in the Guan Unification Movement.

1.4 Language Area

The Anyanga people live in the Blitta division of the central province of Togo between the Togo Mountains and the Mono River. Anyanga villages include: Agbandi, Diguina, Blitta-carrefour², Doufouli, Pagala-village, Pagala-gare (for which Diguina-Konta is an alternate name), Anamagné, Doufouli-Akora, and a very small village named Diguina (II) between Pagala-village and Pagala-gare (see map Appendix B). The villages previously listed are predominantly Anyanga with the exception of Tchifama, which is now mostly Adelé-speaking. Pagala-gare and Blitta-carrefour also have very mixed populations with many Ewe, Kotokoli, and Kabiyè speakers.

The Anyanga are bordered by Kabiyè villages to the east and south. There are also Kabiyè villages between Diguina and Pagala-village. To the west they are bound by Adelé villages, and to the north is a forest reserve. Kotokoli and Nawdm farming communities are interspersed throughout the area.

1.5 Origin and Migration History

According to Gayibor, the Anyanga originally moved from the Volta valley in Ghana to the area between the Mono and Anié rivers in Togo because of wars in Ghana in the middle of the 18th century (1996). The first Anyanga centers in Togo were Glimé, Diguina, and Doufouli. Internal and external conflicts with primarily the Kotokoli forced the Anyanga to move from Glimé to form the villages of Diguina and Doufouli in the late 18th century. A second wave of Anyanga migration, from Wouroupong, Ghana, moved through Shiare and Chirijé in Ghana to Obiato, Togo. Leaving Obiato, they ended their migration in Blitta,³ Togo where other Anyanga people joined them.

The current villages of Agbandi and Diguina were formed by two brothers from the same clan. The name 'Agbandi' is a corruption of the Ginyanga word 'agbe andi' which means 'they left and they could not sleep.' The name Diguina was taken from the Ginyanga word 'bi guinia' which means 'one must know how to walk.' Residents of Pagala-village and Blitta-carrefour come from the same Anyanga clan. Both villages were originally from the village of Waragni (also spelled Oranyi), but the Kotokoli chased them to Pagala-village. During a second Kotokoli attack in 1888, the Kotokoli took Anyanga hostages from Pagala-village and left them at Blitta where they remained. Tchifama and Doufouli belong to a third Anyanga clan. Doufouli was the original village and some of the inhabitants moved to Tchifama to start their own village (Ayite 2000).

1.6 Population

Accurate population figures for the Anyanga are difficult to obtain. *Rencensement General de la Population et de l'Habitat* (1981) lists the Anyanga population at 5,481; Takassi (1983) notes that there are 4,099; and Vanderaa (1991) reports that there are 7,200 Anyanga in Togo. The government official (Préfet) in Blitta-gare provided a distribution of the Anyanga population by village and the latest figures from the 'Direction Régionale du Plan Sokodé give the combined population as 10,315 (Atcholi 2000). The following chart is a breakdown of the most recent population figures by village.

²There are two Blitta villages, so to distinguish between them 'Blitta-gare' is the seat of the Division (or Prefecture) and 'Blitta-carrefour' is located on route nationale 1 (roadway).

³In section 1.5, it is unknown if Gayibor's references to 'Blitta' corresponds to present day Blitta-carrefour or Blitta-gare.

Village	Population
Agbandi	4470
Anamagné	420
Blitta-carrefour	576
Diguina	747
Doufouli	511
Pagala-gare	836
Tchifama	2765 ⁴
Pagala-village	N/A
Doufouli-Akora	N/A
Diguina II	N/A

The villages of Pagala-village, Doufouli-Akora, and Diguina (II) could total as many as 2,000 Anyanga; therefore, the Anyanga population in Togo could be between 7,000 and 12,000 people. In Ghana, Nkwanta village has between fifty and one hundred Anyanga permanent residents (Agyei 2000).

1.7 Political Structure

Each Anyanga village has two leaders. They have a chief who represents the people to the government, and they have the chief's "father" who counsels the chief and presides at traditional ceremonies. The chief's "father" is not his biological father, but is referred to by the term 'Amankradu' because, as a father would advise his son, his role is to advise the chief. The Anyanga traditionally had a fetish priest who represented the village to the village fetish. Anyanga villages no longer have a fetish or a fetish priest, but the chief's father functions in this role for different occasions. For example, he consults diviners when there is no rain and presides at traditional ceremonies. Both chiefs work together to solve village disputes. The chiefs are chosen by a popular vote, with only one stipulation that both chiefs cannot come from the same clan within a village.

Currently, there is no paramount chief. The last time the Anyanga celebrated the yam festival together, they elected the chief of Doufouli to preside as paramount chief at the ceremony as this celebration calls for one person to represent all the Anyanga people. His role was extended to that of mediator in disputes between villages. However, since his death approximately seven years ago, the Anyanga have neither celebrated the yam festival together as a group nor elected a head chief. Whether to reinstate the yam festival or not is an ongoing debate. Although they do not have one paramount chief, the Anyanga chiefs meet together on a regular basis, and the villages take turns hosting their meetings.

2. The Survey

The overall goal of this survey was to determine the strategy for possible Ginyanga literacy development. To do this, it was essential to research Ginyanga and the language area of the Anyanga people to determine possible strategies for Ginyanga literacy development. Because of the extensive language work done by the GILLBT Gikyode literacy-development team and the linguistic similarity between Ginyanga and Gikyode, their involvement is highly desirable if the survey results show potential for literacy development. There are three possible logical outcomes for Ginyanga literacy:

- 1) The prospect of the Anyanga using Gikyode written materials without any adaptation.

⁴ It was reported that the majority of Tchifama residents are Adelé and not Anyanga.

- 2) A long-range goal: The possible standardization of Gikyode and Ginyanga which could mean an adaptation of the current Gikyode literature and orthography to include more features to aid the comprehension and promotion of literature among the Anyanga.
- 3) The establishing of a CARLA (Computer Aided Related Language Adaptation) project to produce Ginyanga written materials.

The factors involved for choosing among the three different outcomes will be addressed in the following section.

2.1 Research Questions

To meet the survey goal for the language attitude section of the survey, it was necessary to focus on the following areas of investigation:

- What are Anyanga attitudes toward using Gikyode written materials as well as their attitudes toward the development of their own language?
- Where is the most prestigious and least prestigious Ginyanga spoken?
- What are the contact patterns between the Anyanga and the Akyode?
- What general information about the Anyanga community is available? i.e. the population, the community structures, and current literacy work.

Research will be viewed in light of the three possible outcomes for the survey mentioned in the previous sections. Following is a list of possible outcomes with a combination of features based on the research questions that would best suit each outcome:

- 1) The prospect of the Anyanga using Gikyode written materials as they are.
 - Anyanga attitudes are very positive toward using Gikyode written materials and, possibly, less positive towards the development of their own language.
 - There is frequent contact between the Anyanga and the Akyode, which promotes comprehension.
- 2) The possible standardization of Gikyode and Ginyanga, which could mean an eventual adaptation of current Gikyode literature and other written materials to include more features to aid the comprehension and promotion of literacy materials by the Anyanga.
 - Anyanga attitudes are not negative toward using Gikyode written materials and are positive towards the development of their own language.
 - There is frequent contact between the Anyanga and the Akyode.
- 3) The establishing of a CARLA (Computer Aided Related Language Adaptation) project.
 - Anyanga attitudes are negative toward using Gikyode written materials and positive towards the development of their own language.
 - There is little or no contact between the Anyanga and the Akyode.

2.2 Methodology

The language attitude portion of the survey was multi-faceted, since a combination of approaches is the most prudent strategy to adopt in language attitudes research. In addition to the following methods of inquiry, information from the recorded text testing survey was used to support or verify information.

2.2.1 Interviews with Community Leaders

The purpose of the community questionnaire was to gather new information and verify existing information concerning names, history, and geographical boundaries of the Ginyanga speakers, possible dialectical differences within Ginyanga, perceived comprehension of Gikyode, reasons for

contact with the Akyode in Ghana, language use and vitality, attitudes toward Ginyanga, Gikyode, and trade languages, current work in literacy, and attitudes toward literacy (see appendix C).

We administered the community questionnaire in the villages of Agbandi and Pagala-village because these are the main population centers of the Anyanga people. Despite Tchifama village's large population, it was not selected as a site for the community questionnaire because the majority of residents were Adelé and not Anyanga. The chiefs and elders were present for each interview as well as a group of over fifty people. Some of the respected older women were invited by the chiefs to participate. The chiefs, elders, and the respected women provided most of the input. They discussed each answer in Anyanga until they reached a consensus, and then the answer was translated by either the chief's secretary or by our colleague, Mr. Agyei, into French or English.

The questions were asked in the order that they appear on the questionnaire (appendix C), and Kari Jordan-Diller or Jason Diller wrote the translated response given by either the chief's secretary or Mr. Agyei on the questionnaire sheet. Kari Jordan-Diller or Jason Diller discussed the response with Mr. Agyei and follow-up questions were asked for clarification or to elicit new information. Some of the discussion was not translated at the actual time of the interview, but Mr. Agyei provided additional information as we intentionally reviewed each community interview following its conclusion.

2.2.2 Individual Questionnaires

Following the RTT portion of the survey (which is discussed in Diller and Jordan-Diller 2000), an individual questionnaire was administered to each of the twenty subjects tested (appendix D). We asked questions about their perceived comprehension of the text, their types of contact with Gikyode speakers, their attitudes toward the Gikyode speech variety, and their attitude toward the speech style of Anyanga speakers in different villages.

Jason Diller or Kari Jordan-Diller administered the questionnaire and Mr. Agyei translated the questions into Anyanga and then translated the answers into English so that we could record the responses on the interview questionnaire. The questions were asked in the order that they appear on the interview questionnaire. If a question was not applicable to the subject being interviewed, the question was omitted. For example, many of the subjects had never traveled to Ghana so we did not ask them how often they travel to Ghana (appendix D: question 3.3).

2.2.3 Observation

We made no special effort to have a particular role in this method other than to remain as unobtrusive as possible while systematically noting and recording events. As Marshall and Rossman note, observation is a fundamental and critical method that can be used to discover complex interactions in natural social settings (1999).

We recognize that the Anyanga make their own judgments of what is really relevant in community practices, so we consistently relied on our fellow researcher Mr. Agyei when noting observed information. As is important for our observation methodology, our research objectives were to move toward 'research with' as opposed to 'research of' the Anyanga as called for by Cameron (Cameron et al. 1992 cited in Street 2001).

As the study progressed, observation was used primarily as a means to verify reported information from previous community and individual interviews with the Anyanga. One area open to verification through observation was the reported high degree of contact between the Anyanga and the Akyode. Such an opportunity arose when we had the honor of attending the death ceremony of a great Anyanga hunter in Togo. Mr. Agyei pointed out to us the large number of Akyode participants

and spectators who had walked over the mountainous border from Ghana to join in the ceremony, thereby supporting reported information.

3. Results

3.1 Contact Patterns between Anyanga and Akyode

According to those who have worked with the Gikyode literacy development team (Paul and Linda Neeley, Natalie Sand, and Emmanuel Agyei), there is much interaction and intermarriage between the Anyanga and the Akyode. Contact patterns include the market, funerals, family visits, and people of all age groups who travel between the two groups (Neeley 1997). According to Natalie Sand, the contact patterns vary greatly according to the distance between the villages. Contact is frequent between the two groups among the villages along the border, but not among the villages that are farther from the border (Sand 2000).

Based on the data we gathered in community interviews and through observation, the Akyode and the Anyanga do indeed have frequent and extensive contact with each other. As noted in section 1.5, the Akyode and the Anyanga have a shared history. Their historical ties continue to hold them close together despite the geographical distance and political boundaries that currently separate them. They intermarry frequently and even though the wife moves to her husband's language area, she maintains a close relationship with her family. For example, Mr. Agyei's mother and wife are Anyanga and he estimates that they return to their village an average of once a month to visit family. He believes that this is typical of most Anyanga and Akyode women (Agyei 2000).

The Akyode markets in Chilinga and Nkwanta in Ghana and the Anyanga markets in Pagala-gare, Blitta-carrefour, Blitta-gare, and Agbandi in Togo are points of mingling for the two groups. There is a direct taxi service between Pagala-gare, Togo and Chilinga, Ghana that makes at least one trip a day for 700 CFA (roughly 1 US dollar). In addition to the Nkwanta market, Anyanga people travel to Nkwanta for medical care. Nkwanta has a very good hospital, and pharmaceutical supplies and drugs are cheaper in Ghana than in Togo.

The two groups have religious ties as well. The Anyanga have a secret women's society known as 'Okoku.' The villages of Doufouli, Pagala-village, Diguina, and Agbandi have Okoku sects, and many Akyode women travel to these villages to initiate into the society. The initiation process takes three months and they reside on the outskirts of Anyanga villages during this time. Most Akyode women take initiation ceremonies in Doufouli, but Agbandi, Diguina, and Pagala-village have groups as well. Okoku members dance at Anyanga and Akyode funerals and meet for other occasions.

Another ceremony the Anyanga and Akyode share is the death ceremony for a great hunter. A great hunter is one who has killed a large game animal such as a buffalo or an elephant. A hunter's funeral is planned and performed by all great hunters from both groups. These ceremonies are celebrated less and less frequently since there is fewer large game in the area. We had the opportunity to attend the ceremony for a great hunter in Diguina, and observed that there were many Akyode participants and spectators.

Anyanga people who do not have relatives among the Akyode also have reasons to travel to Shiare in Ghana. Shiare is well known for its fetish, and the Anyanga make special trips to consult this fetish. For example, one man told us that, although he has no relatives in Ghana and does not visit their markets, he traveled to Shiare to consult the fetish for a cure for his wife's barrenness.

Even when they are not active participants, the Anyanga and the Akyode attend each other's yam festivals, funerals, and other ceremonies. While in Pagala-gare, Mr. Agyei saw many Akyode friends who had traveled from Ghana to visit relatives and friends or to attend funerals. Despite the geographical distance between them, their close marital, cultural, linguistic, and religious ties help the Akyode and the Anyanga maintain a strong connection.

3.2 Attitudes

3.2.1 Attitudes Toward Ginyanga

Overall, the Anyanga people seem to have a very positive attitude toward their own language. Everyone present at the community interviews expressed interest in learning to read and write in Ginyanga. One man from Pagala-village said that he wishes he could write letters in Ginyanga to his Anyanga friends, and some of the elders from Agbandi said it is only fair for their children to learn to read and write Ginyanga since they are learning French and Ewe in school. They also said that there is a teacher from Agbandi who is interested in promoting Ginyanga in the school in Agbandi but, unfortunately, we were not able to interview him since he was traveling.

Parents encourage children to speak Ginyanga in the home. Elders from both Pagala-village and Agbandi said they do not think it is good for the youth to mix Ginyanga with another language (appendix C: question 6.6, 6.7). When we asked if the young people are proud to speak Ginyanga, residents of Pagala-village were ambivalent (Appendix C: Question 6.8). Even after discussing the question, they did not come to a consensus. In Agbandi, people feel that the youth are proud of their language, but commented that speaking French and Ewe in school affects a less positive attitude toward Ginyanga.

Best and Worst Ginyanga

The Anyanga expressed definite attitudes as to where the best and worst Ginyanga is spoken (appendices C: 3.10; D: 5.1–5.3). In the individual interviews, eleven out of twenty participants said that either Diguina and/or Doufouli speak the best Ginyanga. Of the ten older people interviewed, eight said that Diguina and/or Doufouli speak the best. The reason most frequently given was that Ginyanga speakers from these villages borrow fewer words from surrounding languages. The worst Ginyanga is reportedly spoken in Agbandi and in Blitta-carrefour. Both of these villages are located along a major highway. Because of this, they have more contact with Ewe and Kotokoli speakers than other villages and tend to borrow words from these languages.

Ginyanga Literacy Efforts

Samuel Gnakpoh, the President of the Liturgy Committee at the Roman Catholic Church in Pagala-gare, was available for an additional interview. Mr. Gnakpoh is Anyanga and has translated sections of the Bible and some liturgy into Ginyanga. He is the only person currently involved in Ginyanga literacy.

Mr. Gnakpoh said that church leaders encourage the use of different languages in their congregation. He said that the Anyanga in the church would like to have more religious material (Bible stories and songs) in their own language and his translation work was a response to this need in the Anyanga community. According to Mr. Gnakpoh, Church members have also expressed a desire to read and write in their own language. Recently, many members met to discuss the possibility of starting a Ginyanga literacy project in the church, although no action has been taken at this time. Mr. Gnakpoh believes that the Catholic Church would be supportive of a Ginyanga literacy-development project and that he would like take part in literacy-development efforts.

Mr. Gnakpoh was aware of the Gikyode materials already published by GILLBT. He said that he owns a copy of the gospel of John and can read it but does not understand all of the vocabulary. When we showed him the gospel of John, he was able to read in Gikyode, but quick to point out all of the lexical differences.

3.2.2 Anyanga Openness to Using Gikyode Language Materials

Prior to the survey, we collected information from the GILLBT Gikyode team concerning reported Anyanga openness to using Gikyode language materials. According to Natalie Sand (former GILLBT Gikyode team member), the Anyanga would not use Gikyode materials. She reports that, although the two groups have good relations, there is no political affinity between them, and they maintain separate ethnic identities. She thought that the Anyanga would perceive using Gikyode materials as a threat to their own culture and identity (Sand 2000).

Paul Neeley writes, “We have not been encouraged by Akyodes to believe that Anyangas could use Gikyode materials. When we have asked that question of both Akyodes and Anyangas, many respond immediately that they feel it would be too difficult.” (Neeley 2000).

As a result, one of the research questions of the survey was to see how the Anyanga people felt about the possibility of using Gikyode materials. We were interested in finding out whether the overt attitudes they express toward learning to read and write in Gikyode would reflect what Sand and Neeley reported the Akyode people’s attitudes to be.

3.2.3 Anyanga Attitudes Toward the Akyode

In our survey, we found that Ginyanga speakers expressed very positive attitudes toward Gikyode speakers (appendices C:5.4–9; D: 5.4). In Agbandi, village elders said that they feel the village benefits from having Akyode residents in their village because it gives them a closer alliance with a stronger culturally similar group. They said that their presence in the village guarantees help from the Akyode if there was a war. Elders from Pagala-village said that they wish the two groups were geographically closer so they could have more contact with the Akyode. They added that they regret that Adelé live between the two groups.

Mr. Agyei gave additional input into the attitudes of the Anyanga toward the Akyode. He said that the Anyanga look to the Akyode to help them maintain their own ethnic identity. The Akyode have a cultural stability and unity that the Anyanga do not have. The Akyode live close together and their way of life has not been as interrupted by war with surrounding groups. For this reason, the Anyanga view the Akyode society as a cultural and religious reference. When they are unsure of how to perform a ceremony, the Anyanga send someone to Ghana to learn the correct practice before returning to teach their own people. For example, recently the Anyanga from Doufouli sent a delegate to Shiare, Ghana, to learn the traditional way of installing a new chief. Although this may not directly relate to their language attitudes, their positive attitudes toward Akyode society could parallel their attitudes toward the Gikyode language.

3.2.4 Anyanga Attitudes Toward Gikyode

A direct question designed to find out Anyanga attitudes toward Gikyode was asked in the individual interview. The responses to the question on the individual questionnaire, “*Does this way of speaking (Gikyode) please you or not?*” indicate a positive attitude (appendix D:5.1). eighteen out of twenty said they like the Gikyode speech. Eight out of eighteen of the respondents said they like it because it is similar to their own language variety. A few people responded that Gikyode is the same language. Subjects also said they liked the accent, the tones, and the Akyode speech style.

When we asked whether most Anyanga would be willing to attend and to support a Gikyode literacy program, the chief and elders from Pagala-village were very positive (Appendix D:5.5,6). The elders from Agbandi reported that they would attend literacy classes in Gikyode if they were well organized and appropriately started. However, some elders added that they would not want Gikyode classes at the expense of classes in Ginyanga.

Overall, Mr. Agyei was surprised by the positive attitudes expressed toward the Gikyode language. He feels that the reported attitudes toward Gikyode do not accurately reflect the attitudes of the Anyanga community. Mr. Agyei thinks that if literacy classes in Gikyode were to be started in the Anyanga community that few people would actually attend as they would view the acceptance of Gikyode classes as a denial of any possible Anyanga literacy development.

4. Literacy Development Project Potential

4.1 Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community

Watters writes: “The more homogeneous a given community is, the more chance there is for success in motivating broad-based participation in the development of the language...in that community.” (1990:106). There are several aspects to social cohesion that contribute to overall solidarity: the linguistic, cultural, geographic, economic, and religious elements.

From our observations and questions, the Anyanga community is linguistically homogenous. People from all the Anyanga villages we visited say that they all speak the same Ginyanga. The dialectical distinctions are so small that they do not divide the community. However, they expressed definite attitudes about where their language is spoken the best and the worst.

Culturally, the Anyanga are aware of their common history, and consider themselves one people. The main connection between all of the Anyanga villages is their close family ties, as most Anyanga marry other Anyanga. Traditional ceremonies, such as the yam festival (although it has not been celebrated for several years in Togo) and the Okoku women's secret society, also keep them together. In addition, their link with the Akyode strengthens their own cultural identity. For example, when there is a question of how to perform a ceremony, they will look to the Akyode to learn the correct way. This connection with the Akyode is insurance against losing their customs and diminishes the cultural impact of the other ethnic groups in the region.

There are many other ethnic groups present in the area, but their influence does not seem to greatly separate the Anyanga from their language or culture. However, the influx of Kabiyè and Ewe to the region may influence future social cohesion. For example, in the past both Pagala-gare and Blitta-gare were predominantly Anyanga villages, but their large markets have attracted Kabiyè and Ewe people who have settled in these towns and now Anyanga residents are in the minority.

Traditional religion is a unifying factor for the Anyanga, since ceremonies are an occasion for people of different villages to meet. Traditional funerals seem to have helped the Anyanga to maintain a cultural identity. All the Anyanga villages celebrate funerals in the same manner, and they are well attended by Anyanga from the entire region. For example, we observed a funeral for an elder in Agbandi and met people from nearly every Anyanga village.

Geographically speaking, Anyanga villages are spread apart. Most of the bigger villages are at least an hour's drive from each other. Despite the distance, there is frequent contact between the different villages as the majority of the connecting roads are paved, and the dirt roads are in good condition. There are also walking paths that connect some of the villages.

Overall, we feel that the Anyanga are socially cohesive since they share a common language, culture, history, and are not greatly influenced by the surrounding ethnic groups. Family ties appear to be strong between all Anyanga villages.

4.2 Openness to Change

The Anyanga community seems open to change, as is reflected in their responses to questions about education and community development. The elders were very interested in literacy development in either Ginyanga or Gikyode. In addition, a small-scale translation of religious literature into Ginyanga was started independently by an Anyanga man in Pagala-gare.

4.3 Middle-aged Leadership

An important factor in determining the viability of a language project is the presence of middle-aged leadership. In Agbandi and Pagala village the chiefs are 50 years old or older; in Doufouli village, a new chief was recently installed who is around 35 years old. All of the village chiefs in the Anyanga community reside in the village. When we asked whether most young people leave the village or stay in the community, people said that most of the youth remain in the village. In Agbandi and Pagala, we saw many young men and women, although we learned that some of the educated men only spend part of the year in the village. From reported information and from our observation, it appears that there will be a number of men in position to take over village leadership when the time comes, as has happened in Doufouli village.

Of the four types of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), the Anyanga are a changing community. This means that the community “is open to change and seeking it” (1990:109). Changing communities are characterized by a cultural and linguistic homogeneity, an openness to change, and the presence of middle-aged leadership. Unlike the changed communities who lack the local leadership necessary to mobilize an entire group, a changing community has the advantage of respected leaders who live in the village with the ability to motivate their people. This type of community has the most success with literacy development programs.

With time, it is likely that the Anyanga will shift towards a changed community. More youth will seek higher education and jobs outside the community, leaving a gap in the local middle-aged leadership. We can see this shift occurring in Agbandi where there are more people who have completed a university education than in the other villages. Instead of seeking leadership positions in their village, they are working in larger towns. This means that a literacy program targeting the group as a whole is best undertaken before the shift occurs.

5. Summary and Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this paper, the survey was designed to determine the strategy for possible Ginyanga literacy development.

The following is a summary of what was found:

The two groups have frequent contact despite their political and geographical separation. They often intermarry; their markets, traditional ceremonies, funerals, and festivals serve as places to mingle. According to Donkor, most of the contact takes place in Akyode territory, but we also met many Akyode in Togo (2000).

Ginyanga speakers have very positive overt attitudes toward Gikyode speakers and speech. Many wish that the two groups were closer geographically, and nearly everyone interviewed says they like the Gikyode language. They view the Akyode as a cultural reference for the traditional way of life.

Samuel Gnakpoh is the president of the liturgy committee ; he helps the choir compose songs in Ginyanga and has translated Bible stories and parts of the liturgy into Ginyanga as well. There are no formal literacy development efforts in Ginyanga currently taking place in the church or elsewhere in the community.

Because the Anyanga community as a whole is culturally and linguistically homogenous, open to change, and there is a strong middle-aged leadership; we feel that they are a 'changing community' (Watters 1990:109). Despite the fact that the Anyanga are spread over a wide area with different ethnic groups in between their villages, they have maintained their language and culture. They are open to community and literacy development, and individuals have shown initiative in starting non-formal translations projects on their own. At this point the youth have not begun an exodus to urban centers, and the leaders in the community have not taken leadership positions outside the village. According to Watters, this type of community is the one to have the most success with literacy efforts.

6. Recommendations for Literacy Development

The Anyanga people would most benefit from the second of the three possible outcomes given in section 2.1. The second outcome is the standardization of Gikyode and Ginyanga, which could mean an eventual adaptation of the current Gikyode literature and orthography to include more features to aid the comprehension and promotion of the literacy among the Anyanga. The answers we projected to support this recommendation correspond to what we found in the survey.

- Anyanga overt attitudes are positive toward using Gikyode written materials and also positive towards the development of their own language.
- There is frequent contact between the Anyanga and the Achode.

Considering the survey results, producing a separate set of materials through a CARLA program adaptation does not appear to be the most beneficial long-term plan. The Anyanga identify themselves culturally with the Akyode, and their overt linguistic attitudes toward sharing Gikyode materials are positive; therefore, creating another written standard could possibly divide the group.

In order to accomplish standardization, further research/ongoing assessment is needed in the following areas:

- 1) An analysis of the linguistic similarity of Ginyanga and Gikyode at the phonological, lexical, syntax, and discourse levels. A lexical analysis should include a word list comparison of several hundred words.
- 2) Assessment of whether the overt positive attitudes expressed toward learning to read and write Gikyode accurately reflect the underlying attitudes.

A more in-depth linguistic analysis is considered necessary to determine the level of revision required to make Gikyode materials more accessible to Ginyanga speakers. It will also help to address potential orthography problems.

Further assessment of attitudes is desired because the overtly positive attitudes toward the use of Gikyode will not automatically translate into an acceptance of Gikyode materials even if they are changed to include more Ginyanga terms. A study of how well Gikyode would be accepted will aid in determining what type of literacy effort can best meet the community's needs.

A strategy for accomplishing these two types of assessment in the Ginyanga speech community is essential. One possibility would be to start literacy classes using the Gikyode materials as they are with analysis done by a researcher. This would give the researcher an idea of how much revision is required of the Gikyode materials for them to be easily understood and read by the Anyanga people. Literacy teachers could also gauge the underlying attitudes with possible input from a sociolinguistic consultant. The Anyanga community's attendance of Gikyode classes, response to Gikyode materials, and willingness to try to understand Gikyode in the classroom setting would concretely demonstrate their fundamental attitudes.

It appears that a literacy project at the village level would be particularly successful in villages like Doufouli and Pagala-village where the population is less mobile. Literacy classes through the Roman Catholic Church would most likely be successful, but would not reach the majority of the population as there are very few Christians. However, church members could be included, particularly the congregation in Pagala-gare which has many Anyanga members. Some of the Anyanga church members have expressed an interest in learning to read and write their own language.

Another strategy for promoting standardization is to facilitate joint language-related projects for the Akyode and Anyanga. One idea is to have them work together on a dictionary project. This could initiate thinking about the vocabulary they have in common and would be a step toward finding terms that are understood by both groups. A writer's workshop with Anyanga and Akyode participants would be another project to encourage linguistic cooperation.

Traditional Akyode music (a GILLBT production) was very well received by the Anyanga during the survey. Distribution of these cassettes and other Gikyode materials could be a way to promote standardization.

Finally, the Guan unification movement is another avenue for the two groups to cooperate linguistically and culturally. Efforts should be made to encourage the Anyanga to become involved in this movement. As the Akyode and Anyanga are more similar to each other than to any other Guan group, their joint participation in the Guan movement is a way of promoting unity between them.

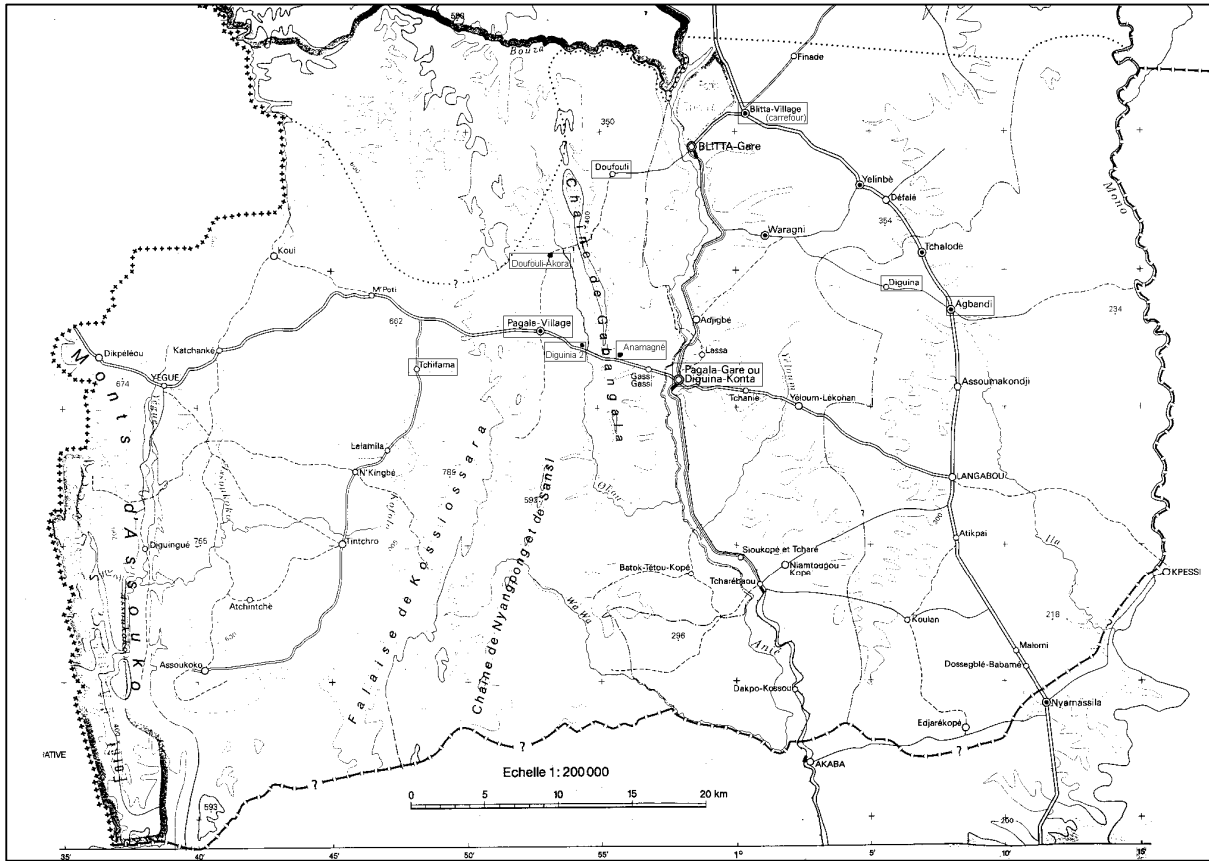
Appendix A: Gikyode Books, Primers, and Cassettes

Chief Blagoji, an Akyode Pillar (an autobiography)
 Gikyode Proverbs (in Gikyode and English)
 A Moral Tale (When your friend offends you there is no need to punish him or her.)
 Good Childcare
 Health Book (lessons and questions)
 Gikyode Teacher's Guide (for literacy work)
 Primers 1, 2, 3, and 4 (for learning to read Gikyode)
 The Number Book
 Genesis 1-4
 A Collection of Jesus' Parables
 The New Testament
 The Christmas Story
(This may not be a complete list of available books in Gikyode.)

Cassettes:

Traditional Music
 Choral Arrangements
 Gospel of Luke

Appendix B: Map of Anyanga Villages in Togo



Appendix C: Interview with Community Leaders

Date: _____ Location: _____

Surveyor(s) conducting interview: _____

Surveyor(s) present: _____

Main respondents: _____

From which village(s): _____

Estimated no. of old men: _____ young men: _____ old women: _____ young women: _____

How was the interview arranged? _____

NAMES

1.1. Comment appelez-vous votre propre langue?

1.2. Comment vous appelez-vous vous-même(s) en tant qu'ethnie?

IDENTITY

- Les gens de ce village, avant d'arriver ici, ils étaient où? (Leurs parents habitaient où? Ils viennent d'où?)

Pour trouver l'étendue de la région où la langue est parlée, montrez une photocopie d'une carte de la région, et posez les questions suivantes (utiliser les feutres en couleur).

- 2.1 Dans quels villages est-ce qu'on parle uniquement votre langue / [*le ginyanga*] ? (Demandez pour chaque village. Encerclez les villages où on parle le [*ginyanga*]. Mettez entre parenthèses les noms des villages où on n'est pas sûr que les gens parlent cette langue.)
- 2.2 Y a-t-il des villages où on parle une autre langue en plus que la vôtre? (Par exemple, le mbelime, le nateni, etc.; demandez pour chaque village. Encadrez les villages où l'on trouve des locuteurs de différentes langues et écrivez celles-ci à côté de chaque village.)
- 2.3 Quels sont les villages dans lesquels on parle une langue différente de la votre? Quel est le nom de cette langue / ces langues? (Soulignez les villages où il est certain que l'on parle une langue différente de celle de l'enquête, et écrivez le nom de celle-ci à côté du village - ceci pour déterminer les frontières de la langue étudiée.)

DIALECTES DE GINYANGA ET INTERCOMPREHENSION ENTRE LES VARIANTES

3.1. Dans la région où on parle le [*ginyanga*], est-ce que tous les gens parlent exactement comme vous?

(Si non, posez les questions qui suivent, mettant la lettre "A" à côté des villages qui parlent la variété de l'enquête, "B" à côté des villages d'un autre groupe, "C", etc. Tracer les lignes des frontières dialectales avec les lignes continues et pointillées.)

3.2. Parmi les villages où on parle le [*ginyanga*], où est-ce que les gens le parlent exactement comme vous? (Les villages "A" ci-dessous.)

3.3. Parmi les villages où on parle le [*ginyanga*], dans lesquels est-ce que les gens le parlent un peu différemment que vous, mais vous les comprenez quand même? (Les villages "B" ci-dessous.) (S'ils mentionnent deux dialectes qui sont tous les deux un peu différents du leur, appelez-les B1, B2, etc.)

3.4. Dans quels villages est-ce que les gens parlent le [*ginyanga*], mais très différemment que chez vous? (Les villages "C" ci-dessous.)

3.5. Comment appelle-t-on:

Les gens à "A"? (exactement) _____ leur langue? _____

Les gens à "B1"? (un peu différemment) _____ leur langue? _____

Les gens à "B2"? (un peu différemment) _____ leur langue? _____

Les gens à "C"? (très différemment) _____ leur langue? _____

3.6. Est-ce que vous avez les mêmes origines?

3.7. Quelles sortes de différences existe-t-il entre votre langue et la langue qu'on parle à [*B, C, etc*]? (Prononciation, vocabulaire emprunté.)

Variety A – B1: _____

Variety A - B2: _____

Variety A - C: _____

3.8. Le [*ginyanga*] de quelle région est-ce que vous comprenez le plus facilement? A B1 B2 C

3.9. Le [*ginyanga*] de quelle région est-ce que vous comprenez le plus difficilement? A B1 B2 C

3.10. Où parle-t-on votre langue le mieux? _____

Pourquoi? _____

3.11. Tous les enfants dans ce village qui ont moins de 12 ans, comprennent-ils bien les locuteurs ...?

... à [A] _____ ? Oui ___ Non ___

... à [B] _____ ? Oui ___ Non ___

... à [B2] _____ ? Oui ___ Non ___

... à [C] _____ ? Oui ___ Non ___

3.12. [Est-ce que vous avez le même chef?]

3.13. Est-ce que vous les considérez comme des étrangers ou comme vos frères?

INTERCOMPREHENSION ENTRE GINYANGA ET GIKYODE

- 4.1. Comment appelez-vous les gens de Shiare? [les achode]
- 4.2. Comment appelez-vous leur langue? [le gikyode]
- 4.3. Quelles sortes de différences existe entre le ginyanga et (*le gikyode*)? (pronunciation / vocabulaire)
- 4.4. Comment comprenez-vous (*le gikyode*)? *Très bien / bien / pas bien*
- 4.5. Est-ce que vous avez les mêmes origines que [les achode]?
- 4.6. Tous les enfants dans ce village qui ont moins de 12 ans, comprennent-ils bien le gikyode?

CONTACT ENTRE DIALECTES & AVEC GIKYODE

- 5.1. Est-ce que vous avez l'habitude d'aller... Pour quelles raisons?

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...au Ghana _____? Oui ___ Non ___

- 5.2. Est-ce que vous pourriez vous installer Si non, pourquoi?

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

...au Ghana _____? Oui ___ Non ___

- 5.3. Est-ce que les gens de ont l'habitude de venir ici? Pour quelles raisons?

_____ Oui ___ Non ___

_____ Oui ___ Non ___

_____ Oui ___ Non ___

De Ghana _____ Oui ___ Non ___

D'où?

5.4. Est-ce que vous permettez à vos jeunes de se marier avec des personnes d'autres villages ? Oui ___ Non ___

5.5. (Si oui...)

- Quels villages/villes/régions? (Suggestions/probe: au Ghana / Shiare, Nkwanta.)
- Où est-ce que ces jeunes mariés vont s'installer? Si c'est ailleurs...)
- Est-ce qu'ils vont tous les deux parler la langue de cet endroit-là?

Village d'où vient l'époux/épouse:	Lieu de nouveau foyer:	Langue qu'ils vont parler:

5.6. Y a-t-il d'autres gens qui sont venus s'installer ici? Oui ___ Non ___

5.7. (Si oui...)

Pourquoi? _____

D'où sont-ils? _____

5.8. Est-ce que vous partagez des rites/événements/cérémonies (?) avec les gens d'autres villages où on parle le [ginyanga]?

5.9. Est-ce que vous partagez des rites/événements/cérémonies avec les gens de ghana (shiare) [achode]?

MULTILINGUALISM

6.1. Au village, quelles langues utilise-t-on le plus souvent :

	Ginyanga	Ewe	Kabiye	Français	
Au foyer					
Avec vos amis (même âge)					
Au champ					
Au marché local					
Au grand marché					
A la clinique					
Jugements au village					
Ceremonies traditionales					
Des Annonces					
Réunions du conseil traditionnel (régionales)					
Manifestations publiques sont traduite en quelle langue					

6.2. A part de votre langue, quelle langue est utilisée le plus souvent ici dans votre village? _____

et dans la région? _____

6.3. Pensez-vous que les jeunes d'ici parlent une autre langue plus qu'ils parlent le ginyanga ?

Laquelle ou lesquelles ?

- 6.4. Parlez-vous le Ewe tous les jours ici au village? Oui ___ Non ___
- 6.5. Lesquels des groupes suivants le parle mieux : les jeunes / les hommes adultes / les femmes adultes
- 6.6. Pensez-vous que les jeunes mélangent la langue maternelle avec Ewe / Kabiye?
Si oui est-ce que c'est une bonne chose? _____ Pourquoi? _____
- 6.7. Lorsqu'un jeune parle le Ewe / Kabiye à la maison, est-ce que les parents sont contents?
Si non pourquoi ? _____
- 6.8. Est-ce que les jeunes sont fiers de leur langue maternelle? Oui ___ Non ___

ALPHABÉTISATION / DEVELOPPEMENT

- 7.1. Est-ce qu'il existe des cours d'alphabétisation dans ce village? Oui ___ Non ___
(Si oui...)
Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____
Ça se passe combien de fois par mois/an? _____
- 7.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des cours d'alphabétisation autour de votre région? Oui ___ Non ___
(Si oui...)
Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____
Ça se passe combien de fois par mois/an? _____
- 7.3. Aimerez-vous apprendre à lire et à écrire? Oui ___ Non ___
Dans quelle langue? _____
- 7.4. Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu quelque chose d'écrit en [ginyanga]? Oui ___ Non ___
En [gichode]? Oui ___ Non ___
- 7.5. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelqu'un qui écrit en [ginyanga]? Oui ___ Non ___
En [gichode]? Oui ___ Non ___
- 7.6. Si on commençait un programme d'alphabétisation, est-ce que les gens d'ici s'inscriraient au cours?
Oui ___ Non ___
- 7.7. Pour écrire votre langue, il faudrait choisir le [ginyanga] de quelle région?

- 7.8. Et, si on écrit dans le [ginyanga] de _____, est-ce que les gens....
...à _____ vont l'utiliser? Oui ___ Non ___
Si non, pourquoi? _____
...à _____ vont l'utiliser? Oui ___ Non ___
Si non, pourquoi? _____

- 7.9.** Si on commençait un programme d'alphabétisation en [*gikyode*], est-ce que les gens d'ici s'inscriraient au cours?

Appendix D: Individual Interview

Nom: _____ Date: _____
 Prénom: _____ Village: _____
 Age: _____ Langue: _____
 Sexe: _____ Enquêteur: _____
 Niveau scolaire: _____

1. Contact

1.1 Où est-ce que vous êtes né?

1.2 Où est-ce que vous avez grandi?

1.3 En plus de _____ où avez-vous habité pendant au moins un an:

Endroit(s) habité(s)	Temps passé	Langue(s) parlée(s)

1.4 a. Langue parlée en famille: _____

b. Village natal de votre épouse: _____

c. Vous êtes marié? Oui ___ Non ___ Langue maternelle de votre épouse: _____

2. Perceived Comprehension

2.1 Est-ce que vous avez tout compris quand vous avez écouté?

Tout presque tout Un peu

2.2 Les ... de ce village comprendraient-ils toute l'histoire? (Presque tout, Un peu)

Jeunes Hommes: Oui ___ Non ___ Vieux Hommes: Oui ___ Non ___ Jeunes Femmes: Oui ___

Non ___ Vieilles Femmes: Oui ___ Non ___

3. Contact Patterns

3.1 Les gens qui parlent comme ça viennent d'où _____?

Êtes-vous déjà allé à _____? Oui ___ Non ___

3.2 Vous les appelez comment? _____

3.3 Voyagez-vous souvent à _____ Pourquoi? _____

Pour combien de temps? Des jours Un mois Plus qu'un mois
 à _____ Pourquoi? _____

Pour combien de temps? Des jours Un mois Plus qu'un mois

- 3.4 Les gens de _____ viennent souvent chez vous? Oui ___ Non ___ Pourquoi? _____
 Les gens de _____ viennent souvent chez vous? Oui ___ Non ___ Pourquoi? _____

4. Dialectologie

- 4.1 A _____ comprenez- vous tout ce qu'ils disent? Presque tout / Un peu
 A _____ Presque tout / Un peu
- 4.2 Comprenez-vous leurs blagues? Leurs proverbes?
- 4.3 Les gens de _____ vous comprennent comment? Bien / Assez bien / Un peu
 Les gens de _____ vous comprennent comment? Bien / Assez bien / Un peu
- 4.4 Est-ce qu'un enfant de 6 ans comprend toujours les gens de _____?
 Et un enfant de 12 ans?

5. Attitudes

- 5.1 Est-ce que cette façon de parler vous plaît?
 Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?
- 5.2 Où est-ce qu'on parle votre langue le mieux?
- 5.3 Est-ce qu'il y a les gens qui parlent mal votre langue? Qui? Ils habitent où?
- 5.4 Accepteriez-vous que votre fille épouse quelqu'un de _____? Oui ___ Non ___
- 5.5 Est-ce que vous aimeriez apprendre à lire et à écrire en Gikyode?
- 5.6 S'il y avait des classes d'alphabétisation en Gikyode dans la région, est-ce que les gens vont participer à contribuer en donnant quelque choses, par exemple en vivres?

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