



**A sociolinguistic survey of the
Gbe language communities of
Benin and Togo
Volume 8
Saxwe, Daxe and Se
language areas**

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GBE LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES
OF
BENIN AND TOGO

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Abstract

This paper presents a sociolinguistic survey conducted in the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language communities (Kwa language family) of Benin. The Gbe languages continuum is situated in the southeastern part of West Africa. Expanding westwards from southwestern Nigeria, the Gbe communities occupy large areas in southern Benin, Togo, and southeastern Ghana. To date in Benin, as far as Gbe varieties are concerned, Aja, Fon, Gen, and Gun have undergone language development on a larger scale. A survey of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities was conducted to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Fon and Gen could extend to the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities and to determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these communities.

After a general overview of the taxonomic and geographic language situation, test results are reported. Survey interview and group test results are presented on comprehension of Fon and Gen. Results are given on language attitudes toward both written and oral forms of Fon and Gen and toward the development of Saxwe, Daxe, and/or Se. In addition, the following topics were investigated: language vitality and the relationship of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se to related Gbe varieties in terms of comprehension and language attitudes. Also, information by local leaders on the literacy and religious situations and on migration history is given.

The group comprehension test results show that, on average, the Saxwe people have only partial comprehension of both Fon and Gen. There are no indications of language shift and attitudes are positive among the Saxwe towards Saxwe language development, with a successful Saxwe literacy program already in place. The attitudes of Daxe speakers toward the Saxwe are positive as well. The Se identify with the Daxe but not with the Saxwe; they indicated that they would prefer Gen literacy and materials to those in Saxwe. (No comprehension testing was conducted among the Daxe and Se speech communities.)

The results suggest (1) that the Saxwe literacy program currently in place in the Mono département is the best solution for the literacy needs in the Saxwe and Daxe speech communities and (2) that this program ideally be expanded to benefit those Saxwe villages in the Atlantique département. Comprehension testing among the Se is needed to confirm their self-evaluation of good Gen comprehension.

1. Introduction

This paper reports on a sociolinguistic survey conducted in the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech communities of Benin. The Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech varieties belong to the Gbe language continuum (Kwa language group) which is situated in the southeastern part of West Africa. Expanding westwards from southwestern Nigeria, the Gbe communities occupy large areas in southern Benin, Togo, and southeastern Ghana.

Among the Gbe varieties, five have thus far undergone language development on a larger scale: Fon, Gen, and Gun in Benin, and Ewe in Togo. To assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in these Gbe speech varieties could extend to the remaining Gbe communities, or whether additional language-based development programs in some of the remaining communities would be beneficial and to determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these

communities, a sociolinguistic study of the Gbe communities of Benin and Togo was launched in the late 1980s.

The sociolinguistics survey reported here is part of this larger study and was carried out in two stages. The first stage, among the Saxwe speakers, was conducted in March 1999 by E. C. Johnson and A. Kluge, SIL researchers. Community interviews were administered in the villages of Davè, Djètoé, Gboho, and Médétogbo as well as two Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Tests (RA-RTTs) in Fon and Gen. In May 1999, E. C. Johnson, B. J. Henson and G. Schoch, also SIL researchers, completed the second stage among the Daxe and the Se at Dahé-Kpodji and Sè, respectively.

In Section 2, pertinent background information on the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech varieties will be presented. Some of these data were gathered during the field interviews with members of these language communities. This section will be followed by information on previous linguistic research (Section 3), presentation of the research questions (Section 4) and then a description of the methodology as applied during this survey (Section 5). In Section 6, the findings will be discussed, followed by a set of conclusions (Section 7). The report closes with a set of appendices and a list of references.

2. Background

2.1. Language name and classification

1. Saxwe

The *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:169) gives the following classification for Saxwe [ISO code: sxw¹]:

- Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kwa, Left Bank, Gbe, Aja

However, in spite of what is reported in the *Ethnologue*, there is no evidence that Saxwe should be grouped with Aja, much less be considered a dialect or daughter language (see Tompkins et al. 1997).² In *Renaissance du gbe* (1986:99ff, Carte 1b) Capo classifies a number of Gbe varieties into five groupings based on phonological and morpho-phonological characteristics. He classifies Saxwe within the Phla-Phera group, which also includes Alada,³ Ayizo, Gbesi, Kotafon,⁴ Se, Tofin, Toli, Xwela and Xwla.

All four Saxwe villages interviewed agree that their language and people are called Saxwe and pronounced the name of their language as follows: [saxwɛgbe]. Alternative spellings for Saxwe are:

- Tsáphɛ, Sahoué, Sahoe, Saxwɛ (Capo 1986:13)

¹[Editor: See also the current version of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) for an updated entry on Saxwe.]

²Saxwe are sometimes referred to by outsiders as Aja, because, according to Capo (1999, personal communications), in general everyone in the Mono département who is not Waci, Xwela, or Xwla is considered to be Aja.

³Alada and Gbesi are not listed by CENALA (1990).

⁴CENALA (1990) lists Kotafon as Ko. However, during a survey of this speech community it was established that the speakers of this variety refer to their own language as ‘Kotafon.’ (See Volume 3, Section 2.2.)

- Saxwɛ (CENALA 1990; DNA n.d., b; spelling employed by most materials written in the language)
- Sahouè (DNA n.d., a)
- Sahwe, Sáhwè (Pazzi 1979:87)

2. Daxe

No classification has yet been formally posited for Daxe, though Capo classifies it as a Gbe variety (1986: Carte 1a). The informants at Dahé-Kpodji, the only Daxe community interviewed, pronounced the name of their language [daxɛ] and said that they spell it “Dahè.”⁵ Other alternative spellings for Daxe are:

- Dahe, Ðàxé, Raxɛ (Capo 1986:13, Carte 1a)

3. Se

Capo (1986) gives the following classification for Se:

- Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kwa, Left Bank, Gbe, Phla-Phera

The informants at Sè, the only Se community interviewed, pronounced the name of their language [sɛgbio]. Alternative spellings for Se are:

- Se, Sɛ, Sè, Sé (Capo 1986:13)
- Sɛ (CENALA 1990)

2.2. Dialect situation

No dialects of Saxwe are listed by the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996). However, Capo (1999, personal communications) reports that there are differences between the Saxwe of Houéyogbé and the Saxwe of Doutou (both in the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé). This was not, however, mentioned by any of the Saxwe informants.

Opinions vary on whether Daxe and Se should be considered as dialects of Saxwe: many Saxwe and Daxe felt that these two were indeed Saxwe dialects while Se informants disagreed, citing their different origins as reason to consider both Daxe and Se as separate from Saxwe (see Section 2.5 ‘History of migration’). Nonetheless, mutual comprehension between these three was never in question: all six villages surveyed agreed that Saxwe, Daxe, and Se “resembled” each other and that very young children of each village could understand the other two varieties.⁶

It was widely agreed by both Daxe and Se informants that Daxe and Se can be considered different dialects or accents of the same variety; these two groups do share common ancestors and possess the same ethnic identity. All agreed that historically the Se originated from the Daxe. However, there is apparently no felt need for a cover term for the two groups, i.e. “Daxe-Se.” (See Section 6.1 ‘Saxwe, Daxe, and Se dialect situation.’)

⁵Apparently following the French orthography which expresses [x] as ‘h’ and [ɛ] as ‘è.’

⁶Usually it was said that children could understand the other two varieties as soon as they could speak their own.

2.3. Language area

1. Saxwe

Saxwe villages are found both to the west and to the east of Lake Ahémé in both the Mono and Atlantique départements:⁷ in the sous-préfectures of Athiémè, Bopa, Comè, Houéyogbé, Kpomassè, Lokossa, and Tori-Bossito. The Saxwe homeland is centered in the Bopa and Houéyogbé sous-préfectures, where the majority of the entirely Saxwe villages are to be found.⁸ In P. C. Hounkpe's⁹ recent play *La révolte des Saxwe*, Saxwe elders state "Our own country, the country of our ancestors, does it extend beyond the lake Ahémé to the east or the lake Toho to the north?" (1995:20–21). Similarly J. Pliya, a History and Geography professor at the Université Nationale du Bénin, locates the Saxwe "between the lake Ahémé to the east and the lake Toho to the west, between Bopa and Athiémè" (1993:45). (For a map of the area see Appendix A.)

According to information obtained during the survey, the Saxwe language area, including partially Saxwe villages, is bounded:

- to the north by the northern borders of the Bopa and Tori-Bossito sous-préfectures
- to the east by the Cotonou-Parakou railroad line (Tori-Bossito sous-préfecture)
- to the south, east of Lake Ahémé, by the northern border of the Ouidah sous-préfecture
- to the south, west of Lake Ahémé, by the southern border of the rural commune of Akodeha (Comè sous-préfecture) and the southwestern border of the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture
- in the southwest corner by Route Nationale 2 (RN2; Athiémè sous-préfecture)
- and to the west by the Koudo palm-oil plantation (Lokossa sous-préfecture), just beyond the western borders of the Bopa and Houéyogbé sous-préfectures

Information obtained during the survey revealed one discrepancy with previously published sociolinguistic research: the *Atlas sociolinguistique du Bénin* (CNL du Bénin 1983:65) lists Sèhomi (rural commune of Possotomè, Bopa sous-préfecture) as being Saxwe-speaking, but both Saxwe informants interviewed for this survey and Xwela informants during the Xwela survey (Volume 4) believed this to be a Xwela community.

2. Daxe

Daxe is spoken in most of the localities of the Dahé rural commune of the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture. In addition, Tochangi, a town in northern Comè sous-préfecture, was reported as being 100% Daxe-speaking. On the eastern border of the Kpomassè sous-préfecture and the western border of that of Tori-Bossito there are one entirely Daxe-speaking village, Zoumè, and half a dozen partially Daxe-speaking localities, according to Daxe informants in the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture. (For a map of the area see Appendix A.)

⁷At the time of the survey, Benin was divided into six governmental provinces called "départements," each of which is composed of a varying number of "sous-préfectures," which encompass various rural communes and urban circumscriptions. All town names are spelled according to the general maps of Benin (IGN France and IGN Bénin 1992) and Togo (IGN France and DCNC Togo 1992) or the sous-préfecture maps of the 1992 Benin census data (Ministère du Plan 1994b,c).

⁸For lists of 100% and partially Saxwe-, Daxe- and Se-speaking locations, by sous-préfecture and département, refer to Appendix B.

⁹The Bopa sous-préfecture literacy coordinator was born in the town of Sè in the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture.

3. Se

Only three 100% Se-speaking localities were identified: the urban quarters of Sè, the neighboring village of Sèbo (both in the southwest of the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé) and Dahoué in northern Comè sous-préfecture. The Se claimed that at Dré (south of Sè in Houéyogbé sous-préfecture) an accent of Se was spoken, though other informants listed Dré as Xwela- or Gbesi-speaking. Tokan, in northern Comè sous-préfecture, was said to be completely bilingual in Se and Xwela. (For a map of the area see Appendix A.)

2.4. Population

Population data from the 1992 Benin Census provides totals both by ethnic group as well as by political community. The total population of the Saxwe ethnic group is 123,810 people¹⁰ (Ministère du Plan 1994a:46). All Daxe and Se informants believed that Daxe and Se were labeled as Saxwe at the time of the census data collection.

A different estimate can be obtained by totaling the populations of all the locations agreed upon by the six villages surveyed as being 100% Saxwe, Se, or Daxe-speaking. Adding the population figures from the census (Ministère du Plan 1994b, 1994c) for these locations results in a population total of 113,488; of which 84,826 are Saxwe-speaking, 11,575 Daxe-speaking, and 17,087 Se-speaking.¹¹ The total population of all locations which at least one of the six villages identified as containing Saxwe, Daxe, or Se families is 174,423 (Saxwe: 139,660; Daxe: 16,571; Se: 18,192).

Thus the total Saxwe, Daxe, and Se-speaking population by claimed localities¹² is no less than 113,488 and no greater than 174,423 people, which corresponds with the census figure of 123,810 ethnic Saxwe.

2.5. History of migration

According to Pazzi (1979:17, 87), the Saxwe of Houéyogbé and Lobogo (Bopa sous-préfecture) are originally from Sábé, a kingdom which came west from the ancient Yoruba kingdom of Ile-Ife.¹³ Due to the invasion of other ethnic groups, they had to flee Sábé and came to establish their villages on the western bank of the Kouffo river at Houéyogbé. Their language results from the mixing of that of their immigrating ancestors with the ancient Aja-Tado variety.¹⁴

During the course of the community interviews, the three Mono département Saxwe villages interviewed (Davè, Djètoé, and Médétogbo) reported that all Saxwe originally came from Savè. This is

¹⁰It is noted here that census takers asked individuals about their ethnic group and not their first language. Thus some interviewees likely identified with their father's ethnic group, even though they may neither speak his language nor live in his language area.

¹¹See Appendix B for detailed population figures for the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language communities. Though Gbokpa speakers were said to all speak and understand Saxwe, these locations (in and around the town of Bopa) are not included in these calculations as both Saxwe and Gbokpa considered the Gbokpa language to be separate from Saxwe; it is unknown if Gbokpa speakers were included with the Saxwe in the 1992 census figure.

¹²As of February 1992 when the national census was taken.

¹³Ile-Ife was located in the area of the modern cities of Ife and Ilesha, northeast of Lagos in the Oyo state of Nigeria.

¹⁴Tado, the traditional origin of virtually all the Gbe language groups, is located in the Togolese préfecture of Haho.

presumably the town of Savè found in the département of Zou, near the eastern border of Benin with Nigeria; if so, the location would be consistent with Pazzi's Sábé kingdom. Médétogbo and Djètoé alleged that their ancestors had migrated from Savè, then stopped in Honhoué before founding these two villages. Davè simply gave Savè as their origin.

Gboho, to the east in the Atlantique département, claimed however that their town was founded by emigrants from a village also called Gboho in the rural commune of Doutou (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture). Opinions varied on where their ancestors had been before coming to the original Gboho: Aja-Tado, Adjadi (Allada sous-préfecture), Honhoué (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture), Porto-Novo and Savè were all suggested as points of departure for Gboho.

The informants at Sè agreed that the Saxwe were immigrants, further claiming that the Saxwe learned the Se variety upon arriving in the area, but now speak more rapidly and with many more contractions than either the Se or Daxe speakers.

The Daxe offered the following explanation of their own origins:

The origin of the people is at Adamé-Agbanakin,¹⁵ near Grand Popo, among the Xwla people. The Fionkanho family was the first to move to Dahé. When they arrived there, there was no water, but some pigs led them to the lake and water. They settled near an old man who had lots of hair, and now the Daxe speak his language. The names “Dahé” and “Daxe” derive from the word for “lots of hair.”¹⁶

The Se stated that they originated from Dahé: their Xwla ancestors, originally from Agbanakin, first settled at Dré (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture) and then moved on to Dahé. They recounted the motivations for these migrations as follows:

The original founder of Dahé had women problems in Xwla-Agbanakin: he wanted someone else's wife and as a result everyone there wanted to kill him. He escaped, fleeing to Dré,¹⁷ but later left there and continued on to Dahé. From Dahé, one of his sons named Asè¹⁸ came to Sè hunting game. Asè's siblings eventually followed, including his sister with her Fon husband who noticed that wherever the hay springs up, that's where the new town expanded. Thus he called the city “Se” which means hay (or straw) in Fon.¹⁹

¹⁵Adamé and Agbanakin lie just across the Togolese border, approximately five kilometers from Grand-Popo. During the course of the Xwla survey (See Volume 5), two different Xwla communities also mentioned Agbanakin as their ultimate origin.

¹⁶The Houéyogbé sous-préfecture literacy coordinator recounted a slightly more colorful version of the legend: “A Xwla hunter arrived in the forest of Dahè. He liked the area, but found there a monster who had hair which obscured his eyes. The monster said, ‘Lift up my hair.’ The hunter did it, the monster loved him, and so the monster bestowed on him his language, Daxe.” A Se informant also mentioned the monster: “The monster spoke to him: whatever the Xwla would ask for, he would get; if he asked for game, he would find a lot.”

¹⁷A less colorful motivation for the migration was offered by the assistant to the mayor of Sè: the ancestors fled Grand-Popo to avoid involvement in the war of the Fon. (Agbanakin is so close to Grand Popo that it is sometimes considered a village of Grand-Popo, even though the two localities now find themselves in different political nations. Thus both versions of the migration likely refer to the same place.) Balo also mentioned that their ultimate origin, before settling at Grand-Popo, was a village of Aja-Tado.

¹⁸The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator adds that Asè was a twin with Asou; the city of Sè was named after Asè.

¹⁹An alternative etymology proposed was that the name of Sè comes from the message of Asè to his family back at Dahé, “Mesè!” (“Come!”).

In spite of their different ancestries, these three groups²⁰ united in 1918 to resist forced recruitment into the French military (Hounkpe 1995; Pliya 1992:45).

2.6. Presence of other ethnic groups

All six of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se localities surveyed reported themselves to be 100% Saxwe, Daxe, or Se, according to location, except for endogamous wives. Mixed marriages do not seem to be common,²¹ though no prohibitions were mentioned. Mixed marriages were, however, cited with Aja, Daxe (among the Saxwe), Dédomè, Fon, Gbesi, Gbokpa, Ghanian, Ivoirian, Nago, Nigerian, Saxwe (among the Daxe and Se), Waci, Xwela, and Xwla women. Daxe women compose the largest group of endogamous wives among the Saxwe; in the Daxe communities, Saxwe and Xwela women are most numerous after Daxe women.

1. Mono département

The Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language area²² of the Mono département is bordered by the following groups:²³

- Aja to the southwest, Athiémè sous-préfecture (Tompkins et al. 1997)
- Xwela to the southeast along the shore of Lake Ahémé, lower Bopa sous-préfecture (Volume 4)
- Waci to the south, Comè sous-préfecture
- Ci to the north, Lalo sous-préfecture (Volume 6)
- Kotafon to the northwest and west, Athiémè and Lokossa sous-préfectures (Volume 3)

In the town of Bopa and a few surrounding villages the Gbokpa language is spoken. An Ayizo-Kotafon variant called Gbesi is spoken in some of the quartiers of Possotomè. (See Volume 10)

2. Atlantique département

The Saxwe and Daxe language area of the Atlantique département is bordered by the following groups:

- the Kogbe dialect of Ayizo to the north, Allada and Kpomassè sous-préfectures (Volume 2)
- Dedome²⁴ to the north, in the rural commune of Dédomè, Kpomassè sous-préfecture (Volume 4)
- Fon to the east and south, Kpomassè, Ouidah, and Tori-Bossito sous-préfectures;
- the Toli dialect of Ayizo to the east, Tori-Bossito sous-préfecture (Volume 2)

²⁰The Daxe and the Se both said their ancestors participated in the revolt; the Se said those at Dré did not participate and raised a flag of neutrality when the French arrived.

²¹Djètoé reported having no mixed marriages.

²²As Daxe and Se localities are found in the Saxwe dominated Houéyogbé sous-préfecture, bordering other Saxwe localities, the language area of the three varieties will be considered as one entity for this section.

²³Information on neighboring ethnic groups is primarily supplied by Saxwe informants in the four villages interviewed, and secondarily by the Ayizo, Ci, Kotafon, and Xwela SIL survey informants (Volumes 2, 3, 4, and 6). The above identifications reflect the opinions of the people interviewed.

²⁴During the Xwela survey, Dedome was identified by Xwela informants as an accent of Ayizo.

- Xwela to the west and south, along the shore of Lake Ahémé down to the Ouidah coastal area, Kpomassè and Ouidah sous-préfectures (Volume 4)

There are only a few 100% Saxwe or Daxe-speaking locations in the Atlantique département; most are mixed with at least one of the following groups: Dedome, Fon, Gbesi, Gbokpa, Gen,²⁵ Nago (which the Saxwe also call Yoruba), Xwela, and Xwla.

2.7. Regional language use

Saxwe is the most commonly used language in all Saxwe villages surveyed; as Se is in Sè and Daxe in Dahé-Kpodji. Saxwe is also reported to be the primary regional language in the sous-préfectures of Houéyogbé and Bopa, while Fon was cited as such by the residents of Gboho in the Atlantique département. Daxe and Se are considered to be the most commonly used varieties in southern Houéyogbé sous-préfecture after Saxwe. As Daxe, Se, and Saxwe are apparently mutually intercomprehensible, it was reported that sous-préfectorial meetings are conducted in the three varieties: whoever is addressing the meeting speaks in his own variety.

French is the official language of the Beninese government and educational system. Gen is the principal language of wider communication (LWC) in the Mono département and in southeastern Togo. Fon is the LWC of the Atlantique département and, to some degree, across all of southern Benin.

2.8. Non-formal education

In the Mono département non-formal education is held in Aja, Waci-Gen²⁶ or Saxwe. Saxwe is the only language used for adult literacy in the sous-préfectures of Houéyogbé and Bopa; these classes use the national literacy primer series in Saxwe (DNA n.d., a, b). Fon is the only language used for non-formal education in the sous-préfecture of Kpomassè, using the national literacy primer series.

2.9. Religious situation

The Saxwe, Daxe, and Se people are traditionally Animist. It is probable that Animism remains the religion of the majority, with half of the surveyed villages reporting no church presence of any affiliation.

However a significant percentage of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se, especially in more urban areas, identified themselves as Christian. The Catholic Church is by far the most attended and wide-spread. Informants also reported the presence of the following churches in the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se areas: Apostolic, Celestial Church of Christ (Christianisme Céleste), Church of Christ (Église du Christ), Church of Peace (Église de la Paix), Evangelical Faith Mission (Mission Évangélique de la Foi), Pentecostal (Pentecôte), Pioneers (Pionniers), Union of Rebirth of Men in Christ (Union de la Renaissance d'Hommes en Christ), and Word of Christ to the World (Parole du Christ au Monde). The Jehovah's Witnesses (Témoins de Jéhovah) were also reported to be present in the area. In addition to this

²⁵Gen is also known as Mina.

²⁶These classes use a primer (DNA n.d., c) which employs lexical items shared by both Gen and Waci.

information reported by interviewed community leaders, Vanderaa (1991:2,8) maintains that the Assemblies of God Church also works among the Saxwe people, although no mention of this denomination was made by informants during the survey.

There is a mosque at Sè, which informants thought some Se speakers attend, along with Hausa and Yoruba Muslims. The Daxe knew of the existence of one partially Daxe-speaking Muslim congregation at Danzoumè (Kpomassè sous-préfecture).

3. Previous linguistic research

The Gbe language continuum has been the subject of much research, especially over the last 20 years. These research efforts include an extensive comparative study of the Gbe language continuum by Capo (1986, 1991), elicitation of word lists of various Gbe varieties by the National Linguistic Commission (CNL du Bénin, n.d.) and, in regard to Saxwe specifically, phonological descriptions by Tchitchi (1979a) and Tossa (1984). In addition, a guide for reading and writing Saxwe was developed by Tchitchi (1979b).

The comparative study of the Gbe language continuum previously mentioned was begun by Capo in 1971 with his phonological and morpho-phonological comparisons being the basis of his doctoral dissertation. They were later published under the title *Renaissance du gbe* (Capo 1986) and *A comparative phonology of Gbe* (Capo 1991). Focusing on phonological and morpho-phonological characteristics, Capo (1986:99ff., 1991:11ff.) arrives at five basic Gbe clusters: Aja, Ewe, Fon, Gen, and Phla-Phera.²⁷ Saxwe and Se are grouped within the Phla-Phera cluster together with Alada, Ayizo, Gbesi, Kotafon, Tofin, Toli, Xwela, and Xwla. Capo (1986:100) notes, however, that the varieties of this cluster differ significantly in vocabulary. Daxe is mentioned by Capo (1986: Carte 1b) as a Gbe variety but not further classified.

Based on Capo's (1986) study and information provided by the language map of Benin (CENALA 1990), SIL chose 50 varieties of the Gbe continuum for the elicitation of word and phrase lists.²⁸ These elicitations, done between 1988 and 1992, constituted phase one of the larger study of the Gbe language continuum. The elicited word lists were analyzed according to prescribed methodology²⁹ in order to determine the degree of lexical similarity between these varieties.³⁰ (See Kluge 1997.)

The resulting computations for the Phla-Phera cluster are shown in Table 1.

²⁷Capo (1986:99ff) refers to Ewe as Vhe, to Aja as Ajá, and to Phla-Phera as Phla-Pherá.

²⁸The National Linguistic Commission has also collected word lists for selected Gbe varieties (CNL du Bénin, n.d.).

²⁹For details see Appendix C.

³⁰No results from phrase list analysis are included in this report.

Table 1: Percentage matrix

		Saxwe	Daxe	Se
Western Phla-Phera varieties	Gbesi	84	82	81
	Kotafon	86	83	82
	Xwela	82	84	81
	Xwla (Adamé)	88	86	85
Unclassified Gbe varieties ^a	Ci	85	82	80
	Gbokpa	92	84	84
	Seto	80	79	78
Eastern Phla-Phera varieties	Alada	86	82	81
	Ayizo	78	78	77
	Toli	77	79	78
	Tofin	77	77	75
	Xwla (Djeffa)	73	74	72
Gbe languages of wider communication (LWCs)	Aja-Hwe (Azovè)	72	67	66
	Aja-Hwe (Aplahoué)	69	63	63
	Aja-Dogbo	75	69	68
	Aja-Sikpi	87	90	89
	Fon	86	87	85
	Gen	77	70	68

^aCapo has more recently (1999, personal communication) suggested that Ci belongs to the Fon cluster and Gbokpa to the Phla-Phera cluster, the latter may be a variant of Ayizo.

Table 1 displays the number of lexically similar items between each pair of varieties as a percentage of the basic vocabulary, here calculated at the upper confidence limit.³¹ (Wimbish 1989:59; percentages and variances for all combinations are provided in Appendix C.)

In addition to the Phla-Phera varieties, three other Gbe varieties have been added to the computation due to their high lexical similarities to the varieties of the Phla-Phera cluster: Ci, Gbokpa, and Seto, not classified by Capo (1986) in any of his proposed Gbe clusters. Furthermore, because the current study researches the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language communities' comprehension levels of Aja, Fon, and Gen and their attitudes towards these varieties, figures for Aja, Fon, and Gen have also been included in the table.

The results of the wordlist analysis show an overall degree of lexical similarity of greater than 70% at the upper confidence limit of the calculations between Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and those mentioned in the Phla-Phera varieties, as well as Ci and Gbokpa. Between Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and each of the western Phla-Phera varieties as listed by Capo (1986): Gbesi, Kotafon, Xwela, and Xwla of Adamé,³² as well as

³¹The upper confidence limit equals the degree of similarity plus the range of error (variance). For this computation, morphemes that are affixed to an apparent cognate shared by another variety are ignored if they occur always in the same position (for the variance matrix showing the range of error for each count see Table 7 in Appendix C). Including all morphemes in the analysis results in a lower degree of lexical similarity across all varieties, as shown in Table 8 and Table 9 of Appendix C.

³²Adamé is located in the extreme southeast of Togo, just north of Agbanakin and facing the Beninese sous-préfecture of Grand-Popo across the Mono River. Djeffa is located in the southeast corner of Benin, in the sous-préfecture of Sèmè-Kpodji, Ouémé département.

with the other western varieties, Ci and Gbokpa, the degrees of lexical similarity are all above 80%. Between Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and most of the eastern varieties: Ayizo, Tofin, Toli, and Xwla of Djeffa, and the unclassified Seto variety, these are lower: 80% or below, the only exception being Alada, with which all three of the surveyed varieties share a degree of lexical similarity greater than 80%.

The degrees of lexical similarity at the upper confidence limit between Fon and Saxwe, Daxe, and Se range from 85% to 87%. Between Gen, on the other hand, and these three the percentages are rather low: 68–77%. Between Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and each of the first three Aja varieties the percentages are even lower: 63–75%. The degrees of lexical similarity between Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and the Sikpi variety of Aja are notably higher, 87–90%, but the Aja variety chosen for language development is Hwe, not Sikpi.

4. Research questions

The purpose of this survey is twofold: (1) to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Fon and Gen could extend to the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities, or whether an additional language-based development program in Saxwe, Daxe, and/or Se would be beneficial, and (2) to gather data that would help determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these communities.

For the current study, the evaluation of need for separate literature is based on criteria established by Marmor (1997). More specifically, the evaluation of literature development needs is based on the factors of dialect intercomprehension, language vitality, and language attitudes. Pertinent to the issue of a potential reference dialect for the Phla-Phera cluster, information regarding the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se dialect situations and the relationship of these speech varieties to other Gbe varieties (dealt with under dialect intercomprehension and language attitudes) was collected.

1. Dialect intercomprehension

a) Fon and Gen

- What are the Fon and Gen comprehension levels throughout the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities and might these levels be adequate for the use of Fon or Gen written materials?

b) Saxwe, Daxe, and Se

- What are the geographical boundaries of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech varieties?
- Which dialects of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se, if any, exist and what is the degree of comprehension between these dialects for each of the three speech varieties?
- What is the degree of comprehension between the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech communities?

c) Related Gbe varieties

- Are there any other developed Gbe varieties that are understood at high levels throughout the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities?

- Which Gbe varieties would the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities choose to group themselves with in terms of comprehension?
2. Language vitality
 - Are there indications of occurring or impending language shift?
 3. Language attitudes
 - What are the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities' attitudes toward the oral and written forms of Fon and Gen?
 - What are the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities' attitudes toward other related Gbe varieties?
 - What are community attitudes toward the development of Saxwe, Daxe, and/or Se?

There are some additional questions, most of which are directly related to the priority and strategy criteria outlined above and which provide updated information for the area. These questions are:

- What is the ethnic identity of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speakers?
- What is the size of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se populations?
- Are there already literacy classes in the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se areas? If so, in which language(s)?
- What is the religious make-up of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities and which languages are used in the religious domain?

5. Methodology

5.1. Assessment techniques

The survey approach was based on Stalder's (1996a) description of Rapid Appraisal Survey. The main research tools used were the community interview, and Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Tests (RA-RTTs).

Community questionnaires were used to explore the following topics: dialect intercomprehension, language vitality, language attitudes, ethnic identity, literacy situation, and religious make-up. RA-RTTs were administered to investigate Fon and Gen comprehension. (See Appendix D for an example of the questionnaire and Appendix J for the RA-RTT texts).

RA-RTTs provide a general indication of comprehension: either "good," "partial," or "no" comprehension. These levels are defined by Stalder (1996b:26) as follows:

- Level 3 Good comprehension: The story is retold accurately, and the people are able to give details.
- Level 2 Partial comprehension: When retelling the different sections, people invent and add to the story. If asked, they are not able to answer details.
- Level 1 No Comprehension: The group is not able to respond even to the general story lines.

The Gen text was developed in 1997 by a first language (L1) speaker of Gen, a national linguist. The Fon and Gen texts were elicited in 1998 from L1 speakers of Fon and Gun, respectively, both working as translators for the United Bible Society of Benin (Alliance Biblique au Bénin).

Baseline calibration was performed by administering the tests to five native speakers of Fon and Gun and three native speakers of Gen, respectively, playing two or three sentences at a time, and asking the L1 speakers to report what they had heard. Only those items which were retold accurately were retained on the tally list for that particular test. During the calibration of the three texts, the researchers were assisted by the three L1 speakers from whom the texts had been elicited.

This survey's modifications to Stalder's (1996b) method are the baseline calibration and shorter replay sections.

In addition to the community interviews and RA-RTTs, informal interviews were held with regional literacy coordinators, literacy workers, and church leaders (see Appendix E, Appendix F, Appendix H, and Appendix I).

5.2. Implementation

5.2.1. Saxwe

The first stage of the research was conducted in four Saxwe villages, initially chosen based on information taken from the *Atlas sociolinguistique du Bénin* (CNL du Bénin 1983) and conversations with local literacy coordinators. An effort was made to take a geographically balanced sample (north, south, east, and west). Smaller villages off the main roads were chosen with the strategy of testing those Saxwe with less exposure to neighboring and trade languages. During informal preparatory interviews held with the chief or mayor of each community, it was confirmed that all four Saxwe villages were 100% Saxwe ethnically, excluding endogamous wives, and that all spoke Saxwe as their principle language. The following Saxwe villages were selected:

1. Davè
 - Located in the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé, in the rural commune of Zoungbonou
 - Near the national highway RN2, relatively close to the Gen language area
 - chosen for its location on the western edge of the Saxwe language area
2. Djètoé
 - Located in the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé, in the rural commune of Dahé
 - Chosen for its remote location toward the southern border of the Saxwe language area
3. Gboho
 - Located in the sous-préfecture of Kpomassè, in the rural commune of Tokpa-Domè
 - Chosen as representative of the Saxwe villages to the east of Lake Ahémé in the Atlantique département
4. Médétogbo
 - Located in the sous-préfecture of Bopa, in the rural commune of Agbodji
 - Chosen as representative of the remote northern Saxwe villages

Community interviews were conducted in all four Saxwe villages, after which the RA-RTTs were administered, alternating the order of the two RA-RTTs from village to village, to distribute equally any decreased performance due to fatigue or unfamiliarity with the testing procedure. The interviews and RA-RTTs were conducted with the same cross-section of the population. Both the Fon and the Gen RA-RTTs were administered in all four Saxwe villages.

The informants at the Saxwe community interviews consisted of the chief or delegate and his elders, as well as members of the following “social groups:”

- Women around 20 years of age (“younger women”)
- Men around 20 years of age (“younger men”)
- Women around 40 years of age (“older women”)
- Men of around 40 years of age (“older men”)

In all four of these Saxwe villages, there were at least five people from each social group, often many more, even after excluding non-Saxwe attendees from the responding groups.

The RA-RTTs were executed by first playing the whole narrative to the group and then replaying it section by section (a section being about two or three sentences). During the replay, after each section one social group was to retell the contents of the section in Saxwe with care being taken to include the whole social group in the process by asking for a different speaker each turn. If necessary and feasible, the social group was asked to furnish more details; when requested the section was replayed. During the retelling, a tally of recalled details was kept, to be compared with the standard list of essential details previously established during the baseline calibration of the test.

During the field research in the three Mono département villages (Davè, Djètoé, and Médétogbo) the researchers were accompanied by the literacy coordinator for the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé, who is also the host of the two weekly Saxwe radio broadcasts. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator served the researchers as interpreter. In Gboho, the village chief volunteered to interpret during the interview and RA-RTT testing.

5.2.2. Daxe and Se

During the first stage of the survey, Saxwe informants had indicated that the rural commune of Dahé (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture) was the perceived center of the Daxe language area. Dahé-Kpodji was chosen as an interview site because the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture literacy coordinator had reported the existence of a literacy class in this village. The Dahé informants claimed that the vast majority of the village was ethnically Daxe, excepting endogamous wives, and that Daxe is spoken as a first language by the vast majority.

At the Daxe community interview the village chief and his elders, as well as a number other men and women, both young and old, and children were present. A local Daxe man, fluent in French, was chosen by the village chief to interpret between Daxe and French.

It became clear during the Saxwe interviews that the vast majority of Se speakers live in the town of Sè,³³ therefore this was chosen as the Se site for the second stage. The people of Sè were said to be

³³More than 90% of Se speakers live within the city limits of Sè (see Appendix B).

predominately of the Se ethnic group, excepting endogamous wives; the Se variety is the first language of the majority of Sè residents.

The Se interview was conducted with approximately two dozen male elders, including the mayor and his assistant. The director of the Sè office of the non-governmental organization (NGO) ARED-Bénin, an L1 Sè speaker, interpreted during the interview in Sè; she was the only Se woman present.

Because the researchers were already aware that further comprehension testing among the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language communities would be required during a future, more thorough survey due to the results of the first stage among the Saxwe, it was decided to not conduct group comprehension testing among the Daxe and Se at this time.

6. Results

In the following sections, data gathered from community interviews and informal interviews with regional literacy coordinators, village literacy workers, and church leaders, as well as the results from the RA-RTTs, will be presented according to the following topics: Saxwe, Daxe, and Se dialect situation (Section 6.1), Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and related Gbe varieties (Section 6.2), tested comprehension of Fon and Gen (Section 6.3), language vitality (Section 6.4), literacy situation (Section 6.5) and religious situation (Section 6.6).

In these results sections, “all the Saxwe” indicates all interviewed persons in the four villages of Davè, Djètoé, Gboho, and Médétogbo to whom the specific question was posed. “The Daxe” and “the Se” refers to the informants in Dahé-Kpodji and in Sè, respectively. “All,” “all informants” and “everyone” refers to all the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se informants. If no specific informants are mentioned, all those interviewed are implied.

6.1. Saxwe, Daxe, and Se dialect situation

6.1.1. Reported data

The question of whether Saxwe, Daxe, and Se should be considered dialects of the same language was a controversial one throughout the survey. All informants agreed that all three were completely mutually intelligible to all segments of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se populations, even young children. Everyone reported that in conversations between speakers of any two of these varieties, each can use his own variety and be fully understood. All agreed that the other two varieties resemble their own more closely than any other Gbe variety does. Saxwe and Daxe consider speakers of all three as “brothers,” while the Se only consider the Daxe as brothers; however outside of the area, for example in Cotonou, they would consider a Saxwe a “brother” by virtue of their being able to communicate without resorting to an LWC.

Many Saxwe informants were inclined to consider Daxe and Se as dialects of Saxwe, though they acknowledged having different origins than those of the Daxe and the Se. Daxe informants said Daxe was the same language variety³⁴ as Saxwe or a close dialect of it. Though they too recognized that they

³⁴The exact words used by the informants were “la même chose,” that is, “the same thing” or “the same.” The term ‘the same language variety’ is used to translate “la même chose” to avoid implying that the informants had offered a judgment as to the varieties’ status as languages, dialects, accents, etc.

had originated from different ancestors than those of the Saxwe, they said that they were now part of the Saxwe ethnic group and they accept the label “Saxwe,” though “Daxe” is preferred.

However the Se, while professing complete intercomprehension with the Saxwe, were quite clear that Se is not the same language variety as Saxwe, nor a dialect of it. They are not Saxwe ethnically as their origins are different.³⁵ Saxwe, according to Se informants, is derived from the older varieties of Daxe and Se; the Saxwe entered the territory at a later point in time, and adopted the speech variety of the Se, further contracting it and speaking more rapidly than the Daxe and the Se speak.

Se informants considered Daxe and Se to be slightly different accents of the same variety.³⁶ The Daxe variety is apparently more faithful to the older version of the language, having retained more morphemes than either Se or Saxwe and a “slower tempo.” However there is apparently no felt need for a cover term for the two varieties, i.e. “Daxe-Se.”

Houéyogbé and Honhoué are the perceived centers of standard Saxwe: when asked where Saxwe was best spoken, three out of the four Saxwe villages mentioned one or both of these towns as speaking “pure,” “good,” or “refined” Saxwe.³⁷ This is not surprising as Houéyogbé is the largest entirely Saxwe town, and Honhoué appears to have been an important site in the Saxwe migration (see Section 2.5 ‘History of migration’). However it was generally felt that Saxwe is spoken the same all over (exceptions being Daxe and Se, as well as the Dre and Ahurume variants discussed below) and the villages of the informants were mentioned equally often as an example of “good” Saxwe.

The linguistic center for Daxe is clearly the Dahé commune (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture) which encompasses eight Daxe-speaking villages. The undisputed language center of Se is the town of Sè (Houéyogbé sous-préfecture), where the vast majority of all Se speakers reside.

6.1.2. Lexical similarity

The results of the word list analysis show degrees of lexical similarity between Saxwe and both Daxe and Se of 85% and 84%, respectively, at the upper confidence limit. Daxe and Se exhibit remarkably greater similarity to each other with a 100% lexical similarity at the upper confidence limit.

³⁵Ethnically their original ancestors were Xwla, who migrated from Agbanakin to Dré, then to Dahé and finally to Sè, while the Saxwe all said their ancestors came from Savè. However it was never claimed by any Daxe or Se informant that either the Daxe or the Se language varieties derive from the Xwla variety. The myth of the monster or old man who gave the Xwla ancestor his language apparently explains the break between the speech of the Daxe and the Se and that of modern Xwla speakers.

³⁶At Djètoé, the closest to both the Daxe and the Se areas of the four surveyed Saxwe sites, both Sè and Sèbo were labeled as being Daxe-speaking and various Saxwe informants also felt that Daxe and Se were really the same variety.

³⁷Djètoé, the village not citing either, said Saxwe is best spoken at Djètoé, which lies directly between Houéyogbé and Honhoué.

Table 2: Degrees of lexical similarity

	Degree of lexical similarity (DLS) ^a	Range of error (Variance)	Upper confidence limit (DLS + variance)
Saxwe – Daxe	78%	6.6%	85%
Saxwe – Se	77%	6.7%	84%
Daxe – Se	98%	2.0%	100%

^aFor this computation, morphemes that are affixed to an apparent cognate shared by another variety are ignored if they occur always in the same position (see also Table 6 and Table 7 in Appendix C).

For further interpretation of results, “Language Assessment Criteria”³⁸ (International Language Assessment Conference 1990:2) gives the following recommendations:

[When the word list analysis results] indicate a lexical similarity between two speech forms of less than about 70% (at the upper confidence limit of the calculation), this generally indicates that these are different languages. ... If the similarity is more than 70%, dialect intelligibility testing is needed to determine how well people can understand the other speech form.

According to these guidelines, lexical criteria clearly do not necessarily indicate that Saxwe is a different language from the Daxe and Se varieties. Therefore comprehension testing would be necessary to determine more conclusively the degree of intercomprehension between Saxwe and the Daxe and Se varieties. The lexical criteria appear to indicate that Daxe and Se are indeed the same language, which confirms the historical information received from Daxe and Se informants.

6.2. Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and related Gbe varieties

With the goal of identifying which other Gbe varieties the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se would choose to group themselves with, all the surveyed villages were asked to volunteer related Gbe varieties which “resembled” their language. They were also asked what they would speak when faced with a need to communicate with a speaker of each of a number of other Gbe varieties, as well as which of the three LWCs of southwest Benin (Aja, Fon or Gen) they find the easiest and which the most difficult to understand. The following results are presented, starting with the languages reported as being most similar to Saxwe, Daxe, and Se.

6.2.1. Dre³⁹

Opinions diverged widely on the nature of the speech of the town of Dré (the southernmost town in Houéyogbé sous-préfecture, on RN2). The Se of Sè, the closest geographically to Dré, listed Dré in their migration history, saying that their Xwla ancestors first settled there after leaving Agbanakin. Later residents of Dré continued on to found Dahé and finally Sè.⁴⁰ The Se reported that Se is almost the same language variety as Dre; Dre and Se have the same words, but different accents. Dre is

³⁸These criteria were “approved for general use as administrative guidelines by the Area Directors and Vice Presidents” of SIL based on a statement adopted by participants of the International Language Assessment Conference in Horsleys Green, England in 1989. (International Language Assessment Conference 1990:1)

³⁹The speech varieties identified by the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se informants as Ahurume, Dedome, Dre, and Xwin are mentioned neither by CENALA (1990) nor by Capo (1986).

⁴⁰However no mention of Dré was made by the Daxe when they recounted the Agbanakin-Dahé migration.

“softer” (“plus doux”), while Se is “sharper” (“plus sec”). Se children understand Dre as soon as they are able to speak. In Dre-Se conversations each party uses his own variety, and the Se consider the Dre as closer brothers than they consider the Saxwe to be.

However the Daxe reported that Daxe is not the same language variety as Dre; they understand each other, but “there are nuances and too many differences in pronunciation; Dre enters purely into the Xwela language.” Daxe children can understand Dre from the age of three or four years, because Xwela people living nearby visit Dahé often, and “Dre is like Xwela.”⁴¹ In conversations with Dre, each uses own variety. Contrary to the migration history recounted at Sè, the Daxe reported that they do not have the same origins as the Dre; no informant at Dahé-Kpodji knew where the Dre came from. However the Dre are considered to be brothers because they speak a language like Daxe and thus they can communicate without resorting to a LWC.

Geographically farther than the Se and the Daxe, the Saxwe of Davè labeled the town of Dré as speaking a mix between Gen and Waci. Though the Davè informants, who are geographically closer than the other Saxwe interviewed, affirmed that Dre resembles Saxwe when specifically asked, earlier these same informants had reported that some Saxwe cannot understand Dre. Informants of Djètoé claimed that Daxe was spoken at Dré; Médétogbo’s citizens, quite far away geographically, thought that both Gbesi and Saxwe⁴² were spoken there.

6.2.2. Xwela

The two Saxwe villages geographically closest to Xwela villages, Djètoé and Gboho, reported that they consider Xwela to resemble Saxwe, when asked. (Xwela was not volunteered as a similar language.) The other two Saxwe villages responded that Xwela does not resemble their language. However all Saxwe reported that each party uses his own variety in Saxwe-Xwela conversations. Xwela was cited as the language employed by residents of Gboho to communicate with Xwla.

Xwela is one of the few languages listed by the Daxe informants as resembling Daxe. They are able to hold conversations with Xwela speakers without either party resorting to a language other than their L1. The Daxe added that they are in close proximity to a number of Xwela fishing villages on the western shore of Lake Ahémé and thus have regular contact with Xwela speakers.

The Se, on the other hand, said that Xwela was “not close” to their language; though there is enough mutual intelligibility that they can communicate with Xwela people without either using an LWC.

6.2.3. Xwla

When asked whether Xwla was like Saxwe, Djètoé informants responded affirmatively, stating that they can use Saxwe to communicate with Xwla people. However those of Davè and Gboho, which are closer to Xwla locations, when asked for dissimilar languages, volunteered Xwla. The Saxwe of Davè use Gen to communicate with Xwla people while the informants of Gboho said they resort to speaking

⁴¹The Daxe informants considered Xwela to resemble Daxe.

⁴²The Saxwe of Médétogbo considered both Daxe and Se to be Saxwe and did not distinguish between the three when labeling the maps; thus when they labeled Dré as partially Saxwe, it does not necessarily mean that they are referring to the same Saxwe that they themselves speak.

both Gen and Xwela to communicate with the Xwla. The Saxwe of both Davè and Djètoé reported that they understand Xwla, but at Gboho it was reported that the Xwla use Gen or Xwela to speak to Saxwe speakers. The Daxe also reported that Gen is spoken by both parties in conversations with the Xwla. However the Se felt they and Xwla could communicate without resorting to an LWC.

6.2.4. Dedome³⁹

Informants of Gboho, in the Kpomassè sous-préfecture, stated that the language variety of the rural commune of Dédomè, also in the Kpomassè sous-préfecture, is one of the three closest varieties to Saxwe (along with Daxe and Ahurume³⁹). However none of the other five communities interviewed, all on the other side of Lake Ahémé, made mention of Dedome and this area was reported to be Ayizo-speaking by Xwela informants during a previous survey (Volume 4).

6.2.5. Ahurume³⁹

The third variety that the Gboho Saxwe cited as the most similar to Saxwe is Ahurume. It was unclear to what this referred, perhaps simply to the accent of the village of Ahloumè (rural commune of Gbakpodji, Bopa sous-préfecture), labeled by informants at Djètoé and Médétogbo (who are geographically much closer than Gboho) as Saxwe. No mention of this locality or its speech was made by either the Daxe, the Se, or the other three Saxwe communities.

6.2.6. Gbokpa

The informants of Médétogbo denied that Gbokpa, the variety spoken in the urban circumscription of Bopa, resembled Saxwe. However these Saxwe informants, the closest geographically to Bopa, also reported that each party can use his own language in a Gbokpa-Saxwe conversation. The Daxe said Gbokpa is as similar to Daxe as is Saxwe, more similar than that of Dré, and the Se also cited Gbokpa as one of the varieties that resembles Se. However, the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator felt that Gbokpa was Ayizo. Both the Daxe and the Se reported that, like the Saxwe, they speak their own varieties with Gbokpa speakers and understand the Gbokpa variety.⁴³

6.2.7. Toli

The Se listed “the Toli of the Ouémé département” as resembling their language;⁴⁴ however later they stated that Fon is used by both parties when communicating with the Toli. Toli was not mentioned by other informants.

⁴³The Bopa literacy coordinator reported that several literacy classes among Gbokpa speakers in the town of Bopa are successfully using the DNA Saxwe-based primers (DNA n.d., a, b).

⁴⁴Toli of the Ouémé département should not be confused with the Toli dialect of Ayizo spoken in the sous-préfecture of Tori-Bossito.

6.2.8. Gbesi

Gbesi was not considered to resemble Saxwe, but all Saxwe reported that the Gbesi and the Saxwe can communicate with each other in their own varieties. Gboho, located near several Gbesi-speaking localities, volunteered that Gbesi was the same variety as Ayizo. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator remarked that Gbesi was “a bit between Aja and Kotafon.” The Daxe, also geographically close to Gbesi speakers (e.g., at Possotomè) reported that Fon is used in Gbesi-Daxe interactions. The Se conceded that Gbesi and Se shared some words, but denied that Gbesi resembled their language, though when conversing with Gbesi, each uses his own variety. (See Volume 10 for more information on Gbesi.)

6.2.9. Ayizo

All the Saxwe stated that Ayizo and Saxwe speakers can use their own varieties with each other, but no one said that the two varieties were especially similar. Both the Daxe and the Se informants reported using Fon when communicating with the Ayizo. The Se explained that though Ayizo shares some words with Se, there is not a true resemblance between the two.

6.2.10. Kotafon

All Saxwe reported that the Kotafon and the Saxwe communicate using their own varieties, though Kotafon was not considered to resemble Saxwe. Both the Daxe and the Se informants stated that Fon is used in Kotafon-Daxe and Kotafon-Se interactions. The Se said that Kotafon shares some words with Se, but does not resemble it.

6.2.11. Xwin³⁹

A Gbe variety called Xwin, similar to Kotafon, is spoken around Houin-Tokpa⁴⁵ (Lokossa sous-préfecture), according to the Saxwe informants at Davè, the nearest surveyed village to this area. Saxwe and Xwin speakers can communicate with each other in their own varieties, though no claim was made that Xwin is like Saxwe. Xwin was not mentioned by any of the other five communities interviewed.

6.2.12. Ci

The three Saxwe villages west of Lake Ahémé in the Mono département claimed to be able to communicate with Ci without the use of an LCW. The Saxwe of Gboho, on the other hand, reported that Gen is used by both parties in Ci-Saxwe interactions. When both the Daxe and the Se communicate with the Ci, Fon is used by both parties. The Se acknowledged some shared vocabulary with Ci, but denied a resemblance between the two.

⁴⁵Houin-Tokpa was labeled Aja-speaking by Kotafon informants during the Kotafon survey (Volume 3).

6.2.13. Fon

The Saxwe of Médétogbo and Davè (the farthest two sites from the Fon area) claimed to speak Saxwe to Fon people. The people of Djètoé use Fon, as do some of the informants at Gboho, while others of Gboho speak to the Fon in Saxwe, according to their abilities and the Fon speaker's comprehension. The Daxe and the Se both reported that they speak Fon to the Fon. All agreed that the Fon always speak Fon to the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se.

All informants stated that Fon is easier than Aja. However, there was no consensus as to Fon's relative simplicity with respect to Gen: the Saxwe of Djètoé and Gboho (the closest site to the Fon area) said Fon was easier than Gen, however those of Davè reported that Gen was easier than Fon. Médétogbo Saxwe (far from both the Fon and the Gen areas) had differing opinions on the relative difficulty of Fon and Gen, but many found the two of equal difficulty. Both the Se and the Daxe communities indicated that Gen was easier for them than Fon.

Residents of Gboho gave the youngest age for Fon comprehension: three years. In Médétogbo the men thought that a child of their village could understand Fon at eight years of age, but the women said not until ten years. At Djètoé the majority felt that by 15 years of age their adolescents could understand Fon. However some said residence among Fon speakers was necessary in order to understand. Those at Davè also felt children would have to travel to Fon areas to learn to understand Fon or must be at least ten to twelve years of age to be able to understand Fon. The Se claimed that most of their seven- and eight-year-olds could already understand Fon, though not all.

6.2.14. Gen

Most of the Saxwe reported that they use both Saxwe and Gen to speak to Gen speakers. Only those at Djètoé, along with the Daxe and Se, said they speak exclusively Gen in interactions with Gen; all agreed that the Gen only speak to them in Gen.

Gen was considered easier than Aja by all six communities, and informants in Davè, Sè, and Dahé all said that Gen is easier than Fon. These three are the localities along the southwestern edge of the surveyed area, and thus the closest to the Gen territory. The Saxwe of Djètoé and Gboho considered Gen more difficult than Fon. At Médétogbo opinions were divided as to whether Gen was easier or more difficult than Fon, though informants thought it took a slightly older child to be able to understand Gen than Fon. In Davè, the men felt the small children ("around 6 years old") could understand Gen already, whereas the women said the children must live among Gen speakers to understand Gen. The other three Saxwe communities gave minimum ages of ten years and above⁴⁶ for Gen comprehension, with some informants at Djètoé claiming that residence among Gen was necessary for comprehension.

Se residents felt the most confident of their children's Gen comprehension, some saying that from three to seven years of age their children begin to be able to understand Gen, others even claiming that "it is enough to start to understand Se to understand the Gen." The Daxe, on the other hand, could not give an age for expected Gen comprehension, rather they asserted that they must learn Gen as a second language, stating that Gen is "totally different" and comprehension is not inherent. The fact that Dahé-Kpodji is a village located on a small rural road, while Sè is a regional market town on a major

⁴⁶Djètoé: 15 years and "must live there"; Gboho: 12 years; Médétogbo: 10 years.

highway, and relatively close to the Gen language area, may account for this otherwise surprising disparity.

6.2.15. Aja

All agreed that among Aja, Fon, and Gen, the three main Gbe LWCs of southwest Benin, Aja is the most difficult. Three of the Saxwe villages, as well as the Se and the Daxe, reported using Gen to speak to Aja. Only Médétogbo, located the most northern and closest to Aja villages, uses Saxwe. Informants in Médétogbo and Davè (the other northern village) said that Aja speakers speak to them in Aja; in Davè it was added that “some Saxwe understand Aja.” The Saxwe of Djètoé and Gboho, the Daxe and the Se reported that the Aja speak Gen to them. In the six localities, all agreed that residence among Aja is necessary to acquire comprehension; one elderly informant at Médétogbo gave the age at which children understand Aja as “when they have white hair.”

6.2.16. Gun

Only two Saxwe villages professed having had contact with Gun people. Surprisingly they are the more western localities of Davè and Djètoé, the farthest from the Gun area around Porto-Novo. Djètoé said Fon is used by Gun and Saxwe speakers when interacting, while Davè said each speaks his own variety. The Daxe claimed that some Daxe can understand Gun, although they were unsure if the Gun would be able to understand Daxe. The Se reported that they speak either Fon or Gun to the Gun, and can understand Gun.

6.2.17. Tofin

Informants of two Saxwe villages affirmed having had contact with Tofin people: Djètoé and Gboho, the nearest to the Tofin area around Lake Nokoué, north of Cotonou. Those of Djètoé explained that the Saxwe and the Tofin use Fon to communicate, whereas the Saxwe of Gboho claimed that they speak to the Tofin in Xwela and can understand Tofin. The Se reported that Fon is normally used by both parties, though sometimes the Tofin speak their own variety, but it is difficult for the Se to understand. (The other Saxwe and the Daxe informants did not mention Tofin.)

6.3. Tested comprehension of Fon and Gen

RA-RTT testing was conducted in the four Saxwe localities in two Gbe varieties: Fon and Gen.⁴⁷ As explained in Section 5 ‘Methodology,’ RA-RTTs result in an assessment of comprehension on a three-level scale as defined by Stalder (1996b): “good,” “partial” or “no” comprehension.

Because of considerable differences in tape quality, story structure, and content, it is not possible to statistically compare the relative understanding of Fon and Gen from the tally results. Overall, the RA-

⁴⁷As explained in section 5.2.2 on the implementation of the methodology among the Daxe and the Se, Fon and Gen RA-RTT testing was not conducted among Daxe and Se speakers.

RTT results indicate “partial” comprehension of both Fon and Gen. (See Appendix K, Table 10 showing the comprehension levels of Fon and Gen for the tested communities.)

6.3.1. Fon

Overall Fon comprehension among the Saxwe subjects was “partial” according to Stalder’s definition.

The Saxwe of Médétogbo, the most isolated of the villages visited, scored the lowest on the Fon RA-RTT, with almost all demonstrating close to “no” comprehension, except the young men, who showed “partial” comprehension. Besides missing important details, elements not in the story were fabricated in some cases, which is generally a sign of (at best) “partial” comprehension. The few details which the women and older men were able to supply may reflect the comprehension of a few individuals or may be lucky guesses based on the young men’s previous answers. Therefore, Médétogbo’s comprehension is classified as borderline between “no” comprehension and “partial” comprehension.

Subjects in the remaining two villages, Davè and Djètoé, clearly demonstrated “partial” comprehension, with the young women of Davè bordering on “no” comprehension and the young men of Djètoé demonstrating “good” comprehension of Fon.

The three Mono département sites tested, which demonstrated only ‘partial’ comprehension of Fon, represent approximately three-quarters of the Saxwe people.⁴⁸ Therefore it must be assumed that the Fon comprehension of the majority of Saxwe speakers is at best “partial,” and that they cannot, therefore, benefit from Fon materials.

However, at Gboho, in the Kpomassè sous-préfecture of the Atlantique département, where Fon is the sole language of non-formal education, young men and women subjects demonstrated “good” comprehension, and the older men’s comprehension was “partial” bordering on “good.” Assuming that the subjects of Gboho are representative of the Saxwe speakers of the Atlantique sous-préfecture, and that the high comprehension of the young people reflects an ongoing trend, it appears that Fon materials may in the future become a viable solution for the Atlantique département Saxwe speakers.

6.3.2. Gen

Overall Gen comprehension among the Saxwe subjects was “partial” according to Stalder’s definitions.

One village, Davè, can be said to have “good” comprehension of Gen across all four social groups. However, as mentioned previously, Davè lies the closest to the Gen language area and near the RN2 highway, along which Gen is a major trade language. Therefore Davè’s high Gen comprehension is what might be expected, given their location.

At Gboho, both the young and older men also demonstrated “good” comprehension, resulting in an evaluation of “partial” to “good” Gen comprehension for this Atlantique département locality. However, as noted earlier, Fon is the language used for non-formal education in the Atlantique

⁴⁸By grouping all localities reported to contain Saxwe speakers according to the survey site to which they appear closest on the map, the following proportions can be obtained: 22% near Davè, 30% near Djètoé, 28% near Gboho and 20% near Médétogbo (see Appendix B ‘Population’).

département, and therefore Gen-based literacy does not appear to be a consideration for Atlantique département Saxwe and Daxe.

Though the young men tested at Djètoé showed “partial” bordering on “good” comprehension, the other social groups in Djètoé demonstrated solidly “partial” comprehension of Gen, resulting in an overall evaluation of partial comprehension for this locality.

Subjects in Médétogbo, in the remote, northern part of the Saxwe area, performed the lowest on the Gen test. The older women apparently understood virtually none of the Gen text, and the other groups showed “partial” comprehension, resulting in an overall assessment of “partial” comprehension.

As Gen language materials are not at issue for the Atlantique département Saxwe, and given that the majority of Mono département Saxwe live in rural and isolated villages like Djètoé and Médétogbo, not near the Gen area and the highway, like Davé, it must be concluded that the majority of Mono département Saxwe speakers do not possess adequate comprehension of Gen to benefit from Gen-based materials.

6.4. Language vitality

Saxwe, Daxe, and Se are the preferred languages for L1 Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speakers, respectively, and used in all domains where they are practical and permitted. Thus there are presently no indications for occurring or impending language shift in any of these three communities. Saxwe, Daxe, or Se, depending on the location, was reported to be the sole language used for all village announcements, traditional rites and ceremonies, family and village mediation, and village and regional meetings of elders. In addition, two Saxwe radio programs are aired each week by the national radio station in Cotonou; one provides educational information on health and agriculture while the other consists of national news, obituaries, and local announcements. Saxwe is also used for written purposes and will be discussed in Section 6.5 ‘Literacy situation.’

Regarding language use by children, no informant complained that children are speaking Saxwe, Daxe, or Se unsatisfactorily nor were any other signs of intergenerational language change reported.

Domains where it is occasionally not practical or permitted to use Saxwe, Daxe, or Se are those of the regional market, school, government offices, church, mosque, and in the voodoo convents.

Gen, Fon, or French are sometimes used to trade with those who are not Saxwe, Daxe, or Se at regional markets such as that of Comè, though the informants claimed to be able to use their own language to communicate with a large number of other language groups (Ayizo, Ci, Gbesi, Gbokpa, Kotafon, Xwela, etc.).

The official language of the Benin government and public school system is French; thus Saxwe, Daxe, and Se civil servants and students use primarily French during the course of their daily activities, though local languages are used orally as well.

Churches in the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se areas use Daxe, Ewe, Fon, French, Gen, Gun, and Saxwe. Arabic is used for the reading of the Koran in the mosques. Voodoo convents typically use the language variety of another area in order to guard their secrets: at Sè the Gbe variety Hevié, spoken in the village

of Hevié, near Godomey in the Atlantique département, is used.⁴⁹ Language use in the religious domain will be further discussed in Section 6.6 ‘Religious situation and language use.’

6.5. Literacy situation

Non-formal education is conducted in Saxwe among the Saxwe and Daxe localities of the Mono département and in Fon among those of the Atlantique département. Among the Se, the only non-formal education reported was an adult class in functional French sponsored by an NGO. Attitudes toward literacy using Fon, Gen, and Saxwe-based materials were investigated, according to the location (e.g., Atlantique département Saxwe were questioned about Fon and Saxwe; the Se about all three).

6.5.1. Saxwe

Literacy in Saxwe was first started by the current Houéyogbé literacy coordinator in 1977 in the sous-préfecture of Bopa, which has since been divided into the two sous-préfectures of Bopa and Houéyogbé. Saxwe is the only language currently used for non-formal education by these two sous-préfectures. A three volume Saxwe primer series, published by the Direction Nationale de l’Alphabétisation (DNA n.d., a, b) is based on this Houéyogbé-Honhoué Saxwe variety.⁵⁰ No Saxwe or Daxe informants had any complaints about the variety of Saxwe used in the primers; they also reported that no orthographic changes are desired. The fifteen Bopa sous-préfecture-sponsored literacy centers use two volumes of this series; the fifteen of the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture use all three volumes.

The combined Bopa sous-préfecture centers had 400 participants in the 1997–1998 term who passed the final examination, of which 220 were women, as reported by the Bopa sous-préfecture literacy coordinator. In the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé approximately 450 students participated in the classes (around 30 students per center), of which the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator⁵¹ estimated 65–80% passed the final examination (290 to 360 participants). In the Houéyogbé sous-préfecture women participants are reported to be in the minority, with only two or three at some centers, except at the town of Houéyogbé where all participants are female, as reported by the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator. A desire to remunerate the volunteer master teachers was expressed by the Bopa sous-préfecture literacy coordinator. He explained that it is currently they who must pay for supplies such as chalk, blackboards, and pens.

Two NGOs, PILSA and GROPERE, reportedly organized five literacy centers each in the Bopa sous-préfecture in previous years but these centers are no longer functioning. According to the Bopa literacy coordinator, these also used the DNA Saxwe primers.

Both the Bopa and the Houéyogbé sous-préfectures have also had post-literacy efforts in place since the 1980s: currently five reading clubs are meeting in Bopa and seven in Houéyogbé. Between 330 and 405 people participate in these clubs according to the two coordinators’ estimates (Bopa, 225–300; Houéyogbé, 105 people). The post-literacy programs include financial record-keeping, letter-writing, mathematics, and the publication of Saxwe booklets and newspapers on topics such as agriculture,

⁴⁹The varieties spoken in other voodoo convents in the region were not revealed to the researchers. The Se variety is reportedly used in voodoo convents in Lomé (Togo) and Savalou (Benin).

⁵⁰The Saxwe radio broadcasts also use this accent, as the announcer is from Adromé, directly between the towns of Houéyogbé and Honhoué.

⁵¹Both of these literacy coordinators are L1 Saxwe speakers.

animal husbandry, commerce, health, and local news stories. Several booklets have already been produced and are in circulation. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator emphasized that the goal of post-literacy is for the Saxwe “to be themselves in all things.”

Besides the publications of the post-literacy programs, other written materials in Saxwe are also being developed. The *Declaration of Human Rights* has reportedly been translated from Gen into Saxwe in 1998, but there were many errors, so the Saxwe sent back a corrected version for reprinting. A Saxwe-French dictionary is also in progress, as reported by the Bopa literacy coordinator. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator has begun translation into Saxwe of the biblical book of Matthew with the intention to translate the other three New Testament gospels: Mark, Luke, and John.

Regarding the Daxe area, three interviewed literacy workers from Dahé-Kpodji reported that three literacy classes are currently taking place among the Daxe of Houéyogbé sous-préfecture. One is sponsored by CARDER, a governmental rural development organization, and the other two by the sous-préfecture. About 120 Daxe are currently participating; the oldest center is now in its 12th year. All three classes use the DNA Saxwe primers, which they understand “perfectly.” There are also a dozen literate Daxe involved in a reading club who help teach other people.

As for the Se area, no local language development is currently underway among Se speakers, though ARED-Bénin, an NGO based at Sè, has been conducting classes in functional French during the past three years. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator reported having tried to establish a literacy center at Sè, but felt the Se-speaking people did not recognize a need for local language literacy. It was felt that the Se were against using Saxwe, so the literacy coordinator trained some Se to teach literacy in Se, apparently using the Saxwe primers, but nothing came of it. The Se elders recall literacy classes being started at Sè, but they attributed their failure to a lack of resources: no chalkboards or other supplies. However this does not seem to be the same program which the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator tried to initiate; the Se remembered that this program was initiated by Catholic nuns and used primers that employed the common radicals shared by Gen, Fon, Saxwe, Se, and other Gbe varieties. The classes were taught in Se and in Gen. The Se informants said they had never seen materials written in Saxwe, though the secretary to the mayor of Sè, a L1 Fon speaker, recalled that CLCAM, a local credit agency, and an unnamed NGO, had begun literacy in Sè, both using Saxwe materials. Both programs have since stopped for unknown reasons. The elders of Sè indicated a reluctance to use Saxwe materials; their first choice was materials designed specifically for Se, but not having that they would prefer Gen over Saxwe.

Two of the Bopa sous-préfecture literacy centers and one of the post-literacy clubs are in the urban circumscription of Bopa and serve Gbokpa speakers, and are taught by two L1 Gbokpa speakers. (Another L1 Gbokpa woman teaches literacy in a Saxwe-speaking village.) All three use the Saxwe primers, apparently successfully; according to the Bopa literacy coordinator, all Gbokpa speakers understand Saxwe well and that they can write Gbokpa using the Saxwe alphabet.

6.5.2. Fon

Fon is the main language of non-formal education in the Atlantique département; it is the only language used for literacy by the sous-préfecture of Kpomassè where the majority of Atlantique Saxwe are found. This sous-préfecture currently has 12 literacy centers, one of which, in Azinzokanmé (rural commune of Dékanmé), has two classes composed of 49 Saxwe participants as reported by the literacy coordinator of the Kpomassè sous-préfecture. Since November 1998, these two classes have been

taught by a Saxwe teacher who lives in Hinmadou. No statistics were available on the success rate of Saxwe students in these two classes. In spite of these two classes, the Kpomassè sous-préfecture literacy coordinator⁵² concedes that the “Saxwe do not like learning Fon, but at present they are forced to choose between Ayizo and Fon.”⁵³ All Saxwe try to learn at least a little Fon, but their Fon is not clear.” The Kpomassè literacy coordinator is aware that Saxwe primers exist, but they are not in use in this sous-préfecture because the teacher-trainers have not mastered Saxwe to be able to train Saxwe literacy teachers. One could send prospective Saxwe teachers to the Mono département to be trained, but it costs too much to transport, feed, and lodge them during their training. Bringing a trained Saxwe teacher to Kpomassè to train teachers also costs more than the sous-préfecture can currently allocate, explained the literacy coordinator.

Gboho currently has a literacy class in Fon, in which 15 of the interviewed group participate; they all agreed that Fon classes and primers are easy for them. A total of 26 students, of which 12 are female, meet twice a week. The class is sponsored by the NGO ASSOPAGRI, based at Tokpa-Domè. The literacy teacher is Fon. The informants at Gboho reported never having seen anything written in Saxwe, nor knowing anyone who can write in Saxwe.

In the first term of post-literacy in the sous-préfecture of Kpomassè, 1996–1997, six clubs were initiated, including one among the Saxwe in Azinzokanme. The program was conducted in the Fon language and focused on dictation, management, mathematics, reading, and writing. Among the six clubs 34 people, including six women, participated; 55% of the participants passed the final examination. However in the following term (1997–1998), only one club (not in a Saxwe area) survived with only seven students. The post-literacy efforts declined, according to the Kpomassè literacy coordinator, because the literacy workers received no remuneration for their work and thus became discouraged and quit.

The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator also reported that the Catholic Young Movement (Mouvement de Jeunesse Catholique, MJC) once tried to train Saxwe teachers to teach literacy in Fon at Ouidah, but their efforts did not succeed due to unknown reasons.

As no Daxe residing in the Atlantique département were contacted during the survey, no information regarding their attitudes towards Fon literacy are presented.

6.5.3. Gen

As previously mentioned, Gen is the principal LWC and a major language of non-formal education in the Mono département. It is also the primary language of the some of the churches in the area, including the Catholic church. However, no Gen literacy is currently taking place in any of the Saxwe, Daxe, or Se communities, according to the informants' knowledge. The Se informants agreed though that in the absence of Se literacy materials, Gen literacy materials would be preferable to materials in Saxwe.

⁵²The Kpomassè literacy coordinator is an L1 Ayizo speaker; he reported that he can understand Saxwe.

⁵³The Kpomassè literacy coordinator is apparently referring to an NGO-sponsored Ayizo-based literacy program, as only Fon literacy materials are used by the Kpomassè sous-préfecture.

6.6. Religious situation and language use

6.6.1. Animism

The Saxwe, Daxe, and Se people are traditionally Animist, and if the villages surveyed are representative, this remains the case. An influential Saxwe voodoo practitioner lives at Doutou, according to the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator. Saxwe, Daxe, and Se are used for most voodoo and fetish ceremonies, though the voodoo convent of Sè uses the Gbe variety of the village of Hevié (Abomey-Calavi sous-préfecture, Atlantique département) to preserve secrecy.

6.6.2. Christianity

Saxwe, Daxe, and Se Christians are more numerous in the urban areas than in the rural villages. The Catholic Church is the most established among the Saxwe; at Adromé, home town of the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator, over half the population is reportedly Catholic. (This is the only church at Adromé.) At Davè there is a Catholic mission, as well as a Pentecostal church. The urban circumscription of Sè has a number of churches of various affiliations, and Dahé-Kpodji has four churches in the area. There are no churches at Djètoé, Gboho, or Médétogbo, though the residents of Médétogbo mentioned that there is a Catholic mission at Zoungbo (Bopa sous-préfecture).

1. Catholic churches

Aja and Gen are the two approved liturgical languages of the diocese of Lokossa (Mono département, encompassing a majority of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speakers). Thus these two, along with French, are considered appropriate for all parts of the mass and other activities. The use of Saxwe and Daxe is encouraged in the domains in which they are currently being used, namely for announcements, homilies, prayers, midweek meetings, and summarizing the Biblical texts, and none of the Catholics interviewed felt that their language would be improper for the mass. The use of Saxwe (or any other language) for the other parts of the mass would need to be authorized by the bishop of Lokossa.

In the Catholic church at Adromé, where the priest is an L1 Saxwe speaker, Saxwe is used for the homily, the announcements, the parishioners' prayers, and a summary of the lectionary reading. Gen is used for the communion, official prayers, the lectionary, and the songs, according to the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator, an active church member and former seminarian. A catechist and three parishioners of the Catholic church at Dahé-Kpodji explained that Gen plays a larger role there: it is used for the homily, announcements, communion, prayers and songs. In the Dahé-Kpodji Catholic church, where the priest is Xwela, Daxe is only used for the prayers of parishioners and a summary of the lectionary reading. Aja songs are also sung in both these churches. Se informants reported that the Catholic church at Sè uses Gen for all functions.

All the Catholics interviewed reported that New Testament texts are read out of the Gen New Testament translation (SBT 1962), while Old Testament texts are read in French at their churches. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator estimated that only about 5% of the Adromé congregation possess a Bible in any language; one third of the Dahé-Kpodji congregation has a Bible, according to the Daxe catechist. The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator explained that many literate Saxwe Catholics have difficulty reading the Gen lectionary (a collection of Bible passages used in the mass) so care is taken in selecting those who read well, usually students. However,

the reading is not understood well by everyone, he added; notably the older members and children have difficulty. Thus the content is usually summarized in Saxwe during the homily by the priest. Similarly at Dahé-Kpodji, young people usually read the Gen lectionary, occasionally with difficulty, but the meaning is reportedly understood by everyone.

Saxwe or Daxe, according to location, is used for Catholic meetings of women, youth, testimonies, and prayer. The Daxe mentioned that Fon, French, or Gen are also used for testimonies and prayers, depending on who is speaking; if French is used a spontaneous Gen translation is provided so that all can understand. Gen is the language of the catechism classes throughout the Lokossa diocese, even though it is not completely understood by the children.⁵⁴ There are three choirs in the church of Adromé of children, youth, and adults. The youth choir sometimes sings in French, but the bishop has urged them not to sing too much in French as not everyone can understand. The children's and adult choirs sing exclusively in Gen.

No religious materials were known to exist in Saxwe, Daxe, or Se. However, the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator and another Saxwe literacy teacher have begun translating the book of Matthew with the intention to complete the four gospels of the New Testament, in response to expressed desire for biblical materials in Saxwe by church members. They are working from several French translations and the Gen New Testament translation (SBT 1962). Due to their other responsibilities though, progress has been slow.⁵⁵ The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator expressed a desire to see representatives of churches of other affiliations help with the translation so that it will be accepted and used by all Saxwe. The Daxe Catholic church members, as well as the members of the other two Daxe churches interviewed were very enthusiastic about using Saxwe religious materials and said they would participate "entirely" in a Saxwe Bible translation project.

2. Other churches

The following churches were also reported to be active in the Saxwe area: Apostolic, Celestial Church of Christ, Evangelical Faith Mission, Pentecostal, Pioneers, and Union of Rebirth of Men in Christ. Jehovah's Witnesses are also reportedly present among the Saxwe. Vanderaa (1991:2,8) claims that the Assemblies of God also work among the Saxwe people but no mention of this church was made by any informant during the survey.

A member of the Pentecostal church of Atchago (a hamlet of Davè) reported the use of Ewe for preaching and Bible reading; French for singing, praying, and Bible reading; and Saxwe for announcements. The pastor is Aja and does not speak Saxwe.

In the Daxe area there are three other churches besides the Catholic church: Apostolic, Deeper Life, and Word of Christ to the World. An official of the Apostolic church and a choir member of the Word of Christ to the World church provided the following information.

In the Apostolic church of Dahé-Kpodji, a wide variety of languages are used: Daxe for children's classes, preaching, prayers, and mid-week meetings of women, youth, testimonials, Bible study, and prayer. Gen is also used for preaching and testimonials, as well as

⁵⁴The Houéyogbé literacy coordinator cited a case that had occurred the morning of the interview in which his young daughter had not understood a Gen word during her catechism class and had come to ask him its meaning in Saxwe.

⁵⁵As previously mentioned, the Houéyogbé literacy coordinator is the host of two weekly Saxwe language radio broadcasts recorded in Cotonou, as well as being the literacy coordinator of the sous-préfecture of Houéyogbé.

announcements, Bible reading, communion, prayers and songs. French is also sometimes used for announcements, Bible reading, songs, and Sunday prayers, by leaders. Occasionally Aja songs are sung and Fon is used for giving testimonials and prayers. The Gen New Testament translation and French Bibles are used; but only two people possess a Bible in this congregation. The majority of the church is Daxe-speaking and there are Daxe church leaders at the church who provide Daxe interpretation when necessary.

The Word of Christ to the World church uses Fon for announcements, Bible reading, children's classes, communion, preaching, prayers, songs, and women's and youth mid-week meetings. French is also used for announcements, Bible reading, and songs. In addition, Gun is used for announcements, Bible reading and mid-week Bible study and testimonial meetings. Daxe is only used by parishioners when praying. Fon, French, and Gun Bibles are used, with everyone in the church reportedly possessing a Bible. Though the pastor is an L1 Daxe speaker, he (or someone else) provides spontaneous Fon translation when Gun is spoken because though everyone in the church understands Fon, not all understand Daxe or Gun.

In the Se area, the following denominations are found in addition to the Catholic Church: Celestial Church of Christ, Pentecostal, Church of Peace, Evangelical Faith Mission, Apostolic, Union of Rebirth of Men in Christ, and Church of Christ. In these churches Fon, French, and Gen are the main languages used, with the Pentecostal church using Ewe and the Celestial Church of Christ using Gun, according to those present at the interview in Sè. These informants claimed that none of the churches at Sè use Se.

6.6.3. Islam

The Saxwe informants were not aware of any mosques in the Saxwe area. At Sè there is one small mosque in which Arabic is used for the Koranic reading; it was unclear if a second language was used for the explanation. The majority of adherents are Hausa and Yoruba, though some Se attend as well. The Dahé-Kpodji informants mentioned that there is a mosque at Danzoumè (Kpomassè sous-préfecture) which they labeled mixed Daxe- and Fon-speaking. Their impression was that Arabic is used there for the Koranic reading and Daxe for the explanation, though no one present has observed this first-hand.

7. Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this survey was to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Fon and Gen could extend to the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se communities, or whether additional language-based development programs in Saxwe, Daxe, and/or Se would be beneficial, and to gather data that would help determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these communities. The following areas were investigated:

1. Comprehension and language attitudes with regard to Fon and Gen
2. Language vitality of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se
3. Language attitudes towards Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language development

Pertinent to the issue of a potential reference dialect for the Phla-Phera cluster was the issue of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se dialect situation and the relationship of Saxwe, Daxe, and Se to other Gbe varieties (comprehension, language attitudes and use as regards related Gbe varieties). In the following, this issue will be summarized under ‘Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and other related Gbe varieties’ (Section 7.4).

7.1. Comprehension and attitudes with regard to Fon and Gen

The Fon and Gen comprehension testing indicated “partial” comprehension of both of these languages on the part of most Saxwe subjects. Gen comprehension was slightly better than that of Fon, however in none of the four Saxwe locations can it be said that either Gen or Fon comprehension is “good” for all social groups, except for those of Davè who demonstrated “good” Gen comprehension. Attitudes toward Fon-based literacy among Atlantique département Saxwe were mixed; attitudes toward Gen among the Se were quite positive.

7.1.1. Fon

Fon comprehension was “partial” across the four villages tested. Among the three Mono département villages, Davè and Djètoé demonstrated “partial” comprehension while Médétogbo scored low enough to justify an assessment of “partial” bordering on “no” comprehension of Fon. As approximately three-quarters of the Saxwe population is found in the Mono département, the overall Saxwe level of Fon comprehension must be considered to be at best “partial,” and Fon materials not a viable option for Mono département Saxwe.

Nevertheless, at Gboho, in the Atlantique département, where Fon is used as the language of non-formal education, the younger men and women demonstrated “good” comprehension and the older men “partial” to “good” comprehension of the Fon test. Assuming that these subjects are representative of the Atlantique département Saxwe and that the performance of these young people reflects an ongoing trend of increasing Fon comprehension, Fon materials may be a viable solution for Atlantique département Saxwe in the future.

The Saxwe informants of Gboho and Médétogbo, the Daxe and the Se all claimed their children could understand Fon, at the latest by ten to twelve years of age; however the Saxwe of Davè and Djètoé felt that residency among Fon speakers was necessary for their children to acquire Fon comprehension.

Attitudes towards Fon were only investigated among the Saxwe of the Atlantique département, not among the Mono département Saxwe or Daxe, because of the wide-spread and apparently successful Saxwe-based literacy program already in place in the Mono département localities. The data collected on the attitudes of the Atlantic département Saxwe towards Fon are not entirely consistent. Gboho has an apparently successful literacy class in Fon, meeting twice a week. In addition, there are also two Fon literacy classes composed of Saxwe students at Azinzokanmé with a recently trained Saxwe teacher. However the Kpomassè sous-préfecture literacy coordinator acknowledged that there are negative attitudes toward Fon literacy and that Saxwe materials would be more ideal for the Saxwe of his sous-préfecture, but unfortunately he lacks the resources to train Saxwe teachers to teach this curriculum.

Se speakers expressed a preference for Gen-based literacy over either Fon or Saxwe.

7.1.2. Gen

The overall Saxwe community's comprehension of Gen is assessed as "partial," based on the RA-RTT results of the four Saxwe villages tested.

Davè demonstrated "good" comprehension of Gen across all four social groups, likely due to their proximity to the Gen language area and the RN2 highway, along which Gen is the primary language of trade. In the Atlantique département, Gboho showed "good" to "partial" comprehension overall; however as Fon, not Gen, is the main language of non-formal education throughout the Atlantique département, use of Gen materials is not a likely option for Atlantique département Saxwe. Subjects in Djètoé and Médétogbo, remote, rural villages located in the central part of the Saxwe language area, both demonstrated only "partial" comprehension. Given that most Mono département Saxwe live in villages like Djètoé and Médétogbo, not as near the Gen area and the highway as do the residents of Davè, one must conclude that the majority of Mono département Saxwe do not adequately understand Gen and cannot benefit from Gen-based materials.

No informants felt that young Saxwe or Daxe children could understand Gen; ten years of age was the youngest estimate of Gen comprehension among the Saxwe and Daxe informants, while others said Gen comprehension would require residence in a Gen-speaking context. However the Se informants indicated that Se children of three to seven years of age can already understand Gen.

Attitudes toward Gen of the Mono département Saxwe and Daxe were not investigated as Saxwe literacy is already in place and no Gen literacy activity among the Saxwe was reported. Se speakers though expressed a preference for Gen-based literacy over either Fon or Saxwe.

7.2. Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language vitality

Saxwe, Daxe, and Se are the preferred languages for L1 Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speakers, respectively, and are used in all domains where they are practical and permitted; thus there are presently no indications for occurring or impending language shift in any of these three communities. Domains where it is occasionally not practical or permitted are those where use of French, Gen, or Fon is mandated by external institutions (i.e. the Beninese public school system, government offices, Catholic dioceses) or communicative necessity (i.e. as regional markets, churches with non-Saxwe, Daxe, or Se pastors or members).

7.3. Attitudes towards Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language development

Attitudes towards Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language development were quite positive among all interviewed. Saxwe language development has already begun with extensive literacy and post-literacy programs in the Mono département using Saxwe-based primers. The post-literacy program in Houéyogbé is producing booklets in Saxwe on a variety of topics such as agriculture, commerce and health; several have already been published and are in circulation. Reportedly the *Declaration of Human Rights* has been translated into Saxwe and been sent to Porto-Novo for printing and a Saxwe-French dictionary is forthcoming. In the religious domain, the translation of the four gospels of the Bible has recently been initiated by L1 Saxwe speakers. This was begun in response to expressed desire on the part of Saxwe Christians for religious materials in Saxwe.

The Daxe informants of Dahé-Kpodji expressed quite positive attitudes toward Saxwe language development; they were content with the Saxwe literacy materials currently in use, and indicated a desire for Saxwe religious materials. All the Daxe church representatives interviewed said they would participate “entirely” in a Saxwe Bible translation project. The Se, on the other hand, were quite positive about the development of Se, but only minimally interested in Saxwe materials. However no attempts at Se language development were known; thus, in the absence of Se-based literacy materials, Gen primers would be preferable to those in Saxwe.

7.4. Saxwe, Daxe, and Se and other related Gbe varieties

All Saxwe, Daxe, and Se informants reported complete intercomprehension among Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speakers. Some Saxwe and Daxe informants even grouped all these groups together as one language variety. However the Se informants were quite emphatic that Se is not the same variety as Saxwe, nor a dialect of it. All informants of the three varieties judged the other two varieties to be the closest to their own among the Gbe varieties, and claimed that their children could understand the other two varieties from a very early age. However all agreed that the Saxwe have different ancestors than those of the Daxe and the Se. Ahurume, Dre, and Xwin were also considered to be very close to the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se varieties.

Xwela is considered a similar language by some; all reported being able to communicate with Xwela speakers without either party using an LWC. The linguistic proximities between Xwela and Saxwe, Daxe, and Se remain unclear: one Saxwe village reported that Xwela resembles Saxwe and that in Saxwe-Xwela conversations, each can use his own variety. However other Saxwe villages stated that the Saxwe must employ Gen or Xwela to communicate with Xwela speakers. Daxe also felt that each needs to use Gen to be understood, though the Se (who believed their ancestors, as well as those of the Daxe, were originally Xwela) claimed that they can converse directly with the Xwela, without either party resorting to an LWC.

Ayizo, Ci, Gbesi, Gbokpa, and Kotafon are close enough to Saxwe that each party can speak his own variety. However both the Se and the Daxe find it necessary for each party to use Fon with the Ayizo, Kotafon, and Ci. The Daxe and the Gbesi use Fon with each other, whereas the Gbesi and the Se can use their own varieties with each other. Gbokpa is close enough that in Daxe and Se interactions with Gbokpa speakers, each party uses his own variety.

Aja, Gun, and Tofin all seem to be more remote Gbe varieties with a majority of informants either reporting the need to use an LWC or a lack of contact with these three groups.

7.5. Conclusions

The Saxwe communities’ comprehension test results for Fon and Gen demonstrate “partial comprehension” in the limited contexts in which they were examined for this survey. (No Fon and Gen comprehension testing was conducted among among the Daxe and Se speech communities.)

More specifically, the overall Fon comprehension of the three Mono département localities is solidly “partial.” In the Atlantique département, however, the Gboho subjects’ comprehension is on the border between “partial” and “good,” with all young people indicating “good” comprehension. The overall

average Gen comprehension in the three Mono département localities is also “partial,” even though the town of Davè demonstrated “good” Gen comprehension across all social groups which is likely due to Davè’s unique proximity to Gen speaking areas. In the Atlantique département, where Fon, not Gen, is the main language of non-formal education, Gboho showed “good” to “partial” Gen comprehension.

These results indicate that neither Fon nor Gen might be workable solutions for the literacy needs of the Saxwe communities in the Mono département. Instead, the results indicate that the Saxwe literacy program already in place in the Mono département is the best solution for the Saxwe literacy needs. Literacy in the Saxwe language has, in fact, been taking place in the Mono département since 1977 and has produced a considerable number of L1 literate Saxwe and Daxe, a well-accepted alphabet and publications of local interest. In the Atlantique département, however, where government-sponsored literacy classes use Fon-based materials, Fon might become a viable solution for Saxwe speakers’ literacy needs, provided that the young people’s performance in Gboho reflects an ongoing trend. However, some negative attitudes among Atlantique Saxwe towards Fon were reported by the Kpomassè literacy coordinator, who indicated a willingness to use the Saxwe primers in his sous-préfecture contingent upon finding the funding to train teachers in their use.

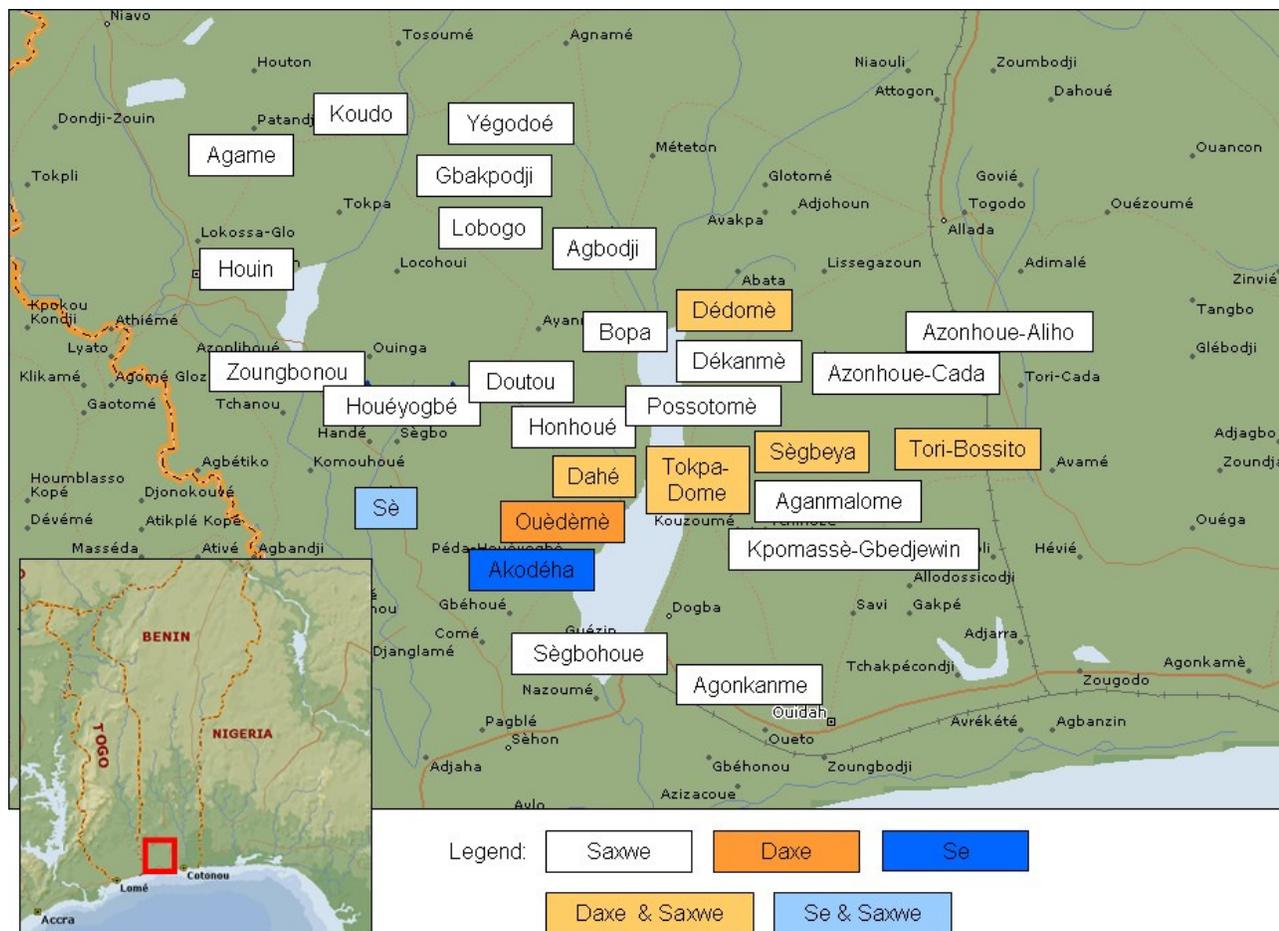
With respect to the Daxe and Se speech communities, the results further indicate that the Daxe communities benefit from the ongoing Saxwe-literacy efforts. Moreover, Daxe informants reported overall positive attitudes toward Saxwe language development and the Saxwe literacy materials currently in use, and they indicated a desire for Saxwe religious materials. In contrast, the investigated Se communities were only minimally interested in Saxwe materials while they expressed positive attitudes toward Se language development, albeit no attempts at Se language development were known. Hence, in the absence of Se-based literacy materials, the interviewed Se informants would prefer Gen-based literacy over Saxwe.

In concluding, these findings suggest that the Saxwe literacy program currently in place in the Mono département is the best solution for the literacy needs in the Saxwe speech communities, and that this program ideally be expanded to benefit the Saxwe villages in the Atlantique département. The findings also indicate that Saxwe literacy is a workable solution for the literacy needs in the Daxe speech communities. For the Se speech communities, however, Gen-literacy might be a workable solution, given the reported preference for Gen literacy materials over those in Saxwe. This conclusion is contingent, however, on an investigation into Gen comprehension by all segments of the Se population, confirming their self-evaluation of good Gen comprehension.

Appendices

Appendix A. Map of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language areas

Figure 1: Map of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se language areas (based on Microsoft Corporation 2002^a)



^aThe data contained in this map represent the perceptions of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se informants and have not been otherwise confirmed. This map displays those places known to *Microsoft Encarta*'s "World Atlas" (Microsoft Corporation 2002), and Google's *Map data* (Google Maps 2009). The map does not display the rural communes of Badazouin and Kpinnou (see Appendix B 'Population').

Appendix B. Population

The Saxwe, Daxe, and Se speech communities have an estimated total population of 113,448–174,423 speakers, as suggested by the findings presented in Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5.⁵⁶

Table 3: Saxwe language communities

Total Saxwe Population		984,826 – 139,660
Mono département		98,705
Athiémè s.-p. ^a		Lobogo r.c.
Kpinnou r.c.		Adjamè
Kpinnou	1,118	Atohoué
Bopa s.-p.		Devedji
Agbodji r.c.		Dhodho
Agbodji	1,626	Djofoun
Djidjazoun	2,020	Gbede-Come
Houégbou	517	Gbeto-Come
Logloe (Zoungbo)	883	Gboséhoué
Médétogbo	1,088	Hagnamé
Zigagué	668	Kpota
Badazouin r.c.		Tave
Atoé	1,829	Possotomè r.c.
Badazouin	1,829	Ouassa-Kpodji
Hombètè	1,295	Ouassa-Tokpa
Honhoui	1,006	Possotomè
Kpavé	830	Yégodoé r.c.
Médéssédji	829	Aveganme
Bopa u.c.		Djékian
Doguía	328	Fandihouin (Houunkpaïhoué)
Massé	634	Lonfin
Séhougbato	707	Tchantchankpo
Tohonou	741	Tékozouin
Tokpoé	727	Towéta
Gbakpodji r.c.		Yégodoé
Ahloumè	574	
Bolimé	661	
Gbakpodji	1,269	
Houéganmè	775	
Kplatoe	1,019	

^as.-p. = 'sous-préfecture', r.c. = rural commune, u.c. = urban circonscription, (*): a location only partially Saxwe-speaking, according to at least some of the informants.

⁵⁶The identification of these localities as Saxwe-, Daxe- or Se-speaking reflects the perception of the Saxwe, Daxe, and Se informants; in most cases these data were not otherwise confirmed. These population statistics are taken from the 1992 Benin national census (Ministère du Plan 1994 b, c; see also Section 2.4 'Population').

Mono département		98,705
Houéyogbé s.-p.		Lokossa s.-p.
Dahé r.c.		Agame r.c.
Djètoé	673	Agama-Gadazoume*
Doutou r.c.	17,021	Aigoudo/Aligodo*
Honhoué r.c.	3,803	Houin r.c.
Houéyogbé u.c.	4,780	Dessa*
Sè u.c.:		Logbo*
Allogo	468	Véha*
Hindé	639	Koudo r.c.
Lokohoue	1,161	Adrodji*
Zoungbonou r.c.	4,429	Koudo*
		Kpogodomé*
		Tinou*
		Tozounme*

Atlantique département		40,955
Kpomassè s.-p.		Sègbeya r.c.
Aganmalome r.c.		Atchakanmè*
Agamalome*	775	Gbéffadji*
Aidjèdo*	470	Sègbohoue r.c.
Kougbédji*	1,306	Adjamè*
Kouzoumè*	592	Adjatokpa*
Agonkanme r.c.		Avovio*
Adjaglo*	712	Doga*
Agonkanme*	720	Sègbohoue*
Godonoutin*	488	Tokpa-Dome r.c.
Oussa*	1,040	Aijedo-Koudjnajoue
Dédomè r.c.		Gbétozo*
Dédomè*	1,625	Gboho
Kouffonou*	929	Hontoun*
Kpindjakanmè*	294	Houeton-Gbefadji (Houetant)*
Telekouè	1,344	Lokogo
Dékanmè r.c.		Tokpa-Dome*
Ahouango*	1,031	Tori-Bossito s.-p.
Azinzokanme	1,883	Azonhoue-Aliho r.c.
Dékanmè*	1,694	Azonhoue-Aliho*
Houédjro*	785	Hayakpa*
Houéyogbé*	475	Azonhoue-Cada r.c.
Kpago*	814	Azongo*
Sèbo*	414	Azonhoue-Cada*
Yemè*	360	Tori Bossito r.c.
Kpomassè-Gbedjewin r.c.		Fassinoukohoun*
Cocoundji II*	811	Gbovié*
Fifadji*	587	Tori-Bossito*
Houégan*	852	
Kpomassè-Gbedjewin*	1,337	

Table 4: Daxe language communities

Total Daxe Population		11,575–16,571	
Mono département	10,699	Atlantique département	5,872
Houéyogbé s.-p.		Kpomassè s.-p.	
Dahé r.c.		Dédomé r.c.	
Aguenon	1,318	Hinmadou*	869
Dahé-Aklo	1,448	Sègbeya r.c.	
Dahé-Kpodji	2,307	Aniabossouhoué*	– not listed –
Danhoué	1,069	Danzounme*	706
Djibio	1,767	Sègbeya*	1,566
Gnanmako	797	Tokpa-Dome r.c.	
Houankpa	1,364	Houeton-Gbefadji/Houetant*	586
Kpassakname	228	Tori-Bossito s.-p.	
Comè s.-p.		Tori-Bossito r.c.	
Ouedeme r.c.		Zounme	876
Tochagni	401	Hekandji*	1,269

Table 5: Se language communities

Total Se Population		17,087–18,192	
Mono département			18,192
Houéyogbé s.-p.		Comè s.-p.	
Sè u.c.:		Akodeha-Kpodji r.c.	
Dré	13,603	Dahoué	855
Sèbo	2,106	Tokan*	1,105
	523		

Appendix C. Lexical similarity

The following percentage and variance matrixes for lexical similarity were computed by the computer program WORDSURV (Version 2.4 – Wimbish 1989). The program performs a count of shared vocabulary between lists based on similarity groupings, as determined by the researcher. Thus, it does not apply a linguistic comparative method to the data and therefore, does not determine cognates based on historical analysis.

The Gbe word lists were analyzed according to two different sets of criteria with both computations following the principles described by Blair (1990:30–33), allowing for a few modifications though as outlined by Kluge (1997). For the first computation, morphemes that are apparently affixed to the form used in another variety are ignored if they occur always in the same position. For the second computation a stricter set of criteria is applied with morphemes apparently affixed to the form used in another variety being included in the analysis.⁵⁷

⁵⁷See Kluge 1999 for further details regarding a preliminary evaluation of the analysis of word and phrase lists elicited for the current study.

1. Computation: Affixed morphemes are ignored

For this computation, morphemes that are apparently affixed to the form used in another variety are ignored if they always occur in the same position.

Table 6: Percentage matrix

Gen

59	Toli																			
57	82	Tofin																		
59	87	82	Seto																	
59	78	75	84	Xwla (Djeffa)																
64	80	84	83	77	Alada															
63	81	81	80	75	93	Fon														
67	79	74	82	77	89	87	Kotafon													
62	76	66	74	71	79	79	82	Ayizo												
62	76	71	77	71	85	86	87	78	Ci											
69	81	77	81	75	89	87	94	78	87	Gbokpa										
61	74	70	77	69	78	79	85	72	78	92	Gbesi									
62	79	78	82	73	79	78	78	67	75	85	79	Xwela								
65	76	77	77	73	81	77	78	69	74	86	77	85	Xwla (Adamé)							
69	69	69	73	65	79	80	80	70	78	87	77	75	82	Saxwe						
61	72	69	72	66	75	81	76	70	74	77	75	77	80	78	Daxe					
59	70	67	70	64	74	79	75	69	73	77	74	74	79	77	98	Se				
67	57	52	59	59	59	57	68	56	62	70	65	59	61	64	58	57	Aja-Hwe (Azovè)			
72	53	51	54	54	54	52	60	54	57	64	57	54	59	61	53	53	80	Aja-Hwe (Aplahoué)		
71	54	55	60	56	60	58	69	54	61	69	62	60	63	67	60	59	87	82	Aja-Dogbo	
67	70	68	74	67	79	81	80	71	78	82	73	74	77	81	85	83	68	63	74	Aja-Sikpi

Table 7: Variance matrix

Gen

9.0	Toli																			
9.3	6.0	Tofin																		
9.0	5.0	6.0	Seto																	
9.0	6.5	7.0	5.6	Xwla (Djeffa)																
8.4	6.2	5.6	5.7	6.6	Alada															
8.5	6.0	6.1	6.2	6.9	3.7	Fon														
8.1	6.4	7.3	6.0	6.7	4.7	5.1	Kotafon													
8.6	6.8	8.2	7.1	7.5	6.4	6.4	6.0	Ayizo												
8.6	6.8	7.6	6.7	7.5	5.4	5.2	5.1	6.5	Ci											
7.8	6.0	6.7	6.1	6.9	4.6	5.0	3.5	6.5	5.0	Gbokpa										
8.7	7.1	7.7	6.7	7.8	6.5	6.4	5.5	7.4	6.5	3.9	Gbesi									
8.6	6.4	6.6	6.0	7.3	6.4	6.5	6.6	8.0	7.0	5.4	6.4	Xwela								
8.3	6.8	6.8	6.7	7.3	6.1	6.7	6.6	7.8	7.1	5.2	6.7	5.4	Xwla (Adamé)							
7.8	7.8	7.9	7.3	8.3	6.4	6.3	6.3	7.6	6.6	5.1	6.7	7.0	6.0	Saxwe						
8.7	7.3	7.8	7.4	8.1	6.9	6.0	6.9	7.6	7.1	6.6	7.0	6.7	6.2	6.6	Daxe					
9.0	7.6	8.1	7.6	8.3	7.1	6.4	7.0	7.7	7.2	6.6	7.1	7.1	6.4	6.7	2.0	Se				
8.0	9.2	9.8	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.2	8.0	9.3	8.6	7.6	8.3	9.0	8.7	8.4	9.1	9.2	Aja-Hwe (Azovè)			
7.4	9.5	9.9	9.5	9.4	9.4	9.6	8.9	9.4	9.1	8.3	9.2	9.5	9.0	8.7	9.5	9.5	6.2	Aja-Hwe (Aplahoué)		
7.5	9.4	9.5	8.8	9.2	8.8	9.0	7.8	9.4	8.7	7.7	8.6	8.8	8.5	8.0	8.8	8.9	5.0	5.9	Aja-Dogbo	
8.0	7.6	8.0	7.1	8.0	6.4	6.0	6.3	7.5	6.5	5.9	7.3	7.1	6.7	6.1	5.4	5.7	7.9	8.4	7.1	Aja-Sikpi

2. Computation: Affixed morphemes are included

For this computation, morphemes that are apparently affixed to the form used in another variety are included in the analysis.

Table 8: Percentage matrix

Gen

45	Toli																			
45	76	Tofin																		
49	76	74	Seto																	
51	69	68	78	Xwla (Djeffa)																
48	70	67	69	70	Alada															
53	71	73	69	68	75	Fon														
60	67	66	70	69	68	74	Kotafon													
58	65	61	68	66	63	72	75	Ayizo												
48	67	61	64	63	66	73	70	69	Ci											
64	72	70	76	72	78	77	86	75	75	Gbokpa										
54	61	61	62	65	61	67	73	61	64	79	Gbesi									
52	65	72	71	68	63	70	73	64	65	81	68	Xwela								
57	66	61	61	62	63	65	70	62	62	76	67	72	Xwla (Adamé)							
56	53	58	58	53	56	59	69	60	57	72	63	65	71	Saxwe						
52	54	51	55	56	54	61	61	57	58	67	60	62	67	64	Daxe					
49	52	52	54	53	52	59	61	56	57	67	59	60	67	66	91	Se				
54	43	39	46	46	41	47	56	52	49	60	47	49	52	48	46	44	Aja-Hwe (Azovè)			
61	39	34	41	44	38	40	51	50	43	54	40	44	43	45	41	39	75	Aja-Hwe (Aplahoué)		
58	43	41	45	43	42	48	57	50	47	62	48	48	52	55	46	45	80	77	Aja-Dogbo	
57	60	56	62	59	58	64	70	61	63	77	65	64	67	72	73	72	55	51	67	Aja-Sikpi

Table 9: Variance matrix

Gen

10.3	Toli																			
10.5	6.9	Tofin																		
10.0	6.8	7.2	Seto																	
9.8	7.7	8.0	6.5	Xwla (Djeffa)																
10.0	7.6	8.1	7.8	7.6	Alada															
9.6	7.5	7.3	7.8	7.8	6.9	Fon														
8.9	8.1	8.3	7.8	7.8	8.0	7.2	Kotafon													
9.1	8.2	8.8	7.9	8.1	8.4	7.3	7.0	Ayizo												
10.0	8.0	8.8	8.4	8.4	8.1	7.2	7.7	7.7	Ci											
8.4	7.3	7.7	6.8	7.3	6.5	6.6	5.3	6.9	6.9	Gbokpa										
9.5	8.7	8.8	8.6	8.3	8.7	8.0	7.4	8.7	8.4	6.4	Gbesi									
9.7	8.3	7.5	7.5	7.9	8.5	7.6	7.4	8.4	8.3	6.1	7.9	Xwela								
9.2	8.1	8.8	8.7	8.6	8.5	8.3	7.8	8.6	8.6	6.8	8.0	7.4	Xwla (Adamé)							
9.4	9.6	9.2	9.1	9.6	9.3	9.0	7.9	8.8	9.2	7.4	8.6	8.3	7.6	Saxwe						
9.7	9.4	9.9	9.4	9.2	9.4	8.7	8.8	9.1	9.0	8.0	8.8	8.6	8.0	8.4	Daxe					
9.9	9.6	9.8	9.5	9.5	9.6	8.9	8.8	9.2	9.1	8.0	9.0	8.8	8.0	8.1	4.2	Se				
9.5	10.5	11.1	10.3	10.2	10.6	10.1	9.4	9.7	9.9	8.8	10.2	10.0	9.7	10.1	10.2	10.4	A-Hwe (Azovè)			
8.7	10.8	11.4	10.6	10.4	10.9	10.7	9.9	9.8	10.5	9.4	10.7	10.4	10.5	10.4	10.6	10.8	7.0	A-Hwe (Aplahoué)		
9.1	10.5	10.8	10.3	10.5	10.6	10.0	9.3	9.8	10.1	8.5	10.0	10.0	9.7	9.4	10.2	10.3	6.2	6.6	A-Dogbo	
9.2	8.8	9.4	8.6	8.9	9.0	8.3	7.7	8.7	8.4	6.6	8.3	8.4	8.0	7.4	7.2	7.3	9.4	9.7	8.0	A-Sikpi

Appendix D. Saxwe community questionnaire

(révisé 2/99, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

Identité ethnique du chef: _____; des vieux: _____

Abréviations:

Sx = saxwe, Aj = aja, Ay = ayizo, Ci = ci, F = fon, Fr = français, Gs = gbesi, Gk = gbokpa, Ge = gen, Gu = gun, Ko = kotafon, Da = daxe, Se = se, St = seto, Tf = tofin, Tl = toli, Xe = xwela, Xw = xwla, O = oui, N = non

1. LA LANGUE DE L'ENQUETE ET LES LANGUES VOISINES

1.1. Comment vous appelez votre propre langue?

1.2. Quelle est l'origine du peuple de ce village?

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. (En utilisant les feutres en couleur)

1.3. Dans quels villages est votre langue (saxwe) parlée? (demandez pour chaque village)
(Encerclez les villages où la langue se parle; mettez des parenthèses autour des noms des villages où il n'est pas certain que la langue se parle.)

1.4. Est-ce qu'il y a des villages où plusieurs langues sont parlées?
(Encadrez les villages où des locuteurs de plusieurs langues différentes se trouvent.)

1.5. Dans quels villages parle-t-on une langue différente que la vôtre? Quel est le nom de cette langue / ces langues?
(Soulignez les villages où il est certain qu'on parle une langue différente que celle en question, et écrivez le nom de celle-ci à côté du village – ceci pour déterminer les frontières de la langue étudiée.)

2. DIALECTES DE LA LANGUE ENQUETEE ET INTERCOMPREHENSION ENTRE LES VARIANTES

2.1. Parmi les villages où votre langue (saxwe) est parlée, où est-ce qu'ils parlent exactement comme vous?

2.2. Dans quels villages est-ce qu'ils parlent un peu différemment, mais vous les comprenez quand même?

2.3. Dans quels villages est-ce qu'ils parlent très différemment?

2.4. Est-ce qu'il y a des dialectes de saxwe? O N

(Selon les renseignements fournis par l'enquêté, l'enquêtrice(eur) devrait
– mettre la lettre A à côté des villages qui parlent la langue de l'enquête, B à côté des villages d'un autre groupe, C, et ainsi de suite;
– tracer les lignes des frontières dialectales avec les lignes continues et pointillées.)

2.5. Comment appelle-t-on les gens qui parlent:

A? _____ B? _____

C? _____ D? _____

2.6. Quelles sortes de différences existent entre votre variété et les autres (prononciation, vocabulaire emprunté)?

Variety A – B: _____

Variety A – C: _____

Variety A – D: _____

Variety A – E: _____

2.7. Quelle variété avez-vous le plus de difficulté à comprendre? _____

2.8. Laquelle comprenez-vous la plus facilement? _____

2.9. Est-ce que tous les enfants ici au village comprennent bien les locuteurs ...?

A B C D

O N O N O N O N

2.10. Est-ce que vous avez tous les mêmes origines?

2.11. Est-ce qu'ils sont comme des étrangers ou comme vos frères?

2.12. Où parle-t-on votre langue le mieux?

3. LES RAPPORTS AVEC DES AUTRES LANGUES

3.1. Quelles autres langues se ressemblent à votre langue?

Aj Ay Ci F Gs Gk Ge Gu Ko Da Se St Tf Tl Xw Xl Autres _____

(Sondez les autres possibilités)

3.2. Est-ce vous avez jamais parlé avec quelqu'un de:

	Aj O N	Ay O N	Ci O N	F O N	Gs O N	Gk O N	Ge O N	Gu O N	Ko O N	Da O N	Se O N
a) Vous parlez quelle langue avec eux?											
b) Ils vous répondent en quelle langue?											

	St O N	Tf O N	Tl O N	Xe O N	Xw O N	____ O N
c) Vous parlez quelle langue avec eux?						
d) Ils vous répondent en quelle langue?						

3.3. Quelle langue est-ce que vous comprenez le mieux? Aj F Ge3.4. Quelle langue est-ce que vous comprenez le pire? Aj F Ge3.5. Est-ce qu'un enfant de six ans de ce village (nommez le nom du village) peut comprendre l'aja? O N3.6. le fon? O N3.7. le gen? O N3.8. le daxe? O N3.9. le se? O N

3.10. Sinon, quand il grandit, à quel âge comprendrait-il l'aja? ____ le fon? ____ le gen? ____ le daxe? ____ le se? ____

4. L'USAGE DE LA LANGUE/VARIANTE

4.1. La majorité de la population ici sont de quelle langue? _____ Les minorités? _____

4.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des mariages mixtes? O N Si oui, avec qui? _____

La plupart des mariages mixtes sont avec des locuteurs de quelle langue? _____

4.3. Quelle langue est-ce que vous utilisez pour:

Annonces dans le village Sx Aj F Ge ____Rites de coutumes Sx Aj F Ge ____Jugements dans la famille Sx Aj F Ge ____Jugements au village Sx Aj F Ge ____Conseils d'anciens (au village) Sx Aj F Ge ____Réunions du conseil traditionnel (régionales) Sx Aj F Ge ____

4.4. A part votre langue, quelle langue est utilisée le plus souvent ici dans votre village? _____
 et dans la région? _____

5. ALPHABETISATION

5.1. Est-ce qu'il y a des classes d'alphabétisation au village? O N

Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____

Ça se passe combien de fois par an? _____

Est-ce qu'il y a des classes d'alphabétisation dans la région? O N

Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____

Ça se passe combien de fois par an? _____

5.2. Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu quelque chose écrit en saxwe? O N _____

5.3. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelqu'un qui écrit en saxwe? O N _____

5.4. Si on irait commencer un programme d'alphabétisation est-ce que les gens d'ici vont-ils s'intéresser et s'inscrire pour la classe:

si c'était en fon? O N _____

et si c'était en gen? O N _____

et si c'était en aja? O N _____

et si c'était en saxwe? O N _____

6. INFORMATION GENERALE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE

6.1. Est-ce qu'il y a des églises ici? O N _____

Si oui, quelle langue est utilisée pour:

la prédication/l'homélie? Sx Aj F Ge _____

pour les chants? Sx Aj F Ge _____

les prières? Sx Aj F Ge _____

les annonces? Sx Aj F Ge _____

les réunions de prière ou des autres rendez-vous? Sx Aj F Ge _____

6.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des mosquées ici? O N _____

Si oui, quelle langue est utilisée pour:

la prédication/l'enseignement? Sx Aj F Ge _____

interpréter la lecture du Coran? Sx Aj F Ge _____

Appendix E. Saxwe non-formal education questionnaire

(révisé 11/98, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

1. PRESENTATION DE L'ENQUETE

1.1. Nom et fonction:

1.2. Langue maternelle:

1.3. Parlez-vous le saxwe?

O N

2. INFORMATIONS DEMOGRAPHIQUES

ALPHABETISATION

2.1. Des classes d'alphabétisation dans la région saxwe sont organisées dans quelles langues?

Distribution des langues par région

2.2. Existe-t-il des classes d'alphabétisation en langue saxwe?

O N

Depuis quand?

2.3. Nombre des classes et le totale des étudiants par sous-préfecture

a)

b)

c)

d)

2.4. Lesquels sont vos projets pour l'avenir en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de saxwe pour l'alphabétisation?

POST-ALPHABETISATION

2.5. Existe-t-il des classes de post-alphabétisation en langue saxwe?

O N

Depuis quand?

Elles existent en quelle(s) autre(s) langue(s) dans la région saxwe?

2.6. Nombre des classes et le totale des étudiants par sous-préfecture

e)

f)

g)

h)

2.7. Quelle sorte de programme?

3. LA LANGUE UTILISEE POUR L'ALPHABETISATION

3.1. Quels syllabaires sont utilisés pour les classes?

Développés par qui?

Quelle orthographe?

3.2. Quelle variante est utilisée pour les classes d'alphabétisation?

Médium d'instruction:

Langue écrite:

3.3. Existe-t-il des problèmes de compréhension de cette variante parmi les étudiants? O N

Lesquels? _____

3.4. Selon vous, est-ce que le choix de cette variante est capable de servir les locuteurs saxwe le meilleur? O N

Si non, quelle variante devrait être choisie pour l'alphabétisation?

3.5. Existe-t-il des problèmes de lecture avec cette orthographe? O N

Lesquels? _____

3.6. Quelle orthographe est la meilleure?

Appendix F. Saxwe church questionnaire

(révisé 02/99, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

Dénomination: _____

Abréviations:

Sx = saxwe, Aj = aja, F = fon, Fr = français, Ge = gen, O = oui, N = non

1. PRESENTATION DE L'ENQUETE

1.1. Nom, fonction dans l'église, langue maternelle: Est-ce que vous parlez saxwe?

nom et fonction	langue maternelle	parle la langue locale?
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment

2. INFORMATION GENERALE

2.1. La majorité au village est de quelle religion? Musulman Chrétien Animiste autre_____

2.2. Il y a quelles églises au village? _____

2.3. Quelles églises sont les plus grandes? _____

3. L'USAGE DE LA LANGUE A L'EGLISE

3.1. Quelles langues sont-elles utilisées pendant le culte/la messe pour:

– prêcher	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___	– prières (des dirigeants)	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___
– les annonces	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___	– prières (des paroissiens)	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___
– lire les écritures	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___	– les chants/la louange	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___
– l'eucharistie/la sainte cène	Sx Aj F Fr Ge ___		

- 3.2. (chez les catholiques) Qui lit le lectionnaire pendant la messe?
 Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
 Est-ce qu'il y a parfois des problèmes à la lire?
 Est-ce que la lecture est bien comprise par tout le monde?
- 3.3. Quelle(s) langue(s) est(sont) utilisée(s) pour:
 – la réunion des femmes Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
 – le groupe de jeunesse Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
 – les témoignages Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
 – les prières pendant les études bibliques Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
 – l'école dominicale Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
- 3.4. Quelle Bible est utilisée à l'église? Aj F Fr Ge _____
- 3.5. Dans votre congrégation combien de personnes
 possèdent leurs propres Bibles? très peu | plusieurs | moitié | majorité
- 3.6. Est-ce qu'il existe du matériel religieux en saxwe? O N
 Lesquelles? _____
- 3.7. Est-ce qu'il y a des responsables saxwe dans cette église? O N
 Ils prêchent dans quelle langue? Sx Aj F Fr Ge ____
- 3.8. Donnez-vous parfois une traduction préparée ou spontanée en saxwe: O N
 Pourquoi? _____
4. ENGAGEMENT POTENTIEL DE L'EGLISE
- 4.1. Est-ce que l'utilisation de saxwe est encouragée par les responsables de cette église:
 pour le culte/la messe? O N
 pour les réunions différentes? O N Lesquelles? _____
- 4.2. Est-ce que vous croyez que l'utilisation de saxwe serait impropre pour le culte/la messe? O N
 Si oui, pour quelle raison? _____
- 4.3. Est-ce que les membres de votre église ont exprimé leur intérêt
 – de lire et écrire en saxwe? O N
 – d'avoir du matériel religieux en saxwe? O N
- 4.4. Est-ce qu'il y a quelqu'un qui aide actuellement les gens qui
 sont engagés à un projet ou un programme de développement, etc.? O N

Appendix G. Daxe/Se community questionnaire⁵⁸

(révisé 05/99, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

Identité ethnique du chef: _____; des vieux: _____

Abréviations:

Sx = saxwe, Aj = aja, Ay = ayizo, Ci = ci, Da = daxe, Dr = dre, F = Fon, Fr = français, Gs = gbési, Gk = gbokpa, Ge = gen, Gu = gun, Ko = kotafon, Se = se, St = seto, Tf = tofin, Tl = toli, Xe = xwela, Xw = xwla, O = oui, N = non

1. LA LANGUE DE L'ENQUETE ET LES LANGUES VOISINES

- 1.1. Comment est-ce que vous appelez votre propre langue?
- 1.2. Comment est-ce que vous écrivez son nom?
- 1.3. Quelle est l'origine du peuple de ce village?
- 1.4. Dans quels villages est-ce qu'on parle exactement comme vous? Est-ce qu'ils sont 100% daxe/se? (montrer les cartes)
- 1.5. Dans quels villages est-ce qu'ils parlent un peu différemment, mais vous les comprenez quand même? Quel est le nom de cette façon de parler? Est-ce qu'il est 100% daxe/se ou est-ce qu'il y a des Daxe/Se dedans?
- 1.6. Dans quels villages est-ce qu'ils parlent très différemment? Quel est le nom de cette façon de parler? C'est 100% ou y a-t-il des Daxe/Se dedans?

2. DIALECTES DE LA LANGUE ENQUETEE ET INTERCOMPREHENSION ENTRE LES VARIANTES

- 2.1a. Est-ce que le daxe/se est la même chose que le saxwe? O N
- 2.1b. sinon, est-ce que le daxe/se est _____ un dialecte de saxwe ou à part?
- 2.2a. Est-ce que le se est la même chose que le daxe? O N
- 2.2b. sinon, est-ce que le daxe est _____ un dialecte de se ou à part?
- 2.2c. et le daxe/se, est-ce qu'il est _____ un dialecte de saxwe ou à part?
- 2.3a. Est-ce que le daxe/se est la même chose que le dre? O N
- 2.3b. le dre, est-ce qu'il est: _____ la même chose que le saxwe, _____ un dialecte de saxwe, _____ ou à part?

⁵⁸As the Daxe and Se questionnaires used were identical excepting the reversal of the varieties' names, the form will only be included once here with the notation 'Daxe/Se' indicating the name of the surveyed variety.

- 2.4. Quelles sortes de différences existent entre le daxe/se et le saxwe (prononciation, vocabulaire emprunté)?
- 2.5. Quelles sortes de différences existent entre le se et le daxe (prononciation, vocabulaire emprunté)?
- 2.6. Quelles sortes de différences existent entre le daxe/se et le dre (prononciation, vocabulaire emprunté)?
- | | saxwe | daxe/se | dre? |
|--|-------|---------|-------|
| 2.7. A partir de quel âge est-ce que vos enfants au village comprennent les locuteurs | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2.8. Quelle langue est-ce que vous parlez aux locuteurs du ...? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2.9. Et eux, ils vous répondent en quelle langue? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2.10a. Est-ce que vous avez les mêmes origines des locuteurs du...? | O N | O N | O N |
| 2.10b. Sinon, quelles sont les origines des Saxwe? | | | |
| 2.10c. celles des Daxe/Se? | | | |
| 2.10d. celles des Dre? | | | |
| 2.11. Est-ce qu'ils sont comme des étrangers ou comme vos frères? | | | O N |
| 2.12a. Les locuteurs du daxe/se, est-ce qu'il sont des Saxwe? | | | O N |
| 2.12b. Sinon, est-ce qu'ils disent parfois qu'il sont des Saxwe, quand même? | | | O N |
| 2.13. Comment est-ce que vous expliqueriez la situation des langues ici à un étranger? | | | |
| 2.14a. Au moment du recensement de 1994 vous vous êtes identifiés appartenant à quel groupe ethnique? | | | |
| 2.14b. Sous quel groupe est-ce qu'ils vous ont enregistrés pour le recensement? (au maire/délégué/secrétaire) | | | |
| 2.15. Les locuteurs du daxe/se, est-ce qu'ils ont participé dans la révolte des Saxwe contre les Français en 1918? | | | O N |
| 2.16. Vous les parents, est-ce que vous seriez contents si votre fils ou votre fille se marie avec un(e) Saxwe? | | | O N |
| 2.17. Où est-ce qu'on parle le daxe/se le mieux? | | | |
3. LES RAPPORTS AVEC D'AUTRES LANGUES
- 3.1. Quelles sont d'autres langues qui se ressemblent au daxe/se? (Sondez les autres possibilités.)
Aj Ay Ci F Gs Gk Ge Gu Ko Tf Tl Xw XI autres _____

3.2. Est-ce vous avez jamais parlé avec quelqu'un de:

	Aj O N	Ay O N	Ci O N	F O N	Gs O N	Gk O N	Ge O N	Gu O N	Sx O N	Xe O N	____ O N
e) Vous parlez quelle langue avec eux?											
f) Ils vous répondent en quelle langue?											

	Ko O N	Tf O N	Tl O N	Xe O N	Xw O N	____ O N	____ O N	____ O N
g) Vous parlez quelle langue avec eux?								
h) Ils vous répondent en quelle langue?								

3.3. Quelle langue est-ce que vous comprenez le mieux? Aj F Ge3.4. Quelle langue est-ce que vous comprenez le pire? Aj F Ge3.5. Est-ce qu'un enfant de six ans de ce village (nommez le nom du village) peut comprendre l'aja? O N3.6. le fon? O N3.7. le gen? O N

4. L'USAGE DE LA LANGUE/VARIANTE

4.1. La majorité de la population ici sont de quelle langue? _____ Les minorités? _____

4.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des mariages mixtes? O N Si oui, avec qui? _____

La plupart des mariages mixtes sont avec des locuteurs de quelle langue? _____

4.3. Quelle langue est-ce que vous utilisez pour:

Annonces dans le village Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____Rites de coutumes Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____Jugements dans la famille Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____Jugements au village Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____Conseils d'anciens (au village) Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____Réunions du conseil traditionnel (régionales) Da Se Sx Aj F Ge ____

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

et dans la région? _____

5. ALPHABETISATION

5.1. Est-ce qu'il y a des classes d'alphabétisation au village? O N

Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____

Ça se passe combien de fois par an? _____

Est-ce qu'il y a des classes d'alphabétisation dans la région? O N

Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? _____

Ça se passe combien de fois par an? _____

5.2. Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu quelque chose écrit en saxwe? O N _____

5.3. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelqu'un qui écrit en saxwe? O N _____

5.4. Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu quelque chose écrit en daxe/se? O N _____

5.5. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelqu'un qui écrit en daxe/se? O N _____

5.6. Si on irait commencer un programme d'alphabétisation est-ce que les gens d'ici vont-ils s'intéresser et s'inscrire pour la classe:

si c'était en saxwe? O N _____

et si c'était en gen? O N _____

et si c'était en fon? O N _____

et si c'était en aja? O N _____

et si c'était en daxe/se? O N _____

6. INFORMATION GENERALE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE

6.1. Est-ce qu'il y a des églises ici? O N _____

Si oui, quelle langue est utilisée pour:

la prédication/l'homélie? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

pour les chants? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

les prières? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

les annonces? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

les réunions de prière ou des autres rendez-vous? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

(S'il y a des représentants de nombreuses églises, organiser un entretien ensemble pour le questionnaire ecclésiastique.)

6.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des mosquées ici? O N _____

Si oui, quelle langue est utilisée pour:

la prédication/l'enseignement? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

interpréter la lecture du Coran? Da Se Sx Aj Eve F Ge ____

6.3. Quelle langue est-ce qu'on utilise pour les cérémonies de vaudouns?

en faisant des fétiches?

dans les couvents locales?

Si différent du daxe/se standard, comment est-ce qu'elle diffère?

Appendix H. Daxe/Se non-formal education questionnaire

(révisé 5/99, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

1. PRESENTATION DE L'ENQUETE

1.1. Nom et fonction:

1.2. Langue maternelle:

1.3. Parlez-vous le daxe/se? non un peu couramment

2. INFORMATIONS DEMOGRAPHIQUES

A. ALPHABETISATION

2.1a. Est-ce qu'il existe des classes d'alphabétisation parmi les Daxe/Se, soit d'une ONG, soit du gouvernement? O N

2.1b. Si oui: Elles sont en quelle langue?

2.1c. Qui est-ce qui les organise/soutien?

2.1d. Où est-ce qu'elles se trouvent?

2.1e. Combien de fois par mois est-ce qu'elles ont lieu?

2.1f. Il y a combien de participants?

2.1g. Quand est-ce qu'elles ont commencé?

2.1h. Si il n'y a aucune classe: Pourquoi est-ce qu'il n'a pas de classes d'alphabétisation ici?

2.1.i. Est-ce que les gens en ont envie? O N

2.1j. Est-ce qu'ils en ont jamais réclamé? O N

2.2a. Il y a eu jamais des classes d'alphabétisation en langue saxwe parmi les Daxe/Se? O N

2.2b. Si oui, comment est-ce qu'elles ont été acceptées, assistées?

2.2c. Est-ce qu'elles continuent toujours? O N

2.2d. Sinon, pourquoi est-ce qu'elles ne sont plus?

2.3. Est-ce que vous avez des projets pour l'avenir en ce qui concerne l'alphabétisation?

B. POST-ALPHABETISATION

2.4a. Existe-t-il des classes de post-alphabétisation parmi les Daxe/Se O N

2.4b. Si oui, elles sont en quelle langue?

2.4c. Qui est-ce qui les organise/soutien?

2.4d. Où est-ce qu'elle se trouvent?

2.4e. Combien de fois par mois est-ce qu'elles ont lieu?

2.4f. Il y a combien de participants?

2.4g. Quand est-ce qu'elles ont commencé?

2.5a. Que' est-ce que c'est leur programme, leurs activités?

2.5b. Si il n'y a aucune classe: Pourquoi est-ce qu'il n'a pas de classe de post-alphabétisation ici?

2.5c. Est-ce que les gens en ont envie? O N

2.5d. Est-ce qu'ils en ont jamais réclamé? O N

3. LA LANGUE UTILISEE POUR L'ALPHABETISATION

3.1a. Quels syllabaires sont utilisés pour les classes?

3.1b. Ils sont développés par qui?

3.2. Quelle variante est utilisée comme véhicule d'instruction pour les classes d'alphabétisation?

3.3a. Existe-t-il des problèmes de compréhension de cette variante parmi les étudiants? O N

3.3b. Si oui, quels problèmes?

3.4. Selon vous, est-ce que le choix de cette variante est capable de servir les locuteurs se le mieux? O N

Sinon, quelle variante serait mieux pour l'alphabétisation?

3.5.a. Est-ce qu'il y a des problèmes de lecture avec cette orthographe? O N

3.5.b Si oui, quels problèmes?

Appendix I. Daxe/Se church questionnaire

(révisé 05/99, SIL Togo-Bénin)

Effectué le _____ à _____ par _____

Dénomination: _____

Abréviations:

Da = daxe, Dr = dre, Se = se, Sx = saxwe, Aj = aja, E = eve, F = fon, Fr = français, Ge = gen (mina), Y = yoruba (nago), O = oui, N = non

1. PRESENTATION DE L'ENQUETE

1.1. Nom, fonction dans l'église, langue maternelle: Est-ce que vous parlez daxe/se?

nom et fonction	langue maternelle	parle la langue locale?
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment
_____	_____	non un peu bien couramment

2. INFORMATION GENERALE

2.1. La majorité au village est de quelle religion? Musulman Chrétien Animiste autre_____

2.2. Il y a quelles églises au village? _____

2.3. Quelles églises sont les plus grandes? _____

3. L'USAGE DE LA LANGUE A L'EGLISE

3.1. Quelles langues sont-elles utilisées pendant le culte/la messe pour:

– precher	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _	– prières (des dirigeants)	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _
– les annonces	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _	– prières (des paroissiens)	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _
– lire les écritures	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _	– les chants/la louange	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _
– l'eucharistie/la sainte cène	Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge _		

- 3.2. (chez les catholiques) Qui lit le lectionnaire pendant la messe?
 Dans quelle(s) langue(s)? Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
 Est-ce qu'il y a parfois des problèmes à la lire?
 Est-ce que la lecture est bien comprise par tout le monde?
- 3.3. Quelle(s) langue(s) est(sont) utilisée(s) pour:
 – la réunion des femmes Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
 – le groupe de jeunesse Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
 – les témoignages Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
 – les prières pendant les études bibliques Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
 – l'école dominicale Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
- 3.4. Quelle Bible est utilisée à l'église? Aj E F Fr Ge ____
- 3.5. Dans votre congrégation combien de personnes possèdent leurs propres Bibles? très peu | plusieurs | moitié | majorité
- 3.6. Est-ce qu'il existe publications religieuses en saxwe? O N
 Lesquelles? _____
- 3.7. Est-ce qu'il existe publications religieuses en daxe/se? O N
 Lesquelles? _____
- 3.8. Est-ce qu'il y a des responsables daxe/se dans cette église? O N
 Ils prêchent dans quelle langue? Da Se Sx Aj E F Fr Ge ____
- 3.9. Donnez-vous parfois une traduction préparée ou spontanée en daxe/se: O N
 Pourquoi? _____
- 3.10 Donnez-vous parfois une traduction préparée ou spontanée en saxwe: O N
 Pourquoi / pourquoi pas? _____
4. ENGAGEMENT POTENTIEL DE L'EGLISE
- 4.1. Est-ce que l'utilisation de daxe/se est encouragée par les responsables de cette église:
 pour le culte/la messe? O N
 pour les réunions différentes? O N Lesquelles? _____
- 4.2. Est-ce que vous croyez que l'utilisation de daxe/se serait impropre pour le culte/la messe? O N
 Si oui, pour quelle raison? _____
- 4.3. Est-ce que les membres de votre église s'intéresseraient en
 – des cours d'alphabétisation en saxwe? O N
 – des publications religieuses en saxwe? O N
 – la Bible en saxwe? O N
- 4.4 Est-ce que le membres de votre église participeraient dans un projet de traduction de la Bible en saxwe? O N

4.5. Est-ce que les membres de votre église ont exprimé leur intérêt

– de lire et écrire en daxe/se?

N

– d'avoir des publications religieuses en daxe/se?

N

Appendix J. RA-RTT narratives

1. Fon RA-RTT

The following lines are in Fon, interlinear French, and standard French.

1. hwenu e un do kpɛ ví ɔ́, un nɔ́ kplá tó ce yi gle ta.
Moment que je être petit je accompagne père mon aller champ sur.
Quand j'étais petit j'accompagne mon père au champ.

un nɔ́ yi xwa gbě xá ɛ.
Je vais sarcler herbe avec lui.
Je vais sarcler herbe avec lui.
2. enj mĩ xwa gbě fó ɔ́, é je hwelekó ɔ́, cóbónú mĩ nã lekɔ́ yi
Si nous sarcler herbe terminer, il arriver après-midi avant que nous futur retourner
Quand nous finissons le sarclage, dans l'après-midi avant de rentrer

xwé gbe ɔ́, mĩ me yɔ́kpóvú læ, mĩ dǒ féca kpeví kpeví dé læ bó nɔ́ dǒ,
aller maison dans, nous petit plur., nous tendre piège petit petit plur.
à la maison, nous les enfants,

bó nɔ́ dó wlí afin, ogbėja ná dǒ gle mɛ.
et tendre et pour attraper souris rat avec être champs dans.
nous tendons de petits pièges pour attraper des souris, des rats.

ényí dǒ j lé mĩ dǒ ɔ́, mĩ wã gle ta zãnzã ɔ́, mĩ nɔ́ yi kpón.
Si nous tendre, nous venir champ sur matin, nous aller voir.
Si nous tendons les pièges, le matin quand nous revenons au champ, nous les contrôlons.
3. é wá je gbe dǒkpó bɔ́ un dǒ féca ce.
Il arriver tomber jour un et je tendre piège mon.
Un jour, j'ai tenu mon piège.

un mɔ́ dǒ afin wá dǒ finlínnye dǒ fí dɛ, bó dǒ féca ɔ́ dǒ fíné
Je vu que souris venir manger manioc être endroit et tendre piège le là endroit
J'ai constaté que les souris ont mangé le manioc sans un endroit et j'ai tendu là mon piège

bó blá finlínnyε kpeví d'éǎ; hǔn afin we un d'ó f'εca ó ná.

et attacher manioc petit un sur donc souris c'est je tendre piège le pour
et attaché un petit morceau de manioc là-dessus;

4. gbe éné gbe ó, síbigbe we, gbadanu, bō ēé un d'ó f'εca ó, mǐ wǎ yi xwé,
Jour ce jour samedi c'est, soir et lorsque je tendre piège le, nous venir aller maison
C'était un samedi soir, quand j'ai tendu le piège nous sommes retournés à la maison

bε jε aklunɔzángbe zǎnzǎn bō nyi d'okpónɔ só nǔ bó wá
et il tomber seigneur jour matin et moi seul apprêter
et le dimanche matin, je suis parti seul (dans le champ)

xwe yi gbe f'εca ce kpón gbé. aklunɔzángbe ó, mǎdébǔ leɔn nó wá gleta ǎ.
et venir aller aller piège mon regarder. Seigneur jour personne ne venir champ sur
pour aller regarder le piège. Le dimanche personne ne va au champ.

5. hǔn nyi d'okpónɔ géé we só nǔ bó yi gle ó ta, bó ná yi kpón f'εca ce bó ná wá yi.
Donc moi seul c'est apprêter et aller champ le sur, pour aller regarder piège mon
Donc je suis allé seul au champ pour aller regarder le piège pour revenir

xwé nǔ e gbé un tón kpowun é jēn né,
maison. Chose que je sortir seulement – ça
à la maison. Voilà le seul but que j'ai visé.

6. bō ēé un yi gle ó ta ó, un mlé odogbó
et lorsque je aller champ le sur, je suivre frontière
Arrivée dans le champ, j'ai pris par la frontière sur

e ǰ un d'ó f'εca ó d'ó ó, bó d'ọ jiji we. ée un sekpó f'εca
rel sur je tendre piège le – et être aller c'est. Lorsque je approcher piège
laquelle j'ai tendu le piège. Lorsque je m'approche du piège

ó lě ó, bó kpón sédó lě kpowun ó, azεxe jén un ko mɔ d'ọ
le aussitôt, et regarder de loin aussitôt seulement, sorcellerie-oiseau je déjà vu être
je l'ai regardé de loin, à une grande surprise, j'ai vu un hibou

féca ce ǰ nukún klolo duu,
 piège mon sur oeil “klolo duu”
 sur mon piège, avec des yeux gros, arrondis (assortis),

7. bo xesi ɖi mi bɔ un hɔn ɖó un kpo ɖo vǔ; nukún tɔn ɔ, é kló dín,
 et peur ressembler moi et je fuir, car je encore être petit; oeil son – il gros trop
 j’ai pris peur et j’ai pris la fuite parce que je suis encore petit, ses yeux sont trop gros,

un nɔ se azɛɛ xó, amǎ un mɔ eédécédé mǎ kpón gbedé ǎ;
 je entendre sorcellerie-oiseau parole mais je voir clairement ainsi jamais négatif;
 j’entends parler d’hibou mais je ne l’ai jamais vu correctement,

8. nukɔn nukɔntɔn ɔ ne un mɔ né, bɔ nukún tɔu ɖo duu ɖo féca ɔ ǰ.
 premièrement cela, je voir là, et oeil son être “duu” être piège le sur
 c’est pour ma première fois et ses yeux sont assortis sur le piège.

é bé afɔ tɔn we læa dó féca ɔ mɛ, bó ɖo féca ɔ ǰ ɖo te lē;
 Il ramasser patte son deux piège le dans et être piège le sur être debout
 Il a mis ses deux pattes dans le piège, et il est debout sur le piège,

ēé un mɔ mǎǎ, un hɔn, bo je sésóœísó ǰ;
 lorsque je voir ainsi je fuir et commencer trembler –
 lorsque je vois ça j’ai pris la fuite et je commence à trembler

9. bɔ un ɖɔ xe élóó, jǎ un ká ná jō dō a? un ɖō ná hu i jen we hǔn.
 et je dire oiseau ce laisser je laisser ques je devoir fut tuer le obliger
 et j’ai dit cet oiseau, faut-il le laisser? Mais je does quand même le tuer.

Ně un ná wá gbɔu? nyɛ ɖokpónɔ gēé we ɖo gle ɔ ta fí.
 c’est donc comment je? faire Moi seule c’est être champ le sur ici
 Qu’est-ce que je vais faire? Je suis seul ici dans le champ.

10. éne ɔ, un wá yi gbo kpo, kpo gaga ɖé bɔ un sixú kpón nukún tɔn me ǎ.
 Alors je venir aller couper bâton bâton long un et je pouvoir regarder oeil son dans neg
 Alors je suis parti chercher un long bâton, et je ne peux pas regarder son visage.

é ka ɔ̄ te ɔ̄ ɸ́ɸ́ca ɔ̄ ʃ́ bó nɔ̄ kpón nǔ lě, nukún duu,
 Il être debout être piège le sur et regarder chose oeil “duu”
 Mais il est debout sur le piège et il regarde avec des yeux assortis,

11. bóné ɔ̄, nyi lɔ́ un ɔ̄ kɔ̄ zɔ̄; un ɔ̄ kɔ̄ ce zɔ̄ bó ɔ̄ ɸ́ɸ́ca ɔ̄ kɔ̄n
 et ainsi moi aussi je tourner cou loin je tourner cou mon loin et être piège le près de
 alors moi aussi j’ai tourné mon regard ailleurs et je m’approche du piège

yi wɛ dǎdǎ, dǎdǎ, bɔ̄ un nɔ̄ fini kpón bléwun, un nɔ̄ fin kpón bɔ̄
 aller c’est doucement doucement et je voler le regarder vite je voler le regarder et
 très très doucement, j’éssais de l’épiller (je ne le fixe pas), lorsque je suis

ɔ̄é un sekpó ɛ́ gángí kpowun ɔ̄, un bɔ̄ kpo ɔ̄ ɔ̄ n í;
 lorsque je approcher lui bien seulement je rouer bâton lui
 bien proche de lui, je lui donne des coups,

12. un dó kpo ɔ̄ ɛ́. káká nú un ná dó we, atɔ̄n kpowun ɔ̄, é nyí kɔ̄yɔ̄, bɔ̄ nukún,
 je taper bâton le lui avant que je taper deux, trois seulement, il être écrouler et oeil
 je lui ai donné des coups. À peine il a reçu un ou deux coups, ils’est écroulé, et ses yeux

ɔ̄ bú bɔ̄ un ɔ̄ éé né, un hu lan égbe.
 le disparaître et je dire voilà je tuer viande aujourd’hui
 sont fermés et j’ai dit voilà “très bien” j’ai tué un gibier aujourd’hui.

13. éé é kú nǔ ɔ̄ nukún ɔ̄ bɔ̄dó, bɔ̄ un wá yi ɸ́ɸ́ca ɔ̄ kɔ̄n bó ke bó
 lorsque il mourir ainsi oeil le fermer et je venir aller piège le près de et ouvrir et
 Quand il est mort comme ça ses yeux se ferment (reserrer), je m’approche du piège, je
 l’ouvre,

ɔ̄ e sín mɛ́ bó jó ɸ́ɸ́ca ɔ̄ myi do ɔ̄ nu fíné, bó zé wá yi xwé;
 enlever le dedans et laisser piège le être trou le bord là et prendre venir aller maison
 je le sors et j’ai abandonné le piège à la place et j’emporte mon gibier à la maison

un zé wa yi
 je prendre aller venir
 j’emporte mon gibier à la maison

14. xwé ́ un wá yi mɔ nɔví ce læ bɔ mǐ sun, mǐ sun bǐ bó bó,
 maison, je venir aller voir frère mon pl et nous déplumer, nous déplumer tout et et
 Quand je l'amène à la maison, j'ai vu mes frères et nous l'avons déplumé, nous l'avons
 complètement déplumer.

ɖa ɖu bɔ lan tɔn vívǐ ɖésú.

preparer manger et viande son doux beaucoup

Nous l'avons préparé, et sa viande est très douce.

amǔ nya ɖé yǐ ta ́ bó ɖɔ lé ta ɔ émǐ ná dó wa nǔ ná.

Mais homme un recevoir tête et dire que tête le lui avec faire chose avec.

Mais un homme a pris sa tête, il a dit qu'il va faire gris-gris avec la tête.

15. mǐ dæ læ ɖu ta ́ ǎ; amǔ nǔ e kpo ɖo wǔtu tɔn bó kpo læ bǔ ́,
 Nous autres manger tête non; mais chose qui reste corps son et rester plu tout,
 Nous n'avons pas mangé la tête, mais nous avons mangé tout le reste;

mǐ ɖu;é vívǐ sin ganǔ.

nous manger; il doux eau bien

Il est très succulent.

16. læe un hu azɛɛ gbɔn ́, ēé né, bɔ un flín læ ́,
 comment je touer sorcellerie-oiseau ainsi, voilà, et je rappeler aussitôt,
 Voilà comment j'ai tué un hibou. Chaque fois je me rappelle cette histoire,

é nɔ hwén nú mì káká bɔ un nɔ ko, ɖó éé un mɔ ε ́, xesi e ɖǐ mì é

il rire pour moi tellement et je rire, car lorsque je voir lui, peur qui ressembler moi,
 ça me paraît ridicule et je ris (même) parce que quand je l'ai vu j'ai pris peur

syén bɔ un nɔ soésɔ ɖó te, bɔ un ka ɖɔ dandan mɛ ́, un ka ná hu.

il est et je trembler debout, et je dire obligatoirement, je fut tuer
 et j'ai tremblé. Mais j'ai dit que je dois forcément le tuer.

17. hǔn sánnu ́, súnnu jén nyǐ.

Donc garçon le, garçon effectif être

Donc il n'y a pas un homme petit; l'homme est l'homme.

é ná nyí súnnu gán wε un dó ă ́, un ná jó xε ́ dó nyi fεca ́ mé

Il non être garçon force c'est je taper je laisser oiseau le être piège le dans

Si je ne mets pas en jeu la force d'un homme (si je n'agit en tant qu'homme), je vais
laisser l'oiseau dans le piège

bɔ é sixú wá zɔn yi

et il pouvoir avenir voler aller

et il peut s'envoler.

hũn lě un hu azěxε gbɔn ́ né.

donc ainsi je tuer sorcellerie-oiseau ainsi

Donc voilà comment j'ai tué un hibou.

2. Gen RA-RTT

The following lines are in Gen, interlinear French, and standard French.

Akpeje be funkpekpe wo
Akpeje de souffrances les
Les souffrances d’Akpeje

1. Nyɔnuvi ɖe tɔna Akpeje. E lè axwe kudo etɔ a ènɔ a
fille une appelée Akpeje. Elle est maison avec père son mère sa
Une jeune fille s’appelait akpeje. Elle était à la maison avec son père, sa mère,
2. gbakudo nɔvia nyɔnu wo. Epè nyi kpo ye be ɖo.
avec soeurs ses les Ans huit seulement c’est elle a
et ses soeurs. Elle n’avait que huit ans.

Akpeje be amɛ woa wamɛnɔ ye wo nyi
Akpeje de parents les pauvres que ils sont.
Les parents d’Akpeje sont des gens pauvres.

3. Gbè ɖekaa, nyɔnu jè tugbe ɖe so Lome, va pònuɔ na ebe amɛ wo
jour un femme belle une quitte Lome venir parler à ses gens Pl.
Un jour, une dame est venue de Lomé parler à ses parents

gblɔn na wo be: “Mù kpɔ be ɖevi wo be hɛnhɛn le ɖefùnna mì
dire à eux que “Je voir que enfants les leur garde – gêne vous.
en leur disant: “Je vois que vous avez des difficultés à garder vos enfants.

4. E wɔna mù be Akpeje bi nywɛɖe. Ehlɔn nye ɖeka ke alɔnu nyɔna
Il semble moi que Akpeje habile bien Amie moi un que main bonne
Il me semble que Akpeje est très éveillée. Une de mes amies qui est riche,
a teɲu xɔ è la kpɔ ε ku mi. Nɛnɛa agbàn la ɖekpɔtɔ na mi
à peut prendre elle va veiller sur avec vous. Ainsi charge va diminuer pour vous
peut la garder et prendre soin d’elle avec vous. Ainsi vous aurez moins de charge

eye miabe vi la gba xɔ kpakpla nywɛɔ le funu.
 et votre enfant va encore prendre éducation bon là-bas
 et votre enfant recevra en plus une bonne éducation là-bas.

Akpeje be amɛ wo xɔgbe eye nyɔnu a kplɔ ɛ yi Lome.
 Akpeje les gens Pl accepter et femme la amener la aller Lome.
 Les parents d'Akpeje ont accepté et la femme l'a emmenée à Lomé.

Lè ébé axwe yeyea mɛa, Akpeje wɔna dɔ so ɲudekɛn mɛ kaka
 Dans sa maison nvele dans, Akpeje fait travail depuis matin dans jusqu'à
 Dans sa nouvelle maison, Akpeje travaille du matin jusque

yi zan mɛ. E wɔna enu kewo kpata wo dɔnna ɛ a nywɛɔ;
 aller nuit dans Elle fait chose que tout on demande à elle bien;
 dans la nuit. Elle fait bien tout ce qu'on lui demande de faire.

5. vɔa ebe nuwɔwɔ ɔkpekpe mu jena amɛ kewo gbɔ be lea tɔ ji ò.
 mais ses actes aucun ne plait aux gens qui chez elle est eux sur Neg.
 Mais, rien de ce qu'elle fait ne plait à ceux chez qui elle se trouve.

Wo zunna ɛ gasyagame; gbà pona ɛ.
 Ils insultent elle tout le temps; aussi frappe elle.
 Ils l'insultent tout le temps et la frappe aussi.

6. Gbè ɔkkaa, é hwe bienɛ le aɔi ke Akpeje sanaa be
 jour un il manque vingt francs dans savon que Akpeje vend
 Un jour, il a manqué vingt francs du prix de vente des savons qu'elle vend
 gà mɛ. Wo po e ku ataɲu bla ɛ kudo kulanka na ɛɲukeke ɔka
 argent dans. Ils frappé elle avec cravache attaché l' avec fil de fer pour journée une.
 Ses tuteurs l'ont battue avec une cravache. Ils l'ont attachée avec du fil de fer pendant
 un jour

Akpeje sè veve lè lan mɛ, gba sè veve lè ji mɛ.
 Akpeje senti douleur -- corps dans encore senti douleur -- coeur dans
 Akpeje a souffert dans son corps et dans son âme.

7. E kpɔ ebe kɔpe mɛ be amɛ ɲusu ɖeka le afi ke be lea gbe ɖeka
 Elle vit son village dans de personne garc%oon une est là où elle était jour un.
 Elle vit un jour, un homme de son village dans le quartier où elle se trouvait.
- E sɔ axwe ke mɛ be nɔnaa sɔ fyɔ ɛ byɔ vevede
 Elle prit maison lequel dans elle restait—montrer lui demandant instamment
 Elle lui a montré, la maison dans laquelle elle vivait et l'a vivement supplié
- be yebe amɛ wo nɛ va kplɔ ye.
 que ses gens les que viennent chercher la.
 d'avertir ses parents pour qu'ils viennent la chercher.
8. E nɔ zaan, Akpeje be etɔ va. E gblɔn kpowun
 Peu de temps après Akpeje son père venu. Il dit seulement
 Peu de temps après, le père d'Akpeje est venu. Il a simplement dit
- be Akpeje ɖo la trɔ yi axwe eye wo la wɔ nuɖe wo na ɛ.
 que Akpeje doit retourner maison. et on va faire choses certaines à elle.
 qu'elle doit retourner au village pour qu'on lui fasse quelques cérémonies.
9. So ganuamea, le axwea, Akpeje be amɛ wo gblɔnna na amɛ ɖeawo
 Depuis ce temps, au village, Akpeje ses parents Pl. disent aux gens autres
 Depuis ce temps, dans le village, les parents d'Akpeje exhortent tous les autres
- kpata be: “Miabe vi wo nɛ nɔ mìa gbɔ. Wo mu kplana wo nywede
 tous que: “Vos enfants Pl. que restent vous chez. On ne éduque les bien
 autres en leur disant: “Gardez vos enfants chez vous. On ne les éduque pas bien
- le du gan wo mɛ ò.
 villes grandes les dans Neg.
 dans les grandes villes.

Appendix K. RA-RTT results

Table 10: Comprehension levels for the Fon and Gen RA-RTTs across the tested communities

Fon RA-RTT	All adults	MO	MY	FO	FY
Davè	partial	partial	partial	partial	partial / none
Djètoé	partial	partial	good	partial	partial
Gboho	partial / good	partial / good	good	partial	good
Médétogbo	none / partial	partial / none	partial	partial / none	partial / none

Gen RA-RTT	All adults	MO	MY	FO	FY
Davè	good	good	good	good	good
Djètoé	partial	partial	partial / good	partial	partial
Gboho	partial / good	good	good	partial	partial
Médétogbo	partial	partial	partial	none	partial

MO = older men; MY = younger men; FO = older women; FY = younger women

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