

CROSS-DIALECTAL ACCEPTANCE OF WRITTEN STANDARDS:

TWO GHANAIAN CASE STUDIES

by

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I declare that CROSS-DIALECTAL ACCEPTANCE OF WRITTEN STANDARDS: TWO GHANAIAN CASE STUDIES is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

Cross-dialectal acceptance of a written standard (CAWS) is essential for that standard to be used by speakers of divergent dialects of a language. Earlier works have focused on the influence of linguistic differences on comprehension of the standard, but little attention has been given the influence of socio-cultural and programmatic factors on acceptance of a standard. Case studies of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language development programmes provide information through which the socio-cultural and programmatic factors which influence CAWS can be identified. Due to the complex nature of the topic, various indicators are used to measure levels of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect.

Socio-cultural factors which influence CAWS relate either to the language community's degree of interdialectal communication or to their perception of being a unified people. These factors include social structure, governance, cultural and religious activities, and patterns of marriage, commerce, transportation and migration. The existence of extensive social networks and the role of opinion leaders were also influential

Activities of the two language development programmes which positively influenced CAWS included those which informed and involved speakers of all dialects of the language. These activities built on the existing levels of unity and inter-dialectal communication by using existing social networks. The Lelemi programme involved speakers of all dialects more uniformly than did the Likpakpaanl programme. However, both programmes informed and involved speakers of all dialects to some extent.

The dialect communities of each language did not equally accept the written standards. Acceptance appeared to correlate more strongly with programmatic factors than with socio-cultural or linguistic factors.

This thesis provides a model for language teams to follow in 1) identifying socio-cultural factors which have the potential to influence CAWS; 2) applying knowledge about the socio-cultural situation to programme planning; and, 3) assessing levels of acceptance by speakers of each dialect.

Key words: language development, language standardization, written standards, diffusion of innovations, orthography development, diffusion of innovations, non-standard dialects, minority languages

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Abbreviations and acronyms used in this thesis

BALP – Buem Adult Literacy Program
CAWS – cross-dialectal acceptance of a written standard
ECG – Evangelical Church of Ghana
ELCG – Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ghana
EP – Evangelical Presbyterian Church
GES – Ghana Educational Services
GIL – Ghana Institute of Linguistics
GILLBT – Ghana Institute of Linguistics Literacy and Bible Translation.
KOLADEP – Konkomba Literacy and Development Project
KOYA – Konkomba Youth Association
REFLECT – Regenerated Freirean Literacy Through Empowering Community Techniques. A development program promoted by ActionAid with a minor literacy focus
L1 – First language
L2 – Second language
LDT – language development team
LWC – language of wider communication
NFED – Non-Formal Education Division
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
RC – Roman Catholic Church
RILADEP – Rural Integrated Literacy and Development Project
SIL – formerly Summer Institute of Linguistics, now SIL International, an organization that studies, documents and assists with the development of languages.
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

[] – phonetic transcription

// – phonemic transcription

< > – orthographic representation

When interviews are cited in the thesis, two types of citations are used. Prominent members of the LDT are cited by name using the format (Name, LDialect) where *Name* is the person's surname, and *LDialect* has a single letter for the language (M for Lelemi and K for Likpakpaanl) followed by the dialect name¹. Thus (Kunji, KChabol) refers to the interview of Kunji, who is a speaker of the LiChabol dialect of Likpakpaanl. Citations of other interviewees use the format: (InterviewCode, Dialect) where *InterviewCode* is a two-letter code which indicates the classification of the interview followed by a two-digit number uniquely identifying the interview. Thus, the reference (IN03, MCentral) refers to an interview of an individual, who happened to speak the Central dialect.

¹ The dialect names given in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 are used. However, for the Likpakpaanl dialects, the prefix 'Li' is removed to shorten the citation.

1 Chapter 1 The research problem

1.0 Introduction

English speakers around the world, who have variation in pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax, all use a single written standard (with some minor differences in spelling conventions). Spanish dialects abound in Spain, Central America and South America, but speakers of all these dialects use a single written standard. Because variation exists in all language, most readers have to read materials that do not completely correspond to their spoken variety. A written standard which has existed for over 100 years usually continues to be accepted by the language community with very few individuals expressing concern about the variation from their spoken dialects. However, speakers of the hundreds of languages for which written standards are being developed for the first time² are often very conscious of the differences between the way they speak and the way their language is written. What influences whether speakers of a specific dialect accept or reject the written standard for their language? Can those who develop the written standard facilitate its acceptance by speakers of all dialects? This study explores these issues using case studies of two language development programmes in Ghana in which written standards were developed over the past 50 years.

The purpose of this chapter is to define the research problem. In section 1.1, the context of the study is presented including two examples of language communities in which acceptance by speakers of the non-standard varieties was poor. In section 1.2, the research problem is presented including the aims and hypotheses. Section 1.4, describes the language development situation in Ghana, providing further context for the two case studies. Section 1.5 provides definitions of key terms used in the dissertation. Section 1.6 includes an overview of the contents of the remaining chapters.

1.1 The context of the study

Indirect calls for the development of written standards for all languages have been heard for over fifty years. Calls began when the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (1953:6) stated that it was axiomatic that every child should be able to attend school, that every illiterate should be made literate, that the best language of teaching and learning is the learner's mother tongue, and that all languages are capable of becoming media

² SIL International, "a faith based organization that studies, documents, and assists in developing the world's lesser known languages" (SIL International, 2005b), currently works in over 1000 languages (SIL International, 2006), most of which previously had no written standard. In the five years preceding 2004, SIL in Papua New Guinea worked with local communities to develop alphabets for over 100 languages (SIL International, 2005a:3).

of school teaching. In addition, the United Nations' (1992) *Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* states in Article 4.2 that member nations should create favourable conditions in which minority people can develop their language. Furthermore, the United Nations has designated 2003 to 2012 as a literacy decade, linking it to their goal of Education for All by 2015 (UNESCO PRESS, 2005). The increased interest by several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in preserving endangered languages has also prompted the development of written standards for some languages. But how many languages still lack written standards?

Estimates of the number of languages spoken in the world, range from the 6,912 languages listed in the *Ethnologue* (Gordon, 2005), to Mühlhäusler's (2001:160) estimate of 10,000 languages. The number of languages for which writing systems have been developed is probably close to 3000, but no exact figures are available³. Therefore, 4000 to 7000 languages are potential candidates for the development of an initial written standard.

In Africa, the proportions of languages still lacking an initial written standard are comparable to the worldwide averages. Africa has 2092 indigenous languages according to the *Ethnologue* (Gordon, 2005). Because 683 African languages have had some portion of the Bible published in them (United Bible Society, 2006), at least that many languages have written standards. Probably no more than 100 additional languages of Africa also have written standards. Thus, at least 60 percent of the languages of Africa do not have written standards. In 1985, only 99 African languages were being used in schools either as a language of learning and teaching or as a subject (UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Africa, 1985). This indicates that four-fifths of languages which do have written standards lack significant support by national governments.

The majority of linguists agree that there is nothing inherent in any language which prevents the development of a written form for it (Stubbs, 1980:98). However, African governments often lack the resources to undertake the development of these languages (Robbins, 1992:607). In fact, Christian missions initially developed most of the African languages that are currently used for education. African governments later employed some of those written standards in education. Recently, NGOs that seek to preserve endangered languages have also become involved in language development. Partnerships of NGOs with local language communities are likely to be the means through which initial language development in Africa continues to be done.

³ The fact that 2403 languages have at least a portion of the Bible published in them (United Bible Society, 2006), and that SIL and others continue to develop alphabets in other languages (SIL International, 2006; SIL International, 2005a) leads to the estimate of 3000.

1.1.1 Extensibility: balancing the desires of the people with the limitations of resources

When the first written standard is developed for a language, the speakers of some dialects of the language may not use the standard: they neither purchase materials written in it nor do they learn to read it⁴. Those developing a written standard, hereafter called the language development team (LDT), desire that the greatest possible number of dialect communities use the written standard. The *extensibility* of a written standard is the range of dialect communities that use that standard. Both comprehensibility and acceptability of the standard influence the extensibility (see Figure 1.1). Comprehensibility and acceptability are, in turn, influenced by *socio-cultural factors* and *linguistic factors*. Comprehensibility and acceptability of the written standard are also influenced by decisions and activities of the language development team, which are hereafter called *programmatic factors*. The focus in this thesis is on the socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors which influence the acceptance of a written standard by speakers of dialects which differ from the standard. Such acceptance is hereafter referred to as *cross-dialectal acceptance of a written standard (CAWS)*.

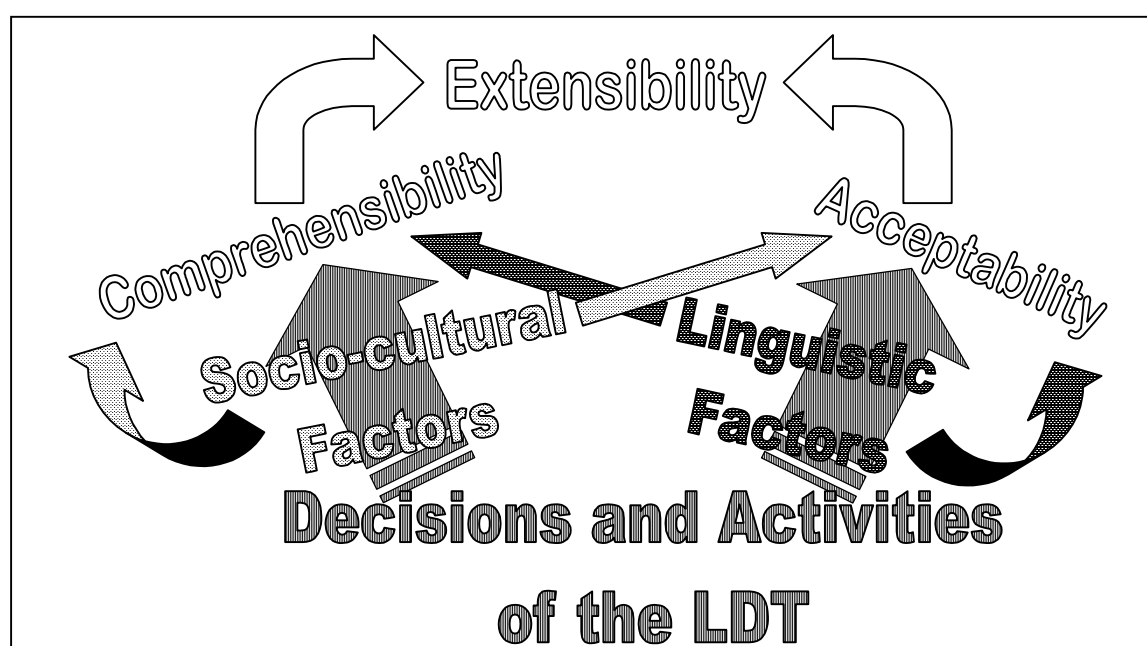


Figure 1.1 Factors that influence extensibility of newly developed written standards

As observed in Section 1.1, NGOs and the national government are often stakeholders in the development of initial written standards along with the speakers of the language themselves. Robinson (1997) notes that speakers of languages which have not yet been written often lack

⁴ Sections of this chapter, including Figure 1.1, are based on the paper “Assessment of the extensibility of written standards” presented at the International Language Assessment Conference V in Chiang Mai, Thailand, 14 September 2005.

the resources to develop a written form for their own language without assistance from groups external to their language community. Each of the stakeholders has a different perspective on the need for extensibility.

For speakers of the language, the issue of extensibility is complex: several desires and beliefs interact with each other. Two perspectives potentially decrease the desire for extensibility. First, people desire that the written standard be easy to understand when read. Linked to this is a second belief: one's own dialect is the easiest for others to understand but other dialects are more difficult to understand. Individuals with these two desires may express them by insisting that written materials closely resemble their dialect. However, four other values favour greater extensibility. First is a desire for communicating with the largest number of people: written standards are viewed as a tool for sharing ideas and learning from others. As a result, people desire to use their written language to communicate with as many people as possible. Second, some speakers of minority languages believe that because formal education has always been presented to them in a language other than their own, literacy is linked to learning a second language. This view may cause people to prefer literacy materials in a dialect other than their own. Third, community members recognise that financial and human resources are limited. A more extensible standard means that more potential authors are available to increase the literature base. Furthermore, printing 6000 copies of a book in one written standard is less expensive than writing the book in three related standards and printing 2000 copies of each. A fourth desire of language communities is for greater unity. For example, church leaders from four dialects of a language, while admitting that speakers of their dialects have some difficulty understanding one another, asserted that a single written standard would serve them best. The reasons they gave were that they all live in the same county, that a single road connects their dialect areas and that the regional church meetings involve speakers of all four dialects (Hasselbring and Johnson, 2002:42,58).

For governments, extensibility of a written standard is often a practical matter of providing the greatest number of people with education through that standard. Due to limited resources, governments restrict the number of languages that are used as languages of learning and teaching in schools and in adult education programmes. The number of people that can be served by a written standard often influences whether the government includes it in its programmes. Because each language community usually wants its written standard to be included in the government's programmes, the government's desire for high levels of extensibility may influence a language community to strive for greater extensibility.

NGOs each have their own perspective on extensibility. Those focused on maintaining maximum linguistic diversity emphasize the value of each unique speech form, placing a low

value on extensibility. No NGO takes that perspective to its logical conclusion by providing a separate written standard for each individual because each idiolect is unique. Other NGOs, which desire to reach the greatest number of people with the available resources, strongly favour extensibility. Christian missions often focus on removing barriers to communication. This may lead to the development of a separate standard whenever comprehension difficulties are reported.

Obviously, the various stakeholders do not always agree on the ideal degree of extensibility. Clifton (2005), a language developer who worked in Papua New Guinea reported:

One of the local literacy coordinators I worked with in the PNG Highlands in the late 1980s became excited when we discussed ways to make the orthographic systems of two speech communities more similar by taking into consideration morphophonemic alternations. He commented to me that he felt that the two speech communities were really one language group, even though separate orthographies had been developed for the two groups. Although he was grateful for the work various missionaries had done in the area over the years, he said that the longer the missionaries had worked with his group, the more they had divided the group into smaller, less unified, groups.

Cooperation and communication between all stakeholders is essential for the best degree of extensibility to be attained.

1.1.2 Differences between established standards and new ones

Those literate in languages which have had written standards for hundreds of years rarely consider the extent to which the written form differs from their spoken dialect because their language has 'always' been written in that way. As Joseph (1987:160) puts it:

People come to accept the standard language as a fact, a given, something whose existence preceded their own and whose authority therefore is difficult to question. The conscious human effort that went into its making recedes into the background, and it assumes the status of an ideal.

However, speakers of languages for which a written standard has only recently been developed are usually more aware of and have stronger feelings about differences between their spoken variety and the written standard. Speakers of each dialect feel that the written form of their language should match the way they speak. Indeed, reading is intimately tied to oral comprehension and writing is intimately tied to speaking as expressed in Gudschinsky's (1973) definition of a literate person:

That person is literate who, in a language that he speaks, can read and understand anything he would have understood if it had been spoken to him; and who can write, so that it can be read, anything that he can say.

Thus, when due to dialectal differences, materials in a newly developed standard do not match a speaker's spoken dialect, negative attitudes about the standard may develop. Such attitudes influence the acceptance of the standard.

1.1.3 *The roles of comprehension and acceptance in extensibility*

As stated in Section 1.1, both comprehension and acceptance influence the extensibility of a written standard. Nida (1987:242) points out that

Too often people assume that there is a strict correlation between intelligibility and acceptability, in the sense that the greater the intelligibility of a text, the greater will be its acceptability. But in many instances, this is distinctly not the case.

Not only do intelligibility and acceptability not correlate, Nida (1987:249) further suggests that “people’s responses to verbal communication are far more conditioned by factors of acceptability than by those of intelligibility”. Robbins (1992:606) echoes this to some extent when he states that:

Experience brings into question the assumption that comprehension is an adequate measure for determining where separate literatures and literacy programmes should be promoted. Social and political factors often conflict with comprehension factors, and if not adequately taken into account, lead to the failure of well-motivated programmes.

Figure 1.1 reflects Nida’s contrast of *intelligibility* (comprehensibility) with *acceptability*. The figure, does not reflect Robin’s contrast of *social and political factors* (*socio-cultural factors*) with comprehension, but rather portrays them as contrasting with linguistic factors.

Nida (1987:245) explains the influence of linguistic factors on both comprehensibility and acceptability asserting that phonological and lexical differences most strongly influence intelligibility, while differences in syntax and discourse most strongly influence acceptability. Jaffe (2000:499) also asserts that syntax influences acceptability when she states that the use of non-standard grammar “invariably cast their speakers as defective.”

Like linguistic factors, socio-cultural factors also influence both comprehensibility and acceptability of a written standard. Acceptability is dealt with in greater detail in Sections 2.1.3.4 and 2.3.2.3. Suffice it to state here that socio-cultural factors related to the degree of inter-dialectal contact influence comprehensibility because the exposure to the dialect increases acquired comprehension. Socio-cultural factors related to the degree of both unity and inter-dialectal communication influence acceptability.

Robbins (1992:613) emphasizes that it is not sufficient for an LDT to assess these factors only at the beginning of a language programme:

The importance of adequate study and analysis of the social and linguistic factors is recognized, but the study of both needs to continue beyond the fact-finding stage and into the strategy-development and implementation stage. Throughout this period, the wider group of dialects or languages should be kept in focus and considered together, whether or not the immediate conclusion is that they can best be served by a single written standard.

Robbins implies that failure to continue assessing these factors results in lower levels of extensibility than might otherwise have occurred.

1.1.4 *Examples of languages with non-acceptance*

As implied by both Nida and Robbins in Section 1.1.3, LDTs have relied more heavily on information about linguistic variation and comprehension than upon socio-cultural information and its influence on acceptance. Many LDTs used some sociolinguistic information in the selection of the standard. However, once an LDT selects a dialect to be used as the basis for the written standard, they may give no further thought to the linguistic and socio-cultural factors influencing the dialect situation. The language development programmes for the Limba language of Sierra Leone and the Grebo language cluster of Liberia illustrate how lack of attention to socio-cultural and linguistic factors related to the dialect situation resulted in low levels of CAWS.

1.1.4.1 The Limba written standard

Over 300,000 people in north-central Sierra Leone speak the Limba language, which has over 10 dialects (Gordon, 2005). From 1911 to 1966 materials were produced based on the southern Limba dialects, but these were never widely accepted (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991). In the mid 1970s, materials began to be produced using two western dialects as the basis for the written standard. In the late 1970s, Limba primers were developed and some literacy teachers were trained (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991). In a description of the western Limba orthography, Iler (1977) points out two phonological differences between the western dialects and southern dialects and implies that only speakers of two western dialects would be able to use the materials.

In 1984, a survey of twelve Limba dialects used lexicostatistics, dialect comprehension, and a brief language-attitude questionnaire to determine the extensibility of the western Limba materials. A third dialect was added to the western cluster. The report stated that speakers of non-western dialects might also use the materials “if motivation is sufficiently high” (Duitsman et al., 1984:16). In spite of these conclusions, no Limba literacy work was done outside the original two western dialect areas prior to 1991.

In 1990, a linguist was assigned to begin language development efforts in the southern dialects due to inconsistency of the earlier southern materials and because the western materials were not being used in the southern dialect communities. After observing speakers of western and southern dialects communicating easily with each other, the linguist requested that a survey be done to clarify the need for a second written standard (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991). The survey, undertaken in 1991, determined that speakers of all other Limba dialects had marginal to adequate comprehension of western Limba materials. However, some words used in the published materials were offensive to speakers of non-western dialects. The survey recommended that future materials be checked with speakers of all dialects to avoid the use of terms that are offensive in some dialect communities. It also recommended that whenever a word had different meanings in different dialects, an explanation of the word should be included in the text if context did not provide enough information to clarify the meaning for speakers of all dialects. A further recommendation was that literacy teachers be trained so that literacy classes could be started in all Limba dialect communities (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991). In August 1991, a teacher-training workshop was held in a northern Limba dialect area with participants from at least four non-western dialects. All of the trainees said that they thought speakers of their dialects would be able to use the existing western Limba materials.

1.1.4.2 The Grebo written standard

The Grebo language cluster of Liberia is a second example of a language in which the extensibility of a written standard was lower than initially expected. The Grebo cluster has over 30 distinct dialects spoken by over 380,000 people (Gordon, 2005). Language development in a southern Grebo dialect began in the 1830s resulting in the publishing of a grammar, two Grebo-English dictionaries and ten booklets over the next 70 years. In the 1960s, a literacy primer was published in a central dialect. In the 1970s language development began in Chedepo, one of six dialects that form the E Je dialect group (Hasselbring and Johnson, 2002). A survey in 1976, which focused on lexicostatistics and dialect comprehension between 25 Grebo dialects, concluded that between seven and eleven separate written standards (including E Je) would be needed to adequately serve all Grebo speakers (Ingemann and Duitsman, 1976).

Literacy work began in some of the E Je dialects in 1988. When civil war disrupted literacy work in the Grebo area, the leader of Grebo Translation and Literacy Organization started literacy classes among refugees in Côte d'Ivoire in 1995. In 1998, when Grebo speakers began returning to their home villages, 24 literacy classes were organized in four of the E Je dialect communities (Hasselbring and Johnson, 2002).

During the late 1990s a grassroots NGO started language development in seven other Grebo dialects. When they requested funding from a larger NGO, a survey was commissioned to

investigate whether seven more written standards were needed. The survey found that attitudes as well as lexical and phonological similarity indicated that speakers of thirteen dialects could potentially use the E Je materials if speakers of all dialects are involved in planning, materials development and other decision-making (Hasselbring and Johnson, 2002).

Grebo and the Limba situations exhibit several similarities. In both cases, the initial surveys indicated that more people could benefit from the written standards than were actually using them at the time of the second survey: in Grebo speakers of only four of the six E Je dialects were using the materials while in Limba speakers of only two of the three western dialects were using the materials. Each LDT appeared to have little contact with speakers of dialects other than the one upon which the standard was based⁵. Neither LDT appeared to keep the wider group of dialects in focus. These similarities lead to questions about the impact of socio-cultural and programmatic factors on acceptance and extensibility of written standards. How can LDTs continually assess the socio-cultural and dialect situation? What do the activities of LDTs communicate to speakers of each dialect community? What activities of the LDT foster CAWS? These questions are the ones covered by the aims of this study.

1.2 Aims and hypotheses

In this research, case studies of the Likpakpaanl and Lelemi language development programmes in Ghana are used to explore the socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors that influence the acceptance of a written standard by speakers of dialects that differ from that standard.

The aims of this study are:

- To identify **socio-cultural** factors which have the potential to hinder or enhance CAWS.
- To identify **programmatic** factors which have the potential to hinder or enhance CAWS.
- To compare the **relative levels of acceptance** of a written standard by speakers of several dialects of the same language.
- To analyse the influences of the socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors on the relative levels of acceptance of the written standard.

⁵ Such lack of contact with speakers of other dialects has occurred in LDTs coordinated by speakers of the language being developed, apparently due to their close social connections to their own dialect community and relative lack of connections to other dialect communities. Lack of contact with speakers of other dialects also occurs in LDTs coordinated by those from outside the language community, perhaps due to not knowing the other dialects exist or a desire to avoid the complexities of handling dialect variation. For both types of LDTs, the difficulties of visiting and communicating with each dialect community are also a factor.

- To recommend how LDTs can identify socio-cultural factors that may influence acceptance of a standard by speakers of a specific dialect.
- To recommend how LDTs can plan language programmes that utilize the socio-cultural factors that enhance CAWS but counteract the socio-cultural factors that hinder CAWS.

The first three aims are exploratory and descriptive in nature: identifying and describing factors which have potential to influence CAWS and comparing the relative levels of acceptance of the written standard by the dialect communities. The fourth aim is causal in nature: determining the influence that two types of factors had on a third factor. The last two aims, relate to the application of this research to the thousands of languages which do not yet have written standards.

Two hypotheses were developed related to the fourth aim:

First hypothesis: The greater the degree to which socio-cultural factors foster unity and inter-dialectal communication between the speakers of a dialect and the speakers of the dialect upon which the written standard is based, the greater is the degree of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of that dialect. Such social factors may be patterns of marriage, governance, religious events, community events, commerce, and education.

Second hypothesis: The greater the extent to which the language development team (LDT) works through existing social networks to provide information and seek the involvement of speakers of a dialect in the language development work, the greater is the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of that dialect.

These hypotheses could not be rigorously tested due to the complexity of the factors which influence CAWS. Instead, these hypotheses were explored using the qualitative methods as described in Chapter 3. In Section 7.5 the trends which were observed which relate to these two hypotheses are discussed.

1.3 Scope and limitations

The Likpakpaanl and Lelemi languages of Ghana were selected as case studies for this research based on five criteria. 1) The language development work had been done by an NGO. NGOs, unlike governments, are unable to require the use of a written standard in schools or other situations. Thus, the acceptance of the written standard in a programme supported by an NGO more closely reflects the natural desires and responses of the language community. Both languages meet this criterion. 2) Written materials in the language have been available to the public for at least five years. In order to evaluate acceptance, materials must have been

available for a long enough period for people to learn about them and decide whether to use them. Both languages surpass this criterion. 3) Written materials have been available for less than 50 years to assure that those with key roles are still alive. Initially, it was reported that the first Likpakpaanl materials were published in the mid-1960s; however, one respondent mentioned that a hymnal had been produced prior to 1960. Concerning Lelemi, it was initially reported that the work there began in late 1970s. However, the first materials in Lelemi were actually published in the early 1950s. 4) The language has at least five distinct varieties or dialects. Both languages meet this criterion: Lelemi has five varieties while Likpakpaanl has numerous minor dialects. 5) Speakers of different dialects have expressed differing levels of acceptance of the written standard. While acceptance of the written standard in both languages was quite good, some variation in acceptance related to dialect occurred in both languages.

In order to limit the scope of the research some additional criteria and limitations were used. This study was about the acceptance of initial writing systems used for languages. It is not about the acceptance of orthography revision, therefore, no previous orthography should have gained broad acceptance. Lelemi does not fully meet this criterion. However, the current orthography differs from the original only slightly.

While linguistic or pedagogic flaws in a literacy programme may influence acceptance, it usually influences acceptance by speakers of all dialects to the same degree. The focus in this study is strictly on the relative acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect.

This study is not about developing a single written standard for a language that is spoken in two countries. While some of the results of this study may be beneficial to LDTs working with cross-border languages, such situations have additional complex factors that were not considered in this study. In fact, some speakers of both Lelemi and Likpakpaanl live in Togo, but no research was done on their acceptance of the written standard.

This study is not a comparative linguistic study of the Lelemi dialects and the Likpakpaanl dialects. Comparative studies are important in the development of written standards for languages with numerous dialects. This study focuses on the sociolinguistic aspects related to acceptance. A lexicostatistic comparison of the dialects was done to provide an objective measure of the degree of dialectal difference.

This study focuses on the influence of socio-cultural factors and programmatic factor on the cross-dialectal acceptance of an initial written standard for a language.

1.4 Language development situation in Ghana.

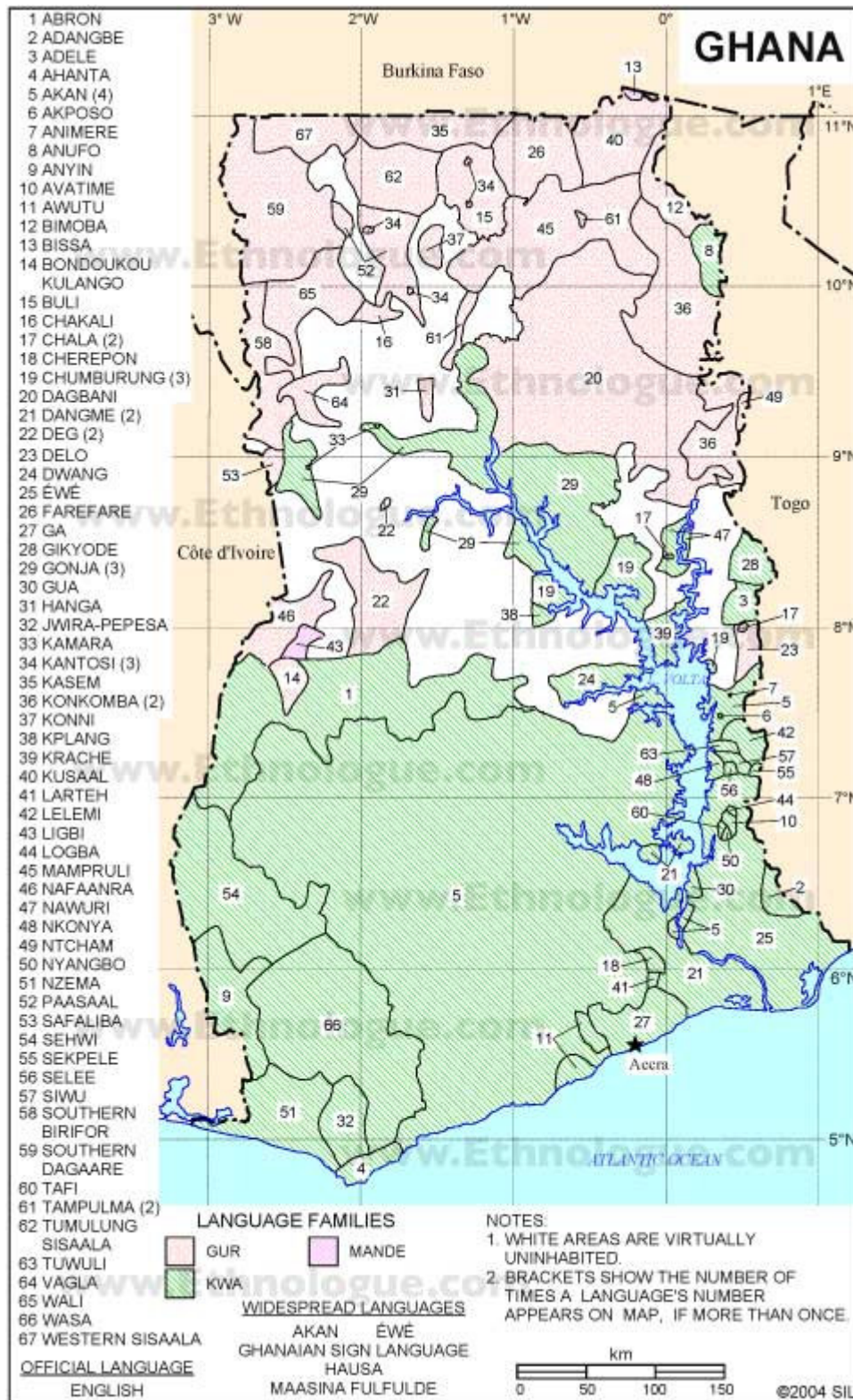
The Republic of Ghana has 20 million citizens speaking 79 languages (Gordon, 2005). The seven more densely populated regions in the south are home to 83% of the population while only 17% live in the three northern regions (Aggor and Siabi-Mensah, 2003). The language map of Ghana in the *Ethnologue* (Gordon, 2005) shows the location of 67 of these languages (see Figure 1.2). The region with the greatest number of languages is Volta Region in the southeast. Twenty-one languages are spoken there, including Lelemi, one of the languages studied in this thesis. Lelemi, like all but one of the languages in Volta Region, is a member of the Kwa family. This family also includes the two largest languages of Ghana, Ewe and Akan (Twi). Likpakpaanl, the other language studied in this thesis is spoken primarily in Northern Region. This region is home to sixteen Ghanaian languages. Likpakpaanl, like all but three languages in Northern Region is a member of the Gur family.

Free education has been available in Ghana since 1952, but enrolment rates in 2000 were only 71 percent for children age six to fifteen and eight percent for children of secondary school age (Aggor and Siabi-Mensah, 2003). The literacy rates for adults age 15 and above are 13 percent in English only, 6 percent in a Ghanaian language only and 34 percent in both English and a Ghanaian language, thus 53 percent are literate in at least one language. The overall literacy rate for Northern Region was only 21 percent while that for Volta Region was 55 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002b). In the 1970s, the government of Ghana established the Bureau of Ghana Language, authorizing it to develop the indigenous languages of Ghana. This bureau now recognizes fifteen languages as eligible for use in the media, public functions and education. These include Akuapim-Twi, Asante-Twi, Fante-Twi, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, Dagaare-Wali, Dagbani, Gonja, Kasem, Frafra, Ga-Adangbe, Buli, Kusaal and Sisaala (Herbert and Robinson, 1999:251-2). Neither Lelemi nor Likpakpaanl have been officially recognized. Ewe and Akuapim-Twi are the recognized languages in the Lelemi-speaking area, while Dagbani is used as the recognized language for the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area.

SIL International⁶ began work in Ghana in 1962 through cooperation with the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana, Legon. SIL focused on the languages of northern Ghana because they had not yet been developed (Aggor and Siabi-Mensah, 2003). These included languages in Northern Region, Upper West Region, and Upper East Regions and languages in the northern portions of Brong-Ahafo Region and Volta Regions. During the 1960s, language development work was begun in five languages including Likpakpaanl. During the 1970s, work was begun in eight more languages including an initial assessment of Lelemi in 1979. In 1978, the Ghana Institute of Linguistics was formed, taking over the work started by SIL

⁶ See footnote 2 on page 1.

Figure 1.2 Map of the languages of Ghana (Gordon, 2005)



Ghana. In 1980, GIL changed its name to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT). Since then, all personnel who are sent to Ghana by SIL International

serve under GILLBT⁷. By 2002, GILLBT had been involved in literacy work in 30 languages (Aggor and Siabi-Mensah, 2003).

Three other organizations sponsor literacy programmes in the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl-speaking areas. The Ministry of Education's Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) runs adult literacy classes in each region of Ghana using the fifteen recognized languages mentioned above (Herbert and Robinson, 1999). Most regions offer adult literacy classes in only one of those languages followed by literacy classes in English. NFED classes are offered in both language areas. The other two literacy programmes are only offered in the Likpakpaanl-speaking area. Action Aid, an NGO promotes *RELFECT* circles, community development groups with a literacy component, in the Anufo and Likpakpaanl languages of Northern Region. Danish Aid has initiated the *School for Life* programme in Northern Region. School for Life provides nine months of mother-tongue literacy and numeracy classes for out-of-school youth who speak the Dagbani, Gonja, Likpakpaanl, Mampruli, and Bassari languages.

1.5 Definitions of terms and conventions used in this thesis

1.5.1 Definitions of terms

Language – A set of spoken and written linguistic varieties which are viewed as a unit due to linguistic similarity as well as adequate inter-dialectal comprehension and social cohesion by their users.

Dialect – A subset of a language or of another dialect. A dialect has distinctive characteristics phonologically, lexically, syntactically or semantically, which sets it apart from other dialects of the same language. As Fine (2003) states: “The definition of *language* in relation to dialect becomes more elusive the more firmly one tries to grasp it. Commonly, people think of a language as a collection of mutually intelligible dialects, just as a dialect is a collection of similar idiolects”.

Dialect community – The speakers of a dialect, especially when viewed as a unit.

Standard language – A written variety of a language, and its corresponding spoken form that is highly codified and is used in higher domains including schools and government. Standard languages include English, French, Hausa, Hindi, Japanese, Swahili, etc.

Written standard – The written form of a language as used in published books. The written standard includes the orthography as well as the norms for syntax, and the lexical choice.

⁷ For the sake of simplicity, in this thesis, the work of SIL International, GIL and GILLBT will all be referred to as the work of GILLBT.

Every standard language has a written standard, while there are many written standards that are not standard languages. Written standards include Grebo, Lakota, Limba, Naro, etc.

In this dissertation, *standard* is occasionally used to refer to *written standard*. Elsewhere in literature on standardization, *standard* may refer to *standard language*. In this thesis, except in citations, *standard* always refers to *written standard*.

Non-standard dialect – a spoken variety of a language that differs from that of the written standard lexically or syntactically. People who speak non-standard dialects of a language are expected to be able to learn to read the written standard. Because of the inherent differences between spoken and written language (see Section 2.2.1) everyone can be said to speak a non-standard dialect. However, for many languages, the written standard closely resembles one of the spoken dialects.

Cross-dialectal acceptance of written standards (CAWS) – the acceptance of a written standard by speakers of dialects that differ from the one upon which the written standard was based. For a multidialectal written standard, acceptance by speakers of all dialects is cross-dialectal.

Extensibility – the range of dialect communities by which a written standard is or can be used.

Language development team (LDT) – the core group of people who work to develop a written standard for a previously unwritten language. They work at the level of the entire language rather than with subgroups of the language as do district or zonal supervisors.

Literate – an individual “who, in a language that he speaks, can read and understand anything he would have understood if it had been spoken to him; and who can write, so that it can be read, anything that he can say” (Gudschinsky, 1973).

Preliterate – an individual who has not yet had the opportunity to learn to read.

Semiliterate – an individual who has mastered some aspects of reading but does not yet meet the definition of literate as stated above.

1.5.2 Conventions in spelling and transcription

Place names in Ghana are spelled according to the reports of the 2000 census (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002b; Ghana Statistical Service, 1989a). Place names not mentioned in the available reports of the 2000 census are spelled according to the reports of the 1984 census (Ghana Statistical Service, 1989b; Ghana Statistical Service, 1989c). Alternative place names found in other documents and literature are presented in Appendix 1.

The dialects of Likpakpaanl are spelled with the third letter in upper case: LiChabol, LiGbinl, LiKoonl, LiMonkpenl, and LiNafeel⁸. This is done to help the reader distinguish between the dialects of Likpakpaanl. The third letter of the dialect is also the one used in some figures as the abbreviation for the dialect. This spelling convention also helps distinguish the Likpakpaanl dialects from those of Lelemi. The Lelemi dialects are represented in figures by lower case letters: Kunsu (k), Bodada (d), Baglo (g), Teteman (t) and Baika (b).

Transcriptions use the International Phonetic Alphabet. Phonetic transcriptions are enclosed in square brackets such as [p], while phonemic transcriptions are written between slashes /p/. Orthographic representations are enclosed in angle brackets <p>.

1.6 Organization of the dissertation

This chapter has introduced the research problem, including the aims and hypotheses of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides a review of the theoretical and practical literature on language standardization, the diffusion of innovations and reading theory as it relates to the acceptance of written standards. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used in gathering and analysing the data. In Chapter 4, the lexical and phonological differences between the five dialects of each language are presented. Chapter 5 presents the socio-cultural situation of each language community, focusing on the level of unity between dialect communities and the degree of inter-dialectal communication between them. In Chapter 6 historical accounts of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language development efforts are presented based on published sources, annual reports and information from interviews. Chapter 7 contains the assessment of acceptance of the written standard by each dialect community. This chapter also highlights how dialect differences, socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors discussed in earlier chapters align with acceptance. In Chapter 8 the conclusions of the study are presented including recommendations for those developing written standards for multi-dialectal languages.

⁸ The spelling used for dialect names is an Anglicised form of the Likpakpaanl orthography: <ɔ> is replaced by <o>; <ɲ> is replaced by <n> preceding velar stops. In addition the nasal lateral <ln> is always spelled <nl> because the roots bear the nasalization and the noun class suffix is /-l/.

2 Chapter 2 Review of Literature

2.0 Introduction

The acceptance of a written standard in a language that previously had none requires both the development of that standard and the implementation of literacy programmes that teach speakers of the language to use the written standard. Neither the development of written standards nor the implementation of literacy programmes is a purely linguistic endeavour (Haugen, 1966b:64, 67; Mühlhäusler, 2000:320). Section 2.1 reviews literature concerning language standardization and the development of written standards. Special consideration is given to literature which discusses: 1) the influence of language variation on standardization; 2) the standardization of previously unwritten languages; and, 3) language standardization which occurs without government involvement.

In Section 2.2, the focus turns to literacy and the introduction of the written standard to the language community. An additional focus is on literature that discusses how language variation is handled in literacy efforts.

Section 2.3 introduces Rogers' theory of the diffusion of innovations and Cooper's application of it to language spread. Aspects of language standardization and literacy that were presented in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 are related to Rogers' theory showing its relevance to the acceptance of written standards.

Section 2.4 reviews three studies related to the acceptance of written standards. While none of these is a study of cross-dialectal acceptance of a newly developed written standard, each has some relevance to CAWS.

2.1 Development of the written standard

Although the terms *standard language* and *written standard* have already been defined in Section 1.5.1, this section explores these two concepts in greater depth. It also explores the development process of written standards. The literature on standard languages focuses nearly equally on oral and written forms, especially when a standard language is compared to non-standard speech. In this thesis, the term *standard language* refers exclusively to languages that have a written form and refers primarily to that written form.

Two continua are useful tools in understanding language standardization. The first continuum relates to whether a standard is seen as a rule or as a norm. It is best understood by considering two definitions of *standard*. One definition of *standard* given in Webster's New World Dictionary is "something established for use as a rule or basis of comparison in measuring or judging

capacity, quantity, content, extent, value, quality, etc.” Another definition is “the type, model, or example commonly or generally accepted or adhered to; criterion set for usages or practices” (Neufeldt, 1988:1306). The first definition focuses on a standard established by someone to specifically be the rule or basis for comparison, while the latter definition focuses on its role as a model, rather than as a strict rule for judging. An illustration of these two aspects of the meaning of *standard* are the written standards for French which is more rule-based and for American English which is more norm-based. The Académie Française is a formal body that establishes rules by which the quality of anything written in French may be judged. No formal body governs the use of American English. Rather, the use of English in formal media is viewed as a model of the standard language, which is then described in style manuals and textbooks (Garvin, 1993:42). Thus, standard languages can be viewed as lying on a continuum from those that are more regulated to those that are less strictly regulated.

The second continuum relates to the degree to which a language has been standardized. This may range from very unstandardized to highly standardized. As noted in Section 1.1, the majority of languages in the world are unstandardized, while international languages such as English and French are highly standardized. Most languages fall at some point between the two extremes. Thus, standardization is not a dichotomistic quality, but rather each language has been standardized to a greater or lesser degree.

The phrase “a language has been standardized” implies that some individual or group did the standardizing. As already discussed in Section 1.1, the first standardizers of most languages have been either an outside NGO or a grassroots group formed within the language community. Most literature on standardization, however, refers to national governments as the primary player in the standardization process (Fasold, 1997; Ferguson, 1968; Fishman, 1977; Garvin, 1973; Haugen, 1966b; Wardhaugh, 2002). This focus on the role of governments is probably due to the major role governments have played in the later stages of formulating the written standards that have had the greatest social impact. Formal effort to standardize languages is usually referred to as *language planning*; a term used almost exclusively to refer to activities of governments, their ministries or appointed bodies. Conclusions and recommendations about this type of language planning are not always applicable to the development of written standards through NGOs and grassroots efforts. In general, large-scale government interventions are “less congruous to the needs of smaller languages, and [. . .] the technical solutions typically do not meet the requirements of small communities in diverse ecologies” (Mühlhäusler, 2000:343).

The goals, methods and effects of language development efforts vary from one language to the next, depending on the decisions of those involved in the process. Haugen (1966b:52)

emphasizes the various factors which might be addressed in language planning or in language development in general.

LP [Language planning] is not committed in advance either to PROMOTING or PREVENTING change. It is not committed to advocating either UNIFORMITY or DIVERSITY among different speakers or groups. It is not committed to either resisting or encouraging borrowing between languages: it may work either for PURIFICATION or HYBRIDIZATION. It may advocate either EXPANDING or RESTRICTING the resources of a language. It is not committed to EFFICIENCY at the expense of BEAUTY; it may work for ACCURACY as well as EXPRESSIVENESS. It is not even committed to the MAINTENANCE of the language for which it plans: it may work for a SHIFT to some other language.

The development of each language is a unique process that involves decisions related to each of these aspects. A variety of factors, including who is involved and the socio-cultural situation, influences how the different aspects are handled for each language.

2.1.1 *Variation as an inherent characteristic of language*

Before continuing the discussion of standardization, it is crucial to consider the impact of variation on language in general. Variation and uniformity are each inherent characteristics of language (Joseph, 1987:1; Haugen, 1966b:59). Variation may occur both within and between dialects, but the focus here is on the latter. While a high degree of uniformity is necessary within a language to ensure comprehension, variation is present at every linguistic level from the phoneme to discourse. Variation does not occur equally at each level, for less variation is evident in syntax than in the phonology or lexicon (Hudson, 1980:46). Categorization of the level at which variation occurs is not always straightforward. For example, if a grammatical particle is realized by lexeme A in dialect X and lexeme B in dialect Y, some may categorize it as a syntactic difference while others see it as a lexical difference.

A *dialect*, as defined in Section 1.4.1, is a subset of a language or of another dialect that has distinctive characteristics phonologically, lexically, syntactically or semantically that sets it apart from other dialects of the same language. An *accent* is distinguished from a dialect in that an accent differs only in phonology while dialects differ in syntax or lexicon (Wardhaugh, 2002:45; Stubbs, 1980:125). While the standard dialect can be spoken in a variety of accents, dialects other than the standard are usually each associated with a specific accent (Stubbs, 1980:125). The term *dialect* is frequently used inclusively referring to the phonological differences as well as the lexical and syntactic differences (Wardhaugh, 2002:25,43; Joseph, 1987:1). In this thesis, the term *dialect* is used in the inclusive sense.

Some sub-fields of linguistics have focused on the uniformity of language while others have focused on its inherent variation. Theoretical linguists, in describing a language's elements

(phonemes, morphemes, lexemes, utterances, etc.) and rules (phonology, syntax, and semantics) focus on uniformity, viewing each language as a monolithic whole. Sociolinguists, however, focus on variation in a limited number of features within one linguistic level: phonemic, morphemic, syntactic or discourse. Comparativists and dialectologists have studied systemic variation, primarily at the phonemic or lexical levels.

The uniformity and diversity of a language serve as unifying and separating forces. Hudson (1980:45) suggests that individuals use variation in phonology to indicate one's origins, while they use variations in morphology, lexicon and syntax to indicate one's status. An individual may intentionally speak with a certain dialect or accent in order to communicate to others the social class with which he is identifying – signifying either that he identifies with those whom he addresses or that he is different from them.

When viewed diachronically, the linguistic characteristics of uniformity and diversity become the characteristics of stability and change (Haugen, 1966b:59; Joseph, 1987:25). For language to maintain the high degree of uniformity that it has, it must be quite stable, however language is also continually forced to change as the culture and society inevitably change. The natural stability of language works against the forces of change so that while linguistic change does occur, someone born into a language community is still usually able to speak with others in that community when he is old (Joseph, 1987:27). The focus on community is important, for language change works within a community of those who interact. “Problems only occur when communication is extended beyond this basic space-time framework” (Joseph, 1987:27). Only when changes occur outside of one's lifetime or outside of one's social network does “the possibility of conscious awareness of change exist” (Joseph, 1987:27). Changes outside of one's lifetime are only encountered when audio or written records of language exist, while changes outside one's social network are encountered through interactions with people outside one's immediate language community.

While both variation and change occur naturally in language, some change is considered unnatural. Since the Romantic period, that which occurs without conscious human intervention is considered natural, while that which is the result of cognition or culture is considered unnatural (Joseph, 1987:10). Some structuralists considered language to be a result of culture and, thus, unnatural, but generative linguists, have viewed language as an innate ability and therefore natural (Joseph, 1987:19). Because standard languages are the result of intentional change by humans, they are referred to as unnatural (Joseph, 1987:10, 19). Standard languages are also unnatural in that they usually change more slowly and have less variety than the spoken dialects of a language (Stubbs, 1980:161). Linguistic ecologists have expressed concern that the goal of traditional language planners to produce a ‘homogenous invariable

system' based on a single idiolect is problematic because it does not take into account the language variation present in society (Mühlhäusler, 2000:315). Some of the unnaturalness of standard languages is due to the standardization process, which is explored further in Section 2.1.3, while other aspects of unnaturalness are due to the written nature of standard languages, which is discussed in Section 2.2.1.

2.1.2 *Categories of variation and its impact on comprehension*

Two factors affect the degree to which dialectal variation at any linguistic level influences cross-dialectal comprehension: the degree of linguistic shift and its complexity. The complexity of an emic shift can be low, as in a one-to-one correspondence, or high, as in a two-to-one emic correspondence that is due to a split or a merger. For example, /p/ corresponding to /p^h/ is a small degree of shift while /p/ corresponding to /f/ is larger. Those two examples of one-to-one correspondence are both low on the complexity scale, whereas, if both /h/ and /p/ in one dialect correspond to /p/ in another dialect, this variation would rate high on the complexity scale. At the lexical level, a parallel example of a small degree of shift might be a lexeme X which means 'heel' in one dialect but 'sole of the foot' in another. If it meant 'heel' in one and 'claw' in another, that would be a larger degree of shift. Both of these examples are one-to-one correspondences so are low on the complexity scale. On the other hand, if lexeme Y means 'sole of the foot' in one dialect but carries both the meanings 'heel' and 'claw' in another, that would be a larger degree of shift. The degree of shift depends in part on the nature of the other phonemes and lexemes in the language and how similar the shifted phoneme is to other phonemes.

Milliken and Milliken (1996), focusing on phonological variation, discuss the impact on comprehension levels of the degree of shift and the complexity of that shift. Small phonemic shifts rarely impede comprehension unless they result in a phoneme that is similar to or identical to one that already exists in the other dialect. When a phoneme in one dialect shifts so that it is identical to a different phoneme in a second dialect, speakers initially hypothesize that the two phonemes with the same phonetic realization are the same. After more exposure to the dialect, the individual becomes aware of the actual correspondence and corrects the assumption resulting in improved comprehension. The elision of a phoneme in one dialect but not in others may result in even greater comprehension problems for speakers of the dialect where elision did not occur. For example, if word-final /r/ elides in one dialect but not in another, those who did not drop /r/ initially have difficulty understanding those who did. They recognize that a given word does not correspond to their own pronunciation, but no clue is present in the word to signal what change transforms it into a recognizable form. Those who did drop /r/ only need to learn to ignore word-final /r/ in other dialects.

In addition, Milliken and Milliken (1996) state that phonemic mergers or splits result in ambiguity or lack of comprehension in one direction but not the other. The ambiguity influences the dialect on the ‘many’ side of a one-to-many correspondence. For example, if /æ/ in dialect Y corresponds to both /ɛ/ and /ɑ/ in dialect X, then speakers of X find the /æ/ in Y to be ambiguous. Each time speakers of X hear /æ/ in Y, they are uncertain whether it corresponds to /ɛ/ or /ɑ/ in their dialect. However, for speakers of Y the correspondence is not ambiguous, because they learn to interpret both /ɛ/ and /ɑ/ as if they were allophones of /æ/.

When two mergers or splits overlap, the ambiguity increases and comprehension decreases (Grimes, 1995; Milliken and Milliken, 1996). For example, if in addition to the correspondence just presented above, /e/ in Y corresponds with both /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ in X, ambiguity results for speakers of X when they hear either /e/ or /æ/ in Y. In addition, ambiguity results for speakers of Y when they hear /ɛ/ in X.

Because of the interrelationship of semantics with both the lexicon and syntax, lexical and syntactic variation are more complex than phonological variation. For example, a chain of overlapping lexeme-semantic pairs exist between two Limba dialects: Təŋkə and Sarəkə. In Təŋkə, ‘to set straight’ is realized as <aki> while in Sarəkə it is realized as <agbɔgɔdɔŋ>. However, <aki> does exist in Sarəkə with the meaning ‘to give birth’. The word for this concept in Təŋkə is <ampu>. Again, <ampu> exists in Sarəkə, but with a different meaning: ‘to carry on the back’. The word for this concept in Təŋkə is <ayukutu>. While no split or merger has occurred, the ambiguity is as great as if a merger was involved (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991).

The degree to which learning a correspondence influences comprehension is different for each linguistic level. For example, becoming aware of one phonological correspondence between dialects helps an individual to understand the thousands of words in which it occurs. Learning one lexical correspondence helps one to understand only a handful of forms derived from that lexeme. Due to the relative frequency of grammatical particles, learning one syntactic correspondence is usually a greater aid to comprehension than learning a lexical correspondence and a lesser aid to comprehension than learning a phonological correspondence.

The degree of comprehension speakers of one dialect have of another is generally divided into two aspects: inherent and acquired (Casad, 1974; Grimes, 1995; Milliken and Milliken, 1996). Inherent comprehension is the degree of comprehension an individual has of a dialect without prior exposure to it or learning of it, while acquired comprehension is that which has been learned (Casad, 1974). In introducing the term *inherent learnability*, Milliken and Milliken (1996) imply that inherent and acquired comprehension are best viewed as points on a continuum. *Inherent learnability* corresponds to the consistent one-to-one or many-to-one phonological

correspondences in which a hearer can map each phoneme he hears with a phoneme in his own dialect. Thus, Milliken and Milliken allow some learning in the *inherent* category. A one-to-two⁹ correspondence while not yielding an unambiguous result, does narrow the options to two possible phonemes. This narrowing of possibilities is also an aid to acquiring comprehension. Milliken and Milliken (1996) place the learning of one-to-many correspondences in the *acquired comprehension* category along with memorizing unpatterned correspondences. The line between quickly learned inherent intelligibility and more slowly learned acquired intelligibility is far from clear (Brown, 1998).

2.1.3 The standardization process

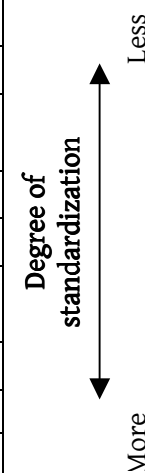
Various aspects are involved in the standardization process. Haugen (1966a) described the standardization of a language as a process with four aspects: *selection*, *codification*, *elaboration* and *acceptance*. The last three aspects relate to three criteria for language planning that Haugen had presented at the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference in 1964: efficiency, adequacy and acceptability (1966b:61). *Selection*, then, is the choice of the form of language to be used as the standard. *Codification* provides language forms with unity and efficiency in the areas of spelling, syntax and lexicon. *Elaboration* increases the adequacy of the language, usually through expansion of the vocabulary, allowing it to be used in more functions, such as education, medicine, the government and the media. *Acceptance* is the choice by speakers of the language to use the standard in specific functions (Haugen, 1966a:931-3; Haugen, 1966b:61). While, selection and codification focus on form, elaboration and acceptance focus on function. In addition, codification and elaboration relate to the language itself while selection and acceptance relate to the attitudes towards the language of the society or those in authority (Haugen, 1966a:933).

Other definitions and descriptions of standard language and standardization can be considered in the light of Haugen's four aspects of language standardization. Ferguson (1968:31), for example, focuses on acceptance in defining language standardization as "the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm." Garvin (1993:41) focuses on the aspects of codification and elaboration definition of a standard language as "a codified variety of a language that serves the multiple and complex communicative needs of a speech community that has either achieved modernization or has the desire of achieving it". Joseph (1987:7), mentions nine qualities of a standard language which it gains with time (see Figure 2.1). The first two qualities correspond

⁹ The number 'two' here could be replaced by 'three' or 'four' if a single phoneme in one dialect corresponded to several phonemes in other dialects. 'Two' is used here for clarity and because it probably occurs most often.

to selection: that other varieties of the language exist and that the standard dialect is seen as superior to other dialects. Qualities three to five correspond to codification: that the unique qualities of the standard are recorded, that the language is written, and that those who enforce the code are members of the community rather than outsiders. Qualities six to nine correspond to elaboration: that the standard is used in prestigious functions, that the standard is adapted so that it can be used in these functions, that translation occurs both from and into other languages, and that those who make changes and do translation are members of the language community. Acceptance of the standard is implied in qualities two, five, six and nine because they emphasize the involvement and ownership of the community in establishing the standard and using it in the community.

Figure 2.1 Nine qualities of standard languages (derived from Joseph, 1987:6)

1 There are varieties of x that are distinguishable from the standard.	Degree of standardization  Less More
2 The speakers of the different varieties see Standard x as qualitatively better.	
3 The unique qualities of Standard x are codified, that is “legislated, recorded and available to users.” (Joseph, 1987:6)	
4 Standard x is written.	
5 Those who enforce the code are part of the x community.	
6 Standard x is used in prestigious cultural functions, both traditional and modern	
7 Standard x has been changed so that it can be used in those functions.	
8 Standard x has materials translated from it and into it from other standards.	
9 Those who elaborate and translate are part of the x community.	

This chronological perspective of standardization as a continuum implies both that standardization occurs over time (see Section 2.1.6) and that standardization is not dichotomistic (Joseph, 1987:19). In turn, each of the nine qualities is a continuum itself. For example, concerning factor three, standard American English is not legislated to the extent that standard French is by the Académie Française. Therefore, the degree of standardization is not only determined by how far along the table a language has proceeded but also the degree to which each factor has been implemented in the standard.

This study focuses primarily on acceptance that, as indicated above, occurs simultaneously with other aspects of the standardization process. Thus, the way in which the other three aspects of standardization are implemented influences acceptance. In fact, the four aspects each influence all the others. The next four sections focus on selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance in more detail, presenting both theory and praxis.

2.1.3.1 Selection

Selection is the aspect of standardization by which the language community, or those acting on their behalf, choose a form of the language upon which to base the written standard. Such a selection implies that the written standard is intended to be used by speakers of several dialects of the language. The selection process of any language can be characterized using four factors: 1) the manner in which the dialect which is used as the basis for the written standard was selected: whether naturally emerging or consciously selected; 2) whether the standard is based on a single spoken dialect or on a multidialectal blend of spoken varieties; 3) the degree to which those involved in selection are members of the language community rather than outsiders; and, 4) the degree to which the criteria used in the selection are linguistic versus socio-cultural.

For most European languages, the selection of a dialect upon which to base the written standard occurred relatively naturally as contrasted with the current more decision-oriented process of selecting a basis for written standards. The more natural the selection process is, the longer it takes and the less involved outsiders are in the development of the language. However, Joseph suggests that natural emergence can only take place when speakers of an unwritten language, have a long history of contact with another language which is established for use in written domains which are seen as prestigious. In such a situation, some speakers of the unwritten language become literate in the written one and decide to use their own language in some of the literate domains for which the written language has been used (Joseph, 1987:51). The first written documents in a language may be lists which are used in commerce and local administration (Stubbs, 1980:106). Most lists would only be used by people speaking the author's dialect, thus each would select his own dialect as the basis for lexical and graphemic choices. As the use of the written form expands to books intended for a broad audience, the author or printer may give consideration to his selection of lexemes and syntax to ensure broad comprehension of his material, but views his decisions as a personal matter rather than as binding on others (Johnson, 1990:36,40). The standardization processes in English and German followed this relatively natural process through at least the end of the Renaissance with the publication of major works such as the Bible, grammars and dictionaries serving to define the naturally selected standard. However, in both Spain and France specific bodies were given authority to render decisions on the correct use of language: the Toledan chancery in Spain in the 1300s and the Académie Française in the 1630s (Johnson, 1990:34). Thus for both French and Spanish, the selection of a dialect upon which to base the standard began naturally but became engineered. Most languages which have been more recently developed have had an engineered selection process (Joseph, 1987:58).

Eco-linguists, such as Mühlhäusler (2000:306-10), have warned against outside intervention in minority languages on the grounds that outsiders do not know the linguistic and socio-cultural situations well enough, nor are they able fully to assess the negative repercussions of some of their decisions. Mühlhäusler has also stated that the aim of ecological language planning is to sustain structured diversity and prevent the death of languages. By preferring natural emergence of written standards, the eco-linguists appear to ignore the fact that the languages which they view as most detrimental to other languages are ones such as English, which have emerged relatively naturally with little outside intervention.

The second factor in the selection of a dialect upon which to base the standard is whether the standard is based on a single spoken dialect or some combination of dialects. Stubbs (1980:74) views this aspect of selection as dichotomous:

The choices are (a) to select one accent for consistent phonemic representation, thus favouring speakers of this accent and causing problems for everyone else; or (b) to compromise on a consistent phonemic representation so that a wider range of accents is accommodated, although inconsistently at the phonemic level.

This factor is also a continuum because even standards which are initially based on a single spoken variety, are eventually influenced to some degree by other dialects of the language (Johnson, 1990:42, 58). Furthermore, no multidialectal standard would be able to account for all the variation in each spoken dialect. Rather, a multidialectal standard usually favours some dialects over others. The type of standard selected has a considerable impact on codification, which is discussed in Section 2.1.3.2.

The third factor in selection is the degree to which those involved in the selection process are members of the language community. When standards emerge naturally, the authors and language developers are usually exclusively mother-tongue speakers of the language. However, they may not necessarily represent all varieties of the language. The development of engineered standards is often initiated by individuals outside the community. Some development efforts do not involve the community in the selection process, as in the development of standard Shona in which Doke made decisions based nearly exclusively on linguistic data (Doke, 1931). Others involve the community in all aspects of standardization including selection.

The fourth factor in selection is the criteria used to make the selection. In the case of natural emergence, the variety, which becomes the basis for the standard is usually associated with social factors such as governmental power, prestige, education or commerce (Johnson, 1990; Joseph, 1987). Engineered selections have been based on socio-cultural factors, linguistic factors or a combination of both. When based on linguistic factors, the focus in selection is on

comprehension with variation included insofar as it influences comprehension (Haugen, 1966a:932; Casad, 1974; Simons, 1979).

Since the 1970s, SIL International, the largest organization involved in the development of written standards for minority languages, has surveyed languages to provide information upon which selection decisions can be based. In the early years, the selection decisions were based largely on linguistic factors such as the lexical similarity between the dialects and the level of comprehension between speakers of the dialects (Casad, 1974). Since the 1980s, sociolinguistic interviews and questionnaires have played a more significant role in SIL surveys (Blair, 1990).

Lexicostatistics are used as a guideline for comprehension testing. According to Simons (1977b:7), when the percent of cognates between two varieties is less than 60 percent, virtually no comprehension of oral texts is possible: separate written standards are needed. For lexical similarities higher than 60 percent, comprehension testing involves requesting speakers of one dialect to listen to recordings of stories in other dialects and respond to comprehension questions. Casad (1974:46) set the critical threshold range for comprehension levels at 75 to 85 percent. Comprehension levels between two dialects that are lower than 75 percent are too low for those dialects to use a common written form. Comprehension levels greater than 85 percent are definitely high enough for speakers of two dialects to use a common standard written form. Comprehension levels between 75 and 85 percent are marginal indicating that the comprehension may be adequate for the use of a common written standard dependent upon other factors. Participants are selected who have had little or no contact with speakers of other dialects in order to assess the inherent level of comprehension rather than an acquired level.

Showalter (1990) and Blair (1990) discuss the use of questionnaires to explore sociolinguistic topics during surveys prior to the initiation of language development work. Both focus heavily on bilingualism issues. The majority of questions related to the socio-cultural situation relate to interactions with speakers of other languages rather than to interactions with speakers of other dialects of the respondents' language. Showalter (1990) does recommend the use of questions to probe the sense of identity and homogeneity, degree of migration and travel.

Sadembouo (1989), in providing primary and secondary criteria for the choice of a standard dialect, focuses on the needs and desires of speakers of each dialect within the language community, rather than on the needs or desires of outside experts who may assist the community. Primary criteria are 1) self-perceived level of comprehension of the varieties, 2) measured level of comprehension of the varieties, 3) number of speakers of each variety, 4) geographic centrality, 5) centre of social activities, 6) prestige, 7) self-perceived purity, and 8) dialect most frequently learned as a second language (L2). The dialect that ranks highest overall in these qualities is selected as the reference dialect for the written standard. If one or

more dialects are ranked equally using the primary criteria, then secondary criteria are considered: 1) government attitude, 2) religious influence, 3) economic importance, 4) materials already printed in the dialect, 5) dialect spoken at ethnic group's place of origin, 6) perceived as easy to learn (Sadembouo, 1989). Sadembouo's recommendations balance the consideration of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, considering the perceptions of communities to be as valid as quantitative measures. Although linguists who are not members of the language community may gather the data related to each criteria and serve as advisors, Sadembouo recommends that the selection of the norm for the written standard be made by a language committee which includes representatives of all dialects, religions, genders, educational levels and social classes.

2.1.3.2 Codification

Codification, like selection, focuses on the form of the language, but concerns itself with the graphical realization of that form. Codification lends unity and efficiency to the form of the language in the areas of spelling, lexicon and syntax, as decisions are made about orthography, acceptable vocabulary and grammatical correctness. While the standardization process as a whole does not inherently advocate either uniformity or diversity, (Haugen, 1966b:52), the codification aspect advocates "minimal variation in form [. . .] [with, ideally] one spelling and one pronunciation for every word, one word for every meaning and one grammatical framework for all utterances" (Haugen, 1966a:931). Random spelling or word division would make reading nearly impossible. Codification increases the efficiency of the standard, making it relatively easy to learn and use. Because the orthographical aspect of codification has been covered in greater depth in the literature than the lexical and syntactic aspects, it is given greater attention here.

Three options are available regarding the linguistic level at which the language is symbolized: phonemic, morphophonemic and logographic. *Phonemic* orthographies maintain a consistent spelling of each phoneme of the language. When using a phonemic orthography, affixes and roots which are modified in pronunciation due to influence from adjacent morphemes are spelled as they are pronounced. This results in words which can always be sounded out directly from the letters, but the same morpheme may be spelled slightly differently (depending on the phonemic environment) when different affixes are attached. *Morphophonemic* orthographies maintain consistent spellings of most morphemes (roots and affixes), but these spellings do not always correspond exactly to the pronunciation due to morphophonemic influence from adjacent morphemes. English orthography is largely morphophonemic because most roots and suffixes retain their spelling regardless of minor differences in pronunciation. For example, <-ed> is consistently used for past tense although it may be pronounced /d/, /t/, or /ɪd/ depending on the final phoneme of the verb to which it is attached. Orthographies based on

phonemic or morphophonemic criteria may be written using either alphabetic or syllabic scripts. *Logographic* writing systems maintain a consistent symbol for each word. Languages which use logographic systems usually have limited morphology. Logographic writing systems require the use of a logographic script.

Variations from purely phonemic, morphophonemic or logographic representations can usually be categorized as over- or underdifferentiation, over- or underrepresentation and irregular correspondences. *Overdifferentiation* is “representing a single phoneme, syllable, or morpheme with two or more symbols in a writing system” (SIL International, 2002). English has overdifferentiation of all vowels, and of some consonants for example, <ph>, <gh> and <f> can each represent /f/. *Underdifferentiation* is “the representation of two or more phonemes, syllables, or morphemes with a single symbol” (SIL International, 2002). English also has some underdifferentiation of both vowels and consonants. The grapheme <th> represents both /θ/ and /ð/. The word <lead> can be considered underdifferentiation at the lexeme level since it could be the lexeme /led/ which is a noun or the lexeme /li:d/ which is a verb. *Overrepresentation* is “using two different symbols to represent two allophones of the same phoneme” (SIL International, 2002). At the phonemic level, English does not have overrepresentation, but it does at the morphemic level. The negative prefix which is represented as <in->, <im-> and <ir-> is overrepresented, as is the English plural use of <-es>, and <-s>. At the phonemic level, English would be overrepresented if [p^h] were represented differently than [p]. *Underrepresentation* is having “zero representation of a phoneme” (SIL International, 2002). This occurs in all English words with the suffix <-ism> since the second vowel is not represented. Underrepresentation of vowels occurs in the Hebrew alphabet. *Irregular correspondences* are ones that are unique or occur in limited, non-predictable circumstances. The correspondence in English of /i/ and /i/ in the dialectal pronunciation of <creek> as /kɹɪk/ versus /kaɪk/. Because this correspondence does not occur in other words it is irregular.

Each of these variations from a purely phonemic, morphophonemic or logographic writing system results in an orthography which is either more difficult to read or to write. While these categories are often used without reference to dialect differences, phonological and morphological differences between dialects often result in some dialects being less purely phonemic or morphophonemic than others are. The implications of these variations on reading are explored in detail in Section 2.2.3.

At the phonemic level, codification is usually referred to as orthographic development. The earliest guidelines on orthography development acknowledged the importance of considering a variety of linguistic and social factors when developing an orthography. However, many early

authors grant little consideration to cross-dialectal linguistic and social factors, focusing only on the language as if it were a monolithic whole. Pike (1947:208-13), for example, provides ten phonemic goals and eleven social goals for the development of a practical orthography, mentioning that these goals may conflict at times. He emphasizes that acceptance of the orthography by the people is more important than meeting all the phonemic goals. In eight pages of recommendations on orthography development, Pike (1947:208-15) gives direct advice about only one type of phonological difference between dialects: where phonological variation between two full phonemes of a language occurs, and where that variation has a geographical distribution, the phonological form which is used by the most people should be used in published materials.

Two of Pike's (1947:213) other recommendations tangentially relate to dialectal differences. He notes that dialects which differ too much from the standard may need separate orthographies which should be as similar as possible because once people attain literacy, they may be able, without further instruction, to read materials in other dialects. Pike (1947:211) also recommends that the LDT work closely with all segments of the community, seeking their unique insights into the orthography. While he specifically mentions leaders and the common people, bilinguals and monolinguals, he does not specifically mention the importance of working closely with speakers of different dialects.

Berry (1958; 1977) points to similar linguistic and social criteria. Berry does not mention the difficulties that dialectal variation causes in the development of orthographies. Like Pike, he emphasizes the involvement of both leaders and common people in the orthography decisions, but does not mention involving speakers of all dialects in the decisions. He states that the orthography should be phonemic, so that anyone who pronounces a word knows how to write it (1958:754). In so stating, he either fails to acknowledge the dialectal differences in most languages or approves of multiple spellings for many words.

Sjoberg (1966:271) considers questionnaire responses of orthographers working in 120 languages, drawing generalizations from them about the development of writing systems in previously unwritten languages. She concludes that the socio-cultural factors were more important than the strictly linguistic factors. She focuses on 1) the choice of alphabetic versus syllabic writing, 2) the occurrence of non-standard or special symbols, 3) the desire for orthographies of minority languages to conform to the orthography of the national language, 4) the desire of speakers of minority languages that their language either look similar to or distinct from other languages, and 5) the speakers' intuitive interpretation of the meaning of diacritics. Because dialectal differences are not a primary focus of her research, she mentions them only briefly. Where dialectal differences were minor, the LDTs attempted to develop a

single orthography that could be used by speakers of all the varieties. Sjoberg does not indicate the degree to which the orthographies were used by speakers of all dialects. She also does not state the criteria by which the LDTs determined that more than one orthography was needed. In the realm of lexicon, morphology and syntax, most orthographers used the longer forms of words and morphemes (as they occurred in some dialects) rather than truncated forms which occurred in other dialects.

Simons (1977a), in his article on multidialectal orthographies, appears to be the first to provide guidelines for basing multidialectal orthographies on a solid understanding of dialectal differences. Simons (1977a:325) states, “many [. . .] limits to communication can be overcome in written communication. For instance, differing pronunciations of the same word are unified by writing them identically in the orthography. Each reader assigns his own pronunciation to the written symbol”. Simons’ seven principles for developing multidialectal orthographies are: social acceptability, psycholinguistic acceptability, minimal potential ambiguity, simplicity, convergence of skewed systems, phonemic contrast and neutralization between dialects, and overall least effort for speakers of each dialect to learn. Simons points out that most of these principles are important even in the development of unidialectal orthographies. However, in the development of a multidialectal orthography, the focus is on the comparative ratings between dialects for each orthographic choice.

Simons (1977a:327) urges LDTs to examine the similarities and differences that occur at the phonetic, phonemic, morphophonemic, and fast-speech levels. If at one of these levels the variation does not occur, that is the realization that should be selected for use in the written standard. For example, it is possible that in a phonemic analysis, a difference occurs between two dialects; but that when people speak quickly, there is no difference in pronunciation. Here the two dialects merge at the level of fast speech. Simons recommends that for each dialect difference, the orthography represent the merged form even if that is at the phonetic level for one difference and the morphophonemic level for another difference.

Simons (1977a) observes that where a two-to-one phonemic correspondence occurs, using a grapheme for each phoneme on the ‘two’ side results in phonemic reading and writing in the first dialect but causes overrepresentation and ambiguity when writing for the speakers of the second dialect. However, if a single grapheme is used to represent the phoneme on the ‘one’ side of the correspondence, reading and writing would be phonemic for speakers of the second dialect, but speakers of the first dialect would face underdifferentiation and ambiguity when reading for speakers of the first dialect.

Simons (1977a) recommends a method for calculating which orthographical solutions should be chosen based on the phonological differences between dialects. For each orthographic

decision, the LDT determines a number of possible solutions based on analysis at the phonetic level, phonemic level, morphophonemic level and the fast speech level. The LDT then assigns a numerical value to each option for each dialect for each of the seven principles mentioned above. The total for each option is calculated across all the dialects. Using Simon's method usually results in writing a single grapheme for every phoneme on the 'many' side of each many-to-one correspondence.

Allerton (1982:60) also proposes a multidialectal orthography, but focuses on three types of phonological correspondences between dialects. When a one-to-one phonemic correspondence between different phonemes occurs, one grapheme should be chosen, but speakers of each dialect should pronounce it in their own way. For one-to-two correspondences, two graphemes should be used to represent the phonemes of the dialect that has two. Speakers of dialects that are on the 'one' side of that correspondence learn that the two graphemes are pronounced identically. Finally, when the same phonemes occur in both dialects, but do not occur in all of the same words, variation in the spelling of the words should be permitted. In any of these types of correspondences a sequence of phonemes such as /st/ may correspond to a single phoneme in another dialect. In such a case, graphemes should be chosen to represent the sequence, but speakers of other varieties learn to pronounce the sequence of graphemes as a single phoneme. Allerton acknowledges that morpho-phonemic alteration in a language, which often causes challenges in orthographic development, may cause greater problems when dialectal differences are present. He concludes by stating, that an orthography such as he proposes requires the reader to learn a few of the phonological features of other dialects of his language.

Capo (1989), like Allerton and Simons, proposes a multidialectal orthography which represents each phoneme on the 'many' side of a many-to-one correspondence with a separate grapheme. He also recommends a means of handling the complex overlapping mergers that were presented in Section 2.1.2. In essence, Capo recommends that a grapheme be used for each line shown in a correspondence.

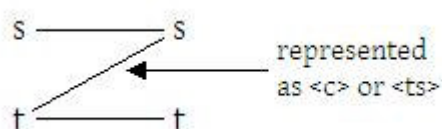


Figure 2.2 A complex correspondence

For example, in the complex correspondence shown in Figure 2.2, three graphemes would be used to represent the correspondence. The grapheme <s> would be used whenever words in both dialect A and B have /s/. The grapheme <t> would be used whenever words in both

dialects A and B have /t/ (Capo, 1989:42). When words in dialect A have /t/ and words in dialect B have /s/ then a third grapheme, such as <c> or <ts> would be used. Such a solution results in overdifferentiation for most, if not all dialects, but no underdifferentiation in any dialect (Fine, 2003:25).

Linguists do not agree on the impact that codification has on pronunciation. For example, although both Fine and Capo agree on the selection of phonemes to be represented, Capo (1989:56) recommends that all readers be taught to use a uniform spelling pronunciation while Fine (2003) implies that speakers of each dialect should pronounce the grapheme according to their own pronunciation. Although the impact of dialect differences on reading is dealt with more thoroughly in Section 2.2.4, several issues are best considered here. Stubbs (1980:126) agrees with Fine, citing as an example English, which can be read with a variety of accents. Mühlhäusler (2000:320), appears to be unaware of the recommendation of Simons, Fine and Capo when he states that “phonemic writing systems, for instance, can be developed only for single lects”. Mühlhäusler (2000:320) states that “the inability of phonemic writing systems to be sensitive to variation and change contrasts with the ability of real speakers to cope with variation and recognise correspondences that phonemic solutions cannot cope with [sic]”. The ability of people to cope with variation in spoken language can be transferred to written language. If the correspondences between the written standard and the spoken dialects are consistent, the speakers of each dialect are able to recognize the correspondences and read the standard using their own pronunciation. Mühlhäusler’s (2000:320) concern that developing a phonemic writing system based on a single spoken dialect will lead to loss of diversity and the death of non-standard dialects implies that multidialectal writing systems which are morphophonemic might gain more acceptance and better serve the language.

The lexicon of a language can also be codified. Codification of the lexicon specifies which lexemes should be used in published materials, including dictionaries. Joseph (1987:72) points out that a language’s lexicon is more difficult to codify than its phonology or syntax because the lexicon allows expansion more freely. Because the lexicon expands, attempts to codify it tend to quickly become obsolete. This observation implies that greater freedom of lexical choice should be permitted in the written form due to the more changeable nature of the lexicon in spoken language. However, when making dictionaries, lexicographers may exclude loan words, or words from non-standard dialects. Newell (1995), for example, recommends representing the language widely by including lexical items from a variety of genre and speech styles as well as by including contributions from people of varying economic, social and educational subgroups. However, he discourages the inclusion of words from other geographical dialects of the language, citing the difficulty and expense of such a project. Others indicate that when

including lexical items from other dialects in a dictionary, acceptance is fostered by portraying them as acceptable synonyms (Mathumba, 1993:40; Capo, 1989:54).

Although the fact that codification deals primarily with the form of the language may imply that a linguistic solution is optimal, implementation and acceptance of the codification requires that sociolinguistic factors be considered. Smalley (in Berry, 1958:752) proposed five criteria for orthographies: maximum motivation for the learner, maximum representation of speech, maximum ease of learning, maximum transfer, and maximum ease of reproduction. To these, which Stubbs names the cultural, linguistic, educational, external sociolinguistic and technological criteria, Stubbs (1980:72) adds psycholinguistic (it fits the psycholinguistic processes of reading and writing), and internal sociolinguistic (it fits the social and regional varieties of the language).

Recommendations on the enforcement of codification vary. Gudschinsky recommends that except for dialect specific transitional primers, all materials must be produced according to the codified standard (1973). Wiesemann, on the other hand recommends that only the primers and some easy reading materials need to be written in strict accordance with the codified reference dialect. Other materials may be written according to each author's dialect (1989).

2.1.3.3 Elaboration

The elaboration aspect of standardization is the process by which a language gains the greatest variety of functions (Haugen, 1966a:931). The initial development of a writing system for a language is often undertaken by those who are interacting with and somewhat adapting to the culture of the language of wider communication (LWC). As they begin to use their own language in the functions which were previously the sole domain of the LWC, they often find their language "inadequate and requiring adjustment" (Joseph, 1987:89). As the newly emerging standard extends into new functions to "answer the needs of a variety of communities, classes, occupations and interest groups" (Haugen, 1966a:931) it requires additional vocabulary which may be provided through elaboration. Elaboration is ongoing because all cultures continue to change, causing lacks or lags in the language which may eventually be filled with new vocabulary (Joseph, 1987:89).

Elaboration may be accomplished through transference (borrowings from the LWC), nativisation (adapting words borrowed from the LWC to fit the language structure of the new written standard), and calquing (finding a suitable word from the vernacular). Alternatively, either the phonology or syntax of the language (rather than the lexicon) can adjust to allow the expression of more concepts (Joseph, 1987:93). Some languages, such as English, borrow freely from a wide variety of languages, while other languages, especially French, and German more

frequently create new words using compounds or new combinations of roots and affixes from within their own language to refer to new concepts. The goal, in either case, is “referential adequacy; systematic adequacy; [and] social adequacy” (Mühlhäusler, 2000:330).

Dialect variation is little mentioned in the literature on elaboration. Haugen (1987) mentions the possibility of using existing vocabulary from non-standard dialects in developing new vocabulary for the standard. Because elaboration results in greater intertranslatability of a language, Mühlhäusler’s (2001:160) statement that “the need for intertranslatable languages has an unfortunate side-effect – the destruction of small languages as outmoded and irrelevant” implies that he sees transference and nativisation as the main modes of elaboration. Whether elaboration uses transference, nativisation or calquing, some initially negative attitudes toward new vocabulary may be expected, especially if the new items are not introduced and taught well (see also Section 2.2.2).

2.1.3.4 Acceptance

Acceptance of a written standard, like selection, is focused on the language community rather than the language itself. Acceptance has to do with the language community taking ownership of the written standard, viewing it as the written form of their language and putting it to use in ever-increasing degrees. Acceptance is in one sense the most neglected aspect of standardization, for it receives little treatment separate from the other three aspects: selection, codification and elaboration. On the other hand, it is the most referenced because it is repeatedly mentioned in discussions of the other three aspects. Haugen (1966b:62) observes that acceptance rarely occurs uniformly within a language community, but is rather used more by some subsets of the community and less by others.

Chamberlain (2004:24) discusses the impact of five sociolinguistic factors related to the scriptal environment on acceptance of written standards in general: ethnic identity, religious identity, tradition, politics, and literacy. A language community with a strong sense of ethnic identity and unity shows greater unity in accepting a single standard despite diversity of dialects. In the same way, a strong sense of religious unity accompanied by a favourable attitude toward a written standard may be a positive factor in the acceptance. However, a unified religious identity that rejects written materials is a negative factor in acceptance. Furthermore, local traditions related to written languages and interactions between subgroups within the language community influences the acceptance of the written standard. Both local and national political policies and stances can have a major impact on acceptance, but not always as the leaders intend. The role of literacy in other languages of the community also influences the acceptance of the written standard (Chamberlain, 2004).

Acceptance of a written standard can be nurtured, but it cannot be forced by change agents either within or outside the language community. Some standards which were well-developed linguistically, have been rejected by potential users (Stubbs, 1980:71). Joseph (1987:49, 62) cites examples of political domination resulting in a reaction against an imposed standard but also speaks of being able to engineer the emergence of a standard by fostering acceptance among key leaders in the community who take ownership of the standardization work. Johnson (1990:95) proposes the fostering of acceptance of written standards in Cameroon by a) selecting a language name which is acceptable to speakers of all dialects; b) exposing people to the dialect on which the standard is based; c) creating opportunities for cross-dialectal communication; d) informing people of the benefits of using a single standard; e) elevating the prestige of the standard; f) emphasizing unity in diversity relative to both the national and local levels; g) producing literature in the standard; h) starting literacy classes in all dialect areas; i) encouraging the use of the standard in local schools; and, j) continually expressing confidence that speakers of all dialects will use the standard.

Munson (1987) proposes a similar set of activities to foster acceptance of the Cakchiquel standard:

- a. Raising the level of language awareness by providing sufficient orientation to Mayan history, literature, and grammar;
- b. Providing opportunity to learn to read and to write in one's own dialect;
- c. Providing access to materials, already in print, from other dialects of the same language through distribution in churches, markets, and small stores;
- d. Providing oral exposure to other dialects of the same language through radio programs;
- e. Establishing a close working relationship with the bilingual school program in the area;
- f. Identifying leaders in each community who would receive further training in linguistics and translation, in order to provide the 'bridges' between their dialect and the dialect(s) of literature production;
- g. Standardization of orthographies and spelling between dialects to expedite code switching.

Similar themes of awareness, opportunity, exposure, access to written materials and encouragement are mentioned in both recommendations. In Section 2.3, acceptance is explored further in light of the interdisciplinary diffusion of innovations model.

2.1.4 *The functions of standard languages*

Garvin (1993:47) describes five primary functions of a standard language that give the language symbolic meaning in the community: the unifying function, the separatist function, the prestige function, the participatory function and the frame of reference function. In its unifying function, which is also pointed out by others, the standard draws speakers of various dialects together (Ribbens, 2001:43; Hudson, 1980:33; Coulmas, 1999), while at the same time the standard, in its separating function, shows the speakers' uniqueness from speakers of other languages. In its prestige function, the standard language gains respect, because it has moved from being a language that is only spoken, to one that can also be read and written. In its participatory function, the standard language is used in domains, which were formerly the realm of a national language or LWC. Finally, the standard language provides a model for correct language usage, especially in the written form (Garvin, 1993:48).

In a similar vein, Joseph (1987:72) mentions five spheres in which a standard language functions: national, solemnity, lingua franca, media and education. In the national sphere, its function is bringing unity to a nation. In the solemnity sphere, its function is to unite people of a common religion or denomination. In the lingua franca sphere, its function is to draw together people who speak related dialects by providing them a single written form. These three are related to Garvin's unifying, separatist and prestige functions. Joseph (1987:72) then mentions the media sphere, which allows the recording and communication of literature, news and scientific discoveries. In the education sphere, the standard language provides access to literacy and to higher levels of education.

Table 2.1 Comparison of Garvin's and Joseph's functions of written standards

Joseph functions	Garvin functions	Garvin attitudes
national	the unifying function	loyalty
solemnity	the separatist function	
lingua franca	the prestige function	pride
media	the participatory function	desire to participate
education	the frame of reference function	awareness of norm

Garvin (1993:48) links four attitudes to the functions of standard languages. The first attitude is language loyalty, which influences both the unifying and separatist functions. The second attitude is pride in the language, which corresponds to the prestige function. These first two attitudes are related to Joseph's national, solemnity and lingua franca functions in which people show loyalty to and feel prestige about their nation, religion or language. The third attitude is the desire to participate in the modern world, which corresponds to Garvin's participatory function and Joseph's media function. The fourth attitude is the awareness of the norm for the standard, which is reflected in Garvin's frame of reference function and Joseph's educational

functions. Another aspect associated with standard languages which all the attitudes and functions above point to, is power: power which comes from unification, power which is often linked to pride, power to participate fully in society and the power which both comes from and is needed to sustain educational institutions.

Due to dialect differences and the heterogeneity of speech communities, these functions and attitudes do not equally influence all speakers of a language. Both Mühlhäusler (1999; 2000; 2001) and Jaffe (2000) emphasize how lack of power causes problems for speakers of non-standard dialects. Choosing one dialect as the basis for the written standard increases the economic and political status and power of that dialect (Foley, 1997:412) while decreasing that of non-standard dialects (Jaffe, 2000:500). However, communities that self-identify as speakers of the language may be able to enjoy the new power and status of the standard, even if they speak a different variety. Haugen (1966b:63) states that those who accept the standard give up some degree of their linguistic distinctiveness in order to become part of a larger social system. The degree of ethnolinguistic vitality, defined by Kramer and Olshtain (1989:197) as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” influences the self-identity of communities either encouraging them to or dissuading them from associating with the written standard.

Loyalty towards the standard promotes acceptance, but acceptance of the standard can also promote greater loyalty. Language loyalty ranges from pragmatic loyalty in which individuals mildly assert the obvious superiority of their language to a highly emotional loyalty. Emotional loyalty is often exhibited when a community senses a need to assert their separateness or unity. Emotional loyalty can provide the motivation necessary to initiate the standardization process (Garvin, 1993:49). A sense of loyalty toward the standard is proportionately more necessary when the dialects are more diverse in structure (Joseph, 1987:75). While emotional loyalty may help motivate initial acceptance, established standards are characterized by a pragmatic loyalty among the speakers.

Loyalty toward the standard is not guaranteed and may be tied to the level at which the people have the strongest sense of self-identity. For example, when the E Je variety of Grebo was developed beginning in the 1970s, it was initially intended to serve as a standard for five to seven of the over thirty Grebo dialects. However, as of 1999, speakers of only two dialects were using the standard: speakers of other Grebo dialects considered it not to be their own (Hasselbring and Johnson, 2002). The E Je standard served to unify and separate, but not as the LDT intended.

The sense of prestige people feel when their language has a written standard is undeniable. It makes their language as good as others. The written standard “takes on something of a life of

its own, and characteristically is regarded by its users as important and often superior as a form of language” (Stubbs, 1980:30). But that superiority implies a lack of superiority of all the non-standard varieties and that lack of superiority can be imputed to those who speak the non-standard varieties. “As soon as language becomes a variable commodity, the variations are subject to value judgments and assignments of prestige” (Joseph, 1987:30). One spoken form of a language cannot inherently be more prestigious than another, but prestige may be associated with a spoken form because the people who speak it have other qualities that people desire to emulate but cannot. Thus, by emulating the language they may try to associate themselves with the more prestigious people (Joseph, 1987:31). The written form of the language is of course prestigious because it is written. People who speak varieties that differ significantly from the written standard must either develop their own written standard, or identify them with the prestigious written standard. “Thus, the subtle interdependent texture of linguistic variation is disturbed—stark boundaries are drawn, fault lines of differential prestige begin to emerge, attitudes start to polarise, and what is seen as a benevolent intention to develop a local language may turn out to be an invidious interference with the broader linguistic ecology of the region” (Robinson, 1997).

A written standard increases the metalinguistic awareness people have of their language and the distinctive nature of various dialects. Syntactic differences are perceived to be more serious than phonological or lexical differences. Syntactic differences either mark the speaker as defective (Jaffe, 2000:499) or are actively suppressed (Hudson, 1980:48). On the other hand, variation in lexical items is usually tolerated or even promoted as a way of enriching the written standard and showing social, geographic or dialect differences (Sadembouo, 1989:509; Mathumba, 1993:40; Jaffe, 2000:499; Hudson, 1980:48; Dube, 2000:33; Brye, 1992).

The power of a written standard is also undeniable. As Stubbs (1980:161) states:

When a language acquires a writing system, it is functionally more powerful as a means of communication than a language with no written form, since writing systems facilitate recording, bureaucratic and intellectual tasks.

Because written standards come into existence due to contact with another language that already has a standard, and because all languages have internal variation, there are two ways to view the power of newly developed written standards. First, language A with a new standard, gains power relative to language X which formerly dominated the written domains, but the written standard of A also elevates itself above the spoken forms of A. Speakers of non-standard varieties of A are not as empowered by the written standard as those whose dialect more closely resembles that of the written standard (Jaffe, 2000:500).

Joseph (1987:35) points out that logographic writing systems such as Chinese, are less influenced by variation at lower linguistic levels, because they encode language at a higher level than the phoneme or syllable. Thus, the differential power, prestige and loyalty do not occur due to dialect differences. Joseph (1987:66) also points out that languages written logographically can also change at the phonemic level without altering the relationship between speech and writing. The trade off is that logographic writing systems require the mastery of more symbols, which takes more time. The fact that logographic writing systems have not spread widely in spite of their ability to tolerate more diversity in spoken dialects is probably due to the great difficulty involved in learning them.

2.1.5 *Participation in standardization*

A key component to effective language development is the active involvement of the language community. “The community needs to be involved with the planner at every step, from the conception to the implementation of any program for development of a written standard” (Robbins, 1992:163). Some of the literature focuses simply on many members of the speech community being involved (Mühlhäusler, 2000:343; Wiesemann, 1989) while others focus on the fact that communities must be the decision makers (Robinson, 1997; Naden and Naden) or the codifiers and standardizers (Joseph, 1987:6; Kutsch-Lojenga, 1996; Easton, 2003). Only Sadembouo (1989) and Johnson (1990:92) specify that speakers of each dialect should serve on the language committee which will oversee all language development work.

The involvement of the language community in the codification process is considered essential by Kutsch-Lojenga (1996) and Easton (2003). Both have developed ways in which literate and preliterate people can be actively involved in the collection of lexical items, the identification of phonemes and the selection of graphemes for their languages. Sadembouo (1989) and Johnson (1990:92) focus on ways that literate individuals can be involved in serving on committees, making orthography decisions and developing written materials. Through involvement in the standardization process, “members of the community achieve greater language awareness, both of their own dialect and of other dialects” (Robbins, 1992:163).

A plan to develop and promote written materials in five dialects of Cakchiquel began with the selection of three trainer/promoters from each dialect¹⁰. They were taught to read Central Cakchiquel, were taught Cakchiquel grammar, were trained in translation principles, were taught to use a silkscreen printer, and were trained to promote Cakchiquel literacy in their own dialect area, and taught to teach others how to read. Over time, when it became clear that speakers of these dialects could read Central Cakchiquel with understanding, the programme

¹⁰ The program later grew to seventeen promoters in six dialects.

became less focused on teaching people to read their own dialect and more focused on teaching people to read the Central dialect while still allowing the writing of books in any dialect. The most effective promoters were those who were willing to speak Cakchiquel in public (Munson, 1987; Munson, 1983).

2.1.6 *Time as a factor in standardization*

For many of today's international languages, the process of developing a written standard took place over a period of hundreds of years with little organized effort at the level of the entire language for most of the process (Hatfield, 1991; Brye, 1992). The idea, for example, that English words should have one spelling "is a convention which has developed over only the last two hundred years, but did not hold before that" (Stubbs, 1980:69). Today governments and NGOs seek to establish written standards that gain acceptance by speakers of several language varieties in a matter of years or decades (Robbins, 1992:615). Joseph (1987:15) states that such efforts at rapid language planning are futile. Rather, "standard languages have come about through a historically stable, long-term sequence of developments".

Time is required for nearly every aspect of the standardization process: It is required to determine how widely a standard will be used. As Robbins (1992:613) states:

Given the complexity of the factors involved in multilingual situations with local languages there is no way to understand the potential scope of a written standard from an initial assessment, even if it includes extensive surveys, profiles, and political, cultural and demographic studies. That potential can only be seen over time in interaction with the community itself.

Time is required for the community to become open to the idea of standardization because speakers of an as yet undeveloped language must be in contact with a language with a written standard for a long time before standardization of the undeveloped language occurs (Joseph, 1987:49). Time is also required to make decisions regarding codification because when representatives of each dialect are involved in the process, much discussion and compromise is required to reach acceptable conclusions (Malone, 2004:41). However, if initial reading materials are written based upon a single dialect, individuals can be allowed to write according to their own dialects with the hope that over time a standard will naturally develop (Wiesemann, 1989). The spread of the written standard among the population also takes time as does the acquisition of the desired level of proficiency (Cooper, 1982b:13). As greater numbers become literate and as their proficiency increases, actual usage in spelling, grammar and lexicon in written materials should eventually be incorporated into the standard (Miller, 1991). The development of communication between the extreme ends of the dialect chain also require time (Langdon, 1997:23). The role of LDTs in fostering such communication is not clear,

for most agree with Pike (1947:213) that such communication should not be forced before readers are interested in overcoming dialectal barriers. However others, such as Johnson (1990:95), recommend fostering communication by providing greater opportunities for intercommunication.

2.1.7 *The written standard as a separate language variety*

The written standard is best viewed as a separate variety of the language (Haugen, 1966b:53; Ferguson, 1968:29; Wiggen, 1986:397; Joseph, 1987:80). Even if the standard is based on a single oral dialect, the written standard is significantly different from it. As already mentioned in Section 2.1.1, the written standard differs from non-standard forms in that it is less natural, has less variation, and is less subject to change. The written standard uses characters to represent phonemes, lexemes and utterances more discretely. The written standard also has fewer false starts¹¹.

Just as a person learning to speak and understand a new language must have contact with a large amount of material in the language, so someone learning a written standard must interact with many materials written in the standard. Haugen (1966b:65) holds that teaching the standard form to speakers of the language requires two types of input which are similar to those required by an L2 learner. An L2 learner benefits from hearing natural speech as well as from being taught the rules of the new language. In the same way, those who are to adopt the standard need to be provided with texts written in the standard in addition to being taught the rules of the standard, especially the rules which indicate how the written standard differs from the idiolect of the learner. The implication is that the greater the degree of difference between a speaker's idiolect and the written standard, the greater the number of rules the individual needs to learn and the more difficult it is to master reading and writing the standard. By viewing a written standard as a unique variety of a language, the spread of the written standard may be seen as a case of language spread.

2.2 **Reading the written standard**

In order for a written standard to be accepted, members of the language community must be able to read it. Thus, literacy and reading theory are closely tied to the acceptance of written standards. Four aspects of reading theory are particularly important to the acceptance of written standards by speakers of the targeted dialects: 1) the *underlying differences* between written and oral language; 2) the *difference between the two major approaches to teaching reading*: decoding versus discovering meaning; 3) the influence of the *orthographic depth hypothesis* on

¹¹ These characteristics of written language are explored further in Section 2.2.1

both learning to read and the reading process; and, 4) the way that dialect differences influence learning to read. These are covered in the subsections below.

Reading is a very complex skill which uses several co-occurring psychological processes to produce understanding of a text (Just and Carpenter, 1987:3). In addition to psychological processes, it also involves social and cultural influences, linguistic factors and specific motor skills (Stubbs, 1980:4, 8, 160). However, because reading looks easy and many have mastered it, reading skill is often considered to be less complex than other activities (Just and Carpenter, 1987:3).

Because reading is complex, failing to learn to read may be caused by many different factors. Stubbs enumerates potential sources of reading failure: 1) the pupil; 2) the family or social background; 3) the teacher or school; 4) the nature of the writing system; 5) the quality and appropriateness of the reading materials; and, 6) the method used to teach reading. Reading failure may be due to a deficiency in one of the factors, such as a poorly designed method to teach reading. Alternatively, reading failure may be due to a mismatch between two factors; for example, a difference between the learner's spoken language and the written language of the materials (Stubbs, 1980:140). Other problems with the medium could include the choice of lexical items or syntax. If many people in a speech community fail to learn to read, the written standard could be rejected. Thus, the causes of reading failure are also potential causes of non-acceptance of written standards.

2.2.1 *Written versus spoken language*

Both written and spoken language are representations of language itself, the former through the medium of a writing system and the latter through sound waves (Stubbs, 1980:34). Some of the similarities and differences between these two representations of language have the potential to influence CAWS. In general, written language is more difficult, less natural and less universal¹² than spoken language because reading and writing must be learned consciously while listening and speaking of one's first language are learned unconsciously (Lieberman, 1992:167; Frost and Katz, 1992:4; Stubbs, 1980; Lundberg, 2006:13; Joseph, 1987; Kibby and Dechert, 2006:200). In addition to these general differences, many specific differences have been mentioned by Haugen (1966b), Joseph (1987), Just and Carpenter (1987), Lieberman (1992) and Stubbs (1980). These differences can be categorized under four themes: permanence,

¹² Listening and speaking are part of normal human life. Everyone except those with severe physical or psychological problems listens and speaks (including the listening to and speaking of sign language by the deaf), but approximately one third of adults in the world are illiterate (Tabouret-Keller et al., 1997:1).

spontaneity, discreteness and dependence on context. Table 2.2 presents some of these differences indicating which have positive, neutral or negative influences on comprehension.

Table 2.2 Characteristics of written and spoken language

		Permanence	Spontaneity	Discrete	Context
Written	Positive	permanent, reader controls order of intake, speed, and completeness, no time limit, unchanging, re-readable	intentional, editable, minimal errors, more compact, less redundant	clarity is increased by the discreteness of graphemes, words and sentences	the author's words can provide very explicit context
	Neu-tral		normally mono-directional		not dependent on context
	Negative		slower to produce, metalinguistic awareness required, lower redundancy may reduce comprehension	lack intonation, lack volume, lack voice quality, etc. which may aid comprehension	no visual clues available to assist comprehension
Spoken	Positive		faster to produce, forethought not required, explanation or repetition can be requested, natural redundancy aids comprehension	intonation, volume, voice quality, etc. can aid comprehension	physical setting and gestures can aid comprehension
	Neu-tral		normally dialogue		uses physical context
	Negative	speaker and hearer must be relatively near, speaker controls speed and order, permanence depends on hearer's memory	exposed to more errors and repetitions	the blending of adjacent sounds and the elision of sounds may hinder comprehension.	

The permanence of written language is greater than that of spoken language. This allows readers to examine the written text repeatedly (Stubbs, 1980:110; Haugen, 1966b:53) while spoken words, once said are gone forever¹³.

The spontaneity of written language is less than that of spoken language. Comprehension may be aided by removing false starts, errors and unnecessary repetitions (Joseph, 1987:36). On the other hand, the inability in written language to immediately ask the speaker for clarification may decrease comprehension (Miller, 1991; Haugen, 1966b:61). Comprehension may also be

¹³ Modern recording devices are able to make spoken language permanent.

aided by the redundancies naturally present in spoken language (Lundberg, 2006:26). Thus, the low level of spontaneity in written language has both positive and negative effects on comprehension.

The medium of written language is more discrete than that of spoken language: it is symbolized by graphemes which do not blur into one another as do spoken phonemes (Lundberg, 2006:26). This level of discreteness requires readers and writers to be more metalinguistically aware than speakers and listeners (Stubbs, 1980:123). In spite of their discreteness, all orthographies are incomplete sets of cues: intonation, voice quality and volume are rarely, if ever, represented (Just and Carpenter, 1987:296). The greater level of discreteness mandates that readers and writers be more conscious than speakers and listeners of the phonology of the language and of how words are spelled (Lieberman, 1992:175).

Regarding context, written language is heavily dependent on the context present in the text while spoken language often depends on context within the environment where the conversation occurs, including gestures of the interlocutors (Haugen, 1966b:61). Authors who recognize this difference between spoken and written language can intentionally add verbal context to compensate for the lack of environmental context (Haugen, 1966b:61).

Stubbs (1980:56) mentions an additional characteristic of written language: it can disambiguate homophones by representing them with separate spellings, i.e. 'bare' and 'bear'. In this way, the spelling signifies the meaning even though the pronunciation is no different than if they had been written as homographs.

Similarities between written and spoken languages are also important. Stubbs (1980:6) mentions several parallels between spoken and written language. First, just as one can understand things that one would never say, one can read and understand things that one would never write. Second, just as one does not know all the words one hears but must know the words one speaks, so one does not know all the words one reads but must know all the words one writes. Third, just as most individuals listen far more than they speak, most individuals read far more than they write.

These parallels between written and spoken language can be applied to cross-dialectal communication as follows: The fact that some people write or say things in a way that other people would not or could not say is due to variation in phonology, lexicon and syntax as well as differences in socio-cultural background. However, people can, within limits, understand written or spoken language that differs from their normal way of communicating by use of context and by extrapolating familiar usages to unfamiliar ones. Thus, the skills that people use to understand spoken language that differs from their own can be applied to understanding

dialect differences in written language. Listeners and readers also are able to learn new vocabulary through the texts that they hear or read. Thus, the occurrence in written materials of unfamiliar vocabulary due to dialect differences is not an insurmountable barrier to reading. Third, because people read more than they write, in the development of written standards “the needs of readers ought to take precedence, since there are many more readers than writers, and the majority of people who do much writing are professionals, and ought therefore to be able to tackle a few more problems” (Stubbs, 1980:6).

Those who have considered how differences between written and spoken language influence cross-dialectal communication disagree on which aids comprehension most. Miller (1991), in referring to cross-dialectal communication, states that listening provides better comprehension than reading due to the tendency toward redundancy and restatement in oral discourse as well as the opportunity to negotiate meaning in a face-to-face dialogue. However Simons (1977a), points out that written language may be easier to understand because the discreteness of the orthography allows it to be designed in such a way that speakers of all dialects can read it by applying their own phonological system.

2.2.2 *Learning to read: decoding versus discovering meaning*

Since the early 1900s, debates have occurred between those who view reading as decoding written language into spoken language and those who view it as discovering the meaning of the text. The following example helps highlight the contrast between reading as decoding or as discovering meaning.

Suppose I have a legal document and am not certain how to interpret it. I ring up my solicitor [lawyer] and he asks me to read out the relevant parts to him over the telephone. He considers it and explains it to me. I think we would have to say that I read it, although I did not understand it. The reason we have to take reading in this sense is that the same problems of understanding would arise whether the material had been written or spoken. I could understand in neither case; the solicitor could understand in both cases. (Stubbs, 1980:13)

Here, the reader was primarily decoding. He obtained some meaning but knew he could not grasp the full meaning. Because he knew that reading encompasses discovering meaning, he called his lawyer for assistance. His lawyer was able to understand the man’s oral reading of the text because the man was a successful decoder. Thus, both decoding and discovering meaning are crucial to reading.

The terms that have been used to refer to the decoding and meaning sides of the debate have changed over the years, as have the particular stances taken. Those on the decoding side of the debate now speak primarily of the importance of phonemic awareness and teaching the

correlation of phonemes to graphemes. Those on the meaning side of the debate focus on whole texts, which may range from a sign with the single word 'stop' to an entire book.

Recent research has shown that both decoding and discovering meaning are crucial to reading instruction (Pearson and Raphael, 2003; National Reading Panel, 2000; International Reading Association, 2004; International Reading Association, 1999). A new reader first applies decoding skills to identify words, but as the reader becomes more skilled, word identification becomes automatic. "The theory is that when basic [decoding] processes are automatic then mental capacity is freed for higher level processes that necessarily involve thinking, such as resolving the reference of pronouns, making inferences to bridge propositions, constructing an understanding of the plot of a story, and critically evaluating an argument" (Anderson and Li, 2006:87). Some have suggested that decoding is not used by skilled readers. Tests of eye positioning, however, indicated that even good readers use decoding because they focus directly on over 80 percent of content words in a text. The time they focus on each word is shorter than that for new readers. Good readers also focus on a lower percent of function words such as articles, prepositions and auxiliary verbs, than less proficient readers do (Just and Carpenter, 1987:6).

Decoding is the process of relating the sounds or phonemes of a language, which often blend into each other when the language is spoken, to the discrete letters of the alphabet. Decoding is strongly linked to metalinguistic awareness: "the ability to identify, reflect on, and manipulate language forms" (Anderson and Li, 2006:66). Because decoding focuses on the individual sounds and builds up from there to words, sentences and larger texts, it is often referred to as a bottom-up process. The first aspect of decoding is phonemic awareness: "the ability to hear, identify, and manipulate the individual sounds, or phonemes, in spoken words" (International Reading Association, 2004:101). The other aspect of decoding, frequently referred to as phonics, is the mapping of those phonemes onto the graphemes used in the orthography.

Discovering meaning while reading is related to, but not identical to, the process of listening to and understanding spoken language. The differences between spoken and written language that were presented in Section 2.2.1 indicate that some strategies in addition to listening and understanding strategies are needed for discovering the meaning of written text. Both the mastery of *comprehension strategies* and the development of a larger *vocabulary* help learners discover meaning as they read (International Reading Association, 2004:107). In the past quarter century, a stronger focus has been put on helping learners to discover meaning. While comprehension has long been a focus in the later stages of reading instruction, recently more focus has been put on comprehension during the learner's initial contact with written language (Pearson, 2004:22).

Vocabulary is knowledge of “the meanings and pronunciations of words necessary for communication” (International Reading Association, 2004:107). Readers have five categories of vocabulary: listening (words they understand when they hear them), speaking (words they use when talking to others), reading (words they understand when reading), writing (words they use when writing) and sight (written words they recognize immediately without sounding them out) (International Reading Association, 2004:107). An individual’s listening vocabulary is larger than his speaking vocabulary and an individual’s reading vocabulary is larger than his writing vocabulary.

Before learning to read, much vocabulary is learned naturally. Infants learn virtually all of their listening and speaking vocabulary as they hear words used in the context and make associations. Early in the process of learning to read, a person uses his listening and speaking vocabulary to increase his reading and writing vocabulary. More advanced readers use their reading skills as a tool to increase vocabulary in all five categories (International Reading Association, 2004:107). Vocabulary teaching methods which research has shown to be effective include: providing a word-rich environment which supports both incidental and intentional learning of vocabulary; showing students how they can independently learn the meaning of words; using vocabulary-teaching strategies that model word-learning behaviour; providing explicit instruction which incorporates definition, context, and usage; and using assessment which matches learning goals (Blachowicz and Fisher, 2003)

Comprehension instruction for items larger than words focuses on encouraging learners to use syntactic and semantic clues as well as graphophonemic ones to construct meaning from the text (Goodman et al., 1987; Waters, 1998:74). Comprehension instruction has advanced from simply asking students questions about the text to helping them learn how to think about the text on their own using techniques such as: predicting what will happen next, developing questions about the text, developing mental images about the text, relating the text to prior knowledge, seeking clarification and summarizing the text (Block and Pressley, 2003:115).

Both vocabulary building and comprehension strategies could assist speakers of non-standard dialects in their comprehension of those aspects of the written standard that differ from their spoken dialect.

2.2.3 *The impact of the depth of an orthography on reading*

The *depth of an orthography*¹⁴ is the degree to which each grapheme or grapheme cluster of an orthography fails to map onto a single phoneme of the spoken language. English and Hebrew

¹⁴Some of the recent literature i.e. Cossu et. al (1995) use the terms *opaque* and *transparent* rather than *deep* and *shallow*.

(without vowel markings) are deep orthographies while Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Tswana and Hebrew (with vowel markings) are shallow orthographies. The lower proportion of one-grapheme-to-one-phoneme correspondence in deep orthographies may be due to a) the orthography being morphophonemic rather than purely phonemic, b) a high degree of underrepresentation, underdifferentiation, or irregular correspondences between phonemes and graphemes¹⁵, or c) the borrowing of words from other languages without adapting the spelling of the word to the phonological and orthographic rules of the adopting language. The latter two causes of deeper orthographies also result in greater ambiguity when reading. Orthographic depth is primarily concerned with reading rather than writing. The depth of English is due to a combination of all three factors while the depth of Hebrew without vowel markings is primarily due to underrepresentation.

All words written with a shallow orthography can either be decoded or memorized as sight-words (Katz and Frost, 1992:74). In languages with deep orthographies, some words can be decoded but others have so few grapheme-phoneme clues that they must be learned as sight-words due to ambiguous spelling. Literacy programmes in languages with shallow orthographies often emphasize the decoding process while literacy programmes in languages with deeper orthographies use both the decoding process and memorization of sight-words. Experienced readers of both shallow and deep orthographies process the most common words as sight-words without decoding them (Katz and Frost, 1992:81).

Speakers of each dialect of a language usually perceive the orthography of the written standard to be at a different depth. Stubbs has stated: “Since spelling is highly standardized, it follows immediately that different accents have different, though roughly equivalent, relationships to spelling” (1980:125). The relationships would only be equivalent for dialects in which all correspondences between phonemes are one-to-one. Since many dialects have undergone phonological mergers or splits relative to each other which cause two or more phonemes in one dialect to correspond to a single phoneme in another dialect, the depth of the orthography is not equal for speakers of all dialects. The standard orthography is in effect, deeper and more ambiguous for speakers of non-standard dialects than for speakers of the dialect most similar to the written standard. However, if the codification recommendations of Simons (1977a), Allerton (1982), Capo (1989), and Fine (2003) (see Section 2.1.3.2) are followed, then the resulting orthography contains more overrepresentation than underrepresentation resulting in a shallower orthography from the perspective of speakers of non-standard dialects.

Fine (2003:10) notes that different types of correspondences which are not one phoneme to one grapheme have different influences on the depth of the orthography. Irregular

¹⁵ Deep orthographies may have overrepresentation and overdifferentiation.

correspondences cause the most difficulty, because each word must be learned independently. The higher the proportion of irregular letter-correspondences in a word, the more difficult the word is to read. Underrepresentation causes nearly the same degree of difficulty as irregular correspondences because the underrepresented phonemes are not represented by any grapheme in the word. Underdifferentiation on the other hand, results in problems for reading but not for writing because one grapheme represents two sounds. Overdifferentiation and overrepresentation do not cause difficulty when reading because each of the two or more grapheme representations of the phoneme is pronounced the same way. However, when spelling, learners must memorize which of two possible symbols should be used to represent the phoneme in each word. Because in overdifferentiation, the spelling difference is linked to a difference in allophones, overdifferentiated phonemes are easier for mother-tongue speakers to learn to spell correctly than are overrepresented phonemes.

Stubbs (1980:129) explains how some of the overdifferentiation in standard written English aids speakers of certain dialects in reading correctly. For example, while word-final <ch> in Received Pronunciation (Standard British English) is pronounced the same as <ck>, in Standard Scottish English it is pronounced differently. In Received Pronunciation <loch> and <lock> are synonyms, but in Standard Scottish English, <ck> is pronounced /k/ while <ch> is pronounced /x/. Thus, the overdifferentiation in spelling is an asset to speakers of Standard Scottish English, helping them read <loch> correctly. A further example involves <tied>, <sighed>, <tide> and <side> in which the vowels are all pronounced /ai/ in Received Pronunciation, but in Standard Scottish English, the vowels in the first two are pronounced /aə/ while in the latter two they are pronounced /ɪi/. In this case, the spelling <-iCe> is a sign to speakers of Standard Scottish English to use /ɪi/ even though speakers of other English dialects do not pronounce the <i> of <-iCe> differently than the <i> of <-igh>. The recommendations of Simons (1977a), Allerton (1982), Capo (1989), and Fine (2003) when applied to the development of a multidialectal orthography produce similar cases of overdifferentiation in the written standard which make the orthography shallower for speakers of non-standard dialects.

Fishman (1977:xii), Mattingly (1992:23) and Winter (1983:233) each state that L1 speakers¹⁶ often tolerate ambiguity in orthographies better than do language development consultants for whom the language is an L2. This is because the L1 speaker can compensate through his comprehension of the syntax, semantics and context of the passage. However, the degree of ambiguity in orthographies that learners and skilled readers can tolerate has not been carefully tested. In spite of being able to tolerate ambiguity, those learning to read languages with deep orthographies do face more difficulties learning to read than do those learning to read

¹⁶ L1 refers to an individual's first language or mother tongue. L2 refers to an individual's second language.

languages with shallow orthographies. Those learning to read deep orthographies benefit from literacy methods that take into account the lack of one-to-one correspondence between grapheme and phoneme (McGuinness, 2004:xvi).

Helman's (2004) recommendations for helping L1 Spanish speakers learn to read English have some application to teaching literacy to speakers of non-standard accents. She recommends that the phonemes and allophones of the written standard be compared to those of the learners' spoken language to determine which do and do not have one-to-one correspondence. Helman recommends that instruction begin with what is common between the spoken and written forms. She recommends that the efforts of Spanish-speaking students be praised when they apply Spanish phonology when they read or write English. Rather than directly telling the student that a spelling is wrong, she recommends that the differences between Spanish and English be pointed out. In applying this to a cross-dialectal situation, the consonants and vowels of the standard that are in one-to-one correspondence with phonemes in the spoken dialect would be taught first. When learners spell according to their spoken dialect, they would not be marked wrong, but would be shown how books printed in the standard differ from the students' spelling. Helman (2004:97) emphasizes the importance of literacy instructors being aware of the phonology of the learner's spoken variety and how it differs from the written standard so that the student's errors can be used by the instructor to determine how extra instruction can be provided.

2.2.4 The impact of lexical and syntactic dialect differences on reading and writing

Dialect differences at the level of the lexicon and syntax influence reading and writing as much or more than do the phonological differences that change the orthographic depth. Jaffe (2000:499) states that a person whose spoken syntax differs from the syntax of the written standard is often viewed as speaking incorrectly. Stubbs (1980:134) supports this when he states that dialect differences may not only impede comprehension, but they may also injure the learners morale if his spoken dialect is criticized. In the context of students learning to read in an LWC, Stubbs states that learners' languages and cultures should be respected. Learners should not be introduced to the written standard in a way that demeans their own culture (Stubbs, 1980:157). Wiesemann (1989) applies this to a cross-dialectal situation when she emphasizes that the written standard be taught in a way that affirms the spoken dialect of the learners and helps them recognise the differences between their dialect and the written materials.

An example of successful cross-dialectal reading comes from Munson (1987) who describes the reading of a man who spoke a non-standard variety of Cakchiquel. She states: "He read fluently

from the New Testament and, while doing so, made the majority of vowel changes, and even was able to make the necessary functor changes from Central Cakchiquel to his own dialect."

2.2.5 *Dialect sensitive methodologies for the development of reading materials*

For a written standard to be used, literacy primers and other reading materials must be produced in the standard. Since primers are used to teach speakers of the language how to read and write, they are key tools in the standardization process. Several manuals have been written on the development of literacy primers, the training of literacy teachers and the organization of literacy programmes. These include manuals on producing primers by Gudschinsky (1973), and Barnwell (1979), the REFLECT Mother Manual (Archer and Cottingham, 1996), a manual for developing local literacies (Waters, 1998), and a manual for developing adult literacy programmes produced by UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Office (Malone, 2004). Most of these materials make only brief mention of dialect differences and the steps that should be taken based on the differences. The REFLECT manual makes the least mention, stating simply that writing should be in the colloquial form of speech that the people use. The UNESCO manual contains recommendations for handling dialect differences when developing an orthography but is silent on the handling of those differences when developing reading materials or teaching people to read.

Specific recommendations regarding dialect differences in these manuals concern the documentation of dialect differences, the selection of key words, the pronunciation learners should use when reading, the development of separate materials for different dialects, and the production of notes for teachers concerning dialect differences. Both Barnwell (1979:58) and Waters (1998:40) recommend that early in a literacy programme the LDT identify the name of each dialect of the language, the population of each dialect and the location. Barnwell recommends that the differences between dialects should be noted as well as any agreement that speakers of the different dialects reached about using the same materials (1979:58).

Key words are used in many primers as the basis for introducing the grapheme that is being taught in a given lesson. Gudschinsky (1973) and Barnwell (1979:24 of appendix) both urge that the key words which are selected be words that occur in identical form in all dialects. Also implied is that the speakers of each dialect use the same lexical item for that word. However, if any consistent patterns of phonological variation occur, it may be impossible for the speakers of all dialects to pronounce the key word identically. Despite this, it should be possible to select key words that conform to the consistent patterns of variation rather than ones that have irregular correspondences. Gudschinsky (1973) and Archer (1996) both recommend that

learners should read aloud using the pronunciation of their own dialect. The other manuals are silent on this issue.

Gudschinsky (1973) raises the issue of developing separate literacy primers for speakers of different dialects. She states that if separate primers are developed for each dialect, more advanced transitional books should teach the students the differences between their dialect and the standard so they can read the books written in the standard. Gudschinsky provides information neither on how to develop transitional materials nor on how to encourage speakers of the non-standard dialects to use the written standard. Sadembouo (1989), in his paper on the formation of a local literacy committee, discourages the development of early reading materials in dialects other than the standard. He states that although the intention of such materials is that the readers eventually use the standard dialect, speakers of that dialect may refuse to use the standard. As mentioned in Section 2.1.3.2, Wiesemann (1989) recommends that speakers of all dialects be taught to read using primers written in a reference dialect, but also recommends that authors be allowed to publish materials in their own dialects, trusting that over time a unified writing system will evolve. None of the authors who suggest allowing the production of materials in different dialects specifies to what extent the materials should be allowed to vary at the orthographical, lexical or syntactic levels.

Another recommendation concerning dialects is that the notes in the teacher's manual for teaching each lesson should include specific recommendations for teachers teaching in dialects where lexical or phonological differences occur (Barnwell, 1979:81). No suggestions are made regarding the type of notes that would be most useful. Since Barnwell's manual calls for only two people from a language to prepare the primer, and since those two people probably speak dialects that are similar to the written standard, it is unlikely that they are fully aware of dialectal differences or the challenges they would pose to learners.

Barnwell urges that during the class in which primers are tested before final publishing, attention be given to dialectal problems that might be avoided by using alternative words (1979:93). This goal implies that the class should consist of students from a variety of dialects.

In general, all of the recommendations related to accommodating dialect differences in literacy primers lack detail. Further, no examples are provided of how LDTs have successfully implemented the recommendations. LDTs are left to develop their own application of the recommendations. Further research is needed on what LDTs have done and what has helped speakers of non-standard dialects learn to read.

Dialectal differences also receive little mention in manuals on the translation of materials into newly developed minority languages. Beekman and Callow (1974) make no mention of the

dialects of the language into which materials are being translated. They do point out that even very closely related languages such as French, Spanish and Italian have major differences in grammatical and lexical structures. Building on this, they describe how a concept covered by a single word in the source language may correspond to several words (depending on context or nuance) in the receptor language (Beekman and Callow, 1974:353). By extrapolation, a single word in the written standard may correspond to several words in a spoken dialect, or vice versa.

Barnwell (1980:234) encourages the investigation of dialectal differences before choosing the dialect to be used as the basis for a translation. Testing of translated materials is to be done by reviewers including representatives of all dialectal areas (Barnwell, 1980:236). However, she does not suggest the criteria for making changes nor the types of changes to consider when speakers of a dialect find an expression in the standard difficult to understand.

Larson (1984) mentions dialect concerns when referring to the choice of a translator to translate materials into his or her own language. She states that care must be taken to assure that the translator can translate into a variety that is understood by the largest number of people (Larson, 1984:468). She also states that deciding how to spell words that are pronounced differently in different dialects can be difficult, but she provides no specific recommendations on making the decision. In testing translated materials, she recommends that those reviewing material should include men and women, the educated as well as new readers in order to assure that all prospective readers understand the materials (Larson, 1984:472), however, no mention is made of testing materials among speakers of each dialect.

2.3 Diffusion of innovations theory as a model for acceptance

The diffusion of innovations is an interdisciplinary theory which explains the process of adoption of innovations (Rogers, 2003:475). *Innovations* are ideas, behaviours, or items considered new by an individual or community. “*Diffusion* is the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system” (Rogers, 2003:5). The innovations to which this theory has been applied range from new types of fertilizer to cell phones, and from methods for preventing AIDS to news about catastrophic events. Research on diffusion of innovations began in the 1940s and 1950s when rural sociologists began studying the diffusion of agricultural innovations and educational researchers began studying the diffusion of new teaching methodologies (Rogers, 2003:39). In 1962, Everett Rogers wrote the first edition of his book *Diffusion of Innovations* with the goal of developing a cross-disciplinary model of the theory and increasing awareness of work being done in other disciplines. Of the more than 5,200 books and articles which have been written

on the diffusion of innovations, three quarters are empirical and one quarter are theoretical (Rogers, 2003:477). The theory has been used extensively in sociology, education, public health, communication, marketing, geography and anthropology with over a 150 diffusion studies in each of these fields. Disciplines with fewer studies include economics, public administration, political science, psychology, industrial engineering and statistics (Rogers, 2003:44). Rogers has identified eight categories of diffusion research according to the primary variable studied. The most common focus, which accounts for over half of the research, is the innovativeness of members of a social system. Other areas of focus, each of which account for one to five percent of the studies, include: how early an individual becomes aware of an innovation, the role of opinion leadership, the role of diffusion networks, the impact of social system type on rate of adoption, and the impact of innovation characteristics on rate of adoption (Rogers, 2003:96). This thesis, while not strictly a diffusion of innovation study, focuses on the role of diffusion networks, the impact of social system type and innovation type on adoption, and the role of opinion leadership.

2.3.1 *Diffusion theory as applied to linguistics*

Rogers' diffusion theory has been little used in the field of linguistics. Cooper (1982a), recommends two ways Roger's theory can be applied: to the study of the spread of a new feature throughout a language community and to the study of the spread of a language to speakers of other languages. Since then, many linguists have studied innovations within languages as well as language shift, language change and language death, but the only one found to use either Rogers' theory or Cooper's adaptation of it is Ahmadipour's thesis (2006) on neologisms in Persian. Hasselbring (2004; 2005) has applied Rogers' theory to the spread of literacy and the spread of writing systems. Searches of several libraries, on-line databases and a query on Linguist List identified no other research in which Roger's theory has been applied when a language or anything related to language is considered as the innovation¹⁷.

In applying Roger's theory to language in general, Cooper (1982a:6) considered three areas of focus: the form that is spreading, the functions for which it is used and the pervasiveness of its use. Cooper considered two categories of forms that could spread: an LWC spreading through a community, or a specific phonological, lexical, or syntactic innovation spreading through a

¹⁷ A search of the Ebsco Host Research Databases using Academic Search Premier, Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), and Communication and Mass Media Complete databases on Sept 19, 2005 for "Rogers, E" in the text and the term "linguist*" yielded only four articles which referenced Rogers and these focused on either community development or communications rather than linguistics. A post to Linguist List on October 11, 2005 requesting information on research using Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory or Cooper's application of it to study language shift or language change had after two weeks, yielded only one response, that from someone who had studied the diffusion of linguistic innovations in a language but had not used Rogers' theory or Cooper's application of it.

language. As already mentioned in Section 2.1.7, a written standard can be seen as a separate variety of the language. Thus in applying Cooper's three areas to the diffusion of a newly developed written standard, the form that is spreading is the written standard which includes the orthography, lexical items, and syntax which is used. The written standard also grows in the functions for which it is used: initially being used only in literacy classes, but eventually taking on other functions, some of which may have previously been functions of a national language or an LWC, while others are functions not previously used in the language community. The pervasiveness of use of the written standard relates both to the percentage of people who have learned to read or write the written standard as well as to degree to which people have learned it. The current study's focus on CAWS is linked to the pervasiveness of use of the written standard by speakers of each dialect of the spoken language.

2.3.2 *Diffusion of Innovations theory*

The diffusion of innovations theory has three aspects that are particularly relevant to the acceptance of written standards. The first aspect concerns how the perceived attributes of the innovation affect the rate and degree to which it is adopted by individuals. Second, the nature of the social networks through which the innovation diffuses also affects the rate and degree to which it is adopted. The third aspect concerns the steps in the innovation-decision process, through which each individual passes in deciding whether to accept or reject an innovation (Rogers, 2003:169). These three aspects are described in the following sections.

2.3.2.1 Perceived attributes

The perception that a potential adopter has of an innovation influences whether and how quickly it is adopted. An innovation is most likely to be adopted quickly if it is perceived to be: relatively advantageous, compatible, not very complex, triable¹⁸ and observable. Rogers points out that each of the perceived attributes is "somewhat interrelated empirically with the other four, but they are conceptually distinct" (Rogers, 2003:223). The perception of these attributes is more significant than the actual attributes of the innovation. In some studies, respondents' perceptions regarding these five attributes of the innovation have been found to account for close to half of the variation in rates of adoption by individuals (Rogers, 2003:221).

2.3.2.1.1 Relative advantage

According to Rogers (2003:476), *relative advantage* is the "degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supercedes". Relative advantage includes both the benefits

¹⁸ The terms *trialable* and *trialability* were coined by Rogers (2003:16) to indicate the degree to which an innovation may be tried on a limited basis before it is accepted. See Section 2.3.2.1.4.

and the costs of adoption. In applying this to written standards, relative advantage involves the balance of the cost in time, effort and materials required to learn to read the standard, with the benefits one gains through using it. For a newly developed written standard, that which is superseded is the use of the language only in an oral form or the use of another language in written domains. Accepting a written standard has a relatively high cost due to the approximately 300 hours of class time required for a person who is not literate to learn the codification rules (Abadzi, 1994:11) (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3.2.1.3). For a preliterate, the cost of learning the written standard of one's first language is usually less than the cost of learning the written standard of an L2, especially when one does not speak the L2 fluently. For those who are literate or semiliterate in a LWC, the cost of becoming literate in one's first language is much lower because many of the necessary skills need only be transferred to another language (Hasselbring, 2005). The perceived benefits of written standards also vary. Some strongly feel that becoming literate can help them meet personal or community goals, while others feel literacy offers no benefits (see also Section 2.3.2.1.2). One's level of literacy in another language may influence whether one sees becoming literate in one's first language as beneficial or unnecessary (Hasselbring, 2005).

The functions that a written standard serves in a community (see Section 2.1.4) can form the ideological basis for learning to read, especially the roles of increasing power, obtaining higher status and providing a channel for spreading ideas. However, Langdon (1997:33) points out that while the initial impetus for literacy might stem from ideological goals, the fact that learning to read is difficult and requires time sometimes results in learners deciding that learning to read is not worth the effort. A further limitation on the perceived benefits of written standards in the L1 is that "in many parts of the world [. . .] speakers regularly down-grade their own regional accents and dialects" (Stubbs, 1980:126) either in favour of another variety of their own language or in favour of using a different language for literary activities.

Related to Rogers' concept of relative advantage is Simons' (1977a:336) consideration of the costs codification decisions imply for literacy programmes : "The greater the overall effort required to master an orthography, the greater is the overall cost of conducting a literacy programme. This cost is realized in at least two ways: the cost of losing students and thus failing to produce readers, and the actual expense in terms of time, teachers, and equipment required for conducting the programme". Theoretically, the LDT could compare the cost of running two or more separate literacy programmes (each with a unidialectal orthography) with the cost of running a single literacy programme for a group of dialect communities using a multi-dialect orthography.

2.3.2.1.2 Compatibility

According to Rogers (2003:15), *compatibility* is “the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters”. For written standards, compatibility is the degree to which people see reading and writing the standard as fitting into their goals and lifestyles. A written standard in one’s mother tongue is usually more compatible than one in an L2, especially where the mother tongue is spoken more fluently and used in more domains than the L2. The standard may be perceived as compatible by people who speak dialects that are similar to the standard, while it may be perceived as less compatible by people who speak dialects that differ from the standard in inconsistent or unpredictable ways. A written standard in the mother tongue also seems compatible to people who have incorporated literate activities into their lives. Often, such individuals are already literate or semiliterate in other languages. Language communities that have had little previous contact with literacy often find literacy incompatible, at least initially. Similar observations have been made about preliterate children in literate societies for whom the “purposes [of literacy] are completely beyond their needs and experience” (Stubbs, 1980:99). This is especially the case for those who “grow up in a home or cultural background with no tradition of literacy and hence no appreciation of the purposes of written language” (Stubbs, 1980:99). Another influence on the perception of compatibility is the availability of written materials in their language. Some perceive that the use of a written standard of their own language is not compatible due to the dearth of materials available in it.

2.3.2.1.3 Complexity

According to Rogers (2003:16), *complexity* is “the degree to which an innovation is perceived as difficult to understand and use”. All writing systems are relatively complex in that they usually consist of at least 30 symbols (including digraphs, tone and other diacritics) that represent 30 or more sounds. In addition to learning the correspondence between sound and symbol, one must also learn to blend sounds in order to read words and phrases. Variations in perception of complexity of a written standard by different individuals is influenced both by the individual’s previous degree of exposure to print and the degree to which the written standard differs from the individual’s idiolect.

Complexity is further influenced by the degree of underdifferentiation or overdifferentiation present in the writing system. Some of the under- and overdifferentiation may be due to the design of the writing system and be relatively similar for speakers of all dialects. However, as indicated in Section 2.2.3, greater degrees of under- and overdifferentiation occur for those who speak a dialect that differs from the standard due to phonological differences, thus making the orthography more difficult to read.

The attributes of relative advantage, compatibility and complexity are interrelated for high complexity makes the innovation appear less advantageous while high compatibility makes the innovation appear more advantageous. However, costs other than complexity and benefits other than compatibility also affect the perceived relative advantage of the innovation.

2.3.2.1.4 Trialability

Rogers (2003:16) defines *trialability* as “the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis”. The theory holds that trialable innovations such as cell phones, which can first be used on a limited basis (perhaps by borrowing a friend’s), are adopted most rapidly. For written standards, trialability is the degree to which it is possible to use the written standard before mastering it, but also the freedom one feels to use it without having mastered it fully. In applying the attribute of trialability to language, Cooper extended the meaning to include the perceived acceptability of using the language imperfectly (Cooper, 1982a:22).

In general, written standards are not very trialable. One must learn nearly all the letters (of alphabetic writing systems) or syllable symbols (of syllabic systems) before one can use the standard to read or write more than extremely limited texts. However, written standards can be tried to a limited extent: for writing one’s name, for identifying family members’ names on clinic cards, for reading prices and for identifying common town names on road signs. If one is already literate in another language, a written standard that uses the same script is trialable unless the graphemes correspond to different sounds in the two languages. Books with clear pictures and few words are more trialable than books without pictures because books with pictures provide readers with additional clues to the meaning of what is written.

2.3.2.1.5 Observability

Observability is defined by Rogers (2003:16) as “the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others”. For written standards, observability is the degree to which one sees the standard in use in the community. In one sense, observing someone is a vicarious form of a trial (Rogers, 2003:258). However, observability does more. Observability allows others to learn who is adopting the innovation as well as the problems and benefits experienced when using the innovation. Observability also lets others see how easily challenges related to the innovation are overcome. The reading of written standards is often quite visible because many new readers read aloud. One problem with this is that the better a reader becomes, the more likely he is to read silently, thus the most observable readers of the standard are those who are still struggling to learn it. This may make learning to read seem less worthwhile. On the other hand, if someone who is not yet literate only observes people who read very fluently, he may

think reading is easy. This may cause him to give up when the first weeks of literacy class prove to be quite challenging.

2.3.2.2 Social Networks

A social network is a set of people who interact with one another on a regular basis. This group of people influence one another in accepting or rejecting an innovation. They also influence one another's perceptions about the innovation. Social networks vary in size, frequency of interaction, and the similarity of members. In some social networks, people make decisions independently while in others they make decisions collectively. Each of these qualities of social networks influences how innovations are adopted by members of the network.

The nature of social networks provides insights into the spread of language. Networks are composed of sub-networks: groups of individuals who interact more frequently with each other than with members of other sub-networks. In this study, the important sub-networks may be households, villages, clans, dialects, and tribes. According to Cooper (1982a:19), the properties of the network that influence the spread of a language-related innovation include the frequency of interactions between those who have adopted the innovation and those who have not, the average duration of such contact and the function of such contact. For an innovation to spread, someone who has adopted the innovation must interact with someone else who has not yet accepted the innovation in such a way that the latter is influenced to accept the innovation (Cooper, 1982a:23).

2.3.2.2.1 Homophilous and Heterophilous relations

The proportion of homophilous relationships in a network may influence the adoption of innovations. According to Rogers (2003:305), *homophily* is "the degree to which two or more individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, education, socio-economic status, and the like". Homophily can aid the diffusion of an innovation because if one person in a homophilous social network accepts an innovation, it often spreads quickly to other members of the network. Rogers (2003:306) defines *heterophily* as "the degree to which two or more individuals who interact are different in certain attributes". Some heterophilous relationships are necessary for an innovation to enter a homophilous group. The person who introduces the innovation must always differ from the adopters in his knowledge and use of the innovation.

Both homophily and heterophily can inhibit the diffusion of an innovation. A society with strongly homophilous sub-networks will prevent the innovation from spreading from one sub-network to the next. Rogers (2003:307) recommends that where homophily blocks diffusion, that the innovation be introduced to the leaders of each sub-network. High levels of

heterophily can also inhibit the spread of innovations because the high tolerance and even promotion of difference results in little motivation for one person to follow another's lead. Thus, the diffusion process moves primarily through homophilous networks, but heterophilous links between homophilous sub-networks are the key to the spread of an innovation through an entire community (Rogers, 2003:307).

The concept of *homophily* is closely linked to the concepts of *unity* and *identity*, which were presented in Section 2.1.3.4 as factors that promote acceptance of a written standard. In general, people have the greatest sense of unity and identity with people who are similar to them. Thus homophilous relations in a community are linked to people's perceptions of unity and the social network with which they self-identify. People usually have a sense of identity related to several different sub-networks within the society. Robbins (1992:612) points out that a sub-network or dialect community which sees itself as part of a larger society will be more willing to put out the extra effort to overcome the challenges to literacy caused by dialect differences than will a sub-network which does not view itself as part of the larger society. Essentially, he is saying that if each dialect community has heterophilous links to other dialect communities of that language, it will aid in the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of all dialects.

Robbins (1992:164), while not using Rogers' terminology, identifies some of the social institutions which may serve as the homophilous sub-networks through which a written standard may be introduced to a language community:

Community involvement in the whole process is most naturally achieved through existing groupings and infrastructures: educational, government or traditional authorities, church, clubs or societies or other. The disadvantage is that any single such group will tend to exclude those who are not part of that grouping.

Applying the recommendation made above by Rogers, the LDT may need to develop relationships with people linked to a variety of these groups. Mühlhäusler (2000:343) refers to this as coordinating the "efforts between different communities within the larger ecology".

Joseph (1987:89) observes that the development of standard languages usually occurs during times of rapid intense change rather than during times of relative peace and stability. Such times of intense change implies a greater degree of heterophily through which those changes enter the language community. A sense of security and peace may allow a community to focus their energies on learning to read. However, a perceived threat from outside the group may foster greater unity in a group that lacks other unifying social factors. Such unity may serve as the catalyst that prompts the development and acceptance of a written standard.

2.3.2.2.2 Collective versus individual adoption

Some cultures are collective in decision making while others are more individualistic. When individual decision-making is valued, one person at a time can adopt an innovation. When collective decision-making is valued, the majority of community members must adopt the innovation at the same time (Rogers, 2003:178). The more homophilous a social network is, the more likely it is to adopt innovations through a collective decision to prevent any member of the group from becoming different from others. When people in a social network make decisions collectively, a large proportion of the community must move through the decision process at the same pace. The approach of the LDT should account for the collective or individualist nature of the community. In a collectivist community, resistance to the written standard may develop if the LDT works primarily with individuals. In an individualist community, the opposite would hold.

Some innovations, such as fax machines, telephones and e-mail, create interdependence among users due to their interactive nature. Such innovations require the adoption by a certain number of people before they are maximally useful (Rogers, 2003:343). Literacy also creates interdependence, but to a lesser extent than these innovations. Letter writing is one aspect of literacy that requires that others also be literate. Literacy classes in the new written standard require that a large enough group of people want to learn to read it. Potential authors are most willing to write books in a new written standard if they know a readership exists.

2.3.2.2.3 Opinion leaders

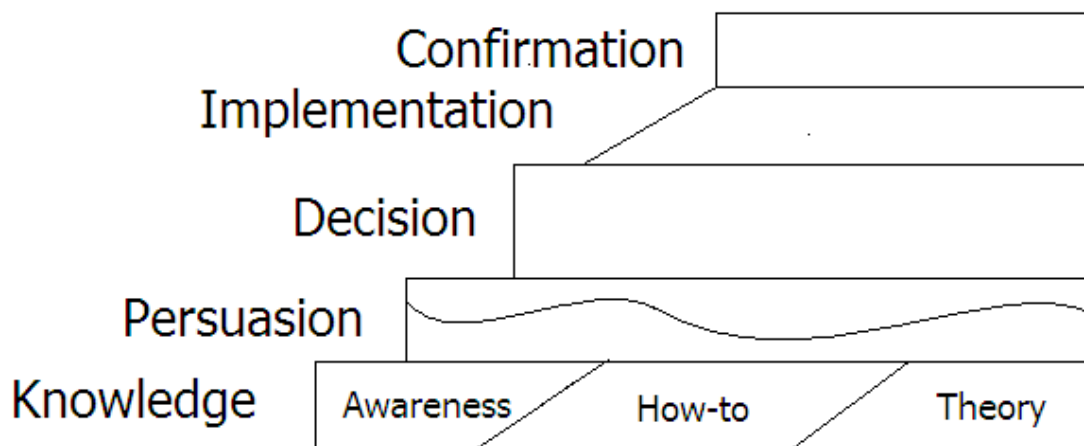
Opinion leaders serve an important role in the adoption of innovations by others. They are “able to influence other individuals’ attitudes or overt behaviour informally” (Rogers, 2003:475). In general, opinion leaders have greater access to mass media, have more urban connections, have greater contact with change agents, have greater social participation, have a higher socio-economic status and are more innovative than the general population (Rogers, 2003:317). If change agents, such as LDTs, can identify the opinion leaders in each sub-network, they can encourage them to adopt the innovation first, knowing that others will naturally follow (Rogers, 2003:325). Thus, it is crucial for LDTs to foster relationships with opinion leaders from each dialect so that acceptance of the written standard begins in each dialect at an early stage of the programme.

2.3.2.3 Innovation-Decision Process

The *innovation-decision process*, as defined by Rogers (2003:168) is “the process through which an individual [. . .] passes from gaining initial knowledge of an innovation to forming an attitude

toward the innovation, to making a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision”. Cooper (1982a:11) modifies these stages as he applies them to language spread indicating that the process of acceptance moves from an increase of awareness, to increase of desire, to increase of proficiency, to an increase of usage. To some extent, each level serves as either a barrier or a channel to reach the next level. One cannot want that of which one is not aware. One is unlikely to increase in proficiency if one does not desire to do so. Furthermore, one is unlikely to use a form of which one does not feel he has adequate proficiency. An individual’s stage in the innovation-decision process is not always apparent because there are not sharp distinctions between these stages (Rogers, 2003:195). The two stages for which it is easiest to identify the starting point are knowledge and decision stages (Rogers, 2003:198, 213). Figure 2.3 represents the stages in the process.

Figure 2.3 The innovation decision process



2.3.2.3.1 The knowledge stage

The *knowledge* stage has three parts: awareness of the existence of the innovation, knowledge of the procedures for use of the innovation and knowledge of the underlying principles related to the innovation (Rogers, 2003:173). Awareness of the innovation is required before one can move to the persuasion stage. Knowledge of the procedures for use of the innovation, or ‘how-to’ knowledge, is not necessary until the individual reaches the implementation stage, although such knowledge may affect the individual’s attitude toward the innovation, his perception of its complexity or his decision to adopt it. Knowledge of the underlying principles related to the innovation may assist the individual in obtaining the greatest benefit from the innovation. Because knowledge of underlying principles is not a requirement before adopting the innovation, it is not given further consideration in this section.

The first part of the knowledge stage, increasing awareness, is usually best accomplished through mass media. This is not limited to radio and television, but any impersonal means of communicating to a large number of people (Rogers, 2003:18). This may include the LDT using posters, town meetings, and announcements at public gatherings about the development of the written standard. Joseph (1987:49) points out that awareness of literacy in a preliterate community often begins through contact with another language (usually one of higher status) and another culture in which literacy plays an important role. This contact with another culture is in some ways a form of mass communication as members of the community observe the members of the other culture with relatively little personal interaction between most individuals. Migration to urban areas may also increase people's exposure to standard languages (Joseph, 1987:75).

Increasing knowledge about the written standard was the focus of a number of Johnson's (1990) and Munson's (1987) recommendations for fostering acceptance of a written standard (see Section 2.1.3.4). The recommendations which focus on increasing the awareness of the written standard include: 1) providing people with oral exposure to the dialect on which the standard is based, 2) creating opportunities for cross-dialectal communication, 3) informing people of the benefits of using a single standard, 4) providing access to literature in the standard, 5) developing a good relationship with the area schools and 5) starting literacy classes in all dialect areas. While the last one moves beyond the knowledge stage into an actual decision to read on the part of some, the presence of a literacy class in each dialect area results in more speakers of that dialect being aware of the written standard.

The second part of the knowledge stage involves learning how to use the innovation. When an innovation is complex, a large amount of how-to knowledge is required for use of the innovation (Rogers, 2003:173). The how-to knowledge needed for acceptance of a written standard is knowledge of how to read the standard. In Section 2.3.2.3 it was mentioned that there are not sharp distinctions between the stages (Rogers, 2003:195). This is exemplified in the relationship between how-to knowledge and the decision stage. An individual usually *decides* to use the written standard before *learning* to read it, but some learning occurs even before a decision is made. Thus, the knowledge and decision stages overlap to some extent.

2.3.2.3.2 The persuasion stage

In the *persuasion* stage, an individual forms either a negative or a positive attitude toward the innovation. The attitude can change and fluctuate as more knowledge about the innovation and its usefulness is obtained (Rogers, 2003:175). This fluctuation of attitudes is symbolized by the wavy line in the persuasion stage of Figure 2.3.

According to Rogers (2003:175), the persuasion stage is when perceptions about the attributes of the innovation develop (see Section 2.3.2.1). The information which influences persuasion toward the innovation usually comes through interactions with trusted members of one's social network.

Some of the recommendations given by Johnson (1990) and Munson (1987) on activities of LDTs that foster acceptance of written standards relate to the persuasion stage. These include: selecting a name which is acceptable to speakers of all dialects, elevating the prestige of the standard, emphasizing unity in diversity at the national and local level, encouraging the use of the standard in local schools and expressing confidence that speakers of all dialects will use the standard.

2.3.2.3.3 The decision stage

The *decision* stage is difficult to define. In one sense it is momentary: the time at which a person makes a choice to adopt or reject the innovation (Rogers, 2003:177). On the other hand, the next stage, implementation, does not begin until the innovation is put to use. The time between decision and implementation may be quite long for innovations which are complex because the individual must acquire the how-to knowledge about the innovation before it can be used (Rogers, 2003:173). For the acceptance of written standards, the decision stage can be viewed as series of smaller decisions related to the written standard: deciding to learn to read, deciding to buy a book, and deciding to attend a literacy class.

The decision stage is relatively lengthy for preliterates, lasting the approximately 300 classroom hours it takes to complete a literacy class (see Section 2.3.2.1.1). Due to the challenges speakers of non-standard dialects face in learning to read a written standard (see Sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4) the decision stage may take even longer for them. In Figure 2.3, the difficulty and length of time related to this stage are symbolized by the height of the box representing the decision stage.

Some of Johnson's (1990) and Munson's (1987) recommendations for LDTs also apply to the decision stage: providing an opportunity to learn to read and write in every dialect area, producing large quantities of reading materials, providing access to materials in print and encouraging the use of the standard in local schools.

2.3.2.3.4 The implementation stage

The implementation stage occurs when an individual puts the innovation to use. The stage ends when the use of the innovation becomes routine (Rogers, 2003:180). The more triable and less complex an innovation is, the more quickly one can move through implementation.

Because a written standard lacks trialability but is complex, the implementation stage is relatively long. Because individuals grow in their implementation of the written standard over time, this stage is shown as a slope rather than a step. Some uses of the standard which are possible before it is fully mastered include writing one's name, reading simple common signs, and identifying the clinic card of one's child. During the implementation stage, individuals become more accurate and fluent readers and more accurate and fluent writers. If the LDT provides plenty of reading material as well as encouragement in the area of writing letters and stories, individuals progress through this stage more quickly. During this stage, speakers of dialects that differ most from the written standard often begin reading aloud with a pronunciation that resembles their own spoken dialect. During this stage, individuals move from slowly sounding out each word to automatically recognizing common words.

2.3.2.3.5 The confirmation stage

During the confirmation stage, people seek reinforcement of their decision and may decide to reject an innovation they previously had begun to adopt (Rogers, 2003:189). Rejection of the innovation, the opposite of confirmation, may occur if an individual feels he has failed to master the use of the innovation. It may also occur if he decides the innovation does not benefit him in the ways or to the degree he expected. Because rejection of an innovation may occur at any of the other stages, the confirmation stage may be seen as one that occurs simultaneously with the other stages. However, final confirmation of an innovation can only occur after one has completed the other four stages.

Due to the complexity of written standards, a decision to learn the standard may be reversed when a learner faces the difficulty of learning to read the standard, or when after having learned all aspects of the standard, he fails to become fluent. On the other hand, an initial rejection of the standard may change to acceptance as one observes others learning to read and benefiting from literacy in the mother tongue.

2.3.2.4 Reinvention of innovations

Reinvention, as defined by Rogers (2003:17), is “the degree to which an innovation is changed or modified by a user in the process of adoption and implementation”. A number of aspects of the language standardization process are related to the concept of reinvention. Several concepts already discussed earlier in this chapter can be viewed as reinventions: changes that take place in written standards over time (Section 2.1.6), the development of separate primers for the teaching of literacy in some dialects (Section 2.2.5), permitting writers to write materials based on their own dialect (Section 2.2.5), and teaching learners to pronounce graphemes according to their dialect's phonology (Sections 2.1.3.2 and 2.2.3). Reinvention in each case is an increase

in flexibility in the codification rules for the written standard. The development of a separate written standard for speakers of some dialects such as was mentioned in Section 2.3.2.4 is a more extreme form of reinvention.

Rogers (2003:186-7) lists eight factors that promote reinvention. These are listed below with a possible application to the reinvention of written standards. 1) Reinvention may be due to a desire to simplify a complex innovation. The reinvention of English spelling to decrease overrepresentation has been attempted numerous times. 2) Reinvention may be due to a lack of knowledge, especially how-to and theoretical knowledge about the innovation. Lack of knowledge about the benefits of morphophonemic spelling may result in recommended changes to written English that could be detrimental for spelling and reading. 3) The designer may influence the ease of reinvention of an innovation. For example, an LDT that does not want others to print books in the language, might develop a complex script and not share the font with others. Alternatively, an editing board that permits flexibility in lexical choice and spelling conventions makes reinvention easier. 4) Innovations that are designed to solve many problems are prone to reinvention. Thus, unidialectal orthographies might experience fewer alterations than multidialectal ones because the multidialectal ones are designed to solve potential reading problems in various dialects. 5) Users may make cosmetic changes to an innovation to increase its uniqueness and their sense of ownership. Speakers of some dialects may decide to spell a sound peculiar to their dialect in a unique way such as the differences between American and British written standards. 6) Reinvention may be promoted by a change agent. The promotion of “invented spelling” in some reading programmes is an example. 7) The structures of some organizations or systems require innovations to be reinvented in order to fit their system. The linguistic structure of non-standard dialects require innovations in the written standard in one of three ways: a) reading the written standard according to the phonology of the non-standard dialect, b) making a separate written standard for the non-standard variety, or c) altering the non-standard variety to match the standard. 8) The experiences of earlier adopters may influence later adopters to alter the innovation. Wiesemann (1989) hints at this when she states that after people use the primers to learn to read and begin publishing materials on their own, consensus about the written standard is eventually reached.

Reinvention may either enhance or reduce acceptance. The majority of reinventions are improvements to the innovation, resulting in people perceiving it as more beneficial, more compatible, less complex, and more trialable than the original innovation. However, when a reinvention is caused by a lack of how-to or theoretical knowledge (cause 2 above), the reinvention may cause the innovation to fail to work properly. This type of reinvention is often

short-lived because people do not accept an innovation that does not work. For example, if a speakers of a language reinvent a linguistically sound written standard in order to make the orthography closely resemble that of an unrelated LWC, much underrepresentation may occur. This may make the standard very difficult to read. In such a case, the community may need a greater grasp of theoretical knowledge about orthographies before they would accept a written standard that is appropriate for their language.

The degree to which a reinvention differs from the original innovation varies from minor to major reinventions. An example of a minor reinvention is spelling certain <-ight> words in English as <-ite> in less formal contexts, such as spelling, <night>as <nite>. A major reinvention of English orthography has occurred in the English used in text messages on cell phones in Botswana. The message: “Y R U l8? I’ll w8 4 U” meaning “Why are you late? I’ll wait for you”. This type of reinvention is linked to causes one and seven above. The difficulty of typing messages on cell phones has caused a strong push towards simplification of English writing.

A high degree of reinvention may make it difficult to determine whether an innovation has actually been accepted (Rogers, 2003:185). For example, the speakers of a non-standard dialect may reinvent the written standard to such a degree that speakers of other dialects can no longer read what they write. One could either say that the speakers of the non-standard dialect accepted a reinvented form of the written standard, or that they rejected the written standard and accepted a different standard in its place. A high degree of reinvention may make the innovation unrecognisable (Rogers, 2003:184).

2.3.3 *Community readiness*

Learning how to read a written standard is an individual activity. However, the introduction of the standard through literacy programmes is a community event because a minimum number of people in a community must decide to attend literacy classes for those classes to be effective (see Section 2.3.2.2.2). A study conducted on community participation in development programmes identified nine different stages of readiness for participation in such programmes. The models developed in psychology for an individual’s readiness to change has fewer levels because communities have greater complexity and more factors (Edwards et al., 2000:294). At each stage of readiness, a community needs a different type of input from those who desire to implement a change. Programmes that assume a community is ready to respond in a certain way may fail if the community is at either a higher or lower stage of readiness (Edwards et al., 2000:302). While the study focuses on the readiness for preventative community health programmes, the readiness scale could be applied to any problem in a community.

According to Edwards (2000:296), four premises underlie the model of community readiness for change:

- 1) communities are at different stages of readiness for dealing with a specific problem;
- 2) the stage of readiness can be accurately assessed;
- 3) communities can be moved through a series of stages to develop, implement, maintain and improve effective programs;
- 4) interventions to move communities to the next stage vary for each stage of readiness.

Based on these premises, Edwards, et al. (2000:298-300) identified stages of readiness along with the interventions that help a community become more ready to handle the problem. The nine stages of readiness for change include:

- 1) no awareness of the problem;
- 2) denial of the problem or its impact on their community;
- 3) a vague awareness of the problem;
- 4) preplanning in which a core group senses a need for action;
- 5) preparation in which planning focuses on practicalities and gathering information;
- 6) initiation in which enthusiasm is high, and training is underway;
- 7) stabilization in which staff have gained experience but no evaluation has been done;
- 8) confirmation/expansion in which evaluation and modifications have been done;
- 9) professionalisation in which the community serves those outside their group.

Edwards' first two stages roughly correspond to Rogers' knowledge stage while Edwards' stages 3 and 4 correspond to Rogers' persuasion stage. Edwards' preparation stage roughly corresponds to Rogers' decision stage while Edwards' initiation and stabilization stages correspond to Rogers' implementation stage. Edwards' stages 8 and 9 correspond to Rogers' confirmation stage. The stage of readiness of a community can be determined by interviewing four to five key informants (Edwards et al., 2000:300). However, if a community includes sub-populations of different ethnicities or socio-economic status, four informants may be needed for each sub-population. These interviews are not done to determine the respondent's

readiness to change, but to tap into their knowledge of the community's readiness to change (Edwards et al., 2000:300).

After the community's stage of readiness to confront a specific problem is determined, steps can be taken to help that community move to the next stage of readiness. When there is no awareness of the problem or denial of the problem, the goal is to raise awareness of the problem and its impact on the community through visits to individuals and groups. When a vague awareness of the problem exists, the goal is to help the community realize they can do something to help solve the problem. Once a core group of leaders sees the need for action, the goal is to help them develop specific plans to overcome the problem. If the community is in the preparation stage the goal should be to help them gather and organize information in order to plan strategies. During the initiation stage, the goal is to provide the community with information through training courses and publicity efforts. During the stabilization stage, programme evaluation is introduced and greater publicity in the community is undertaken. During the confirmation stage, the goal is to expand and further improve the service while during the professionalisation stage the goal is to maintain the momentum and continue growing (Edwards et al., 2000:302-5). At every stage of readiness, Edwards recommended that the community be provided with information. Undertaking activities which do not correspond to the readiness level of the community may result in rejection of the effort (Edwards et al., 2000:296).

LDTs can apply this to language development work by determining each village or dialect's level of readiness for adopting the written standard. While not everyone in a community is at the same level of readiness, the general level of readiness can and should be determined. In regions where the people are at the lowest levels of readiness, it is not appropriate to organize literacy classes as they have a greater chance to fail, further lowering attitudes and readiness. Rather, activities that increase awareness and build positive attitudes toward the standard are most effective for communities at those levels. According to this model, LDTs are most successful in fostering acceptance if the readiness of each community is taken into account in planning appropriate programmes.

2.4 Studies related to the acceptance of written standards

Several studies have deliberated on the acceptance of written standards although none have specifically focused on the factors that have influenced cross-dialectal acceptance of newly developed standards.

2.4.1 *Walker's thesis on the acceptance of vernacular literacy*

Walker (1987) analysed the factors that correspond to the level of acceptance of written materials in the vernacular by speakers of the dialect upon which the written standard was based. He focussed upon the factors that influence speakers of a minority language to accept or reject a newly developed written standard in their language. His unit of analysis was the whole language. His respondents were 54 LDTs who worked in language projects in which at least two portions of Scripture had been published. Four criteria were used for assessing acceptance: The number of people who had purchased written materials in the L1, the percent of people able to read materials in the L1, the percent of people who engage in leisure reading of L1 materials at least weekly and the use of written L1 materials in local churches. He did not consider varying acceptance by speakers of different dialects, rather only asked the LDTs to give responses based on behaviour in the village with which they had the most contact. In his study, rejection of the standard indicated that individuals preferred written materials in their L2 (an LWC) or they were not interested in literacy in any language. Walker began with nearly 40 proposed independent variables.

The factors that had significant correlation with the purchase of materials in the L1 included: 1) living a large distance from a larger town, a low need for proficiency in the LWC; 2) the L1 used in the schools; 3) a high percentage of people who try to live according to the Bible; 4) living in a village with a small population; 5) low levels of education; 6) positive attitudes toward the spoken L1; 7) reading of the L1 being easy; and, 8) high levels of community involvement in the literacy programme. The factors that had significant correlation with the ability to read the L1 included: 1) a high level of intermarriage with speakers of the LWC; 2) a high level of proficiency in the LWC; and, 3) high levels of community involvement in orthography development. The factors that had significant correlation with individuals informally reading materials at least weekly included: high proficiency in the LWC, and high levels of community involvement in orthography development. The factors that had significant correlation with the use of L1 materials in the churches included: 1) few mother-tongue speakers of the LWC in the community; 2) a low proficiency in the LWC; 3) the L1 used in the churches; 4) the L1 used for singing; 5) a low percent of L1 readers who were able to read the LWC first; and, 6) reading of the L1 being easy. The factors that correlated with the purchase of L1 literature and its use in the church were related to; 1) isolation from the LWC; 2) use of the L1 in more domains; and, 3) lack of proficiency in both oral and written uses of the LWC (Walker, 1987:110,114). These factors point to the people's greater need for getting information through the L1. The factors that correlated with reading ability and informal reading by community members positively correlated with greater contact with the LWC as well as participation in the development of the

orthography. The greater contact with the LWC may have allowed people to observe the benefits of reading and to participate more actively in the early stages of language development resulting in their greater reading ability and their greater use of the materials.

Walker focused on assessing the causes of general acceptance of L1 literacy in languages with newly developed written standards using members of the LDT, most of whom were not mother-tongue speakers of the language, as the source of information both about sociolinguistic factors and the levels of acceptance. While his research did not focus on dialectal differences, some of the factors that influence general acceptance of L1 literacy may influence CAWS.

2.4.2 *Dube's thesis on Shona orthography*

Dube (2000) conducted a two-part investigation on the limitations of the current Shona orthography. He asked secondary school teachers to respond to a questionnaire about their students' ability in Shona. He also interviewed professional Shona writers. While Shona officially has a union orthography based on all the Shona dialects, both the teachers and writers stated that Shona was based on the Zezuru dialect. The teachers said that students who spoke other dialects of Shona were disadvantaged in their schoolwork (Dube, 2000:35). The teachers also noted that the dictionary, which was supposed to contain lexical items from all dialects, often failed to include even common words from the other dialects (Dube, 2000:33). The writers said that using the Zezuru dialect limited their freedom of expression because they had to think carefully about each word, rather than being able to write freely (Dube, 2000:40-77).

Dube's goal was to describe the attitudes and perspectives that teachers of Shona and Shona authors have concerning the Shona orthography including but not limited to how dialect differences influence those attitudes. The Shona standard is not newly developed, for materials have existed in it for over 75 years (Doke, 1931). Dube was not concerned about the standardization process.

2.4.3 *Losey's thesis on the Gojri orthography*

Losey's thesis (Losey, 2002) consists of a comparative study of the Gojri language, which is spoken in India and Pakistan. Since the 1970s, over 50 titles in Gojri have been published in Kashmir, primarily in the Indian-administered area (Losey, 2002:5). However, the Gojri orthography has never been standardized. No previous comparative study of the Gojri dialects had been undertaken and cooperative efforts in literacy and literature production had never occurred. Losey's goal was to "provide a foundation for future orthographic decisions that take cross-dialectal considerations [. . .] into account, potentially enabling Gujars to read the

pronunciations of their own dialects from a single text type while maximizing the ease of transfer to and from Urdu” (Losey, 2002:12).

Losey, in a largely linguistic approach, thoroughly describes the phonology (including tone) and morphology of two Gojri dialects, comparing them with each other and with a third Gojri dialect described by Sharma in 1979 and 1982 (Losey, 2002:11). Losey also describes current orthographical practices in published Gojri materials, indicating areas of consistency and variation. He relates this to his comparative study of Gojri and the orthographical standard for Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan and is a commonly used written language in the Gojri region of India. Losey also considers studies on orthography development and literacy teaching. Losey (2002:225-6) concludes that “an Urdu-based orthography for Gojri, one slightly favouring Western pronunciation and Eastern grammar” would serve all Gojri speakers best.

Throughout his thesis, he relates the social, educational and political factors to the linguistic factors. He recognises that while the literary efforts so far in Gojri have primarily involved the educated elite, that Gojri children and illiterate adults who most need these materials have no knowledge of their existence (Losey, 2002:7). He urges that any proposed standard orthography be tested among speakers of each dialect from two categories: Those who are new literates (in Gojri only) and those who were educated in Urdu (Losey, 2002:226). While recognising the difficulties that Gojri speakers in Pakistan and India have communicating with one another due to the unstable political situation in the area of Kashmir, Losey also proposes that the elite Gojri speakers in the two countries may be able to communicate via internet to coordinate literacy efforts (Losey, 2002:226).

In concluding, Losey comments: “When weighed in total, the linguistic and sociolinguistic obstacles to the standardization of Gojri are minimal, while the political barriers remain formidable” (Losey, 2002:225). He is optimistic that the linguistic variations he describes are minor enough that they would not hinder the acceptance of a single orthography. He also believes that if the barriers of communication and travel between the Gojri-speaking areas of India and Pakistan were removed, the task of standardization would be greatly simplified. He is confident that his proposals, being linguistically and pedagogically sound, need only be implemented at the grass roots level (Losey, 2002).

Losey’s proposal advocates a balance of sound comparative linguistic study with good background research in the area of sociolinguistics. He acknowledges the need to involve Gojri speakers in the standardization process and the need to thoroughly test the orthography in all dialects. A weakness in his work is the minimal involvement that Gojri speakers had in the development of the standard.

2.4.4 *Relevance of the three studies to a study of CAWS*

Some aspects of each of these three studies are relevant to CAWS although none of the studies is an assessment of CAWS. The relevant aspects are: dialect differences, socio-cultural factors, programmatic factors, measuring acceptance of the written standard, studying a newly developed written standard, using information from the LDT, and using information from speakers of the language. Table 2.3 indicates which studies incorporated each of these aspects. Both Dube and Losey's study focus on dialect variation and its impact on standardization and acceptance of the standard. All three studies considered the influence of socio-cultural factors on the development and acceptance of written standards. Only Walker significantly considered the influence of programmatic factors on the acceptance of the standard. Losey did provide some recommendations regarding the teaching of his proposed standard. Walker was also the only one who discussed the concept of acceptance of the standard in detail, selecting four criteria by which to assess acceptance. While Dube did probe for respondents' attitudes about the standard, he did not discuss their responses as acceptance or rejection of the standard. Both Walker and Losey focused on written standards that had been developed within the 50 years prior to their research, while Dube's focused on a written standard with a longer history. Walker obtained his information about the standard and its acceptance strictly from members of the LDT while Dube consulted users of the written standard.

Table 2.3 Relevance of the three studies to CAWS

Researcher	Dialect variation	Socio cultural factors	Programmatic factors	Measure of acceptance	Newly developed standard	Input from LDT	Input from L1 users
Walker	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Dube	yes	yes	no	some	no	no	yes
Losey	yes	yes	some	no	yes	no	no

This thesis fills a gap in the literature on language standardization by incorporating all seven aspects from Table 2.3 in a study on the cross-dialectal acceptance of two written standards by the dialect communities of two languages.

2.5 **Summary**

This chapter reviewed literature on the development of written standards for previously unwritten languages and the introduction of these standards to language communities through literacy programmes. Particular attention was given to literature that described the accommodation of speakers of non-standard dialects both in the development and in the introduction of the standard.

In Section 2.1, literature was reviewed which presents variation as an inherent feature of spoken language: one that occurs at all levels of the linguistic hierarchy. The impact of variation on comprehension depends both on the degree of difference and whether a merge or split makes the difference complex. Haugen's (1966a) four aspects of standardization: selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance, were used as a framework in describing the standardization process. Linguistic measures such as lexicostatistics and comprehension testing have been relied upon when selecting a dialect to use as the basis for the written standard. In the codification of languages, the use of a single dialect as the basis of the written standard is the norm, but models for developing multidialectal orthographies which reduce underrepresentation and underdifferentiation have been proposed. Such multidialectal orthographies attempt to account for the variation, making it easier for speakers of all dialects to read. The acceptance of the written standard by the language community is influenced by various socio-cultural factors, but at the same time, the written standard exerts influences on the society in which it is used. The importance of the participation of the language community in all aspects of the development of the written standard is widely acknowledged, but less acknowledged is the importance of the participation of each dialect community. Overlaying all the factors which influence acceptance of written standards is the factor of time, for neither the development nor the acceptance of written standards occurs quickly.

In Section 2.2, literature on reading theory and the impact of dialect variation on reading was reviewed. Reading encompasses both the decoding of graphemes into words and sentences and the discovery of the meaning of written text. Decoding works best for those whose spoken dialect maps onto the written standard so each grapheme corresponds to one phoneme. Decoding can also be used when some phonemes in the reader's spoken dialect are overrepresented or overdifferentiated by the written standard. Vocabulary building and comprehension strategies that aid in discovering meaning could be especially helpful for speakers of non-standard dialects. The existing guides for the development of literacy materials lack specific instructions on meeting the needs of speakers of non-standard dialects.

In Section 2.3, Rogers' (2003) diffusion of innovation theory was reviewed, focusing specifically on perceived attributes, social networks and the innovation-decision process. Innovations that are perceived to be relatively advantageous, compatible, non-complex, triable and observable are usually accepted most quickly. Because speakers of non-standard dialects may view the written standard as less compatible and more complex than do speakers of the dialect most similar to the standard, speakers of non-standard dialects will often accept the standard slowly. Regarding social networks, innovations spread most quickly through homophilous sub-networks that have some heterophilous relations with other homophilous sub-networks. Those

who accept an innovation usually move through a process of becoming aware of the innovation, becoming positively persuaded towards it, deciding to use it, actually using it and finally confirming their use of it. While this theory has not been applied to the acceptance of written standards by anyone other than the author, much of what those who have written about the development of written standards and the development of literacy programmes fit into the various aspects of this theory.

In Section 2.4, three studies related to the acceptance of written standards were reviewed. While none focused specifically on how linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors all influence CAWS, each study had some foci that were relevant to this study of CAWS.

3 Chapter 3 Methodology

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology of the research, for both data gathering and analysis is described. In Section 3.1, case study research is briefly described and the boundaries of the two cases and their sub-units are established. The use of the diffusion of innovations theory as a model for assessing acceptance is discussed in Section 3.2. The methods of data collection and analysis are described in Section 3.3. The difficulties encountered while gathering and analysing data are presented in Section 3.4. A discussion of ethical issues related to the collection of data and writing of the thesis is presented in Section 3.5.

3.1 Methodological principles and considerations

Yin (1994:13) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Examination of Yin’s definition by sections reveals why a case study approach is appropriate for studying CAWS.

First, a case study is an “empirical inquiry”. A case study is based on data: the steps people took, the ways people responded, and the explanations they gave for their actions and responses. A case study does not consider what might be possible, but rather what has occurred. This study focuses on how two LDTs interacted with the respective language communities as a written standard was developed. It also considers the responses of speakers of five dialects of each language to that written standard.

Second, a case study “investigates a contemporary phenomenon”. A case study is not a historical study which focuses on completed events, although it may have a historical aspect. A case is concerned primarily with the present. This study is concerned with the current levels of acceptance of written standards by speakers of five dialects of Likpakpaanl and speakers of five dialects of Lelemi. While the study also considers the history of the language development efforts, the primary focus is the people’s current perspectives about written materials in their languages.

Third, a case study considers the “real-life context”. In this way, a case study differs from experimental research. Although experimental research is also empirical and contemporary, it differs from case studies in removing the study from its real-life context by carefully controlling the environment in which the investigation occurs. An experimental approach is

not feasible when studying language standardisation efforts because standardisation occurs over a long period of time and involves, to some extent, all the speakers of the language. Controlling the context of such a large group of individuals for such a long time is not practical. CAWS is best studied within its “real-life context”.

Fourth, in a case study “the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. That is, the distinction between dependent and independent variables is blurred. This characteristic distinguishes case studies from survey research and from experimental research. Survey designers and experimental researchers limit the number of variables to be analysed (Yin, 1994:13). They also limit each variable by labelling it as either independent (one that influences others but is not influenced) or dependent (one that is influenced by others but does not influence them). A case study researcher recognizes that some factors may both influence and be influenced. For example, reading researchers have shown that a level of phonemic awareness is necessary for a person to learn to read, and that learning to read also causes an increase in phonemic awareness (McGuinness et al., 1995). As another example, the literature on language standardisation indicates that the prestige of a dialect influences its acceptance as a standard (Joseph, 1987:60-2) and that acceptance of a dialect as standard increases its prestige (Garvin, 1993:47). The case study researcher recognises and explores the complex interrelationship between all of the variables.

The second part of Yin’s (1994:13) definition focuses on the strategies used:

The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

Due to the variety of factors influencing CAWS (see Chapter 2), and due to the difficulty in distinguishing between the phenomenon and the context, various sources of evidence were used. Sources commonly used in case study research include “documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artefacts” (Yin, 1994:78). The various perspectives allow for triangulation: a technique used in land surveying in which measurements from different locations are used to determine the location of an object at a distance. In case study research, triangulation may be accomplished by comparing information from different data sources (i.e. individuals, communities, etc.), by comparing the data obtained by different evaluators, by comparing the data obtained through different methods, or by approaching the data from different theoretical perspectives (Yin, 1994:92).

In this study, two types of triangulation are used. Data was obtained using different data sources: community leaders, community members, literacy facilitators and LDT members.

Several methods of data collection were used: interviews, questionnaires, examination of archived materials and observations.

A final distinctive in Yin's (1994:13) definition of case study research is the "development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis". This sets case study research apart from ethnographic research, which is purely exploratory in nature. In this study, Rogers' (2003) diffusion of innovations theory guided the data collection and analysis (see Sections 2.3.2 and 3.2).

Case studies may involve a single case or multiple cases (Stakes, 2003:136-139; Yin, 1994:38). A multiple-case study allows for deeper insights and theorizing (Stakes, 2003:136-139). Yin implies that the multiple-case design is the norm while the single-case design is only undertaken in three types of situations: when a critical case by itself could disprove or confirm a theory, when an extreme case is worth examining for its own sake, or when a revelatory case allows for the investigation of a previously unavailable situation (Yin, 1994:38-40).

Stake (2003:136-139) further classifies case studies according to the reason for selecting specific cases. Cases which are pursued because the researcher is interested in particulars of that case are called intrinsic case studies. Those in which the focus is on an issue or a generalisation which can be drawn from the case are referred to as instrumental case studies because the case serves as a means to investigate an abstraction. This research on CAWS was a multiple-case study in which two instrumental cases were investigated.

Yin (1994:42) distinguishes between holistic versus embedded studies: An embedded study takes into account subunits within the case while the holistic design does not. He cautions that those using an embedded design may fail to give an analysis of the entire case after examining each subunit. Yin (1994:42) also cautions that those using a holistic design may shift to a focus on a specific subunit of the case without realizing or acknowledging it. This thesis used an embedded design in which each case was the process of developing a written standard while the subunits were the responses of speakers of five dialects of each language to the written standard.

3.1.1 *Defining the case*

A case is identifiable and has boundaries and limits (Stakes, 2003:135). Some aspects of the two cases can be defined together. The cases involved only speakers of the respective languages who lived in Ghana between August and November 2004. The cases considered the responses of speakers of only five dialects of each language. The cases involved only those age ten and older.

Each case included the language development process, the sociolinguistic factors acting upon it, and the response of speakers of the language who were exposed to the language development process. In the following two sections, boundaries and limits specific to each language are described.

3.1.1.1 The Lelemi case

The period for the Lelemi case begins in 1980 when a study of bilingual proficiency in Ewe among speakers of minority languages was undertaken which eventually led to language development work. This boundary is a bit permeable, for the Rev. Father A. O. Dogli had published some books in the 1950s which had only limited circulation. Some respondents mentioned these materials. The Lelemi case also includes cultural and linguistic factors which had their origins before 1980. The case involves residents of ten Lelemi towns¹⁹ (see Table 3.1). While the goal was to conduct research at two locations for each dialect, it was not possible in the case of the Teteman dialect because it is spoken in a single town. All these towns are in the traditional Lelemi-speaking area. The case includes written materials in Lelemi produced by the Buem Adult Literacy Programme (BALP). Those counted as literacy facilitators in this case include individuals trained by BALP, as well as NFED facilitators. Two cassette recordings in Lelemi are also part of the materials available in the written standard because the recording is based upon written materials.

Table 3.1 Lelemi towns where research was undertaken

Dialect	Towns
Kunsu	Akaa, Kudje
Central	Bodada, Jasikan
Baglo	Baglo, Kute, Odumasi
Teteman	Teteman
Baika	Old Baika, New Baika

3.1.1.2 The Likpakpaanl case

The timeframe for the Likpakpaanl case begins in 1962 when the initial steps in language development were undertaken. The case also involves linguistic and cultural influences which had their origins prior to 1962. The case involves residents of seventeen Likpakpaanl villages (see Table 3.2) who speak five major dialects. Twelve villages are in the traditional Likpakpaanl-

¹⁹ In this thesis, the term *town* is used for Lelemi communities while the term *village* is used for Likpakpaanl communities. This is done because when speaking English, Lelemi speakers referred to their communities as *towns* while Likpakpaanl speakers referred to their communities as *villages*. Half of the Lelemi towns have a population of 1000+ while the Likpakpaanl-speaking villages typically have a population of less than 300. The distinction is not completely based on population, for Saboba, although quite large, was called a village.

speaking area while five are a cluster of villages in one of the many migrant-farming areas. The case includes written materials in Likpakpaanl produced by the Rural Integrated Literacy and Development Programme²⁰ (RILADEP). The case also includes written materials produced by School for Life, which were translated by a former RILADEP employee. Two sets of recorded readings in Likpakpaanl are also part of the materials in the written standard since they are based on written texts. Literacy facilitators in this case include individuals trained by RILADEP, NFED, and School for Life.

Table 3.2 Likpakpaanl villages where research was undertaken

Dialects	Tribes	Villages
LiChabol	Bichabob	Saboba, Toma
LiGbinl	Bigbim	Nayil (Wapuli), Gbenja
LiKoonl	Bikwom	Gbintiri, Gmancheri, Bumbongnayili, Gabon
LiMonkpenl	BiMonkpem	Labaldo, Sajigban
Linafeel	Binafeeb	Wapuli, Yankasia
Mixed	Mixed	Kpassa, Jumbo 1, Jumbo Hilltop, Tinjase, Yalanjo

Each of the five dialects of Likpakpaanl is a sub-unit in the study. Or rather, the set of people who speak the dialect are the sub-unit. The boundaries between sub-units are not completely discrete because of the relationship between tribes, clans and sub-clans (see Section 5.2.1).

3.2 Diffusion of Innovations as a theoretical approach to CAWS

This study uses four aspects of Rogers' (2003) theory of diffusion of innovations to assess CAWS: the role of social networks, the stages of the innovation-decision process, individual's perceptions of the innovation and attempts at reinventions of the innovation. First, the nature of the social networks through which the written standard spread was studied through consulting anthropological writings about the people group, and by asking community leaders about their culture (see Section 2.3.2.2 and Chapter 5). Second, the stages in the innovation-decision process were used as a means to assess the level of acceptance of the standards both by communities and by individuals (see Section 2.3.2.3 and Section 7.1). Third, in studying the persuasion stage of the innovation decision process, people's perceptions concerning the innovations were explored (see Sections 2.3.2.1 and 7.1.2). Fourth, attempts at reinvention of the written standard were explored by inquiring about the extent to which people pronounced the written standard like their own dialect and by being attentive to attempts or desires to develop a separate written standard for any of the dialects (see Sections 2.3.2.4 and 7.2.2).

Information directly related to the diffusions of innovation was supplemented by two other types of information. Historical information from documents, archives, LDT members and

²⁰ This also includes the work of KOLADEP and GILLBT (see footnote 52 on page 151).

village leaders was compiled to determine whether activities and decisions had a disproportionate influence on speakers of some dialects. The nature, location and timing of activities of the LDTs are crucial factors in acceptance. Linguistic information was also gathered to determine the degree of phonological and lexical difference between the dialects.

The most central aspect of Rogers' theory to this study was the relationship of acceptance to the stages in the innovation decision process. This part of the theory guided the assessment of acceptance of the written standards. At the simplest level, acceptance of a written standard occurs when a community or individual identifies with the standard and affirms, "This is the written form of my language." Using such a statement as the measure of acceptance, however, is problematic. If an individual believes that the LWC is the only proper language in which to read and write, he may honestly make the statement above, but not accept the written standard as an innovation worth using. A speaker of a non-standard dialect may honestly make the statement above, but feel that books should also be written in his dialect of the language. Neither of these individuals has strong acceptance although both affirm the statement. Thus, a more practice-oriented measure of acceptance is necessary.

In practice, acceptance of the written standard usually manifests itself in specific actions such as learning to read, buying books in the standard, reading written materials and writing letters. Individuals who are not physically able to learn to read due to poor eyesight or inability to attend classes may manifest acceptance of the written standard by listening to others read or by listening to cassettes of people reading. These practical measures of acceptance are also problematic. Many factors other than the acceptance of the written standard influence whether individuals will actually read books or listen to cassettes of people reading. Some factors are personal such as financial difficulty, which prevents the purchase of materials, or family responsibilities, which prevent attendance at literacy classes. Other factors happen at the community level, such as a facilitator's illness resulting in cancelled classes, or a financial shortfall in the literacy program causing a decrease in visits by supervisors and decreased availability of materials. Such limiting factors may prevent people who are very accepting of the written standard from fully manifesting that acceptance.

Rogers' (2003) innovation-decision process (see Section 2.3.2.3), provides a model by which acceptance of a written standard can be assessed. Using this model, acceptance of a written standard is viewed as proceeding through five stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation. Table 3.3 shows the aspects of each stage as related to the acceptance of written standards and some factors which influence each aspect. At the knowledge and persuasion stage, the influencing factors are more limited than at later stages.

Acceptance at the knowledge stage means that the person has adequate and accurate information about the written standard. Several types of knowledge are part of acceptance of a written standard: knowledge that the language has been written, knowledge of which books have been printed, knowledge about the literacy class, knowledge of the LDT workers and knowledge of the source and price of books.

At the persuasion stage, several types of attitudes are part of acceptance of a written standard: attitude toward materials written in the standard, attitude toward literacy in general, attitude toward others reading the standard and attitude about one's ability to learn to read.

At the decision, utilisation and confirmation stages a variety of activities are related to acceptance of a written standard: deciding to and learning to read, deciding to and buying books, deciding to and attending a literacy event, deciding to and reading regularly, and deciding to and listening to others read the standard.

Table 3.3 Aspects and factors related to each of the five stages of acceptance of a written standard

Stages	Aspects
Knowledge about	books that have been written
	literacy classes
	the price of books
	where books can be obtained
	workers in the project
Persuasion toward	written standard
	literacy materials
	literacy in general
	others reading
	personal ability
Decision to	learn to read
	obtain a book
	obtain a tape
	attend event
	listen to others reading
Utilization	learns to read
	obtains books
	obtains tapes
	attends literacy events
	reads regularly
	listens to others reading
Confirmation of value of	obtaining books
	obtaining tapes
	attending events
	reading regularly
	listening to others read

Rejection, as was pointed out in Section 2.3.2.3.5, is the opposite of confirmation. Rejection of the written standard may occur at any point in the innovation decision process. A person who has decided to learn to read and has attended some literacy classes and a literacy event may decide that learning to read is too difficult, stop attending the class and never read or use the standard again. Such an individual may also passively accept the standard, by listening to others read and encouraging people to read, but not reading himself.

Each individual manifests a unique subset of the aspects which matches his situation. At any stage of acceptance it is rare that an individual fully manifests all aspects of the stage. Most individuals completely lack some aspects of acceptance and only partially manifest others. For example, the second person in a household who learns to read does not need to know where books can be obtained because he can borrow those of the other reader. Or, an elderly person may never learn to read, but may purchase books for others and enjoy hearing them read. The aspects discussed above were used to guide the development of the sections of the interview guides and the questionnaire that focused on acceptance of the written standards. The aspects are discussed in detail in Section 7.1.

The acceptance just described pertains to individuals, but communities can also be said to accept a written standard. It is usually a community (used here in the sense of a group of people) that decides to use a written standard for taking minutes, for doing public reading, for teaching literacy classes, or for teaching children in schools. Communities manifest acceptance of the written standard in ways that exceed the combined impact of each individual who accepts the written standard. Communities, rather than individuals, select a literacy facilitator and encourage the learners and facilitator. Communities select representatives for literacy committees and hold them accountable both to represent their views at meetings and to inform the community about the meetings' outcomes. A community which accepts a written standard encourages more individuals to become literate and encourages the literates to continue reading.

This application of diffusion of innovations to acceptance of written standards is not by nature cross-dialectal. It may be used for general studies of acceptance of written standards, or for studies of cross-generational or cross-gender acceptance of written standards. Studying CAWS requires that the level of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of several dialects be assessed and compared. In this research, acceptance of two written standards by speakers of five dialects each was studied.

3.3 Methods employed in this study

Several methods were used to collect data related to CAWS. All the data collected was *qualitative*: the data were words rather than numbers. However, two sets of data were analysed *quantitatively*²¹.

3.3.1 An overview of the data gathering process

From 24 August to 20 November 2004, data was gathered under the auspices of GILLBT, an NGO based in the town of Tamale in the centre of Northern District. Dr. Andrew Ring, a translation consultant for GILLBT recommended the two language projects as ones which met the five criteria presented in Section 1.3. Ring also assisted the researcher in establishing contact with the LDTs. Data was gathered in the Lelemi-speaking area in two periods: from 25 August to 8 September 2004 and from 28 September to 4 October 2004. Data was gathered in the Likpakpaanl-speaking area from 5 October to 7 November 2004. Several interviews were conducted in Accra on 9 September. On 21 and 22 September, some Likpakpaanl speakers were interviewed in Tamale, Nyankpala, Yendi and Kulkpeni. From 13 to 24 September and from 8 to 19 November, records and archives were consulted at the GILLBT offices in Tamale.

Each LDT was asked to recommend two villages or towns to visit in each dialect area. They also recommended the best day of the week to visit each community based on market days and traditional rest days. In the Lelemi area, a preliminary visit was made to each town to request permission to do research the following week. In the Likpakpaanl area, letters were sent in advance to eight of the villages. In the LiKoonl-speaking area, prior notification was not possible. Due to the distance of the LiKoonl-speaking area from Saboba, the LDT expressed doubt that villages in that area could be visited. However, the Gbintiri District Literacy Supervisor unexpectedly visited the RILADEP office 11 October. The researcher²² accompanied the supervisor on his return to Gbintiri, and was able to interview elders and literacy facilitators in four villages and individuals in two villages. Five Likpakpaanl-speaking villages in the migrant farm areas near Kpassa were also visited.

²¹ Quantitative data are numeric measures such as test scores, populations, duration, etc. Qualitative data are words – usually natural discourse. Words which are not natural discourse such as lists, rankings such as more or less, or yes-no responses are in some ways similar to quantitative data. Analysis of quantitative data is almost always quantitative, but analysis of qualitative data may be either quantitative or qualitative. A quantitative analysis might count the frequency of a specific morpheme in a 30 minute recording. A qualitative analysis might examine the themes expressed in that recording.

²² *Researcher* always refers to the author of this dissertation. The plural form *researchers* refers to the researcher and the person who served as guide and/or interpreter.

Each LDT assigned an LDT member or a literacy supervisor to accompany the researcher to each community. This individual also served as an interpreter when needed. In the Lelemi language community, one member of the LDT served as the research assistant in seven towns while a second LDT member served as the assistant in one town. In two towns a zonal supervisor served as the assistant. In the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area, one member of the LDT served as the research assistant in seven towns, a second LDT member served as the assistant in one town. In the Gbintiri and Kpassa areas, the District Literacy Supervisors served as the assistants. During several of the group interviews of elders, the chief had appointed a resident of the village to serve as the interpreter. In those cases the assistant assigned by the LDT allowed that person to interpret, but sometimes added to the interpretations of the question or the response.

Upon arrival in a community, the researchers first greeted the local literacy facilitator who then introduced the researchers to the chief. The team explained the purpose of the research and the goals for the day. In communities where no facilitator was present, the researchers went directly to the chief.

In many communities, the arrival of the researchers resulted in a gathering of elders at the chief's palace. In other villages, the chief sent messengers to invite the village elders to gather. The group interview with village elders was undertaken first. The research team then interviewed any literacy facilitators in the village before proceeding to use the questionnaire with individuals in their homes or yards. A small pamphlet in Lelemi or Likpakpaanl was given to each participant after completion of an interview or questionnaire as an expression of appreciation for agreeing to be interviewed. The word-list for each dialect was elicited on a separate date.

3.3.2 *Qualitative methods used*

3.3.2.1 Interviews

Interviews were the primary research method used. Four different interview guides were developed: 1) Group interview of community elders and leaders; 2) interview of LDT members and literacy facilitators who speak Lelemi and Likpakpaanl; 3) interview of LDT members who are foreigners, and 4) interviews of community members. A guide for each category of interview was developed as a reminder of the topics to cover. Appendix 2 contains copies of each of the interview guides. The order of questions generally followed those on the guide, but where a response to one question naturally led into a question later in the guide, the related question was asked in order to keep the interview flowing smoothly. The researcher frequently

explored a topic in greater depth, asking questions not included on the guide. Some questions were not used in every interview: sometimes because they were not applicable and other times because the topic had already been covered in the answer to another question.

The questions on the guides were tested from June to August 2004 with several SIL members who have served on LDTs. The researcher asked the respondents to play the role of a community leader, LDT member, literacy facilitator or a community member from the language community where they had worked. Through this testing, some questions were revised, others added and some eliminated.

All of the interviews were recorded using a Sharp MD-MT15 mini disc portable recorder or a Sony TCM 929 cassette recorder. For group interviews, an omni-directional boundary microphone was placed on a table or on the floor in the centre of the group. For individual interviews, a tie-clip omni-directional electret microphone was clipped to the shirt of the interviewee. All group interviews and the majority of individual interviews were recorded onto 80 minute minidisks using the mono setting which allows up to 160 minutes to be recorded on a single disc. The remaining individual interviews were recorded on 90-minute cassette tapes. All of the cassettes and minidisks were labelled and coded. An introductory statement at the beginning of each interview included the date, the location of the interview, and the name of the interviewee.

Approximately one hundred twenty interviews were recorded²³. The number of interviews of each category in each language is given in Table 3.4. The interview code was used in the labelling of the interviews and their transcriptions.

Table 3.4 Number of interviews in each category by language

Type of interview	Lelemi	Likpakpaanl	InterviewCode
Language development team members	3	5	LT
Committee members	3	1	LC
Literacy facilitators and supervisors	13	30	LF
Village chiefs or elders groups	10	17	EL
Individuals	10	14	IN
Group of individuals	2	7	GR
Other	1	6	OT
Total	42	80	

A group interview of community leaders, which included the chief or regent if possible, was done in nearly every community visited. In two towns, Akaa and Baglo, an individual interview

²³ Also counted as interviews were three interviews which took place by email correspondence and one interview which was not recorded, but a summary of which was written in the data notebook. Thus, 118 interviews were recorded, some in several segments.

of the chief was done in place of the group interview. The goal of the group interviews was to learn from the village leaders and elders how people in the village first became aware of the literacy work, how the community reacted to the written materials, the history of literacy activities in their community, and the perceived benefits and difficulties of learning to read the written standard. The elders were also asked questions about their culture and social system, especially as it related to interaction with speakers of other dialects.

In each community, the researchers told the chief that they would like to meet with the chief and five to ten of the elders. The chief and his assistants then decided who would attend and where the meeting would be held. Most group interviews of the elders took place in the chief's palace. The group interviews took about one hour. The longest took 86 minutes while the shortest was just over 30 minutes. Most of the group interviews began with eight to ten participants present. Some ended with nearly twenty participants. For the interviews in Bodada, Jasikan, and Gabon, the group numbered less than five for the entire interview.

In over half of the villages, one or two literacy facilitators attended the elders' group interview. Because the literacy facilitators would be interviewed individually after the group interview, the researcher asked them to limit their participation in the group discussion regarding questions related to the literacy work in that village. She explained that she wanted to hear the perspective of the village elders about the literacy work. She assured everyone that the literacy facilitators would be able to share their perspectives later. However, at times during the group interviews, when the elders were uncertain of the answer to a factual question, they asked the literacy facilitator to explain the answer. Out of respect for the elders, the researcher usually allowed the facilitator to respond. If the elders referred a question of opinion or attitude to the facilitator, the researcher asked that the elders share their thoughts on the issue.

Individual interviews focused on the person's experience of deciding to and learning to read the written standard. The individual interview contained many of the questions included in the short answer questionnaire (see Section 3.3.3.2) but the respondent was encouraged to give answers that are more detailed. Some of the questions on the individual interview are also identical to those on the group interview. The individual interview focused on one person's experience while the group interview focused on the experience of the community. Selection for the individual interview was based on the researcher having heard in advance some interesting bit of information about the person, or having noticed that the person seemed particularly eager to talk about literacy and the written materials. Five individual interviews were conducted with people who were not speakers of the two languages but had been involved in development activities in the community other than those of the LDT. Several times the

individual interview was administered to a group, such as a women's literacy class or a gathering of pastors.

The interview guide for LDT members focused on the activities and goals of the LDT over the course of the language development work. Members of the LDT, including project coordinators, literacy coordinators, development project coordinators, and translators were interviewed. Because the Likpakpaanl LDT was larger than the Lelemi LDT, more Likpakpaanl LDT members were interviewed. Some members of committees associated with the LDTs were also interviewed. For these interviews, a combination of the guide for the individual interviews and the guide for the LDT interviews was used.

The interview guide for literacy facilitators and literacy supervisors focused on their personal involvement with the language development effort and their perspective on the level of participation in literacy programs of the people in their community over time. At least one literacy worker from each major dialect was interviewed. In most dialects, two or three facilitators were interviewed. Most literacy facilitators were affiliated with the two LDTs, however some were affiliated with the NFED or in the Likpakpaanl area with School for Life. The literacy supervisors were asked some of the questions found on the LDT interview guide in addition to those on the literacy facilitator guide. Some questions are identical to those in the group interview while others are identical to those in the individual interview.

3.3.2.2 Analysis of interviews

All of the interviews were transcribed as Word documents. The time elapsed in the recording was periodically noted in the transcriptions of minidisk recordings while the counter number was periodically noted in the transcriptions of cassette recordings. Each transcription included a cross-reference to the minidisk or cassette number and the interview code. Each transcription began with an introductory paragraph which provided demographic information and some explanatory information, where needed, about peculiarities of the interview, i.e. expressions used, others who were present, or interruptions that occurred. These paragraphs were written when the transcription was done.

The interview transcriptions were divided into segments thematically. This usually corresponded to question-answer pairs. Some segments included several question-answer sets in one theme, while other segments included several themes in a single question-answer pair. The segments of each interview were entered into the computer program Data Notebook (SIL International, 2003) and coded by topic. Codes were also used to indicate respondent

demographics such as gender, village, and language. Using Data Notebook, the researcher selected and reviewed all the comments pertaining to a single topic.

During analysis, comparisons were primarily between dialects within a language to determine the factors which influenced varying levels of acceptance of each written standard. Comparisons between dialects were also done on the linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors related to the language development work.

3.3.2.3 Observations

Observation was a continual part of the data gathering process. Observations were recorded in a journal before, during and after interviews, at various times throughout the day and in the evenings when reflecting on the day's events. Observations included the use of literacy and the written standard by individuals and groups, written materials available for sale, seating arrangements during interviews, comments about language, comments about the writing system, and various cultural observations. Occasionally, individuals were observed as they read aloud the pamphlet given as a gift to each participant. The observation of literacy classes was not a priority because the focus was not on literacy methodology, but on the acceptance of the written materials. While literacy methodology may influence acceptance, it seemed that insights gained through observing single classes in different villages would be minimal.

3.3.2.4 Examination of records and archives

Various types of records were consulted as part of the research. At GILLBT the language archives, literacy materials archives, and the files for language programme planning were examined. Some items were photocopied while notes were taken on others. In addition, GILLBT publications were consulted including the GILLBT Annual Reports and *Research Review*, a journal published jointly by the Institute of African Studies and GILLBT. A copy of GILLBT's database on publications in all languages was also consulted.

Other records were obtained at the sites of the two language development programmes. Items obtained at the RILADEP office in Saboba included RILADEP's annual reports, a chart with information on current REFLECT²⁴ classes, a chart showing the number of students who bridged to formal schools between 1986 and 2002, reports on fund-raising through the Annual Harvest

²⁴ REFLECT is a development programme of Action Aid which has a minor literacy component. REFLECT stands for Regenerated Freirean Literacy Through Empowering Community Techniques.

from 1990 to 1997. GILLBT's Volta Region office in Santrokofi had some of BALP's quarterly reports from 2003 and 2004. The BALP office itself had few records available for examination.

Documentation was also obtained from several other sources in Ghana. The 1984 and 2000 census documents provided information on village populations. Only preliminary reports on the twenty largest communities in each district were available from the 2000 census, so current population figures for many villages were unavailable. The *National Church Survey* (Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989) contained information about the ethnic make-up of villages and the presence in each village of vernacular literacy classes. The Saboba-Chereponi NFED provided lists of facilitators and villages holding literacy classes in 1992, 1996 and 2004. The Saboba-Chereponi Department of Planning provided some statistics for the Saboba-Chereponi District. Former RILADEP staff members provided copies of an evaluation of RILADEP's programme in 1996, a three-year plan for RILADEP 2001-2004 and a report on the literacy efforts from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s.

3.3.3 *Quantitative aspects of the research*

3.3.3.1 Lexical and phonological comparisons

Lexical and phonological comparisons provide a measure of the degree of difference between related dialects. In this study, word-lists were obtained from the five dialects of each language. The lists were based upon the Swadesh 200-word list. Items from Swadesh's list that did not occur in the languages were removed and additional items were added to each list. These included the names of approximately forty plant and animal species as well as the names of common household items. The Konkomba dictionary (Breeze et al., 1981) and the Lelemi lexicon (Working Committee of Bodada-Buem) were used to obtain an initial entry for most of the items in the list and to select many of the additional words.

The researcher, with the assistance and recommendation of the two LDTs identified a speaker of each dialect who was willing to provide the words for his or her dialect. Three criteria were used in selecting the individual for each dialect:

1. the person had been born and raised in the dialect area
2. the person spoke with a clear voice, having no speech impediments
3. the person still had all their teeth and had no large gaps between teeth

The final word-list for each language contained 285 words. Lexemes which were identical to another word with a similar meaning were not included in the count of lexically similar items. For example, in Lelemi, the elicitation of 'few' and 'small' both resulted in words with the root /bili/ or /bli/. The lexemes for 'small' were counted but not those for 'few'. Lexemes which

were compound words were also not used. Not every word was obtained for each dialect, either because the concept was unknown to an individual, or because speakers of some dialects gave two lexical items for a single English word, distinguishing shades of meaning. These lexemes were counted as two separate entries, but it was not possible to obtain the second lexeme in dialects where the word-list had already been collected. The number of lexemes compared between the Lelemi word-lists ranged from 260 to 268 items. The number of lexemes compared between the Likpakpaanl word-lists ranged from 245 to 249 items.

The word-lists were analysed using the computer program WordSurv 2.5 (SIL International, 1996). Each lexeme was entered and assigned to a group. Corresponding phones were aligned. Where it appeared that elision had occurred, a phone in one lexeme was aligned with a blank space in another lexeme in the group. The lexical items were initially entered with noun-class prefixes and suffixes. However, for the final analysis, the prefixes and suffixes were removed so that correspondences which occurred in the prefixes and suffixes would not be counted repeatedly. Because a phonological analysis of each dialect was not done, the correspondences are between phones rather than between phonemes.

The percent of lexical items which were similar was determined for each pair of dialects in each language. The ratio of correspondence of phonemes between the pair of dialects was used to determine whether a given lexeme was considered to be similar to a lexeme of another dialect. Because WordSurv only counts correspondences between phones when two lexemes have been assigned to the same group, lexemes were initially assigned to the same group even if the evidence that they might be cognates was minimal. An item was removed from a group when a low level of correspondence existed between its phones and those of other items in the group.

The word-lists were also used to determine the number of regular phonetic correspondences between non-identical phones which occurred between each pair of dialects. Phonetic correspondences which occurred four or more times in the data for a pair of dialects are listed in Appendix 4. Apparent influences on a correspondence due to environment are also presented there. The limited number of lexical items probably prevented all existing correspondences from being detected. Some regular correspondences may have occurred less than four times between any pair of dialects. Further, any words which were borrowed into a dialect after phonological change occurred in that dialect would not exhibit the change. The overview of the degree of phonetic differences that was obtained provides insights into the challenges that readers from each dialect face as they sound out words when reading materials which are based upon another dialect.

3.3.3.2 Questionnaires

A short-answer questionnaire which focused on participation in literacy activities, knowledge about the written materials and the perceived benefits of literacy was used with individuals from each dialect. Appendix 3 contains a copy of the questionnaire. The goal was to administer ten questionnaires to speakers of each dialect: five in each of the two villages visited in each dialect area. The questionnaires served as a means of triangulating responses from the interviews by obtaining short responses from a larger number of individuals. The questionnaires also served to indicate whether the ordinary citizens had the same levels of awareness and the same perceptions about literacy as did the community leaders and those involved with literacy and language development work.

In the Likpakpaanl-speaking area, many of the women spoke a dialect other than the one spoken in their husband's village. Because of this, more than five questionnaires were used in each Likpakpaanl village to assure that responses from at least ten individuals from each of the five dialects would be obtained.

In the Lelemi language area the full number of questionnaires was administered only in the Kunsu dialect area. At an early stage of the research, several respondents mentioned that Jasikan residents had lower acceptance of the standard than did Bodada residents. Consequently, nine questionnaires were administered in each of these Central dialect towns. Only nine questionnaires were administered to speakers of the Teteman and Baglo dialects as well. In Baika, only six questionnaires were administered.

The researchers moved from yard to yard in each town or village, interviewing one person in each yard. Some of the female Likpakpaanl respondents showed signs of uneasiness during the interview, especially if men were present. They answered very quietly, they frequently said they did not know an answer and they laughed when asked questions. In some situations, the interpreter asked the men to leave so the respondent could talk freely. In a few situations, where women from two yards were already sitting together, the questionnaire was administered to two women at one time. Being with a friend seemed to help the women relax. However, the woman who responded second to each question may have been influenced by the first woman's response.

In Jasikan and in Teteman, literacy classes had gathered because they heard that the researchers were coming. In both villages, several literacy students responded to the questionnaire one at a time while other students listened. The remainder of the questionnaires were administered throughout the two towns. In a number of villages in both the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl-speaking areas, the interpreter was reluctant to interview someone in each yard

that the researcher desired to enter. In some cases the interpreter seemed to want to interview only those who had attended literacy classes, and in other cases only close acquaintances. In most such cases, the researcher was able to encourage the interpreter to proceed with the interview.

Some adaptations were made to the questionnaire during the course of the research. The question which was most difficult for people to understand in both language areas was “For whom are the books in L____ written?” Some people understood the question to mean, “Who wrote the L___ books?” Others stated that they did not understand the question. The question was always asked as it was written. If a participant expressed confusion, the question was explained in this way. “If I would ask, ‘For whom did your mother cook food?’ you would tell me that she cooked for your father and your siblings. Now consider these books in your language. For whom did the people who wrote these books write them?” This explanation usually resulted in a prompt answer.

Lelemi speakers do not have names for the different dialects of their language. They refer rather to “the way people in Baglo speak” or “She sounds like she is from Teteman.” Because of this, the questions asking about varieties of the language were adapted as follows: “What variety of Lelemi did your mother’s parents speak?” was changed to “Where was your mother born?” The question “When people from here read Lelemi books, which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?” was changed to “When people from here read Lelemi books, which town does it sound like they are from?”

The two questions “Which of the L___ books have you seen?” and “What are the books about?” proved to be redundant. The first question was often answered with a brief statement about what the book was about rather than stating the title. The two questions were used together to obtain answers for the first question. If the response to the first one was, “I have seen many books,” it was followed with the question, “What were those books about?” Respondents who only mentioned one or two books were asked whether they had seen any others.

During the analysis of the questionnaire data, three questionnaires were rejected because it was unclear under which of the five main dialects they were best categorized. The respondents lived in Nayil which is known as a LiGbinl-speaking village. However, these three respondents said they spoke LiNankpenl and stated that it is a dialect of LiChabol.

Due to the small sample size in each dialect area and because the sample was not randomly selected from all speakers of each dialect, statistical tests which indicate whether the differences between dialects are significant could not be applied. The results of the

questionnaire presented in chapter 7, however, can be considered as trends in the level of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect (Johnstone, 2000:59-60).

3.4 Difficulties encountered during data gathering and analysis

During the data gathering and analysis, a number of difficulties and weaknesses were identified.

The researcher's inability to communicate directly with many respondents decreased the reliability of the data. The researcher's previous two years of experience with Cameroonian Pidgin English and Sierra Leone Krio assisted her comprehension of Ghanaian English. Her ten years of experience gathering sociolinguistic data in Africa, often through interpreters also helped her be aware of and sensitive to potential difficulties in comprehension and interpretation. This experience did not eliminate all difficulties. At times, the interpreted response did not seem to match the question that had been asked. Had the interpreter asked a different question? Had the respondent misunderstood the question? If the researcher questioned an interpreter's translation too frequently, the rapport with the interpreter could be damaged which might inhibit successful completion of the day's work. The interviewee could also feel intimidated if asked the same question again. The researcher often handled apparent misinterpretations by asking several other interview questions before re-approaching the topic where misunderstanding may have occurred.

Occasionally, interpreters who worked with the researcher for several days would begin monitoring misunderstood questions themselves. For example, if the response to "How did you first hear that your language was being written?" was "Two years ago when the literacy program started here" but the interpreter knew that classes had also been held in the village ten years ago, he might ask "What about those classes from long ago?" without first interpreting the original answer. Because the researcher felt that both the original answer and the follow-up one were important, she usually asked the interpreter to also tell her the original response. Some interpreters, instead of communicating the initial response, stated that the participant had initially misunderstood. The researcher had to decide whether pressing for the original response was more important than potentially damaging the rapport with the interpreter.

Another difficulty arose due to an interpreter changing the structure of the question. One interpreter changed an open-ended question into a much longer yes/no question. The respondent answered with a simple affirmative in Likpakpaanl. The interpreter then provided the researcher with an appropriate answer for the open-ended question. This question was

marked in the transcription as having been asked as a yes-no question. The researcher also discussed with the interpreter the importance of interpreting questions as they are presented.

In addition to challenges related to interpreting, difficulties arose due to the degree to which the respondents were forthright. One respondent gave exaggerated answers while another expressed hesitancy about speaking honestly regarding concerns and problems in the literacy programme. A Lelemi-speaking District Council member who attended a group meeting for leaders made only positive assessments as she enthusiastically answered many of the questions. A number of her responses to questions of historical fact concerning the literacy programme were erroneous but were stated with great confidence. Because of these inaccuracies, other responses by that participant were regarded as unreliable. In a Likpakpaanl village, a literacy facilitator had some negative opinions about aspects of the literacy programme. He asked the interpreter whether it was acceptable for him to speak honestly about his concerns. After the interpreter, who was a member of the LDT, told him to share freely, the facilitator expressed his concerns about the programme. Other respondents may have also been less than forthright without the researcher being aware. However, most respondents seemed to speak freely about both positive and negative aspects of the language programmes. The members of the LDTs who accompanied the researcher did not express concern about the forthrightness of any other respondent. However, they occasionally pointed out items about which respondents answered incorrectly because they either lacked knowledge or had outdated information.

Another difficulty occurred during some interviews due to the response to interjections by the researcher. As a respondent began to give an answer, the researcher would sometimes make brief interjections such “oh”, “uhn hunh” or “mm hmm”. Upon hearing the interjection, some respondents stopped their response. Sometimes the researcher asked the respondent to complete the answer, but other times she asked the next question. The researcher sometimes made such interjections when she thought she had understood the direction the response was taking. The respondent then thought that his response had been understood, so he did not complete it. If the researcher failed to perceive that the response was incomplete, she proceeded with the next question. When reviewing the recordings of the interviews, the researcher’s next question sometimes clearly indicated the answer that she had understood. Because that understanding was neither challenged nor corrected by the respondent, it could be relied upon as the intended answer. At other times, the intentions of the respondents could not be determined. The latter responses were not used in the analysis.

Difficulties such as these are inevitable when doing research in real-life contexts and in other cultures. Because of the potential for such difficulties, multiple sources of data were consulted

and various tools for gathering data were used. Despite these difficulties, clear trends were observable in the data from these triangulating sources and tools.

3.5 Ethical issues

Each participant in this research participated on a voluntary basis. The participants were informed of the purpose of the research, and asked if they were willing to answer some questions. Their agreement was considered to be informal informed assent. Formal assent was not obtained for two reasons: data gathering by sociolinguists is “usually not seen as involving physical, mental or legal risks to subjects” (Johnstone, 2000:42) and obtaining formal consent can make people awkwardly self-conscious (Johnstone, 2000:42).

Participants were informed that the purpose of the research was to determine how literacy in their language had spread. Participants were not informed that the focus was on CAWS out of concern that such specific mention of the purpose might influence their responses. Some participants asked how the research would benefit them or their language. They were told that the research would probably not benefit them or their language very much, but that it would potentially assist speakers of those languages which had not yet been developed. They were informed that a copy of the dissertation would be sent to the GILLBT office and that several copies of a summary version would be sent to the BALP and RILADEP offices.

During the group questionnaires, individuals were free to come and go as they pleased. During most of the group interviews, the number of participants continued to increase slowly throughout the course of the interview. Only rarely did anyone permanently leave a group interview. A few stepped out of the room for a few minutes and then returned. During individual interviews and the administration of questionnaires, individuals were free to terminate the interview or questionnaire at any time, but only a few did so.

Following Johnstone’s (2000:43) recommendation that all subjects, unless they are public figures, remain anonymous, only the names of key members of the LDT are used in the thesis. These individuals have given permission for their names to be used.

3.6 Summary

The research undertaken for this thesis relied heavily upon qualitative data and qualitative analysis. Two cases were studied, each of which had five subunits. To establish the degree of linguistic distinctiveness of the five dialects of each of the two languages, lexical and phonetic

comparisons were done. The socio-cultural factors were studied using group interviews of elders, interviews of the LDTs and published ethnographic studies. The histories of the two language programmes were studied using interviews of the LDTs supplemented by documentation from reports and archives. The interviews of groups of elders and literacy facilitators also supplemented the information on the language programmes. The levels of acceptance of the written standards by speakers of each dialect were explored using data from the interviews of LDT members, literacy facilitators and community elders as well as the questionnaire data.

4 Chapter 4 Dialect differences within Lelemi and Likpakpaanl

4.0 Introduction

While this thesis does not focus primarily on linguistic factors, it is crucial to establish that substantial differences exist between the dialects of Lelemi and between the dialects of Likpakpaanl. This chapter contains background information about the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl languages and the communities that speak them. It also presents an assessment of the degree of lexical and phonetic difference between the dialects of each language. For comparative purposes, in Section 4.3, the degrees of lexical difference between the dialects of Grebo and between the dialects of Limba are also presented. These are the two languages which were mentioned in Section 1.1.4 as ones in which speakers of some dialects did not accept the written standard.

4.1 The Lelemi language

Lelemi is a Niger-Congo language with 48,900 speakers. It is classified as Atlantic Congo, Volta-Congo, Kwa, Nyo, Potou-Tano, Lelemi, Lelemi-Akpafu (Gordon, 2005). It is spoken in 18 towns in the Jasikan (formerly Buem) District of Volta Region. The largest town, Jasikan, is also the district headquarters. Bodada town is home to the paramount chief. The people refer to themselves as *Balemi* which means “those who open.” In Twi and in English, the people and their language are usually called Buem which means “those who open” in Twi.

4.1.1 Some aspects of Lelemi phonology

Lelemi has seven vowel phonemes and 22 consonant phonemes as shown in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2. Four of the phonemes of Lelemi only occur in words that have been borrowed from other languages (Ring, 1981b). The orthographic symbol for each phoneme is shown in angle brackets in the table when it differs from the IPA symbol.

Table 4.1 Vowels of Lelemi (based on Ring, 1981b:3)

	front	back
high	I	u
	e	o
	ε	ɔ
low	a	

Nasalized vowels occur in all dialects of Lelemi following nasal consonants, but rarely elsewhere. Ring states that the use of nasalized vowels varies from speaker to speaker, and concludes that nasalized vowels are probably not phonemic but are rather in free variation with

oral vowels (1981b:3-4). In the orthography, nasalized vowels are marked only on words for which a minimal pair exists in at least one dialect. Ring estimates that nasalization is marked on only ten words.

Table 4.2 Consonants of Lelemi (based on Ring, 1981b:3)

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatoveolar	labiovelar	velar	glottal
stop, voiceless	(p)		t		kp	k	
stop, voiced	b		d		gb	g	
stop, nasal	m		n				
fricative, voiceless	ϕ <f>	(f)	s	tʃ <ky, ts>			h
fricative, voiced		v	(z)	dʒ <gy, dz>			
approximant			l	j <y>	w		
flap			(r) <r>				
Phonemes shown in parentheses only occur in loan words. Angle brackets indicate the orthographic symbol							

Ring identified only one consonant as having an allophone. Prior to velar stops or high back vowels or semi-vowels, /n/ is realized as [ŋ] (1981b:3-4).

4.1.2 *The dialects of Lelemi*

Lelemi has two major dialects. The first, upper, which is also called Lelemi, eastern and upland, is spoken in towns at higher elevations. The second, lower, which is also called Lefana, river, western and lowland, is spoken in towns at lower elevations. These two dialects have sub-dialects with distinct characteristics. Most sub-dialects do not have specific names.

The lower dialect has two sub-dialects. Twi heavily influences the western-most one, which is sometimes called Kunsu. Kunsu is spoken in the towns of Atonkor, Akaa, Kudje, Nsuta, Atakrom and Guaman. The other lower dialect, which some call the central dialect, is spoken in the towns of Bodada and Jasikan. The dialect spoken in Okadjakrom was classified by some as Central and by others as Kunsu.

The upper dialect has three to four sub-dialects, none of which has an appellation other than “the variety spoken in ___ town.” The first sub-dialect, which is referred to in this thesis as Baglo, includes the variety spoken in the towns of Baglo, Odumasi and Kute. The second sub-dialect includes the variety spoken in Old Ayoma, New Ayoma and Dzolu. The third sub-dialect, referred to hereafter as Baika, includes the variety spoken in Old Baika and New Baika, while the fourth variety is spoken in a single town: Teteman. Some individuals view the Baglo and Ayoma varieties as a single dialect while others view the Teteman and Baika varieties as a single dialect. The upper dialects are reported to have been influenced by Ewe. The location of the

Lelemi-speaking villages is shown in Figure 4.1. Because Old Baika and New Baika are very near to each other, as are Old Ayoma and New Ayoma, they are each represented by a single dot.

Figure 4.1 Map of the Lelemi language area.



The populations of the Lelemi-speaking towns range from approximately 400 to over 9000. The populations of over half the towns exceed 1000. All the towns are in the Jasikan District. The total language area is about 40 km in length from the northwest to southeast. Four of the six largest Lelemi towns, Jasikan, Okadjakrom, Kute and New Ayoma are estimated to have more speakers of other languages than they have speakers of Lelemi (Diko-Pewudie, 45, MCentral MBaglo). Two smaller towns, Old Ayoma and Dzolu, also have significant numbers of speakers of other languages. Several settlements in the Lelemi language area which are smaller than towns are inhabited by speakers of other languages who are primarily migrant farm labourers employed by Lelemi speakers.

Table 4.3 Lelemi villages, their population and dialect categorization

Town	2000 Census	1984 Census	Estimated proportion of population that speaks Lelemi ²⁵	Dialect group
Jasikan	9377	6629	about 1/3	Central
Bodada	3744	4041	nearly all 95%	Central
Okadjakrom	3300	2426	(probably about 1/3) ²⁶	Kunsu
Teteman	3112	2613	nearly all	Teteman
Kute	2643	2592	less than ¼	Baglo
New Ayoma	2636	2176	about 1/3	-
Baglo Buem	2170	876	nearly all 95%	Baglo
Old Baika	1284	1118	nearly all	Baika
New Baika	n/a	1007	nearly all	Baika
Akaa	n/a	975	nearly all	Kunsu
Atonkor	n/a	904	nearly all	Kunsu
Kudje	n/a	772	nearly all	Kunsu
Guaman	n/a	747	nearly all	Kunsu
Nsuta	n/a	699	nearly all	Kunsu
Old Ayoma	n/a	601	over 2/3	-
Dzolu	n/a	505	about 1/3	-
Odumasi	n/a	487	nearly all	Baglo
Atakrom	n/a	412	nearly all	Kunsu
n/a – Data about these towns from the 2000 census has not yet been published.				

4.1.2.1 The basis of the Lelemi written standard

The Lelemi standard is a blend that contains aspects of the pronunciation, lexicon and syntax of all the dialects. The use of words which are perceived as loans from Twi or Ewe are discouraged if equivalent Lelemi words, even ones which are slightly archaic, are available. For spelling, the expanded form of words is used over the more contracted varieties used in normal speech by speakers of some dialects. Spelling usually follows the pronunciation which is most common throughout the dialects.

4.1.2.2 Lexical comparison of Lelemi dialects

The comparison of 265 lexical items²⁷ for five dialects of Lelemi showed lexical similarity between pairs of dialects which ranged from a low of 83% between Baika and Kunsu to a high of 94% between Baika and Teteman. Each pairing of the three upper dialects has over 90% lexical similarity. The two lower dialects shared 88% of their lexical items. The Central dialect had a similar degree of lexical similarity with each of the other dialects. The percent of similar lexemes for each pair of Lelemi dialects is shown in Table 4.4.

²⁵ Based on interview (Diko-Pewudie, 45, MCentral MBaglo)

²⁶ While a specific proportion of Okadjakrom residents that are Balemi was not given, it was reported that Okadjakrom is difficult to distinguish from Jasikan because there is no bush between them (Diko-Pewudie, 45, MCentral MBaglo)

²⁷ The number of lexical items compared for any pair of dialects ranged from 215 to 246.

Table 4.4 Percent of similar lexemes between each pair of Lelemi dialects

	Baika			
Teteman	94	Teteman		
Baglo	91	93	Baglo	
Central	88	87	89	Central
Kunsu	83	87	84	88

The same data is presented in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 as tree diagrams in which each dialect is joined to another dialect at the level corresponding to the percent of shared lexical items between the two. A dialect is connected to a group of dialects using the average of the lexical similarities between that group and the dialect. Two trees are presented because at the level of 88 percent lexical similarity, the Central dialect could be linked to either Kunsu or the upper Lelemi cluster of Baika, Teteman and Baglo. The lexical data provides clear evidence for the existence of an upper dialect. However, the existence of a lexically unique lower variety comprising the Central and Kunsu dialect is only weakly supported.

Figure 4.2 Branch average tree of the percent of similar lexemes between Lelemi dialects

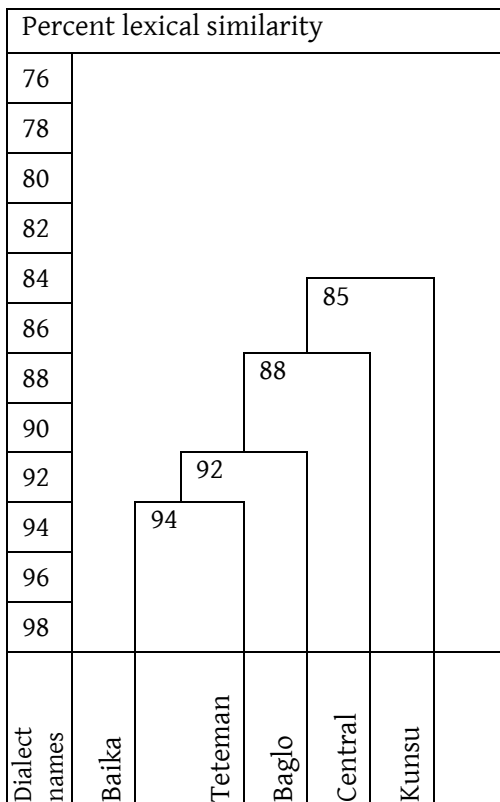
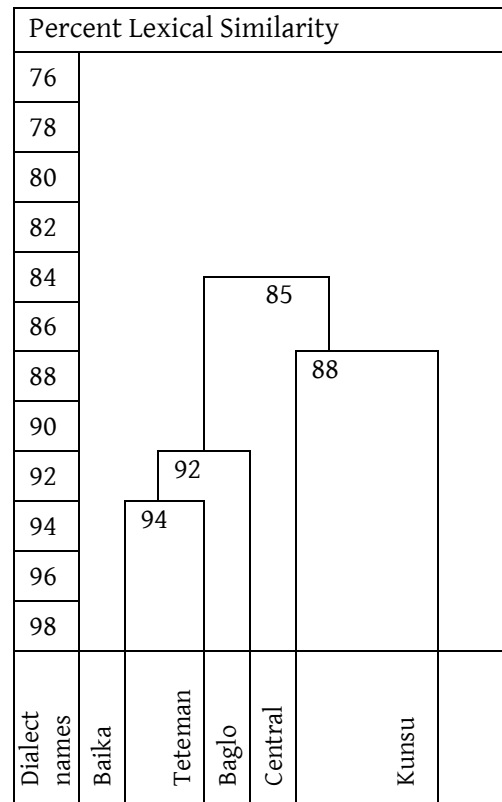


Figure 4.3 Alternative branch average tree of the percent of similar lexemes between Lelemi dialects

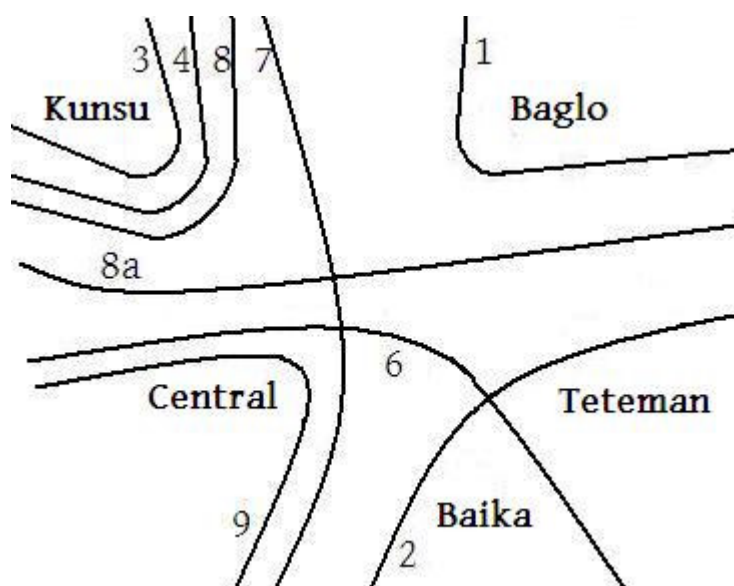


4.1.2.3 Phonetic comparison of Lelemi dialects

Nine phonetic correspondences between the Lelemi dialects were identified in the lexical data, five of which involve vowels and the remainder of which involve consonants. Details of the correspondences are presented in Appendix 4. Figure 4.4 is a summarization of eight of the phonetic correspondences. One correspondence is not represented because no regular pattern of occurrence was observed. Each of the other eight correspondences is represented by an isogloss, a line which divides the dialects with one phonetic realization from those with the other phonetic realization. The number for each correspondence presented in Appendix 4 is used to identify each isogloss in Figure 4.4. The number of lines that are crossed in moving from one dialect to another represents the number of consistent phonetic differences between those dialects.

As stated in section 2.1.2 not every phonetic difference has the same impact on comprehension. Both the degree of phonetic change and the complexity of the correspondence influence the comprehension. As noted in Appendix 4, correspondences 1, 2, 3 and 4 were the ones that could cause the greatest difficulties for readers. Further, because correspondences 1, 2 and 3 all involve [o] and correspondences 1, 2 and 4 all involve [e] the correspondences are complex which increases the difficulty for readers. The irregular elision of vowels noted in correspondence 5 also hinders reading.

Figure 4.4 The phonetic correspondences between dialects of Lelemi



Teteman and Baika are most similar phonetically, differing from each other only by correspondence 6. The Central, Baglo, Teteman and Baika dialects are also quite similar phonetically differing from each other by three to five correspondences. Kunsu is the most unique dialect phonetically, differing from each other dialect by five to seven correspondences.

The number of phonetic correspondences between each pair of Lelemi dialects is shown in Table 4.5. The lower the value for a pair of dialects, the more similar the two dialects are in pronunciation. Teteman and Baika are the most similar in pronunciation. Kunsu is the dialect which is most distinct in pronunciation from the four other dialects.

Table 4.5 Number of sound correspondences that differ between dialects of Lelemi

	Kunsu	Baglo	Teteman	Baika
Baglo	5			
Teteman	6	3		
Baika	7	4	1	
Central	6	5	4	3

4.1.2.4 Dialect differences mentioned during interviews

During the interviews, a number of lexical differences between Lelemi dialects were mentioned. These included examples of loan words. For the word ‘knife’ many people borrow the word [osikan] from Twi, but the Lelemi word <kewii> is used in the books, although not everyone is familiar with it (LC02, MTeteman). Other words were mentioned as distinct but not specifically as borrowed: Lamp is called [asoja] in Kunsu, but in Bodada town and upper Lelemi, it is called [ɔkane] (IN04, MKunsu). In Baika the word for ‘broom’ is [uʃa] but speakers of other dialects say [ukpai] (EL09, MBaika). Two examples were given of words which seem to be related phonetically or lexically. In Bodada ‘I am coming’ is [nnubo] but it is written <ndububo> (LF08, MCentral). ‘Wind’ in the upper dialects and Kunsu is pronounced [ɔpɛpɛ]²⁸ but is pronounced [ɔpɛ] in Bodada. It is written as the majority speak (LT, MCentral).

Ring gave an example of a grammatical particle which is pronounced differently in each of the five dialects (Ring, MEnglish). The demonstrative “that-one” is [ɔnvɔ] in Baglo, [ɔmvɔ] in Baika, [ɔmbɔ] in Teteman, [ɔmmɔ] in Central and [numɔ] in Kunsu. The demonstrative takes a slightly different form for each noun class. In Central, three of these are [ɔmmɔ], [kɔmmɔ] and [lɛmmɔ] (Ring, MEnglish). This particle is spelled according to the pronunciation of Central dialect.

²⁸ Ring comments that ‘wind’ is written <ɔfɛfɛɛ> but that in Twi <ɔpɛ> means ‘hot wind’. Thus the perceived dialect difference noted above may be due to a mismatching of ‘wind’ with ‘hot wind’. Regardless, a dialect difference exists which has potential to cause some difficulties for speakers of the Central dialect.

4.2 The Likpakpaanl language

Likpakpaanl is a Niger-Congo language with 500,000 speakers²⁹. It is linguistically classified as: Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Oti-Volta, Gurma (Gordon, 2005). The Likpakpaanl traditional area is primarily in the Saboba-Chereponi and East Mamprusi Districts of Northern Region. Parts of the traditional area are also located in the Gushiegu-Karaga, Yendi and Zabzugu-Tatale Districts of Northern Region and in Togo. The languages most closely related to Likpakpaanl are Bimoba and Bassari which are spoken in East Mamprusi and Zabzugu-Tatale Districts respectively as well as in Togo. Other neighbouring but less closely related languages include Dagbani to the west, Mampruli to the northwest, and Anufo to the northeast. Likpakpaanl speakers refer to themselves as Bikpakpaam, but they and their language are often referred to as *Konkomba* in English.

4.2.1 Some aspects of Likpakpaanl phonology

Likpakpaanl has twelve vowels, as shown in Table 4.6. Half of the vowels are long and half are short. Each long vowel has a slightly different quality than its corresponding short vowel. The lengthening of the final vowel in vowel-final clauses to form yes/no questions provides evidence for the relationship of each short vowel with its corresponding long vowel (*Intro to Learning Likpakpaanl*, 1983:61). A seventh short vowel, [ə] occurs in Likpakpaanl. Because it occurs only as an open transition between two consonants, the sequence is interpreted as a consonant cluster and [ə] does not have status as a phoneme (Steele and Weed, 1966).

Table 4.6 Vowels of Likpakpaanl (based on *Intro to Learning Likpakpaanl*, 1983:2-3)

	short vowels		long vowels	
	front	back	front	back
high	i <i>	ɯ <u>	i: <ii>	u: <uu>
	ɛ <e>	o <o>	eɛ <ee>	oɔ <oo>
low	æ <a>	ɒ <ɔ>	a: <a>	wɒ <ɔɔ>

Likpakpaanl has 21 phonemic consonants, as shown in Table 4.7, all of which may occur syllable initial. A limited set of consonants occur as a syllable coda or as part of a syllable final consonant cluster: /b/, /k/, /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ (Steele and Weed, 1966). Several phonemic processes involving consonants occur: At the end of an utterance, when following a short vowel, /k/ is realized as [x]. When /k/ occurs word final, following a long vowel, it is barely audible. The phoneme /l/ is also barely audible when it occurs utterance final following a long vowel. The phoneme /b/ is unreleased when it is utterance final (*Intro to Learning Likpakpaanl*, 1983).

²⁹ Katanga (1994) as cited in Esala (2004) puts the figure at 1,042,484.

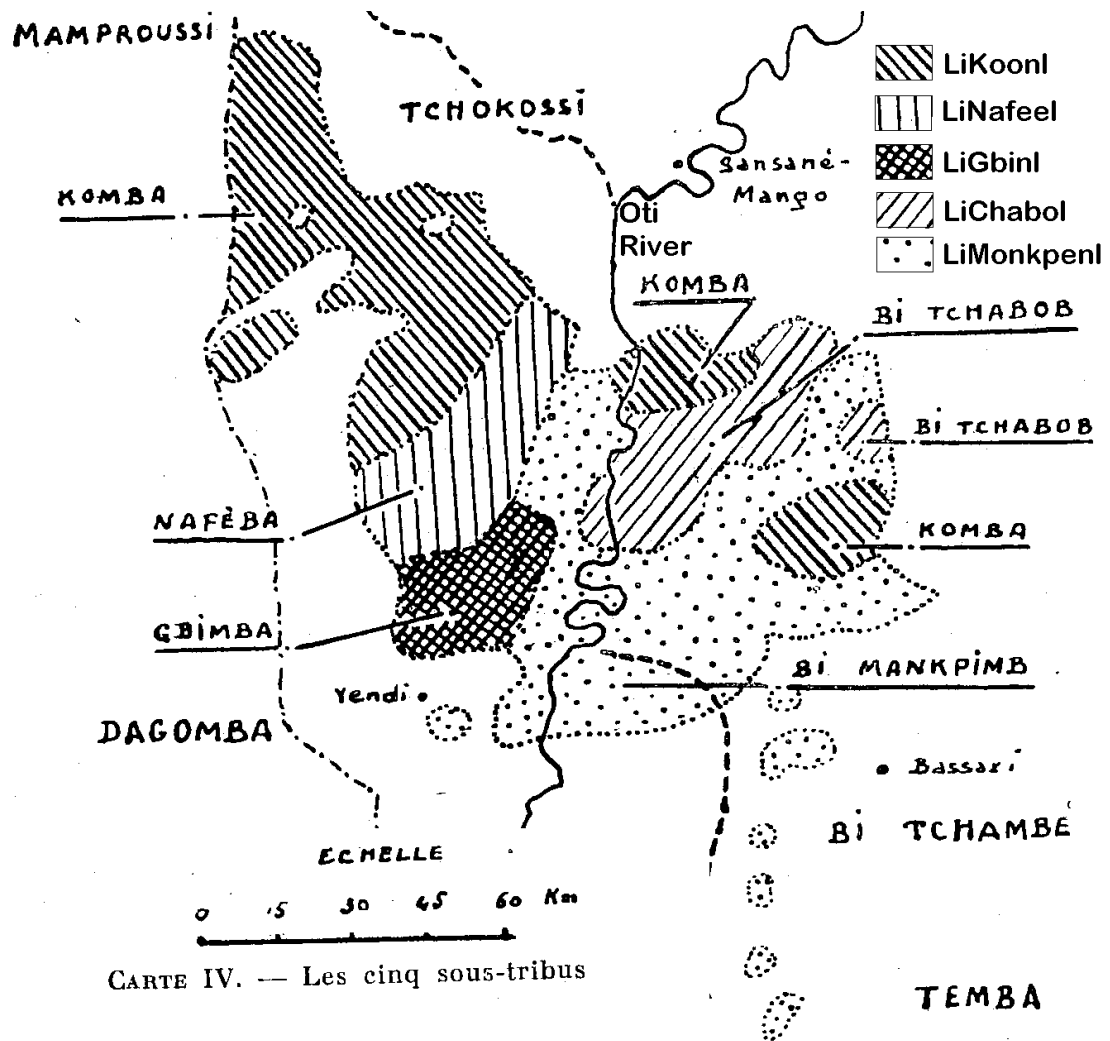
Table 4.7 Consonants of Likpakpaanl (based on Steele and Weed, 1966:3; *Intro to Learning Likpakpaanl*, 1983:3-4)

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	palatoveolar	labiovelar	velar
stop, voiceless	p		t	tʃ <ch>	kp	k
stop, voiced	b		d	dʒ <j>	gb	g
stop, nasal	m		n	ɲ <ny>	ɱ <ɱm>	ŋ
fricative, voiceless		f	s			
approximant			l	j <y>	w	
flap			r			

4.2.2 *The dialects of Likpakpaanl*

Likpakpaanl has a number of major dialects, each of which is associated with a major clan or tribe. Each dialect has several sub-dialects, each associated with a smaller sub-clan. Tait (1961), in identifying approximately twelve tribes implies that there are as many major dialects. Froelich (1954) identifies five tribes but elsewhere enumerates seven dialects naming sub-dialects of some of them. The five dialects focused on in this study are LiKoonl, LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl as shown in Figure 4.5. Numerous other dialects of Likpakpaanl were named by respondents, most of which were reported to be a sub-dialect of or closely related to one of these five dialects.

Figure 4.5 The five major dialects of Likpakpaanl, based on Froelich, 1954



The traditional areas of four of the dialects, LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl, are located in the Saboba-Chereponi District. The northern part of the District is home to speakers of Anufo, but the southern part has only Likpakpaanl-speaking villages. The traditional area of LiKoonl speakers is in the Mamprusi East, Gushiegu-Karaga and Yendi Districts. In each of these districts, the largest towns are those of Dagbani speakers. Some of the traditional area of the LiMonkpenl speakers is located in the Zabzugu-Tatale District. In this district also, the largest town is home to Dagbani speakers. The entire traditional area is over 150 km in length from the northwest to southeast. A large proportion, perhaps as great as three-fourths of Likpakpaanl speakers, have migrated from their traditional area to other districts and regions to the southwest as shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 Likpakpaanl traditional area and migrant-farm area

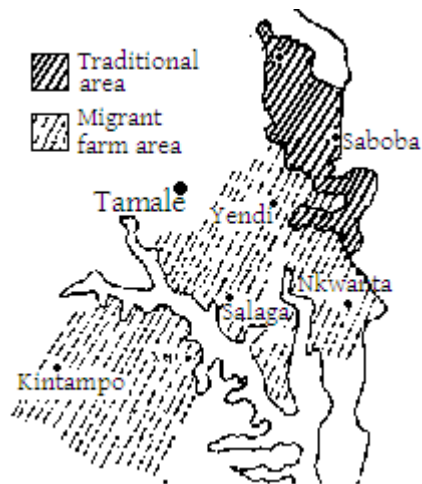


Table 4.8 shows the population of the villages visited and of other Likpakpaanl-speaking villages in Saboba-Chereponi District which were among the twenty largest in the district in the 2000 Census. The table also shows the dialect spoken in the village, the district in which the village is located and whether it was visited during this research. When villages outside the traditional area are excluded, only five villages have populations exceeding 1000. Only ten Likpakpaanl-speaking villages in Saboba-Chereponi have populations exceeding 650 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002a). This means that over 380 villages in the district have populations below 650 (Saboba-Chereponi District, 2004).

Table 4.8 Populations of selected Likpakpaanl villages

Village	2000 Census	1984 Census	District	Dialect	Visited
Kpassa	17693	7736	Nkwanta	mix	y
Saboba	3687	1563	Saboba-Chereponi	LiChabol	y
Tinjasi	2256	1499	Nkwanta	mix	y
Sambuli	1753	1193	Saboba-Chereponi	LiMonkpenl	n
Gbintiri	1679	942	East Mamprusi	LiKoonl	y
Bonbonayili	1329	629	Yendi	LiKoonl	y
Wapuli	1328	629	Saboba-Chereponi	LiNafeel	y
Yeteli	901	171	Saboba-Chereponi	LiKoonl	n
Yankazia	765	339	Saboba-Chereponi	LiNafeel	y
Kpeigu	755	387	Saboba-Chereponi	?	n
Demon	748	785	Saboba-Chereponi	LiChabol	n
Sobiba	722	268	Saboba-Chereponi	LiChabol	n
Kpalba	692	324	Saboba-Chereponi	LiMonkpenl	n
Konkonzoli	670	456	Saboba-Chereponi	LiNalol	n
Toma	n/a	428	Saboba-Chereponi	LiChabol	y
Labaldo	n/a	272	Saboba-Chereponi	LiMonkpenl	y
Gbenja	n/a	245	Saboba-Chereponi	LiGbinl	y
Nayil	n/a	169	Saboba-Chereponi	LiGbinl	y
Kulukpuni	n/a	111	Yendi	mix	y
Sajigban	n/a	91	Saboba-Chereponi	LiMonkpenl	y
Jelima	n/a	73	Saboba-Chereponi	LiNafeel	n
Gabon	n/a	n/a	East Mamprusi	LiKoonl	y
Gmanchiri	n/a	n/a	East Mamprusi	LiKoonl	y
Jumbo 1	n/a	n/a	Nkwanta	mix	y
Jumbo Hilltop	n/a	n/a	Nkwanta	mix	y
Yalanjo	n/a	n/a	Nkwanta	mix	n

Reports on the degree of comprehension between speakers of different Likpakpaanl dialects differ dramatically. Froelich, who served as a colonial administrator among Likpakpaanl speakers for nine years in what is now Togo stated that the Likpakpaanl dialects there “have the same grammar, the same roots and differ only in the morphology of the words; every individual practicing in one dialect can easily understand the others” (Froelich, 1954:69). Tait (1961), an anthropologist who studied Likpakpaanl speakers in Ghana for three years beginning in 1950, states that while variation occurs between speakers of different dialects, the speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl, LiGbinl and LiKpalil can easily inter-communicate. He also states that speakers of LiChabol and LiNafeel find communication difficult while speakers of LiKoonl often use Dagbani or an interpreter, to communicate with speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl. Likpakpaanl speakers also gave varied reports on comprehension during the fieldwork.

Speakers of Likpakpaanl did not agree about the number of dialects of Likpakpaanl. Respondents named between two and fifteen varieties of Likpakpaanl. Most named about four. The four most frequently mentioned in the Saboba-Chereponi district were LiMonkpenl, LiChabol, LiGbinl, and LiNafeel. When LiKoonl was not mentioned, the researcher asked a follow-up question about whether people in Gbintiri speak Likpakpaanl. Nearly all respondents said they did and named LiKoonl as the dialect spoken there. Several people who included LiKoonl in their initial list also included Bassari as a dialect of Likpakpaanl. Other dialects of Likpakpaanl which were commonly mentioned during interviews included: LiNalol, LiNakpenl, LiKutul and LiKpalil. Speakers of LiKoonl usually did not distinguish between the four other major dialects. People in Gbintiri referred to the other four as LiNafeel, while people in Bumbongnayili referred to those four as LiMoatil. Speakers of the various sub-dialects of LiMonkpenl were quick to assert that speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects inaccurately refer to speakers of a number of sub-dialects collectively as the LiMonkpenl. They assert that LiKpalil, LiKuchil etc. are the proper terms for the dialects.

4.2.2.1 Steele’s 1966 dialect survey

Steele (1966a; 1966b) surveyed the Likpakpaanl dialects in 1966 to determine the best dialect to select as the basis for the written standard. She elicited 100 lexical items from a speaker of each of nine Likpakpaanl dialects. She also elicited grammatical items in each dialect. For four dialects, Steele compared each pair of words, categorizing them as *identical*, *same root but different affix*, *cognate*³⁰ but non-identical roots or *different word*. The total number of *cognates* between each pair of dialects is obtained by combining the first three categories. Table 4.9 shows the percent of *cognates* for the four dialects for which Steele did counts. For each pair of dialects, the percent of *cognates* exceeds 85 percent.

Table 4.9 Percent of cognates between four Likpakpaanl dialects based on a 100-word list.

	LiKoonl		
LiNafeel	98	LiNafeel	
LiTamal	-	91	LiTamal
LiChabol	88	89	93

Steele lists three dialect differences at the phonological level. LiNafeel and LiKoonl “have -ee in three words where the other dialects have -ii” (Steele, 1966b:3). Only a single example was provided for each of the two consonantal dialect differences /t/ corresponding to /s/ and /tʃ/ corresponding to /t/ (Steele, 1966b:3).

³⁰ Steele does not state that she did any historical comparative analysis, so the term lexically similar may be more appropriate. Her terminology is retained for the sake of easy comparison to her report.

Steele (1966b) also mentions three dialectal differences involving the noun class affixes. The class 4 prefix is /ŋi-/ in LiChabol and LiGbinl; /i/ in LiNafeel, LiKoonl and LiTamal; and /n-/ in LiKpalil, LiMonkpenl, LiKyaaligbaanli and LiNalol. The class 3 suffix is nasalized less frequently in LiNafeel and LiKoonl than in other dialects. The class 6 suffix /-m/ occurs as /-n/ in some words of some dialects.

Steele (1966b) also lists 11 syntactic differences between the dialects of Likpakpaanl. Five consist of different syntactic particles filling the same slots. Six consist of different particles used in different slots.

4.2.2.2 The basis of the Likpakpaanl written standard

The Likpakpaanl orthography that is used in teaching materials and the Scripture translations is based primarily on the LiChabol dialect. In the Likpakpaanl written standard, the alphabet and the spelling of words is codified, but not the lexicon or syntactic constructions. That is, materials written for publication by the LDT are only edited for spelling, not for lexical items or syntax. The development of the Likpakpaanl orthography is discussed further in Section 6.2.

4.2.2.3 Lexical comparison of Likpakpaanl dialects

The comparison of 251 lexical items³¹ for five dialects of Likpakpaanl showed lexical similarity between pairs of dialects ranging from a low of 74% between LiMonkpenl and LiKoonl to a high of 96% between LiGbinl and LiChabol. Each pairing of LiGbinl, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl has over 90% lexical similarity. The LiNafeel dialect had higher levels of lexical similarity with those three dialects than with LiKoonl. The percent of similar lexemes for each pair of Likpakpaanl dialects is shown in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Percent of similar lexemes between each pair of Likpakpaanl dialects

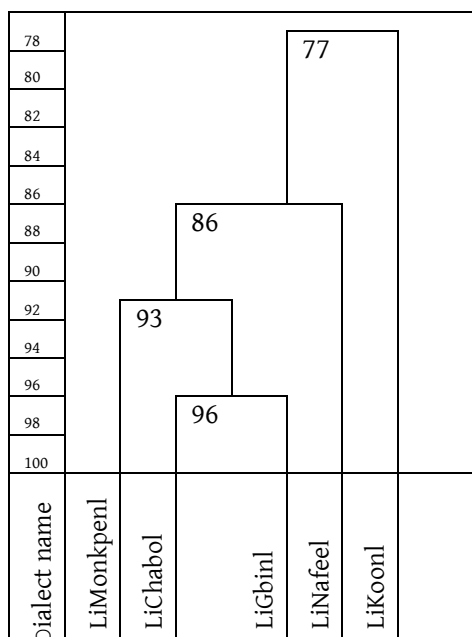
	LiKoonl			
LiNafeel	81	LiNafeel		
LiGbinl	77	87	LiGbinl	
LiChabol	75	86	96	LiChabol
LiMonkpenl	74	85	91	95

The same data is presented in Figure 4.7 as a tree diagram showing each dialect joined to another dialect or group of dialects at the level corresponding to the percent of similar lexemes between the two. The lexical data indicates that LiGbinl, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl are very similar lexically. The current study shows greater lexical difference between LiKoonl and other Likpakpaanl dialects than the 1966 study showed. This may be due to a combination of three factors: the longer list of words used, lexical change which has occurred since 1966, or Steele's

³¹ The number of lexical items compared for any pair of dialects ranged from 243 to 249.

proficiency in Likpakpaanl enabling her to discern when individuals misunderstood the elicitation item or were providing a lexeme with a similar but slightly different meaning.

Figure 4.7 Branch average tree of the percent of similar lexemes between Likpakpaanl dialects



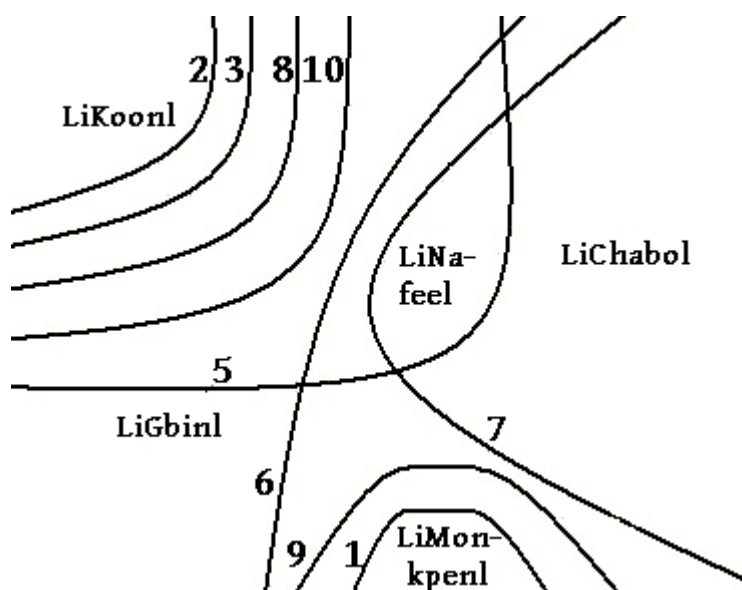
4.2.2.4 Phonetic comparison of Likpakpaanl dialects

Ten phonetic correspondences between Likpakpaanl dialects were identified in the lexical data: half involve vowels, and half involve consonants. Details of the correspondences are presented in Appendix 4.

Two of the correspondences appear to be between allophones which occur in specific environments. This makes these correspondences less problematic for readers. Three of the correspondences, appear to be between allophones which do not occur in other correspondences in the language. They are simple correspondences which should cause only minimal difficulty for readers. However, one correspondence is very irregular. It may cause the most difficulty for readers because of the lack of any pattern to the correspondence.

Figure 4.8 is a summarization of nine of the correspondences described in Appendix 4. One correspondence is not represented because no regular pattern was observed. Each of the other correspondences is represented by an isogloss, a line which divides the dialects with one phonetic realization from those with the other phonetic realization. The number for each correspondence presented in Appendix 4 is used to identify each isogloss in Figure 4.8. The number of lines that are crossed in moving from one dialect to another represents the number of phonetic differences between those dialects.

Figure 4.8 The phonetic correspondences between the dialects of Likpakpaanl



LiNafeel and LiChabol are the most similar dialects phonetically, differing from each other only by correspondence 5. LiGbinl is also quite similar to these two dialects, differing from them by only two or three correspondences respectively. LiKoonl is the dialect that differs most from the other dialects phonetically.

The number of phonetic correspondences between each pair of Likpakpaanl dialects is shown in Table 4.11. The lower the value is for a pair of dialects, the more similar two dialects are in pronunciation. LiNafeel and LiChabol are most similar in pronunciation, with LiGbinl also being similar to those two. LiKoonl is the dialect which is most distinct in pronunciation from the four other dialects with five or more phonetic differences between it and any of the other dialects.

Table 4.11 Number of sound correspondences between dialects of Likpakpaanl

	LiKoonl	LiNafeel	LiGbinl	LiChabol
LiNafeel	6			
LiGbinl	5	3		
LiChabol	7	1	2	
LiMonkpenl	8	4	3	3

4.2.2.5 Dialect differences mentioned during interviews

Likpakpaanl respondents provided some examples of words which vary from one dialect to another. Two examples appear to be lexical differences: for 'I say' LiChabol uses /mbuike/ where LiKuchil (LiMonkpenl) uses /ntike/ (EL28, KMonkpenl). For 'woman' LiMonkpenl uses /unumpo/ where LiChabol uses /upi/ (LF19, KMonkpenl). In other examples, the differences

appear to be phonetic. For ‘yesterday’ LiKoonl uses /wunia/ while LiChabol uses /fwena/ (LF17, KKoonl). For ‘he has gone’ LiChabol uses /obuena/, and while LiKoonl uses /ojena/ (LF17, KKoonl). For ‘hen’ variation occurs within the LiGbinl dialect. Speakers in Sachido say /okulo/ while those in Nayil say /okula/.

LiGbinl speakers in Nayil said speakers of five sub-dialects of LiGbinl pronounce the phrase ‘I will beat you’ differently. The five different pronunciations are given in Figure 4.9 along with the villages in which each is used. The LiGbinl speakers in Nayil asserted that other than this expression, there is little variation between LiGbinl speakers (LF25, KGbin). However, Steele (2006) notes that the variation occurs primarily in the markers for first person singular and verb tense, so the variation should also occur in other expressions.

Figure 4.9 An example of variation within LiGbinl

Village	Pronunciation
Nayil	/ɲgagbasi/
Gbenja	/ɲyangbasi/
Ubombor, Nakpɔni, Wandamdo	/iyagbasi/
Sachido	/iyigbɛ/
Kujoni	/mpɔgagbasi/

4.3 Comparison of dialect differences in Lelemi and Likpakpaanl with those of other languages

In Section 1.1.4 Limba and Grebo were introduced as examples of languages in which speakers of many dialects did not accept the written standard. In Limba, only two of over fifteen dialects accepted the written materials. A lexical comparison of a list of 132 lexical items in eight Limba dialects representing the most diverse varieties yielded lexical similarities ranging from 86 to 97 percent. When comparing the dialect upon which the written materials were based with other dialects, the percent of similarity ranged from 91 to 97 percent. However, only speakers of the two dialects which had 97 percent lexical similarity used the materials. Based on comments that significant differences existed between dialects, a decision was reached to develop a second written standard for a Limba dialect which was 92 percent lexically similar to the dialect upon which the first standard is based (Moss and Hasselbring, 1991). No phonetic comparison was done between dialects of this language.

In Grebo, only four of over thirty dialects accepted the written materials. The percent of lexical similarity was based on 147 to 235 lexical items in fifteen Grebo dialects which include the most linguistically diverse dialects. The percent of lexical similarity ranged from 72 to 98 percent. The dialects among which materials were being used at the time of the study had between 86

and 98 percent lexical similarity with Chedepo, the dialect upon which the written materials were based. Speakers of five other dialects had lexical similarity with Chedepo within the same range but were not using the materials. Speakers of the remaining six dialects had lexical similarity with Chedepo ranging from 75 to 85 percent. Ten phonetic correspondences were identified between the fifteen Grebo dialects. Each dialect had between one and seven phonetic differences with Chedepo.

Lelemi and Likpakpaanl each have degrees of dialect difference comparable to the differences among the Limba dialects and among the Grebo dialects. As will be shown in chapter 7, acceptance of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards by speakers of all dialects, have been quite good. Factors other than linguistic factors must then be influencing CAWS.

Having established that the degree of dialect difference within Lelemi and within Likpakpaanl are comparable to that of languages which have struggled with CAWS, it is appropriate to compare the degree of dialect difference within the two languages being studied. Both languages have a cluster of three dialects which have very low levels of lexical difference: Baglo, Baika, and Teteman for Lelemi; and LiChabol, LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl for Likpakpaanl. For Lelemi, the pair of dialects with the least phonetic difference, Baika and Teteman, is the same pair with the least lexical difference. For Likpakpaanl, the pair with the least phonetic difference, LiChabol and LiNafeel, is different from the pair with least lexical difference, LiChabol and LiGbinl.

In both Lelemi and Likpakpaanl, a single dialect is the one that differs most from the other four both lexically and phonetically. An average of 86 percent of Kunsu's lexicon is similar to that of the other four Lelemi dialects. However, an average of only 77 percent of LiKoonl's lexicon is similar to that of the other four Likpakpaanl dialects. Phonetically, Kunsu and LiKoonl each have an average of about six phonetic differences between itself and the other dialects of its language. On a purely linguistic basis, Kunsu and LiKoonl are the dialects among which people should be most likely to reject their written standard.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter the Lelemi dialects and the Likpakpaanl dialects have been shown to be as linguistically diverse as the dialects of some languages which have experienced non-acceptance of written standards. Both Lelemi and Likpakpaanl have a cluster of three dialects which are very similar linguistically. Each language has one dialect which is most different linguistically. The LiKoonl dialect of Likpakpaanl is more different from the other Likpakpaanl dialects than the Kunsu dialect is from the other Lelemi dialects.

5 Chapter 5 Socio-cultural factors pertinent to CAWS

5.0 Introduction

Socio-cultural factors influence all aspects of life: what people think, say and do. These factors influence who is perceived as an insider, to whom people speak, and how readily they adopt new ideas. Such factors may influence whether speakers of non-standard dialects accept their language's written standard. The socio-cultural factors that influence CAWS frequently exert that influence either because they foster a sense of unity within the language community, or because they enhance interdialectal communication. The presence of opinion leaders and the strength and extensiveness of social networks in a language community also influence unity and interdialectal communication.

As discussed in Section 2.1.4 a sense of *unity within the language community* promotes acceptance because it helps people view the dialect differences as surmountable challenges in the reading process. A sense of unity does not deny the dialect differences, but asserts that oneness as a people and language is most important. A sense of unity also fosters trust which helps people who have heard about the written standard to develop positive attitudes toward it and decide to learn to read it. A low level of unity is a sign that the LDT may need to increase efforts to **involve** speakers of all dialects in the language development process.

Interdialectal communication influences acceptance because it aids in the spread of information about the standard³². Section 2.3.2.3.1 emphasized that individuals first become informed about an innovation before accepting it. The information may come from others in the language community who know more about the written standard and have begun to use it. Lack of interdialectal communication is a sign that the LDT may need to increase efforts to **inform** speakers of all dialects about the language development work.

Strong and extensive social networks and *opinion leaders* may also influence the acceptance of the written standard. By identifying these networks and people, the LDT can work with and through them to assure that speakers of all dialects of the language are informed and involved.

This chapter describes socio-cultural aspects of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language communities which influence both interdialectal communication and the sense of unity within the language community. Influential relationships and extensive social networks are also highlighted. The socio-cultural aspects important to this discussion include social structure,

³² Interdialectal communication also influences the comprehension of other dialects, but because this dissertation focuses on acceptance of written standards, this influence is not considered here.

governance, marriage patterns, religious celebrations, religious affiliation, commercial practices, transportation patterns and education patterns.

The **social structure of a community** influences whether people self-identify at the level of family, village, clan, ethnic group or nation. When the majority of people in an ethnic group identify themselves primarily at the level of family or village, the ethnic group lacks unity and may lack communication between segments of the ethnic group.

The type of **governance** also influences both unity and interdialectal communication. Unity manifests itself differently in egalitarian societies than it does in hierarchical societies. Both traditional governance patterns and the national government structure at the local level influence unity and interdialectal communication.

The degree to which individuals **marry speakers of other dialects** influences both the degree of inter-dialectal communication and the degree of unity. A wife who speaks a different dialect exposes her husband, her children and other women in the community to her dialect. If strong relationships develop between in-laws who speak different dialects, a greater sense of unity may develop in the language community over time. Interdialectal relationships between in-laws may also provide opportunity for the innovation of the written standard to be introduced to speakers of another dialect.

Cultural and religious celebrations may provide opportunity for speakers of different dialects to interact. In the same way, the religious affiliation of an individual may provide opportunities for association with speakers of other dialects. A sense of unity across dialects within a language community may develop if all communities hold the same celebrations even though those celebrations are done within the smaller subsets of the language community.

Patterns of **commerce** within a speech community may enhance interdialectal communication if all members of the community use the same market or shops. Because commerce does not usually result in deep relationships of trust, its impact on unity is often minimal. In a similar way, patterns of **transport** influence the level of interdialectal communication since they may enhance or inhibit the opportunity that speakers of certain dialects have to meet and interact.

Higher levels of **education** in Africa often require attending a **residential school** outside one's own dialect area, thus increasing the degree of interdialectal communication. Friendships developed at school with speakers of other dialects may become life-long bonds increasing the sense of unity. If a single school serves the entire language community, overall unity and interdialectal communication may be enhanced.

Migration out of the traditional language area may cause either increased or decreased contact with speakers of other dialects. If migration increases contact between speakers of other dialects, it may also result in a greater sense of unity among migrants than exists among those who continue to live in the traditional language area.

Section 5.1 describes the socio-cultural factors which influence unity and interdialectal communication in the Lelemi language community. Section 5.2 describes the factors which influence the Likpakpaanl language community. Influential leaders and extensive social networks in each language community are also described. Socio-cultural factors which influence all dialects equally, or which influence other subgroups in the community are not discussed in detail³³. In Section 5.3 the socio-cultural factors are discussed in light of their influence on language development programmes.

5.1 Aspects of Lelemi society and culture

The Lelemi culture and society has been strongly influenced by the West: nearly all children attend school, nearly everyone is associated with a Christian church³⁴, farmers raise cash crops in addition to growing basic staples, farmers often hire labourers and many Lelemi individuals are employed outside the agricultural sector. However, many traditional customs remain. In this people group, both traditional and district level governance provide unity.

5.1.1 Social structure and governance

For Lelemi speakers the town is their basis of identity. Each Lelemi town is comprised of several clans, which in turn are comprised of families. The town is led by a chief or a regent; a clan, by a sub-chief; and a family by a family head. A council of elders assists the chief in deciding cases (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995). A town that was formed as the result of migration from another town, has a set of clans similar to those of the parent town. For example, Baglo, and its two daughter towns Odumasi and Kute have similar sets of clans, as do Old Baika and its daughter town New Baika. However, a parent town may have more clans than its daughter towns.

The paramount chief of the Lelemi speakers resides in Bodada. He presides over the District Council of town chiefs and has a permanent seat in the Volta Region Council of Chiefs (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995). Previously, the towns of Old and New Baika were in Biakoye

³³ Socio-cultural factors which influence cross-gender acceptance or cross-educational-level acceptance of the written standard are also important for language teams to consider, but are outside the scope of this study.

³⁴ In this thesis *church* refers to an affiliated group of congregations, sometimes referred to as a denomination (especially in the US). *Congregation* refers to the gathering of Christians in a specific location.

District while all the other Lelemi-speaking towns were in Buem District (Ghana Statistical Service, 1989c). A restructuring of districts prior to the 2000 census resulted in all the Lelemi-speaking towns being included in Jasikan District (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002a).

The chief of each Lelemi-speaking town has a title which indicates his relationship to and responsibility toward the paramount chief. The chiefs of Jasikan, Kute and Baglo each emphasized the importance of his role in supporting the chief. The chief of Baglo stated that he is head over all the upper³⁵ Lelemi towns: Kute, Odumasi, Old Ayoma, New Ayoma, Dzolu, New Baika, and Old Baika. However, no other group of elders in upper Lelemi referred to the chief of Baglo being over them. In the Kunsu dialect area, the chief of Akaa said that recent difficulties with the paramount chief have resulted in the chief of Kudje being head over all Lelemi speakers. No other chief referred to this situation. However, the fact that an upper chief indicated that his domain was over speakers of upper Lelemi and a lower chief asserted that another lower chief had authority over more towns implies some sense of division between upper and lower areas.

In most Lelemi towns, the chief and his female counterpart, the queen mother, serve as opinion leaders. The queen mother is neither the wife nor mother of the chief but rather, a woman selected by the other women of the community. The role of the queen mother is to organize development activities and to promote traditional and social functions (Ring, 1995c). The chief and the queen mother of each town have the potential to influence others in their communities as they preside over meetings and recommend courses of action for the betterment of the people and community.

Governance in Lelemi serves as a unifying factor among Lelemi speakers both because of the central role of the paramount chief at Bodada and because the recent change in borders have placed all Lelemi speakers in one district.

5.1.2 *Marriage*

Traditionally, a Lelemi-speaking man marries a woman from his own town, that is, a speaker of his own dialect. Recently, the proportion of men marrying women from other towns and other languages has increased. This tendency to marry outside one's town may be due to the influence of education and to living outside the traditional area. The elders asserted that while the tendency has been to marry within one's town there has never been a prohibition on marrying women from other towns or ethnic groups. A woman who moves to another Lelemi

³⁵ The terms *upper* and *lower*, which were introduced in Section 4.1.2, refer to the towns at higher and lower elevations respectively.

town due to marriage is free to speak her own dialect. However, she usually slowly accommodates her speech toward the dialect of her husband's town.

In towns where elders were asked to estimate the percent of men in the town who had married women from within their town, estimates from 70 to 95 percent were given. Respondents to the individual questionnaire were asked to name the hometown of each parent. For three dialects, Baika, Bodada and Baglo, all the respondents had parents who both spoke the same dialect. However, for the Kunsu dialect only 85 percent of the respondents had parents who were both Kunsu speakers and for the Teteman dialect, 89 percent of respondents were both from Teteman.

Marriage patterns foster unity at the level of town, but not at the level of the entire ethnic group. Interdialectal communication is not fostered by marriage patterns.

5.1.3 Cultural and religious celebrations

Among Lelemi speakers, no traditional festival is celebrated by all the towns, although various festivals are celebrated throughout the language community. Some towns celebrate a harvest festival for yams which may be attended by residents of neighbouring towns. In the late 1990s, the paramount chief instituted an annual district-wide yam festival at which residents of all towns gathered at the palace of the chief. After two years, it was discontinued. A festival honouring the stool or throne of the chief is held in some towns. People from all the clans of that town are expected to attend. A clan may conduct a ceremony for ancestral spirits which is attended only by members of that clan.

Funerals of community leaders result in large gatherings of people from all Lelemi towns as well as from the urban areas. The largest delegations come from the towns nearest to the town of the deceased. Weddings are more private than funerals, being attended primarily by relatives of the bride and groom as well as other residents of that town.

Residents of Baglo, Odumasi and Kute hold an annual celebration each spring to promote development in their towns. The celebration rotates between the three towns. Relatives who live in urban areas and residents of other Lelemi towns are invited to attend.

Christian work in the region has influenced the degree to which speakers of different dialects interact. The Presbyterians began work among Lelemi speakers in 1898 followed by the Roman Catholics (RC) in 1920 (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995). The Presbyterians concentrated their efforts in the lower Lelemi area using the Twi language while the Catholics concentrated their efforts in the upper area, using Ewe (Diko-Pewudie, MCentral-MBaglo). Eventually, the

work of each of these churches spread to all Lelemi-speaking towns, but Catholics remain predominant in the upper Lelemi area and Presbyterians, in the lower Lelemi area. At the annual or semi-annual church conventions some interdialectal communication occurs, but the Presbyterian conventions primarily foster interaction among speakers of lower Lelemi dialects, while the Catholic convention primarily fosters interaction among speakers of upper Lelemi dialects. In recent years, over eight other churches have established congregations in Lelemi-speaking towns. According to the 2000 census, 67 percent of Volta Region citizens said they were Christian (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002b). Figures specifically for Lelemi speakers are not available. However, compared to other ethnic groups in Volta Region, Lelemi speakers probably have an average or above average proportion of Christians.

Cultural and religious events promote unity and communication between some individuals, but also establish a sense of distinctiveness from those who are not invited or do not participate. Of all the celebrations and festivals, funerals are the ones that foster the greatest unity among speakers of all dialects. Each church in the Lelemi area is a relatively extensive social network, reaching several towns, however, none includes all the residents of a town. The congregational leaders often serve as opinion leaders in the community.

5.1.4 *Roads and transportation*

Transportation patterns among Lelemi speakers tend to divide them into upper and lower groups. While relatively good roads connect the lower towns and another set of relatively good roads connect all the upper towns, travel between the upper and lower area is difficult especially when it rains.

Jasikan and all the Kunsu towns are quite near to each other with less than five kilometres separating any one town from its nearest neighbours on either side. Nsuta is slightly more distant than other towns in its location at the northern most end of the Lelemi region. The roads between Jasikan and the Kunsu towns are relatively well maintained, with three Kunsu towns located on paved roads and two others having the paved road pass by their outskirts. The level terrain makes travel on the dirt and gravel roads relatively easy. The dirt road between Bodada and Jasikan is also quite good. The slightly higher elevation of Bodada results in greater deterioration of the road during rainy season.

Jasikan is the transportation hub for the lower area. Public transportation is available from there to most of the other towns in the lower area. Transportation is also available from there to towns outside the Lelemi-speaking area, including Hohoe, an Ewe town to the south.

The upper Lelemi towns are separated from each other by slightly greater distances and by more hilly terrain than are the lower towns. The dirt roads connecting Kute, Odumasi, Baglo, Ayoma, Dzolu and Baika are relatively well maintained. The stretch from Baika to Ayoma is frequently travelled because public and private vehicles from Hohoe into Togo pass along this route. The location of Teteman town on a hilltop makes it the most difficult one to reach. The only road connecting Teteman to the other upper towns is a rather hilly one passing through Baika.

Transportation between the upper and lower Lelemi areas is relatively difficult. Two roads out of Bodada enter the upper area, one to Kute and the other to Teteman. The Bodada-Teteman road is particularly treacherous in rainy weather. To travel by public transportation between upper and lower areas, it is often fastest to pass via Hohoe. On the market day of an upper Lelemi town, public transportation may be available from Jasikan or Bodada to that town.

Major transportation patterns divide the Lelemi-speaking area into two parts. The poorer quality of roads which connect the upper to the lower area results in relatively little communication occurring between the two areas, especially during the rainy season. An important part of the social network involving transportation is the taxi drivers who carry written messages between towns.

5.1.5 Commerce

Commerce patterns, like the transport patterns, divide Lelemi speakers into upper and lower groups, resulting in considerable interdialectal contact within the lower region and within the upper region, but minimal contact between the two.

Each Lelemi town has its own weekly market day on which farm produce is sold and goods from outside are purchased. Table 5.1 shows the markets both inside and outside the Lelemi area that were mentioned in the interviews with elders as places people attend market.

Table 5.1 Markets visited by residents of each town for buying or selling

Town	Dialect	Markets attended	Outside
Kudje	Kunsu	Atonkor, Okadjakrom, Bodada, Jasikan	(were only asked about Lelemi markets)
Akaa	Kunsu	(were only asked about big market)	Abotoasi
Jasikan	Central	Jasikan	Abotoasi
Bodada	Central	Ayoma, Kute, Jasikan	Abotoasi
Baglo	Baglo	Kute, New Ayoma, Odumasi	
Odumasi	Baglo	Kute, New Ayoma	Hohoe, Abotoasi, Togo
Teteman	Teteman	Bodada, Ayoma, Baika,	
Baika	Baika	Teteman, Baglo, Kute, New Ayoma	Hohoe

The two largest markets in the Lelemi area are both in the upper area, in Kute and New Ayoma. Residents of other upper Lelemi towns all mentioned that they attend the New Ayoma market, while residents of all but Teteman mentioned attending the Kute market. No large market exists in the lower Lelemi region. Residents generally attend their own market or the one at Abotoasi to the west of the Lelemi area. Farmers from the lower Lelemi towns bring produce to Jasikan and Okadjakrom to sell at their markets. Bodada serves as a bridge between the two areas since Bodada residents attend markets in both the upper and lower areas.

Jasikan is the Lelemi town with the widest variety and largest number of shops. It is situated on the main North-South road through Volta Region. Residents of lower Lelemi frequent the Jasikan shops. Residents of upper Lelemi towns find it more convenient to shop in Hohoe. Residents of lower Lelemi towns also shop in Hohoe, but only when items are not available in Jasikan.

The commerce patterns divide the Lelemi speakers along the lower/upper divide. The lower Lelemi speakers use a market outside the language area, but utilize shops in Jasikan town. The upper Lelemi speakers utilize markets in Kute and Ayoma, but frequent shops in the town of Hohoe outside the language area.

5.1.6 *Education and schools*

Education in the Lelemi-speaking area began in the early 1900s when Presbyterian missionaries started schools in Bodada and lower Lelemi. Twi and English were the medium of education. In the 1930s, the Catholic Church started schools in the upper Lelemi area using English and Ewe (Ring, 1985). When Ring conducted a sociolinguistic survey in 1980, just over half of the Lelemi speakers had attended seven or more years of school and another fifth of the respondents had attended at least some primary school (Ring, 1981a). Among the Lelemi-speaking respondents who were interviewed individually in the current study, only five percent had never attended school. By 1995, there were at least thirty primary schools, eight junior secondary schools and one senior secondary school in the 18 Lelemi-speaking towns (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995). Nearly every Lelemi-speaking child begins primary school (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995).

In the early years, education had a tendency to maintain the division between upper and lower Lelemi dialects. This was due both to the affiliation of the schools with two major churches and the affiliation of those churches with two different languages of education. The presence of a single senior secondary school has the potential to bring Lelemi speakers of different dialects into contact with one another. The high education rate among Lelemi speakers and their contact with English, a language in which words are not always spelled as they sound may

facilitate the acceptance of Lelemi words which are not spelled according to the pronunciation of the reader's dialect.

The education patterns have served to divide the Lelemi speakers into two groups, the lower Lelemi who use Twi in schools and the upper Lelemi who use Ewe in schools.

5.1.7 *Migration*

Educated people began migrating out of the Lelemi area even before the 1930s to serve as teachers and government officials in other regions of Ghana. Students also temporarily leave the area to attend school in Accra or Kumasi. Many of the older respondents indicated that over half of their children live outside the Lelemi area. Because many educated Lelemi speakers serve as teachers and government officers, they are scattered throughout the country where their skills are needed, and do not necessarily live near other Lelemi speakers. Respondents said that migration increased the contact that Lelemi speakers have with speakers of other languages and the degree of intermarriage with them. Respondents also indicated that living outside the area has a negative impact on a person's fluency in Lelemi.

5.1.8 *Summary of the aspects of Lelemi society and culture*

Many of the socio-cultural aspects of Lelemi society serve to unify the upper Lelemi towns as one unit and the lower Lelemi towns as another unit. Patterns of transportation, commerce and education as well as annual church celebrations foster this division. The linguistic division into Upper Lelemi and Lower Lelemi, which was demonstrated in Sections 4.1.2.3 and 4.1.2.4, also has a socio-cultural basis.

Other socio-cultural aspects establish a sense of identity and unity at the level of town or town cluster. These include 1) The tendency of Lelemi speakers to marry residents of their own town; 2) the overlap of a clan into sister towns and 3) the performance of some cultural ceremonies in a single town or a small group of towns.

Two socio-cultural aspects have served to isolate speakers of some dialects. The government's assignment of Old and New Baika to a separate district prior to the 2000 census resulted in their chiefs not interacting with the other Lelemi-speaking chiefs at the District Council meetings. In addition, the location of Teteman on top of a mountain has limited, to some extent, contact of Teteman residents with other Lelemi speakers.

Only two socio-cultural factors have served to facilitate unity and cross-dialectal communication at the level of the entire ethnic group. The well-established paramount

chieftaincy of Bodada brings together the chiefs of all towns for regular meetings. Funeral celebrations bring together people of all dialect areas.

5.2 Aspects of Likpakpaanl society and culture

The Likpakpaanl culture is quite traditional. The concept of clan, the importance of sacrificing to the land-shrine and the restrictions on eligible marriage partners influence many aspects of life. Most Likpakpaanl speakers are farmers who grow nearly all the food they eat. They also grow some cash crops, especially yams. Rates of formal education among speakers of Likpakpaanl have been lower than that of the general population of Ghana but are rapidly increasing. The high rate of migration out of traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking areas to previously unoccupied land further south has increased the degree of contact between speakers of different dialects.

5.2.1 Social Structure

The clan plays a major role in Likpakpaanl society and culture. Each *clan* is composed of a number of *lineages*, which in turn are composed of *extended houses*. An *extended house* includes a man and all of his children and grandchildren. A *lineage* is a group of people who identify a common ancestor, often the founder of their hamlet, who has not been dead for more than 80 years. A *clan* is the group of people who live in a single clan-district³⁶, a named area including several villages with their associated farms. Members of a clan usually do not know the name of a single common ancestor. A group of clans form a tribe. A *tribe* is a group of people who are identified as a unit by members of another tribe. The distinctions between tribe, clan, and lineage are not always clear. Lineages, over several generations, can become a clan and a clan can become a tribe. Not everyone agrees on the appropriate categorization for each group of people (Tait, 1961). For example, Tait (1961:154) states that the Nalogni lineages which have moved away from Nalogni village “describe themselves as Benalog [tribe] and not as Betshabob [tribe], while the parent clan does describe itself as Betshabob”. That is, some perceive Benalog to be a clan under a larger tribe while others assert that Benalog is a tribe equal in status to other tribes. Members of a single tribe refer to other members of their own tribe according to their clan, but refer to members of other tribes according to their tribe.

The clan is the level at which Likpakpaanl speakers traditionally felt the strongest sense of identity. According to Tait (1961), Likpakpaanl speakers were morally obliged to assist those of the same clan, especially when a man within the clan had a dispute with a man outside his clan. Elders of a clan disciplined other members of their clan and encouraged them to do what was

³⁶ Tait refers to the land of a clan as a district, but this term can easily be confused with the much larger districts established by the Government of Ghana, therefore the term clan-district is used.

best for the entire clan. Within the clan, disputes were resolved peacefully through discussion, but outside the clan, disputes were resolved violently because no one had authority to discipline above clan-level.

The number of clans in each of the five main tribes varies from six to over thirty. Tait (1961) and Froelich (1954) list different numbers of clans per tribe, but both agree that the LiChabol-speaking tribe and the LiMonkpenl-speaking tribe are the two largest with between 12 and 34 clans per tribe³⁷. Each of the other tribes has less than ten clans each.

At the level of tribe, which is also the level of dialect, the sense of unity between members is weak. Tait (1961) speaks of the tribes as being in a constant state of hostility with each other. For Likpakpaanl speakers, a tribe is a group that excludes those outside of it more than a cohesive group of clans. The strong unity at clan level minimizes communication between different sub-dialects in a single main dialect, and allows almost no communication between speakers of different main dialects.

5.2.2 Governance

Likpakpaanl culture is quite egalitarian. Each clan-district, which includes several villages, has a *land owner*, a religious leader who officiates at sacrifices to the clan's land-shrine. The *land owner*, together with the elders, is responsible to remind the clan about standards of behaviour and obligations. Traditionally, the elders of each small community made decisions by consensus. The oldest elder was given a slightly elevated status. Each group of elders had authority only over members of the clan. No higher level of authority existed (Tait, 1961). The largest gathering of elders observed by Tait was at the divination of the cause of death of an elder where about thirty men gathered (Tait, 1961:73). Much larger gatherings of people now occur regularly among Likpakpaanl speakers.

The German and British colonial governments encouraged the appointment of Likpakpaanl-speaking chiefs. The first Likpakpaanl-speaking chiefs were installed as sub-chiefs by a neighbouring Dagomba chief (Tait, 1961:11). While the Saboba-Chereponi District officials consider the paramount chief of Saboba to be supreme over all Likpakpaanl speakers in the district, the speakers of each major Likpakpaanl dialect consider a chief from their own clan or tribe to be their paramount. The village of each of the paramount chiefs is given in Table 5.2. Among the LiKoonl speakers, two paramount chiefs were identified: the chief of Gbintiri over the northern villages and the chief of Bumbongnayili over LiKoonl villages further south. A Dagomba chief, rather than the Saboba chief, installed each paramount chief. This is further

³⁷ Froelich's research focused primarily on Likpakpaanl speakers in Togo while Tait's focused on those in Ghana. However, each enumerated clans on both sides of the border.

evidence that the Saboba chief does not serve as paramount of the entire ethnic group. Each of the paramount chiefs has the authority to appoint and install sub-chiefs in the villages under his authority.

Table 5.2 Villages of the paramount chiefs of Likpakpaanl Speakers

Village	Dialect	District
Saboba	LiChabol	Saboba-Chereponi
Ogbumbor	LiGbinl	Saboba-Chereponi
Gbintiri	LiKoonl	East Mamprusi
Bumbongnayili	LiKoonl	Yendi
Labaldo (Sanguli)	LiMonkpenl	Saboba-Chereponi
Yankasia	LiNafeel	Saboba-Chereponi

The Likpakpaanl chieftaincy system brings unity at the dialect level to each tribe, except the LiKoonl speakers who are divided between two paramount chiefs. Interdialectal communication was not fostered by the Likpakpaanl chieftaincy system.

5.2.3 Migration

Migration patterns have resulted in an increase in the sense of unity among Likpakpaanl speakers and an increase in interdialectal communication. A combination of depleted soil and increased population resulted in a lack of arable land in the traditional Likpakpaanl area. A large out-migration of young Likpakpaanl-speaking men began in the 1920s (Tait, 1961). Many moved permanently to districts south and west of the Likpakpaanl-speaking area. Young men, especially LiKoonl speakers, migrate as groups on a seasonal basis to work as paid labourers for relatives who have permanently moved. While some of these migrant farm areas have concentrations of individuals from a single tribe, most areas have a mixture of tribes. Table 5.3 contains a partial listing of districts where men from each dialect's traditional area have migrated.

Table 5.3 Districts to which speakers of Likpakpaanl dialects have migrated

Dialect	Districts to which they have migrated
LiGbinl	Atebubu, Nanumba, Nkwanta
LiMonkpenl	Bimbila, 'Ejura' ³⁸ , Kintampo, Nkwanta, Salaga, Yendi
LiKoonl	Atebubu, 'Ejura', 'Kumasi', West Gonja, Zabzugu-Tatale
LiChabol	Nanumba, Nkwanta, Yendi
LiNafeel	'Ashanti', Nanumba, Nkwanta, Zabzugu-Tatale

The Likpakpaanl speakers sought land that was not being used by other ethnic groups, requested permission to use the land, and established small villages outside the villages and

³⁸ Items in quotes are not the names of districts, but rather towns or regions.

towns of the other ethnic group. As new migrants moved to the area, they first sought out other Likpakpaanl speakers. Some established their own villages while others joined an existing village. Several respondents had lived in at least two different districts since leaving the traditional area. Respondents born in a migrant farm area knew the name of their family's hometown but appeared to feel the strongest connection to the village in which they currently lived.

In some migrant farm areas, such as Kpassa, the role of the chief seems to be stronger than in the traditional areas. The chief of the large town of Kpassa, for example, is a Likpakpaanl speaker who has 28 Likpakpaanl-speaking elders under him, each of which represent a specific Likpakpaanl-speaking clan. He also has under him six sub-chiefs of other tribes.

Likpakpaanl speakers in migrant farm areas have a greater sense of unity at the level of the entire ethnic group. They also have a greater degree of interdialectal communication than do those who live in the traditional area.

5.2.4 *Marriage*

Likpakpaanl speakers have strong norms regarding permissible marriage partners. A man may not marry anyone within his own lineage, nor may he marry anyone in his mother's extended house³⁹, nor anyone in the extended house of the wives of his father's brothers and first cousins (Tait, 1961:202). That is, they practice lineage exogamy. While adhering to these restrictions, most Likpakpaanl speakers still marry within their tribe (tribal endogamy). Due to the minor dialect differences between clans, however, each child has parents who speak at least slightly different dialects. Within a village, each of the women is from a different extended house, and usually from a variety of clans within the same tribe. This results in only a small amount of interdialectal communication occurring at the level most important to acceptance of the written standard.

Speakers of each Likpakpaanl dialect did not practice tribal endogamy to the same extent. Tait (1961:99) determined that the percent of men and women of two LiChabol-speaking clans that married other LiChabol speakers was 88 percent and 94 percent⁴⁰. During the current research, questions about interdialectal marriage were asked in the elders' group interviews and in the individual questionnaire. The percent of wives of elders' who spoke the same major dialect as their husband and the percent of respondents' parents who spoke a single major dialect are presented in Table 5.4. Speakers of LiMonkpenl had the greatest tendency to marry speakers of

³⁹ *extended house*, as used by Tait (1961:114) "is a unit of three generations' depth, the descendants of a common grandfather through both males and females."

⁴⁰ Tait lists Betshabob and Nakpantib separately, but elsewhere states they are one tribe. The percents include both Betshabob and Nakpantib as speakers of LiChabol.

other major dialects while speakers of LiKoonl and LiNafeel almost exclusively married speakers of their own major dialect⁴¹. Speakers of LiGbinl, LiMonkpenl and LiChabol who married a speaker of another tribe rarely married a speaker of LiNafeel or LiKoonl. Thus, intermarriage most strongly fosters interdialectal communication between speakers of LiChabol, LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl.

Table 5.4 Percent practicing tribal endogamy

	LiKoonl	LiNafeel	LiGbinl	LiChabol	LiMonkpenl
Elders	93%	100%	82%	78%	65%
Interviews	N=14	N=9	N=33	N=9	N=20
Questionnaires	92%	100%	73%	95%	73%
	N=12	N=20	N=22	N=22	N=15

In addition to the responsibility a man has to members of his clan (that is, to blood relatives through his father) he also has responsibilities to blood relatives through his mother. *Nabo* are children of women of the same lineage, that is, matrilineal cousins. In any set of *nabo*, many clans are included because their mothers have each married into a different lineage or clan. *Nabo*, “should they meet, and no matter where they may meet, they are friends” (Tait, 1961:149-50). Tait (1961:150) goes on to explain that the fact that marriage norms cause a woman’s relatives to be spread over great areas, provides a man with *nabo* among other Likpakpaanl clans and even other Likpakpaanl tribes. Thus, the role of *nabo* serves to unify people at a level larger than the clan or even the tribe, especially for speakers of LiChabol, LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl who marry outside their tribe to some degree.

Marriage tends to establish unity at the level of the tribe, but marriage to speakers of other tribes has increased interdialectal communication among speakers of LiGbinl, LiMonkpenl and LiChabol.

5.2.5 Feuds and Conflicts

According to Tait (1961:47), feuding between Likpakpaanl-speaking clans and tribes was common during the colonial era. The feuds were often prompted by two men of different clans quarrelling about a woman. People referred to feuds as being between two clans rather than between two individuals. Tait (1961:152) emphasized the presence of mutual hostility between the Likpakpaanl-speaking tribes shown by the wariness that was always apparent in inter-tribal interactions. He observed that the most severe inter-tribal hostility was between speakers of

⁴¹ In the interviews with elders in both of these dialect areas it was stated that there is freedom to marry from any dialect or even other ethnic groups. In the LiKoonl-speaking area, several literacy facilitators who had grown up in migrant farm areas had married speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects.

LiMonkpenl and speakers of LiChabol. This feuding tended to separate the speakers of the different dialects. At times, feuding also separated members of different clans within a tribe.

Prior to 1960, members of different Likpakpaanl-speaking tribes had never cooperated to fight against other ethnic groups such as the Dagomba or Nanumba. All fighting was between clans or tribes (Tait, 1961:154). However, in the 1980s and 1990s several conflicts between Likpakpaanl speakers and members of other ethnic groups occurred. Most of these involved Likpakpaanl speakers living in migrant farm areas. During these conflicts, the Likpakpaanl speakers joined forces, regardless of their tribal affiliation. These conflicts solidified the greater sense of unity between speakers of different dialects that was already occurring in the migrant farm areas.

5.2.6 *Cultural celebrations*

Likpakpaanl speakers have several annual festivals: the New Guinea-Corn Festival, the New Yam Festival, and the Fire Festival. In two interviews, the Guinea-Corn Festival was labelled the most important festival. However, speakers of LiKoonl in the Gbintiri area did not even mention it. After the guinea-corn (grain sorghum) is harvested, beer is brewed from the newly harvested corn. Residents of neighbouring villages, especially those of the same tribe, are invited to attend the celebration. Each village selects the date on which they celebrate the festival. This usually allows people to attend the celebration at various villages. Residents of several villages mentioned the importance of everyone from their tribe attending the Guinea-Corn Festival at the village of the paramount chief or the *land owner* of their tribe.

The participation of members of other Likpakpaanl tribes in Guinea-Corn festivals occurs rather rarely. The chief of Saboba does invite all the villages in Saboba-Chereponi District to attend the festival in Saboba. However, while five of the six elders present at the interview in Sajigban had attended the Guinea-Corn festival in Sambuli, none of them had attended at Saboba, although Saboba is closer. When asked about attending in Wapuli, which is the same distance from Sajigban as Sambuli, the respondents stated that none had attended because of the distance. Only in Wapuli village was it specifically mentioned that residents of their village attended the Guinea-Corn festivals in villages of other tribes, namely Sambuli (LiMonkpenl), Saboba (LiChabol), Gbagba (possibly LiGbinl) and Boagban (LiChabol).

The New Yam festival appears to have the same importance for LiKoonl speakers as the New Guinea-Corn Festival has for speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects. Residents of many neighbouring villages attend the celebration, especially in the village of the paramount chief. Usually all the households in a village celebrate it on a single day, but just like the New Guinea-Corn Festival, each village celebrates it on a different day. Speakers of dialects other than

LiKoonl view the New Yam Festival as optional. Each head of each house decides whether to celebrate it.

Speakers of all Likpakpaanl dialects celebrate the Fire Festival on the same date. Because this celebration includes sacrifices to ancestral spirits, each person celebrates it in his own village. The following day, people may go to neighbouring villages to greet the paramount chief or to greet their in-laws. While the New Yam and New Guinea-Corn Festivals are celebrated in the migrant farm areas as well as in the traditional areas, the Fire Festival is not celebrated in the migrant areas because the land in these areas belongs to another ethnic group (Tait, 1961:39).

These traditional festivals bring a sense of unity to all Likpakpaanl speakers because they are done in all communities throughout the ethnic group. The New Guinea-corn and New Yam Festivals promote communication within each tribe, but little communication between speakers of the five major dialects.

5.2.7 Religion

Christian work began in Likpakpaanl-speaking communities in the 1940s or 1950s. Assemblies of God, Roman Catholic (RC) Church and Evangelical Protestant (EP) Church have the longest history of work in the Saboba-Chereponi District. In the LiKoonl-speaking area, the RC Church (since the 1960s) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ghana (ELCG) (since the mid-1980s) have done the most extensive work. The RC work is divided into two parishes. In the migrant farm areas, the African Bible Church and the Evangelical Church of Ghana (ECG) have done considerable work. Several other churches also have congregations in Likpakpaanl-speaking areas.

The first Likpakpaanl-speaking villages to have Christian congregations were Wapuli (LiNafeel) and Saboba (LiChabol). The work spread to other LiNafeel and LiChabol-speaking villages. Early on, churches were also established in LiMonkpenl-speaking villages and one LiGbinl-speaking village. Thus, in the early years, gatherings of Christians from a single church in the Saboba-Chereponi District resulted in interaction primarily between speakers of only three dialects: LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiNafeel. Only the RC church worked both among LiKoonl speakers and speakers of other dialects. However, the LiKoonl speakers were in separate parishes, so they do not attend meetings with speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects. As more churches were established among the LiGbinl speakers in the 1980s, they too had increased interaction with speakers of three other Likpakpaanl dialects at some church meetings.

The proportion of Likpakpaanl speakers who are Christian is not known. In 1984, 3.6 percent of Likpakpaanl speakers in the traditional area attended church regularly. Likpakpaanl speakers

accounted for 60 percent of all church attendees in what are now Gushiegu-Karaga District, Yendi District, Saboba-Chereponi District and Zabzugu-Tatale District (Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989). According to the 2000 census, 19 percent of citizens of Northern Region said they were Christian (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002b). Christianity among Likpakpaanl speakers has continued to grow while ethnic groups such as the Dagomba and Nanumba remain predominantly Muslim.

In the Saboba-Chereponi District, most churches cover all dialects. Therefore, church membership resulted in a greater sense of unity and interdialectal communication between speakers of LiNafeel, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl who are Christian. Church membership has not fostered interdialectal communication for LiKoonl speakers. The fact that the RC work is divided into two parishes may even limit the extent to which all LiKoonl speakers feel unified at the dialect level.

5.2.8 *Commerce*

Within the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area, each village with a population of about 300 or more has its own weekly market which serves the village and the surrounding smaller villages of the same tribe. The largest markets are in Saboba, Wapuli, Gbintiri and Bumbongnayili. Speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl, LiGbinl, and some speakers of LiNafeel attend the Saboba market. Speakers of LiNafeel, LiGbinl, and some speakers of LiKoonl attend the Wapuli market. Only speakers of LiKoonl attend the Gbintiri and Bumbongnayili markets. At all the markets, many of the vendors are from other ethnic groups. The market patterns result in the LiKoonl speakers having less inter-dialectal communication than do speakers of other dialects.

Market patterns among the Likpakpaanl speakers foster some unity and interdialectal communication among the dialects in the Saboba-Chereponi District but not among the LiKoonl speakers since they have two large markets within their own dialect area.

5.2.9 *Roads and transportation*

Three main unpaved roads pass through the Likpakpaanl area. The first road, which is the largest and most frequently travelled, begins in Yendi, a Dagbani-speaking town, and passes north through both Bumbongnayili and Gbintiri in the LiKoonl-speaking area before entering the Mampruli language area. This road does not pass through any Likpakpaanl dialect area except LiKoonl. The second road, which also begins in Yendi, passes northeast through Wapuli in the LiNafeel-speaking area and on to Chereponi. The third road begins in Yendi and passes east through Demon in the LiMonkpenl-speaking area, then turns north to Saboba in the LiChabol-speaking area before passing by Sanguli in the LiMonkpenl-speaking area and on to

Chereponi. A road of nearly the same size and quality as the smaller two, passes from Saboba, through the northern edge of the LiGbinl-speaking area, to Wapuli. Segments of these latter two roads become impassable during the annual floods of the Oti River. A daily bus runs between Yendi and Saboba. On the weekly market day, people may hire rides on market lorries and buses from Yendi to each of the main markets in the area. From some of the migrant farm areas, a market lorry goes directly to Saboba on the day before the Saboba market. On other days, it normally takes two days to travel between the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area and a migrant farm area. The distance by road from Saboba to the main village or centre of each dialect is given in Table 5.5. The distances to some of the migrant farm areas are also listed.

Table 5.5 Distances by road in kilometres from Saboba to some Likpakpaanl communities

Dialect	Village	Dist.	Migrant area	Dist.
LiKoonl	Gbintiri	140km	Kpassa	177 km
LiNafeel	Wapuli	24 km	Yendi	54 km
LiMonkpenl	Sanguli	17 km	Kintampo	341 km
LiGbinl	(centre)	29 km	Salaga	198 km

The road system limits the interaction between LiKoonl-speaking people and speakers of the other Likpakpaanl dialects. The road system which connects the other four dialect areas provides better but not consistent opportunities for interdialectal communication. The LiGbinl speakers are somewhat isolated from the major roads.

5.2.10 Education and schools

The education level among Likpakpaanl speakers was very low when language development work began. The first primary school in a Likpakpaanl village was built in Saboba in 1951 followed by one in Wapuli in 1958⁴². Because schools were established earlier in the south, Likpakpaanl-speaking children living in migrant farm areas had slightly better access to school, but commonly had to walk long distances from the farming village where they lived to the larger village where the school was located.

In 2000, the Saboba-Chereponi District had 91 primary schools enrolling 12,000 students and 14 junior secondary schools enrolling 1400 students⁴³. In Saboba, a senior secondary school and a technical school each enrol about 250 students, most of whom are Likpakpaanl speakers (Saboba-Chereponi District, 2004). These two schools each have students from the four dialects spoken in the district. LiKoonl speakers, who live in two districts, are divided between two other secondary schools where they have no contact with speakers of other Likpakpaanl

⁴² Primary schools were established in the Dagomba towns of Yendi, Gushiegu, Karaga and Zabzugu in the 1940s and in the Anufo town of Chereponi in 1948 .

⁴³ Some of these schools, probably at least a third are in the Anufo speaking area of the district.

dialects. With a total school-age population of approximately 35,000 in Saboba-Chereponi District, approximately 40 percent of school age children are enrolled in school. Among the adult Likpakpaanl respondents who were interviewed individually in the current study, only 20 percent had attended school.

School for Life is a program for out of school youth that provides a nine-month Likpakpaanl literacy and math class to children age ten to fourteen. After completing the course, the students are assessed for placement in the formal schools. School for Life currently operates at least 20 classes of 25 students each in the Likpakpaanl-speaking area of Saboba-Chereponi District. School for Life classes are also offered in villages in the LiKoonl-speaking area. More villages have requested these classes than School for Life has been able to support.

Attendance at centralized secondary schools in Saboba provides Likpakpaanl speakers in the Saboba-Chereponi District a greater opportunity for interdialectal communication and the potential for a greater sense of unity at the level of the entire ethnic group. Secondary schools do not provide LiKoonl speakers with an opportunity for interdialectal communication.

5.2.11 Konkomba Youth Association

The Konkomba Youth Association (KOYA), since its founding in 1977, has played a prominent role among Likpakpaanl speakers. The idea for the association began in 1976 when two educated Likpakpaanl speakers living in Tamale were discussing the problems facing Likpakpaanl speakers. They invited others to join them, began holding weekly meetings and planned the inaugural convention of KOYA. The primary objectives were 1) to encourage education; 2) to discourage social injustice; and, 3) to unify Likpakpaanl speakers. KOYA branches were formed in numerous Likpakpaanl-speaking villages and in secondary schools in the migrant farm areas. Large towns, such as Kpassa, have several branches. Annual meetings are held at Saboba over the Easter holidays at which each branch reports on its activities. In the early years, the national and regional KOYA leaders visited villages to sensitise the people about the issues of education and social justice. They have also represented Likpakpaanl speakers in discussions with government.

One result of KOYA's work has been to foster a sense of unity amongst all Likpakpaanl speakers as they worked together for education and social justice. The annual gathering which brings together speakers of all dialects has increased interdialectal communication.

5.2.12 Summary of the aspects of Likpakpaanl society and culture

Many of the socio-cultural aspects of Likpakpaanl society serve to unify each of the Likpakpaanl tribes, but do not foster unity of those tribes as a single ethnic group. Two factors, the clan

structure and the traditional celebrations foster unity at the clan level, a level lower than that of dialect. However, more recent developments in the society, such as education, the formation of KOYA, the work of churches and the migrant farm activity have served to foster unity at the level of the entire ethnic group.

The LiKoonl speakers are isolated by some factors which have served to unify speakers of other dialects: patterns of transportation, education, church work and markets. Even in the traditional celebrations, the LiKoonl speakers emphasized the Yam festival while the speakers of other dialects emphasized the Guinea-corn festival. Thus, the linguistic distinctiveness of the LiKoonl dialect, which was established in Sections 4.2.2.3 and 4.2.2.4, is paralleled socio-culturally.

Speakers of LiGbinl and LiNafeel are also isolated to some extent from one another and other Likpakpaanl speakers. The LiGbinl speakers are separated both by the road system and by their relatively late inclusion in church activities. The LiNafeel speakers are separated by the road system, the market patterns, and by marriage patterns. However, the level of integration of these two with each other and with LiChabol and LiMonkpenl remains far greater than that of the LiKoonl speakers.

The two factors that have the strongest impact on fostering unity and increasing interdialectal communication are the migration of speakers of all dialects to farm areas and the formation of KOYA. These two factors have been inclusive of speakers of LiKoonl. In spite of the impact of these two factors, Likpakpaanl speakers still communicate most with members of the same clan and sense the greatest unity with them.

5.3 Application of socio-cultural information to the language programme

LDTs can apply socio-cultural information when developing a strategy for the language development work. Application of the socio-cultural information involves five aspects. 1) The LDT determines the level of unity and interdialectal communication. 2) The LDT determines whether the trend has been toward or away from greater unity and interdialectal communication. 3) The LDT determines how the socio-cultural factors which unify and promote interdialectal communication can be used within the programme to facilitate CAWS. 4) The LDT identifies the level of society at which people self-identify so that this aspect of society can be used to promote CAWS. 5) The LDT identifies the dialects which show the least unity with the other dialects and the lowest level of interdialectal communication so that concentrated efforts can be made to inform them and involve them in the language development process.

In this section, the socio-cultural information is applied as if the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language programmes had not yet begun. The application is done only in terms of general goals because specific plans would require knowledge of the skills and abilities of the members of the LDT, the availability of resources and the other plans of the LDT. In Section 6.3, the general goals developed here are compared to actual activities of the two LDTs.

5.3.1 *Levels of unity and interdialectal communication*

Of the two language communities, the Lelemi speakers are more unified and have a greater degree of interdialectal communication than do the Likpakpaanl speakers. A single paramount chief and a single district unite the Lelemi speakers. The major socio-cultural division separates lower Lelemi, which includes speakers of Kunsu, and Central Lelemi; from upper Lelemi, which includes speakers of Baglo, Baika, and Teteman. Although the divisions caused by marketing patterns, transportation and church affiliation limit interdialectal communication, they do not prevent it entirely.

Speakers of some Likpakpaanl dialects are nearly as unified as Lelemi speakers, but others have great barriers to unity and interdialectal communication. In the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area, speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl are unified by factors of education, marketing, intermarriage, Christianity and transportation. Speakers of these dialects also have a good amount of interdialectal communication. Speakers of LiKoonl experience the least unity and almost no interdialectal communication with speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects. Speakers of LiNafeel and LiGbinl have similar levels of unity and interdialectal communication with each other and with speakers of the first two dialects as speakers of upper Lelemi have with speakers of lower Lelemi. Speakers of LiGbinl have slightly more interaction with speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl than do speakers of LiNafeel. In the migrant farm areas, the levels of unity and interdialectal communication between speakers of all the dialects are higher than in the traditional area. In some migrant farm areas, the level of unity and interdialectal communication is nearly as high as it is within the upper Lelemi dialects.

Languages with low levels of unity and interdialectal communication require greater efforts by the LDT at informing and involving. Because the Likpakpaanl language community has lower levels of unity and interdialectal communication, at least in the traditional area, the Likpakpaanl LDT needs to be more active in motivational activities than the Lelemi LDT. However, both language communities have areas of disunity, so motivational activities by both LDTs are necessary. The levels of unity and interdialectal communication are not uniform throughout each language community. The differing levels of LDT activity needed by speakers of each dialect area are covered in Section 5.3.5.

5.3.2 *Trends in unity and interdialectal communication*

The Lelemi language community has slowly become less unified while the Likpakpaanl-speaking community has become more unified. The Lelemi language community has had a long history of being unified due to the chieftaincy system, but developments in transportation, education, and religion have divided the people into the upper Lelemi and lower Lelemi language communities. The Likpakpaanl culture on the other hand, has had a history of lacking unity at the level of the entire ethnic group. The clan was the primary unit of social activities and the main source of personal identity. However, recent changes in the form of migration to farm areas, education, Christianity and the formation of KOYA have served as unifying forces that have increased interdialectal communication.

The Lelemi LDT needs to plan motivational activities to promote unity and interdialectal communication in order to reverse the existing trends. The Likpakpaanl LDT, on the other hand, may be able to depend on the existing trends to continue to foster unity and interdialectal communication.

5.3.3 *The socio-cultural aspects which can serve CAWS*

Each language community has its own set of socio-cultural aspects which promote unity and interdialectal communication, thus promoting CAWS. The two most unifying aspects of the Lelemi culture are the chieftaincy system and the large gatherings at funerals of community leaders. The secondary school and the churches also provide some opportunity for interdialectal communication. The chiefs and the queen mothers have potential to be instrumental in introducing the written standard to their communities. The LDT should develop solid relationships with the chiefs and the queen mothers of each town in order to show them the value of the Lelemi written standard for their people. The funerals provide a venue for disseminating information to a large number of people of diverse backgrounds at a single time.

The most unifying aspects of the Likpakpaanl language community are KOYA, the migrant farm areas, and to a lesser extent the secondary schools and the churches. The LDT would do well to work with KOYA insofar as their goals agree. The LDT should also work as extensively in the migrant farm areas as possible. The secondary schools and the churches, while not reaching all members of the community, are institutions which foster interdialectal communication. As such, they could serve as instruments for introducing literacy and the written materials to speakers of every dialect and members of every clan.

5.3.4 *Level of self-identity within the society*

Both speakers of Lelemi and Likpakpaanl self-identified at a level lower than that of dialect. Introducing the written standard to the subgroups of the community with which the people self-identify helps assure that they understand that the written standard is for them. This means that some efforts of the LDTs need to concentrate on inviting participation from groups smaller than whole dialects. Speakers of Lelemi self-identified at the level of town. Thus, the Lelemi LDT should focus some efforts on each of the 18 towns. On the average, about three towns constitute a single dialect. Speakers of Likpakpaanl self-identified at the level of clan. About eight to ten clans constitute a single tribe or dialect. Thus, the Likpakpaanl LDT should focus some efforts on each of the over 40 clans.

5.3.5 *Dialects which are most isolated socio-culturally*

Both the Lelemi and the Likpakpaanl language communities had some dialects which were more isolated socio-culturally than others. Speakers of these dialects may need to be targeted more conscientiously by the LDT in order to assure CAWS.

In the Lelemi language area, the Teteman dialect was somewhat isolated due to poor transportation while the Baika dialect was isolated due to its previous inclusion in a different district. Speakers of these towns may need additional affirmation that the materials are for them as well. The Lelemi LDT could plan to visit Teteman and the two Baika towns more frequently than other towns.

Also in the Lelemi area, the strong division between upper Lelemi and lower Lelemi means that the two areas should be given equal attention by the LDT. One approach is to work in cooperation with the two churches which each have influence in one of the areas.

In the Likpakpaanl language community, the LiKoonl speakers, and to a lesser extent the LiNafeel and LiGbinl speakers need more attention and motivational activities than do the speakers of the other Likpakpaanl dialects. Speakers of LiKoonl lack both a sense of unity and a good degree of interdialectal communication with speakers of other dialects. The potential is great that without motivational activities, the speakers of LiKoonl could view themselves as a separate language community in need of a separate written standard. Speakers of LiNafeel, and LiGbinl would also benefit from additional motivational activities due to their lower levels of interdialectal communication with speakers of LiChabol, and LiMonkpenl. Speakers of these latter two dialects should each receive equal levels of attention and motivational activities.

5.4 Summary

Socio-cultural factors influence both the unity and interdialectal communication of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language communities. The factors and their influences, while different for each language community, are related to the social structure, governance, marriage patterns, religious celebrations, religious affiliation, commerce patterns, transportation patterns and education patterns. In addition, each language community has a unique set of social networks, differing from those of the other language in type, strength, and extensiveness.

Socio-culturally, the Lelemi language community is divided into two parts: upper and lower. However, the paramount chieftaincy provides an overall unity to the language community. Its strongest opinion leaders are the chiefs, queen mothers, and church leaders. The most extensive social networks in the language community are the Christian churches. Two dialects, Teteman and Baika, may require special attention and motivation due to socio-cultural factors which have isolated them somewhat from speakers of other dialects. The two major divisions, upper and lower need equal levels of attention and motivation from the LDT.

The Likpakpaanl language community traditionally had low levels of unity. One dialect, LiKoonl, is separated from the other dialects by many socio-cultural factors. The LiNafeel and LiGbinl dialects are also somewhat isolated from the other dialects, but to a lesser degree. The greatest levels of unity and interdialectal communication within the Likpakpaanl language community are found in the migrant farm areas. KOYA, the most extensive cross-dialectal social network among Likpakpaanl speakers, has served as a unifying force for speakers of all dialects including LiKoonl. KOYA leaders have served as strong opinion leaders. Elders and chiefs are also opinion leaders, but due to the egalitarian nature of the society, their role is not as strong as that of the Lelemi chiefs. Church leaders serve as opinion leaders for those who are Christian. The churches also form social networks which cross some dialect boundaries. Speakers of LiKoonl, and to a lesser extent LiNafeel and LiGbinl, will require more motivation from the LDT due to their degree of isolation.

6 Chapter 6 Language development efforts in Likpakpaanl and Lelemi

6.0 Introduction

During the development of a written standard, the LDT makes many decisions and undertakes many activities. As was shown in Figure 1.1, these decisions and activities may influence acceptance of the written standard. They may also serve to enhance or detract from the impact that the linguistic and socio-cultural factors have on CAWS. The types of decisions and activities which influence CAWS were introduced in Sections 2.1.3, 2.1.5 and 2.2.5. Especially influential are decisions and activities of the LDT that inform speakers of all dialects about the written standard and involve speakers of all dialects in the language development process. Informational activities are particularly important where interdialectal communication is rare and social networks are weak. Activities which involve people are particularly important where unity is weak at the level of the entire ethnic group.

This chapter begins with descriptions of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language development programmes in Sections 6.1 and 6.2 respectively⁴⁴. Especially emphasized are decisions and activities which may influence speakers of one or more dialects differently than others. In Section 6.3 the two programmes are compared in several areas: 1) the degree to which the LDTs were aware of and sensitive to dialect differences in the development of the standard and in the literacy programme; 2) the degree to which each LDT fostered awareness of the standard among speakers of each dialect; 3) the degree to which each LDT involved speakers of all dialects in the language development work; and, 4) the way in which each LDT was aware of and sensitive to the socio-cultural aspects which influence CAWS. In this section, the applications formulated in Section 5.3 are compared with actual activities and decisions carried out by the LDTs.

6.1 The Lelemi language development process

Language development efforts in Lelemi were initiated by Father Odaye Anastasius Dogli (1889-1970) of Baglo, who was the first West African to be ordained as a priest in the Roman Catholic (RC) Church. He established the first primary school in the upper Lelemi area in the 1930s. He later began producing Lelemi materials including ten small books of 50 pages or less⁴⁵ and two larger books: a hymnal and the Missal (Dogli, 1957). Lelemi speakers in both lower and upper Lelemi areas saw and used Dogli's books in RC schools and congregations in the 1950s and 1960s, however, because the RC work was centred in the upper Lelemi area, people there had the

⁴⁴ Appendix 4 has tables summarizing the chronologies of the two language programmes and tables of the key workers in the two programmes.

⁴⁵ Books II, VI, IX and X as well as the Missal were seen in the home of Mr Agadey in Kute during the field work in August 2004.

greatest exposure. The level of literacy in Lelemi from 1950 to 1970 is unknown. Some said that the circulation of these books was limited with only the lay leader of each congregation knowing how to read. However, residents of Teteman and New Baika said the RC primary schools taught Lelemi literacy.

At some point before Father Dogli's death in 1970, the RC leadership took a stand against the Lelemi books. They forbade their use and assigned Lelemi-speaking priests to other parts of Ghana so that they would not use the mother tongue in the worship services. Lelemi speakers said the materials "vanished from our sight". In the early 1970s, teachers at the RC schools in the upper Lelemi area tried to revive the work, but within two years, the RC Church transferred them out of the Lelemi area.

In 1980, Andrew and Katherine Ring were assigned by GILLBT to develop reading materials and translate the Bible into Lelemi. The Rings' first contact with Lelemi occurred during a study of Ewe bilingualism in Volta Region during 1979 and 1980 (Ring, 1981a). The research had taken them to each of the upper Lelemi towns, where several people invited them to live. However, when the Rings moved to the Lelemi area in 1980, they settled in Bodada at the request of the paramount chief. The Rings studied Lelemi with the help of Mr. Osiban, an Evangelical Presbyterian (EP) Catechist from Bodada and with the occasional assistance of other speakers of the Central dialect.

Orthography development was an early goal. Dogli's work provided a starting point for the orthography. The alphabet remained essentially that which was established by Dogli, with the elimination of some overdifferentiation. However, decisions about spelling words required special attention due to dialect differences. From the beginning of the project, Ring was aware of some phonological, lexical and morphophonemic differences between the dialects; however, he never undertook a rigorous comparative study. In making orthography decisions, several principles were followed: 1) Use the most expanded form because it varies less than the contracted forms; 2) Use the form that the most people use; and, 3) Use forms which are native to Lelemi, even if they are slightly archaic, rather than using forms from other languages such as Ewe or Twi. Many orthography decisions were confirmed at the first orthography workshop. Others were confirmed at the second orthography workshop in the mid-1980s and by the LDT.

Invitations to the orthography workshop and to other events were communicated both orally and in written form. Letters of invitation were personally delivered to the chief by a member of the LDT. Ring and his co-workers spoke first to the chief and the elders, presenting them with the letter of invitation. The chief then called a town meeting so the LDT could inform the community about the LDT's activities and could invite the community to send representatives

to the upcoming event. The important role these visits played was shown when elders invariably mentioned Ring's visits when explaining how they first heard of the literacy work.

The first orthography workshop, which was held in Bodada, was combined with a writers' workshop. Each town was invited to send two delegates. The eighteen attendees represented twelve towns. Attendees were expected to provide input on the pronunciation of words in their dialect and input on spellings which might cause difficulties for speakers of their dialect. They were also expected to inform the residents of their town about the orthography decisions that were reached. At this workshop, the terms *Lelemi* and *Lefana* were discussed to determine which was the best cover-term for the language. Out of respect for Father Dogli's work, *Lelemi* was selected. However, because the project was located in Buem District, it was called the Buem Adult Literacy Programme (BALP). The workshop participants produced a number of written texts for use in the Lelemi newsletter *Benengu Kòlè* and in the collection of folk tales that was later published. A newsletter format, which is less permanent, was used because final decisions had not yet been reached about some aspects of the orthography. During 1983, the BALP Committee was formed, consisting of two RC members, two EP members and one member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. All were from Bodada.

The first Lelemi primers were designed to teach semi-literates to read because a high proportion of Lelemi speakers were semi-literate in English, which was a result of their having attended several years of school. In December 1983, a workshop with 24 participants representing most Lelemi towns was held in Bodada. Participants were taught to read Lelemi and to use the primers to teach others who had attended school. Each participant was encouraged to teach five people to read Lelemi with the goal that each learner would also teach five more. After three months, the new readers were tested using a health book and a folktale book that had been newly published. All who could read Lelemi were awarded certificates during five celebrations, each involving three to four towns. By the middle of 1984, Lelemi speakers who had participated in this programme and demonstrated their ability to read numbered 1,678. At the celebrations, each town was encouraged to form its own literacy committee.

The LDT sought advice from the chief of Bodada regarding men who could serve as voluntary literacy supervisors for the lower and upper areas. Upon the recommendation of the chief, the LDT hired two residents of Bodada: Mr. Osiban, the EP catechist and Mr. Andreas Antu, the RC catechist. Using motorcycles, they visited the villages to sell books and to encourage those who were teaching others to read. Around this time, the LDT's primary contact in each town began to shift from the chief to the literacy facilitators or members of the town literacy committee.

In January 1985, the LDT held a workshop for 45 participants with the goals of revising the orthography, writing more materials and updating the training of those who were teaching others to read.

The Gospel of Mark was published in 1985. The publication included four languages. The left page featured the Lelemi translation in relatively large print, while the right page featured English, Ewe and Twi in smaller print in three columns. This approach was used to encourage those who could read other languages to read in their mother tongue. The approach treated equally speakers of upper Lelemi, who were more likely to read Ewe, and speakers of lower Lelemi, who were more likely to read Twi.

In the mid to late 1980s, the focus of BALP on translation increased. By the late 1980s, a team of four Lelemi speakers was employed, two of whom worked full-time on translation (Ring, 1992b). Throughout the history of the project, the two primary translators were speakers of two different dialects, Baglo and Central. The two other team members, both spoke the Central dialect. Two of the team members, based in Bodada, served as part-time literacy supervisors, one serving the lower towns and the other serving the upper towns. They were also responsible for checking translated materials in each of the towns. In some towns, the team member read the translated materials to a group of people and recorded their comments, while in other towns, he delivered the materials to a reviewer who read the manuscript and wrote comments. Town reviewing committees were also established which read through translated passages, making comments about naturalness.

During this time⁴⁶, a series of two primers was developed which introduced letters and sounds at a pace more appropriate for pre-literates⁴⁷. One goal for these primers was that they be used in the primary schools, but that did not materialize until the mid 1990s.

From 1989 through 1993, a concentrated effort was made to re-establish literacy committees in each town and to support the committees and literacy instructors through bi-monthly visits by the literacy supervisors. Apparently, the committees that had been established in 1984 had not remained active in most towns. The new structure called for a local committee in each town, which appointed two delegates to the annual General Committee meeting. A smaller Executive

⁴⁶ The official list of published materials for Lelemi lists the two-primer series for pre-literates as being first published in 1984. However in Ring's oral account he mentioned both 1986 and 1990 as the date of publication of the primers for pre-literates.

⁴⁷ The primer for semi-literates had used the method developed by Gudschinsky (1973) but introduced three letters in each lesson, assuming that the students' familiarity with the letters from their school experience would allow them to proceed at that rate. The primer for pre-literates, introduced only one letter per lesson but used the same order of introduction. Because the primers used the same method, semi-literates who had learned to read using the first primers found it relatively easy to learn to teach pre-literates.

Committee, with eleven members met quarterly. The level of literacy work fluctuated from year to year. No literacy days were held in 1990 or 1993, but four were held in 1992, one in upper Lelemi and three in lower Lelemi. In the second half of 1992, six brief facilitator-training workshops were held, three each in lower and upper Lelemi. The lack of reference to such workshops in annual reports of other years indicates that none may have been held between 1986 and 1991. In the early 1990's because of the cost of holding workshops to train facilitators, the LDT began to provide both initial facilitator training and refresher courses for the facilitators in their own town.

In 1990, a community development aspect which specifically targeted women was added to the programme. Initially, the queen mother⁴⁸ of each town was visited, with follow-up visits made as often as twice a month. The development activities began in Bodada, Kudje, and Jasikan of lower Lelemi in the early 1990s, then spread to Kute, Baglo, Teteman and Baika of upper Lelemi in the mid 1990s. Some of the smaller towns in both upper and lower Lelemi have formed development groups since 1999.

From 1992 to 1994, cooperation increased between BALP and the Department of Education through the efforts of Mununkum, a member of the LDT who had been both a teacher and a trainer of teachers in the Ghana Education Service (GES). In 1992, BALP approached GES regarding the possibility of teaching Lelemi literacy in the first three years of primary school. Courses were held to train primary school teachers in the use of the Lelemi primers. About 1,800 students in 20 schools were involved in the programme in 1994. In March of 1996, Lelemi reading competitions for school students were organized in four zones implying that the entire language area was covered. Cooperation between BALP and GES then dwindled until by 1999, Lelemi literacy was no longer taught in the schools. However, plans were made that year to revive it. By 2004, Lelemi literacy classes were held outside of school hours for approximately 170 school children in 6 schools.

In 1993, the NFED, which is also under the Department of Education, began forming Twi and Ewe literacy classes in the Lelemi-speaking area. Initially, Lelemi literacy teachers saw the NFED programme as conflicting with the goals of BALP, but the BALP team showed the facilitators how the two programmes could complement each other. By 1994, NFED had taken responsibility for the Lelemi literacy classes and BALP shifted its focus to material development. When NFED took over the literacy work, the town literacy committees were no longer needed because NFED worked through town development committees. A joint NFED-BALP literacy day was held in March 1995. Over the next two years, cooperation between NFED and BALP

⁴⁸ See Section 5.1.1

decreased. By 1997, BALP re-established town literacy committees, with zonal committees serving clusters of two to four neighbouring towns .

In 1994, two cassettes were produced containing Lelemi songs alternating with Scripture readings. These cassettes were the products of two workshops in Bodada, which were attended by representatives of eight Christian churches. A Scripture Use Coordinator oversees the distribution and sales of cassettes and books. He visits a different town each Sunday where he attends the service at one congregation and addresses the members, informing them of BALP's work. Later in the day, he meets with the elders and pastors of all the congregations in that town to distribute materials and share information about upcoming events.

In 1997, the Lelemi New Testament was dedicated during a large celebration in Bodada. The LDT invited the Lelemi language community to attend by sending letters through the chiefs, the queen mothers and the pastors. Some chiefs attended in person, while others sent a delegation. Even before the dedication of the New Testament, the LDT began translating portions of the Old Testament.

BALP continues to involve the speakers of upper and lower Lelemi equally in the programme. Literacy days are alternated between the upper and lower areas. Volunteer zonal supervisors are divided evenly among the dialects with one each in Kudje (Kunsu), Old Baika and Kute (Baglo). However, BALP employment patterns favour speakers of the Central dialect with three of BALP's four full-time employees being from Bodada. BALP's printing press employs only speakers of the Central dialect.

As of September 2004, the Lelemi towns are divided into seven zones. Two zones are in the Kunsu dialect area: Akaa, Atonkor, Kudje and Okadjakrom form the first and Atakrom, Guaman and Nsuta form the second. The Central dialect has three zones, one in Jasikan and two in Bodada. The three towns of the Baglo dialect form a single zone. The Baika and Teteman dialects together form a zone. The remaining zone includes Dzolu, New Ayoma and Old Ayoma. All zones but one include speakers of a single dialect. However, Baika and Teteman dialects are very similar as was shown in Section 4.1.2. In Figure 6.1 the zonal groupings are represented using a different font and town symbol for each zone. The white background represents upper Lelemi towns while the black background represents the lower Lelemi towns.

Figure 6.1 The BALP literacy zones 2004



6.2 The Likpakpaanl language development process

Language development in Likpakpaanl began in earnest in 1962 when GILLBT assigned Mary Steele to analyse and develop the Likpakpaanl language. Prior to that, the Assemblies of God (AG) Church had published a hymnal in Likpakpaanl. Steele⁴⁹ resided initially in the village of Yankasia in the LiNafeel dialect area. She based the phonological analysis of Likpakpaanl on LiNafeel (Steele and Weed, 1966). When speakers of some dialects were reluctant to use LiNafeel materials, Steele (1966b) conducted a survey of nine dialect areas. She elicited a list of 100 words in each dialect, noted syntactic differences between the dialects and made sociolinguistic observations. She concluded that linguistically, LiNafeel would probably be best understood by speakers of all dialects, including LiKoonl. However, LiChabol was selected as the basis for the written standard based on extra-linguistic factors such as prestige, dialect of the paramount chief, location of the only middle school, and the number of educated people who could assist with the work⁵⁰. She also concluded that, due to dialect differences LiKoonl speakers would not be able to use materials based on LiChabol.

Literacy work began informally in Yankasia, where Steele taught some speakers of LiNafeel to read. The first literacy primer was developed in the mid 1960s. From the late 1960s to the mid 1970s, Steele taught literacy classes in LiChabol-speaking villages near Saboba, holding evening classes a few nights a week. However, Steele's main goal during those years was translating the New Testament into Likpakpaanl. She worked closely with a speaker of the LiChabol dialect

⁴⁹ Several single women lived and worked with Mary Steele in the early years of the project, none remaining for more than a few years. These included Gretchen Weed, Mary Abbott and M. J. Breeze among others.

⁵⁰ Steele was far ahead of her time in considering both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors when selecting a dialect to use as the basis for a written standard.

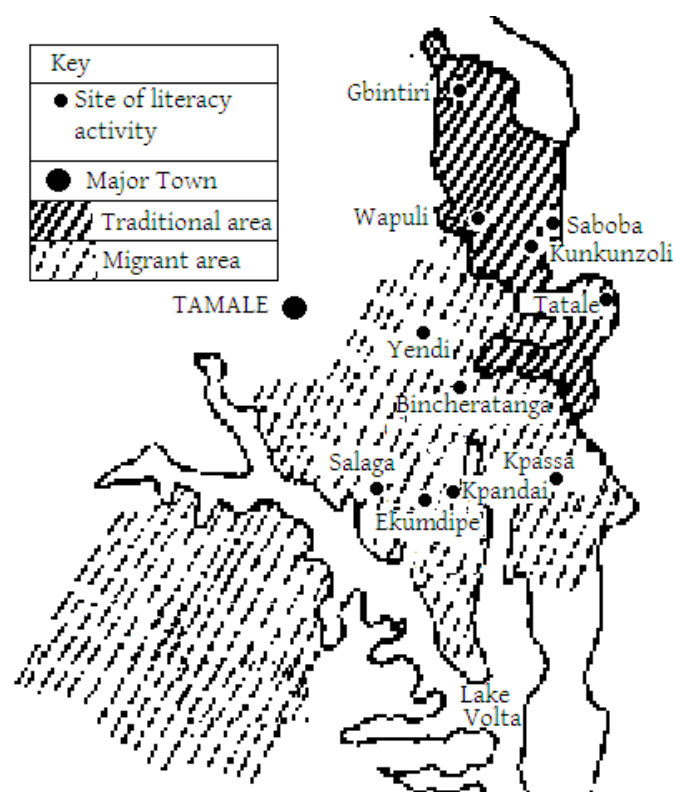
who had never attended school, but several educated men who spoke several sub-dialects of LiChabol assisted by reading through the translated materials. By the mid 1970s four men, each of whom was sent by one of the main churches in the area, were assisting Steele on a regular basis by proofreading materials. Two of them spoke LiChabol, one spoke LiMonkpenl and the fourth did not speak a specific dialect since he spoke Likpakpaanl as a second language. By 1975, five booklets, all Scripture portions, had been published. Shortly thereafter, the New Testament manuscript was completed and sent for printing.

The focus of the work then shifted to literacy. Margaret Langdon arrived in 1975 and after learning Likpakpaanl helped Steele and David Brown Magbaan, a LiChabol speaker, to run the first training course for voluntary literacy facilitators. The LDT requested the EP, RC and AG congregations to select and send capable lay people to be trained. The LDT also visited villages to ask them to send a potential facilitator. The five-day course in December 1976 was attended by thirteen men speaking the following dialects: seven LiChabol⁵¹, three LiNafeel, one LiMonkpenl, one LiGbinl, and one unknown. The education levels of the participants included one who had attended secondary school, about half who had attended a couple years of primary school and the rest who had never attended school. However, some had gained some literacy ability in Dagbani through the adult mass education efforts in 1961 and 1962. The trainees began teaching literacy classes in their villages daily. As they were able, they also taught in neighbouring villages.

When a literacy facilitator identified a student who learned quickly and was able to teach others, he appointed him as that village's facilitator. The original facilitator moved on to start a new literacy class in another village, but visited the new facilitator occasionally to encourage and train him. Facilitators who demonstrated commitment to train facilitators in other villages were called zonal supervisors and were provided with bicycles to facilitate their travel. Langdon and Steele visited the facilitators and supervisors to provide encouragement and further training. New classes were most frequently started in villages where congregations or schools already existed, especially in the traditional area. Because congregations had not been established in most LiGbinl villages, literacy classes were established in only a few villages of that dialect area in the early years.

⁵¹ Kunji, one of the seven LiChabol speakers, was from Kunkunzoli and calls his subdialect Likukuil or Linalol. He said it is closer to LiChabol than to LiMonkpenl, but Froehlich (1954) classifies Linalol as a sub-dialect of LiMonkpenl.

Figure 6.2 Some sites of Likpakpaanl literacy activity



Between 1977 and 1980, facilitator-training workshops were held in Wapuli (LiNafeel), in Zabzugu-Tatale District (LiMonkpenl) and in Kpandai (migrant farm area). In 1977, the first Literacy Day was celebrated in Saboba with the distribution of 79 certificates. Literacy Days continued to be celebrated annually in Saboba in conjunction with KOYA conferences. During the 1981 Literacy Day, approximately 500 certificates were awarded to those who had learned to read Likpakpaanl. As the literacy programme grew, literacy districts were formed, with each holding its own Literacy Day. In each literacy district, Literacy Day was always held in the same town.

Langdon moved several times between 1977 and 1980. She lived in Wapuli for several months, working with a LiMonkpenl-speaking EP evangelist who had been assigned to serve among LiNafeel speakers. For several months, they supervised classes together. When the evangelist became a zonal literacy supervisor, Langdon moved to Bincheratanga in the northeastern part of the migrant farm area. After a year, she moved to Ekumdipe, further south in the migrant farm area. In each place, she travelled to one village after another, meeting with the village elders to inform them about the language development work. Where there was interest, she taught an introductory literacy class to whomever would attend. The potential students were then asked to select a facilitator from their village. Langdon worked one-on-one with that individual, teaching him several more lessons from the primer and encouraging him to teach the others. She then departed for the next village, returning frequently to encourage the

facilitators she had trained and to cover more lessons in the primer with them. In this way, the training of literacy facilitators took the form of one-on-one mentoring.

James Kunji, an attendee of the first facilitator-training course, had proven to be an able zonal supervisor, starting literacy classes in six villages and mentoring another facilitator who had been trained with him. Kunji also ran the primary school in Kunkunzoli. In 1978, after Langdon had been in Bincheratanga for a year, she requested that GES transfer Kunji to a school in Bincheratanga so he could provide supervision to the classes Langdon had started there. While based in Bincheratanga from 1978 to 1981, Kunji visited literacy classes many evenings a week, teaching at the primary school during the day. Several weekends a month, he travelled to villages near Kpassa to encourage the zonal supervisor there and visit literacy facilitators.

As mentioned in Section 5.2.11, KOYA was inaugurated in Saboba in 1977. Some newly trained literacy facilitators attended the inaugural meeting. They informed others at the inauguration about the adult literacy work. Likpakpaanl materials were sold during the inauguration, providing some with their first exposure to Likpakpaanl materials. As KOYA officers visited villages to encourage parents to send their children to school, they also encouraged adults to take part in the Likpakpaanl literacy classes.

From 1978 to 1980, over 15 new titles were produced in Likpakpaanl including folk stories, personal anecdotes, health-books, and scripture portions. While the LiChabol standard was used for both the primers and the translated materials, more latitude was granted to local authors. The LDT edited locally authored materials for spelling, but they allowed the authors to use grammatical particles and lexical items which were peculiar to the author's dialect of Likpakpaanl. This probably accounts for the reports of some respondents that some of the story books were written in dialects other than LiChabol. From 1981 to 1990, another 15 new titles in Likpakpaanl were produced and other titles were reprinted. During the 1990s, only three new titles were published including the complete Bible.

In 1979, a literacy committee was formed to oversee the literacy work. Langdon and Steele's goal from the beginning had been to train Likpakpaanl speakers to do the literacy work so that the two of them could start work in other languages. The initial Likpakpaanl committee was composed primarily of pastors and elders of the various congregations. One of the first tasks of the committee was to hire a full-time Project Manager to take over the coordination of the literacy work. Kenneth Wujanji, a secondary school teacher and a member of the literacy committee, was appointed as the first Project Manager in 1981. In April of that year, he had also been elected the president of KOYA. Wujanji, a speaker of LiMonkpenl, had grown up in Accra and spent most of his teaching career in Tamale. Recognizing that he had strengths in administration and vision building, but lacked skills in writing Likpakpaanl, he appointed Kunji

to the full-time position of Literacy Coordinator. Wujanji and Kunji grouped the zones into districts, hiring full-time district supervisors for each. The Saboba Literacy District covered the traditional area in Saboba-Chereponi District while several districts covered the migrant farm areas.

It was during this period that the literacy programme changed names several times from Konkomba Literacy Programme to Konkomba Literacy and Development Programme (KOLADEP) to Rural Integrated Literacy and Development Programme (RILADEP)⁵².

Conflicts, which broke out in 1981, and again in the early 1990s, disrupted the literacy work and temporarily limited the contact that supervisors had with facilitators and classes. Langdon left on scheduled leave in 1981, and was unable to return to the Likpakpaanl-speaking area due to the instability.

Steele had moved to the Bimoba language area to the north in 1980, but continued to serve as a consultant, for both the New Testament revision, which was completed in 1984, and the Old Testament translation work from 1988 to 1998. The New Testament was revised in order to decrease the frequency of the use of Dagbani⁵³ words for religious terms. The translators for the Old Testament, Kunji and Magbaan were both speakers of LiChabol⁵⁴, but reviewers for the translation included LiChabol speakers from around Saboba, LiMonkpenl speakers from Tatale Literacy District and speakers of several dialects from a migrant farm area in Kintampo Literacy District.

In 1987 Winston Binabiba, who had been employed as a District Supervisor since 1984, was appointed the Project Coordinator of RILADEP, succeeding Wujanji who had become the director of GILLBT in 1986. Kunji continued in his role as Assistant Project Coordinator responsible for literacy activities. A development aspect had been added to the work in the 1980s. The zonal and district supervisors made monthly visits to those in their zone or district. The zonal supervisors visited each voluntary literacy teacher to observe a lesson, provide further training and encouragement and to help the teacher with any problems. The supervisors also provided encouragement to the literacy students. The district supervisors visited each zonal supervisor once a month, travelling with him to any village where difficulties or special needs existed.

In June 1986 the literacy programme had 2,808 students enrolled in 241 classes taught by 238 voluntary facilitators. Five full-time supervisors covering five literacy districts were paid by

⁵² Throughout this thesis, for the sake of simplicity, the term RILADEP is used for the Likpakpaanl LDT at all stages of its existence.

⁵³ Dagbani is a neighbouring language spoken in Yendi District.

⁵⁴ See footnote number 51.

the project. One district covered the traditional Likpakpaanl area (excluding the LiKoonl area), with the remaining four districts covering the migrant farm areas. All areas where Likpakpaanl was spoken were covered except for the LiKoonl-speaking area. By 1991, 9,231 students were enrolled in 559 classes taught by 544 voluntary teachers. Voluntary zonal supervisors numbered 47, while paid district literacy supervisors numbered ten. Four of the new districts had been created by dividing into two the districts in which class numbers were too great to be supervised by one person. Gbintiri Literacy District, which covered the LiKoonl dialect area, had previously had no literacy classes.

Literacy classes in the LiKoonl dialect area began a few years after the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ghana (ELCG) began to work in Gbintiri and surrounding villages in the mid-1980s. In 1989, the ELCG requested that GILLBT start a separate translation project for the LiKoonl-speaking people. A study was done throughout the LiKoonl-speaking area to assess the attitudes of LiKoonl speakers toward materials written in LiChabol. Heiney, an ELCG missionary, who assisted in the data gathering said that it was decided not to do a separate LiKoonl translation because LiKoonl speakers said: 1) LiKoonl speakers who lived in Saboba for one month could learn to speak perfect LiChabol; 2) learning to read LiChabol was not difficult; and, 3) becoming more closely associated with other Likpakpaanl speakers was desirable. Heiney further stated that there was not a single dissenting voice. He felt that the positive attitude of LiKoonl speakers toward speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects was due to conflict in the late 1980s between LiKoonl speakers and the Bimoba speakers to their north. Heiney also stated that because a separate translation was not needed for LiKoonl speakers, the LiKoonl speakers did not need to serve as reviewers in the LiChabol translation work, but would use whatever LiChabol materials were produced⁵⁵.

A concentrated literacy effort was begun in the LiKoonl area in the late 1980s when Dem, a LiKoonl-speaking man, was appointed as the Gbintiri Literacy District Supervisor. In a few months, over 30 classes had been started. Many of the teachers were LiKoonl speakers who had learned to read Likpakpaanl while living in the migrant farm areas. He also recruited and trained as facilitators, LiKoonl speakers who had attended at least a few years of secondary school. By the mid 1990s, the number of classes had increased to over 50.

In 1989, a tape recording of the New Testament was produced in which a LiKoonl speaker read the Likpakpaanl translation but altered both the pronunciation and grammatical particles so that it sounded more like LiKoonl. These recordings have been well received by LiKoonl speakers. In the 1990s, a second recording of the New Testament was made by speakers of the

⁵⁵ The author strongly disagrees with this perception. Rather the fact that LiKoonl speakers will use the materials indicates that they should be reviewers.

other Likpakpaanl dialects. The best Likpakpaanl readers were selected to produce the recording, regardless of their dialect. These latter tapes have been used extensively in the migrant farm areas and throughout the traditional area, except where LiKoonl is spoken.

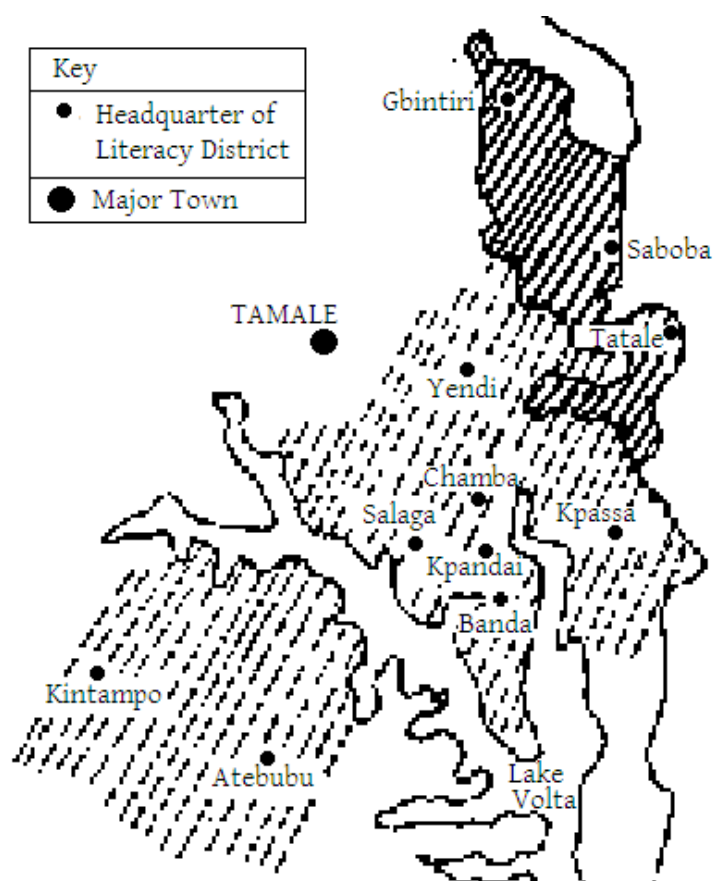
During the 1980s and 1990s a teacher training workshop and a refresher workshop were planned annually for each literacy district, but some were cancelled due to lack of funds or unrest. Much one-on-one teacher training continued throughout the entire area. Shortly after learning to read, some learners became assistant facilitators, and eventually facilitated a separate class. New classes were also started when a literate person moved to a farming area where no classes were being held. RILADEP encouraged the formation of such classes, but was not able to provide supervision if a village was too far from the nearest zone.

In the late 1980s, RILADEP began the Annual Harvest fund-raising programme in which individuals and communities were encouraged to contribute in cash or kind in order to assist the literacy work. By praising both the village with the largest contribution in each district and the district with the largest contributions, the LDT fostered a positive spirit of competition. LDT members travelled to villages in each district to collect the contributions over a period of several weeks. The funds from Annual Harvest were used to pay the salaries and expenses of the District Literacy Supervisors and for the printing of more books.

In 1992, the Non-Formal Education Department (NFED) began adult literacy work in Saboba – Chereponi District and some of the other districts where Likpakpaanl speakers live. Because the Government of Ghana does not recognize Likpakpaanl, either Twi or Dagbani materials were used. Many of the literacy facilitators that had been trained by RILADEP, decided to teach in the NFED programme because the NFED gave facilitators better incentives: bicycles and sewing machines. NFED also provides free primers, exercise books and pencils to learners. In the RILADEP Programme, learners purchased these supplies. Some of the former RILADEP literacy facilitators used the NFED materials in Dagbani to teach adults how to read Likpakpaanl⁵⁶. Such facilitators maintained ties with RILADEP so their students could purchase Likpakpaanl books. In the traditional Likpakpaanl-speaking area, NFED literacy classes are held in towns of each dialect.

⁵⁶ They would either use the letter featured for the lesson and teach Likpakpaanl words which used that letter, or would discuss the picture using the Likpakpaanl word for it and teach the letter with which that word began.

Figure 6.3 Headquarters of the Likpakpaanl literacy districts (Adapted from Tonah 1996)



In 1996, the literacy programme had reached its greatest level of activity. At that time, the LDT was headed by a Programme Manager who was assisted in the head office by four full-time staff. Eleven districts, three in traditional areas and eight in migrant farm areas, each had a Literacy Supervisor, a Development Supervisor and a Scripture in Use Supervisor. The Literacy Supervisors met quarterly in Saboba to report on their work to the Programme Manager. Each district had between three and eleven voluntary Zonal Supervisors and between 52 and 125 classes. The work in each district was overseen by a District Literacy Committee. Each committee selected a delegate to serve on RILADEP's 15 member Executive Committee which met quarterly. Kunji estimates that literacy classes have been held in three-fourths of all Likpakpaanl villages.

In 1996, a review of RILADEP was undertaken by Christian Aid (Tonah and Carter, 1996), RILADEP's primary funding source. The report expresses several concerns: 1) that the programme should consolidate its efforts to avoid overextension; 2) that the literacy classes should include a stronger development focus (although it recognizes the development focus of the post primer materials); 3) that staff with higher levels of education should be recruited; 4) that the programme should diversify its funding source; and, 5) that women should be more involved both in literacy and in the leadership of RILADEP. The report praises RILADEP for

raising funds through the Annual Harvest, and praises the active involvement of women in the development aspects of the programme.

Over the next eight years, several changes were made by the LDT in response to the evaluation. The programme, obtained funding from ActionAID to start REFLECT⁵⁷ circles. REFLECT circles are development groups which have a minor literacy focus but use no published materials. The facilitators are required to have at least nine years of formal schooling. REFLECT began as a pilot project in four LiChabol-speaking locations in 1999 and grew to 35 circles in LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl-speaking villages of the Saboba-Chereponi District by 2003. Sales of printed materials decreased dramatically. Christian Aid stopped funding RILADEP's traditional literacy programme. RILADEP decided in 2001 that it could not hold the Annual Harvest without transportation money from Christian Aid, further decreasing available funds. The eleven District Supervisors were last called to a quarterly meeting in 2002 and were officially released from employment in early 2004. Some literacy facilitators continue to teach, but do so without the support of supervisory visits, and with minimal materials.

In the late 1990s, School for Life began working in Likpakpaanl-speaking villages in the East Mamprusi and Saboba-Chereponi Districts. Formerly, School for Life had worked only in Yendi District using the Dagbani language. School for Life works in only three of the eleven RILADEP districts: Saboba, Gbintiri and Yendi. School for Life's goal is to provide out-of-school youth with nine months of basic education in the mother tongue with the intention that they enrol in formal school the following year. School for Life's Likpakpaanl materials were authored by Kunji using the same standard as the materials produced by RILADEP. In 2004, School for Life classes in Likpakpaanl were being taught in over 25 villages in Saboba-Chereponi District and others were being taught in the LiKoonl-speaking villages of East Mamprusi and Yendi Districts.

6.3 Aspects of the programmes which may have motivated or hindered CAWS

In this section, the two language development programmes are evaluated in light of their sensitivity to dialect differences both in the standardization process and in the teaching of literacy. The programmes are also evaluated in light of their efforts to inform speakers of all dialects about the written standard. Next, they are evaluated in light of their efforts to involve speakers of all dialects in the language development work. Finally, they are evaluated in light of their sensitivity to and use of socio-cultural aspects.

⁵⁷ See footnote 24 on page 90.

6.3.1 *The LDT's awareness of and sensitivity to dialect differences*

The importance of an LDT being aware of dialect differences and using that awareness to inform their decisions and actions was demonstrated throughout Chapter 2. Sections 2.1.3.2, and 2.1.7 showed the importance of applying knowledge about dialect differences during the standardization process, while Sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5 showed the importance of applying knowledge of dialect differences when teaching people to read the standard. Both the Lelemi and the Likpakpaanl LDTs applied their awareness of dialect differences to some decisions about the written standard and the translation of materials into these languages. However, neither LDT did a thorough comparative linguistic study of the dialects of its language. Further, both LDTs showed weakness in applying their knowledge of dialect differences to the literacy programme.

The Likpakpaanl LDT started out the strongest with Steele's dialect survey (1966b), which, while based on only 100 lexical items and some elicited sentences, did define at an early stage some of the lexical and syntactic differences between dialects. This information, along with sociolinguistic information, was used to select LiChabol as the basis for the written standard. Steele viewed the dialect question as something that was to be decided early in a project and need not be considered further. This philosophy was apparent in the lack of reference to dialect issues in the phonology (Steele and Weed, 1966) the dictionary (Breeze et al., 1981) and the guide for learning Likpakpaanl⁵⁸ (*Intro to Learning Likpakpaanl*, 1983).

In the area of literacy, almost no consideration was given to dialect differences. Langdon said, "I was primarily interested in getting literacy going, and only discovered as I went along that some people found difficulty in understanding what was written." When asked about the impact of dialect differences on people's ability to learn to read, Langdon said: "I was not conscious of dialect difficulties, but very conscious of reading inabilities!" Steele was more aware of dialect differences than Langdon, but indicated that no special consideration was given to dialect differences either in the development of the primers or in the translation work. Other than references to LiChabol, Steele rarely referred to the dialect of an individual by name. For example: "Once we got going on literacy materials, we had, you know, literacy classes in different dialects and literacy supervisors from different dialects. And they would produce stories in their own dialect." Again, "I remember working with a man on the survey who was from one of the major different dialects."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The guide did state that each Likpakpaanl speaker pronounces words differently, but provided no specific information about common grammatical, lexical or phonological differences.

⁵⁹ Throughout the interview, Steele seemed concerned that she may not remember things correctly. She may have used general terms to avoid making an inaccurate statement. Several times, when she was

Speakers of both LiChabol and LiMonkpenl did assist in reviewing translated materials. Speakers LiNafeel and LiGbinl were never specifically mentioned as being involved, but may have been. Speakers of LiKoonl never served as reviewers. Kunji recruited reviewers by sending letters to congregations asking for assistance. The LDT did not recruit from specific dialects, but did recognize that input from speakers of other dialects was useful. Kunji and Heiney gave different reasons for the non-involvement of LiKoonl speakers in reviewing the Old Testament. Kunji said they were not involved because the ELCG had begun printing materials in LiKoonl. However, Heiney said that they were not involved, because LiKoonl speakers were able to use LiChabol materials as they were.

In booklets authored by Likpakpaanl speakers, both grammatical and lexical items peculiar to the author's dialect were published as written by the author. The materials were not edited to conform to the standard in any aspect other than spelling. The names and dialects of authors of the various booklets were not available. However, several respondents identified some of the booklets as being written in LiChabol and others in LiMonkpenl.

The Lelemi LDT never did a dialect survey or any other formal comparative studies, but in some ways, they had a higher level of awareness of dialect differences and their potential influence on the programme. Papers written by Ring on relative clauses (1995b) and cultural artefacts (1995a) do not mention dialect differences. However, a paper on selecting the Lelemi term for 'muttered' mentions dialect differences extensively (Ring, 1997). Dialect differences are also mentioned briefly in Ring's orthography outline and in a paper on tone (Ring, 1981b). The discussions at two orthography workshops focused on dialect differences. The orthography was designed to include aspects peculiar to each dialect. All printed materials in Lelemi are controlled for syntax, lexicon, and spelling to assure consistency in what readers encounter. Input from speakers of all dialects was consciously sought in the reviewing and testing of translated materials. However, in the hiring of personnel and in lexical choice, Baglo and Central dialects were favoured over the other dialects. Another way in which the LDT showed sensitivity to dialect differences was by encouraging facilitators to read and to teach others to read according to the pronunciation of their own dialect. However, no practical training was provided for this. Overall, the Lelemi LDT accorded dialect issues a high level of importance throughout the project, especially in the development of the orthography and production of materials.

asked for a more specific answer, she replied by directing the researcher to another source of information such as an archive, report, or individual. She never referred to any conscious effort to involve speakers of any dialect.

The written materials in both Lelemi and Likpakpaanl, lacked tools to help speakers of non-standard dialects understand unfamiliar vocabulary or sentence structure. Facilitators in the non-standard dialects of both languages said that they explained the meanings of unfamiliar words to their students when they were asked. They also assisted the students in reading words in which some of the graphemes in the written form did not correspond to the pronunciation of the word in their own dialect.

6.3.2 *Fostering awareness of the written standard*

Speakers of a dialect must know about the written standard before they can accept it (see Section 2.3.2.3.1). Both the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language teams worked through existing social networks to create awareness of their respective written standards. The LDTs each used a variety of strategies to create awareness of the standard among speakers of the various dialects of the language. However, the Lelemi LDT was more effective in uniformly informing speakers of all dialects about the standard.

Both the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl teams visited villages to build awareness of the programme. In the Lelemi area, these visits had an aura of formality as befit any visit to a Lelemi-speaking chief. In the Likpakpaanl-speaking area, the visits were described as informal encounters with a flexible agenda that might include the teaching of a literacy class, or the selection and training of a literacy facilitator. The Lelemi team had only 18 towns to visit while the Likpakpaanl team had hundreds. The Lelemi LDT visited each chief about once a year, while the Likpakpaanl LDT relied on the zonal and district supervisors to maintain rapport with the chiefs in their area.

The LDT's emphasis on direct communication with chiefs and elders gradually waned in both language communities. As the literacy programme, with its network of facilitators and supervisors became more established, the LDTs began communicating primarily with the supervisors, facilitators and congregational leaders, trusting that they would pass information to the chief.

The Lelemi LDT recognized that the daylong funeral gatherings were a forum through which to share information about the standard with speakers of all dialects and especially with those who have migrated to urban areas. At each funeral, a table was set up displaying Lelemi books which were for sale. At an appropriate time in the ceremony, a member of the LDT reported on the work of the LDT to all attendees.

The Likpakpaanl LDT recognized that the Annual KOYA Conference was a forum through which to share information with people from all the dialects and all the migrant farm areas.

Beginning with the inaugural meeting of KOYA, books in Likpakpaanl were sold and Likpakpaanl speakers who were already literate were encouraged to become literacy facilitators. For some years, a Literacy Day celebration was held during the KOYA Conference.

KOYA officials, in their visits to Likpakpaanl-speaking villages, were instrumental in raising awareness of the Likpakpaanl literacy programme. While no formal agreement existed between KOYA and the Likpakpaanl LDT, their similar goals in the area of education and development resulted in many KOYA leaders also serving as facilitators and supervisors. The most prominent of these was Wujanji who was KOYA national president and the manager of the LDT.

Both LDTs held Literacy Days to affirm new literates and to increase awareness of the language programme. Because the Literacy Days featured new readers reading aloud in public, some who were illiterate realized that they also could learn to read. The Lelemi LDT held Literacy Days in each dialect area on a rotating basis so speakers of all dialects would become aware of the programme. The Literacy Days in the Likpakpaanl traditional area were always held in Saboba. Literacy days were also held in other literacy districts, but within each district, it was usually held in the same village. The Annual Harvest is a Likpakpaanl event during which members of the LDT visited many villages to raise awareness of the programme.

In both programmes, awareness of the written standard was also fostered within towns and clans by the literacy facilitators as they conducted literacy classes, and by the supervisors as they visited the classes. Classes were more visible in the Likpakpaanl area because most villages did not have a suitable building in which to hold the class. A blackboard was painted onto the outside of a building for use in outdoor classes. Literacy learners in several villages built a roofed shelter in which to hold the classes. Both venues allowed residents of the village, as well as people passing through, to freely observe the reading and learning processes.

Classes held in the Likpakpaanl migrant farm areas helped raise awareness of the written standard cross-dialectally. Each migrant farm village had residents from several clans. Each learner had contacts with clan members in the traditional area as well as with clan members in other migrant farm villages. A literacy class in one migrant village could start a chain reaction of awareness that crossed to other clans and dialects.

In both programmes, the LDT communicated regularly with local congregations. The Lelemi LDT initially worked primarily with the EP and RC churches because of their predominance in the lower and upper areas respectively. The SIU coordinator now has contacts with congregations of all churches. The Likpakpaanl LDT initially worked with the AG, EP and RC churches in the traditional area to recruit facilitators and sell materials. Later they made contact with the Evangelical Church of Ghana in the migrant farm area and the ELCG in the

LiKoonl area. Other churches have provided facilitators and offered their facilities as a location for classes.

Due to the difficulty and expense of travelling, the Lelemi LDT frequently used letters rather than personal visits to communicate with the facilitators and supervisors, sending them by means of a taxi driver to the appropriate village on their market day.

The use of radio by KOYA to announce its annual conference in Saboba also served to promote awareness of the development of the Likpakpaanl language.

The Lelemi LDT was more thorough than the Likpakpaanl LDT in providing opportunities for speakers of all dialects to receive information. The Likpakpaanl LDT, in the early years, primarily informed people in villages where congregations were located. These were also the villages along the main roads. Because some LiGbinl-speaking villages, especially the one where the *land owner* for the entire tribe lives neither had congregations nor were located on the main roads, speakers of LiGbinl were less informed about the literacy program than were speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiNafeel. Speakers of LiKoonl had almost no information about the literacy work until the late 1980s.

The Likpakpaanl LDT also effectively informed people living in migrant farm areas, regardless of the dialect they spoke. LiKoonl speakers in their traditional area had received some information about the standard through word of mouth and through the observation of classes being held in other dialect areas. Thus, while both LDTs undertook activities to inform the language community about the written standard, the Lelemi LDT was more effective in assuring that speakers of all dialects were equally informed.

6.3.3 *Fostering involvement of speakers of all dialects*

For speakers of a dialect to accept the written standard they must not only be informed about it, they must be involved in the language development work (see Section 2.1.5). Both LDTs involved the language community in the work in a variety of ways. Opportunities for involvement included serving on committees, attending workshops, teaching others to read, reviewing written materials, selling books, authoring new books, motivating others to read and calling students to the literacy class. In one sense, every use of the written standard is a form of involvement: learning to read, writing letters, reading books, reading signs, reading market tickets, and writing minutes of a meeting. The items in this latter list are personal activities, while the former ones benefit others in the community. This section focuses on activities in the former list.

Most of the activities discussed in Section 6.3.2, which informed people about the written standard, also served to involve people in the language development process. For example, at the Literacy Day celebration, everyone present affirmed those who had learned to read and through their presence and cheers, motivated others to do the same. During the visits of the Lelemi LDT, an invitation was usually extended for people to attend a workshop or serve on a committee. During the Likpakpaanl LDT's village visits, facilitators were trained.

The Lelemi LDT had a wider variety of workshops than did the Likpakpaanl LDT. The Lelemi LDT held workshops to make decisions about the orthography, to write materials in the language, to train literacy facilitators, to train committee members and to create songs in Lelemi based on translated materials. These workshops worked well for Lelemi speakers, most of whom had attended formal school. The workshops always involved representatives of each Lelemi dialect.

The Likpakpaanl LDT also had workshops for training literacy facilitators and for writing materials; however, the majority of facilitators were trained one-on-one. Because the Likpakpaanl language community had lower levels of formal education and a less hierarchical culture, this informal training method better suited their situation, allowing each person to move at his or her own pace. The less formal approach also allowed for the immediate training of individuals with teaching potential. This method minimized the distinction between students and facilitators, which was helpful in maintaining positive student-facilitator relationships in their egalitarian society. This one-on-one training was done in the LiChabol, LiNafeel, and LiMonkpenl-speaking areas as well as in migrant farm areas.

The Lelemi LDT has also occasionally used a less formal approach for training facilitators. In the effort to teach semi-literates to read, every learner was encouraged to immediately teach others to read using what they had just learned. In recent years, by taking the facilitator training to each town or cluster of towns, the Lelemi LDT provides more individualized attention, reduces the costs of holding a workshop and assures the participation of speakers of all dialects.

Reviewing of translated materials for naturalness was another area in which both LDTs involved the language community. Both teams recruited people who spoke a variety of dialects to serve as reviewers. The Lelemi LDT intentionally trained reviewers in each dialect area, while the Likpakpaanl LDT did not. The Likpakpaanl reviewers came from one LiChabol community, one LiMonkpenl community and one community in a migrant farm area with mixed population.

Literacy committees at the level of district or town were organized by each LDT to oversee the literacy work. The level of activity of the committees varied with time and location. In annual reports, each LDT mentioned efforts to revive, train, or strengthen the committees.

The Lelemi LDT worked with queen mothers to increase the involvement of women. Unlike other training led by the Lelemi LDT, they did not train all the queen mothers at once, but targeted one town after another, increasing the number of involved towns over a period of several years.

The Annual Harvest was the most significant way that the Likpakpaanl LDT involved the members of the community. Each village was asked to contribute financially toward the programme to cover the costs of supervisor visits and the production of new materials. The work of each district supervisor was affirmed by giving him a portion of the funds collected from his district. The LDT gave motivational speeches in each literacy district encouraging participation in all aspects of the programme.

In both programmes, a development aspect was added between the mid 1980s and the 1990s. Opportunities to be involved in development projects were equally available to speakers of all dialects. This is the only aspect of the programme in which LiKoonl and LiGbinl speakers became equally involved at the same time as did speakers of other dialects. However, the REFLECT circles, which were started in 1999, have only involved speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl, with a disproportionate number of circles being in LiChabol-speaking villages. No LiNafeel or LiKoonl-speaking villages have REFLECT circles.

In both LDTs, the primary decision makers from within the language community have been speakers of just one or two of the dialects. In the Lelemi LDT, all employees have been speakers of the Central dialect with the exception of a single speaker of the Baglo dialect. The Lelemi Executive Committee was originally composed entirely of speakers of the Central dialect in the early years, but now has representatives from all the dialects. The current zonal literacy supervisors are residents of Kudje (Kunsu) and Old Baika. A resident of New Baika formerly served as a zonal supervisor. A zonal supervisor for the development work is based in Kute (Baglo). The location of these supervisors in Kunsu and Baika, the dialect most linguistically distinct and a dialect which is somewhat socio-culturally isolated may serve to motivate speakers of these dialects to greater involvement.

In the Likpakpaanl LDT, the majority of workers at the central office have been speakers of LiChabol, with a few workers speaking LiMonkpenl. All of the supervisors for the Saboba Literacy District have also been speakers of either LiChabol or LiMonkpenl. The zonal supervisors are more representative of the local dialects. The Likpakpaanl Executive

Committee, with representatives from each literacy district was guaranteed to have a LiKoonl-speaking member from the Gbintiri Literacy District and a LiMonkpenl-speaking member from the Tatale Literacy District. Each of the other districts includes speakers of a variety of dialects, so the LiNafeel and LiGbinl dialects may have been represented. However, due to financial difficulties, since about 2002, only members of the Executive Committee within the Saboba Literacy District have been invited to meetings assuring that LiKoonl speakers are no longer represented.

Both LDTs involved members of the community in language development work. The Lelemi LDT used more formal methods, including workshops, while the Likpakpaanl LDT used less formal methods, such as one-on-one training. The Lelemi LDT was more focused than the Likpakpaanl LDT in specifically involving speakers of each dialect in the language development work. Both LDTs hired more employees from some dialect areas than others and had, at least at times, imbalance in the dialect representation on their executive committees.

6.3.4 Awareness of and sensitivity to the socio-cultural situation

In Section 5.3 the socio-cultural information about the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language communities was evaluated, and recommendations formulated as if the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl language programmes had not yet begun. In this section, the recommendations presented there are compared to the work that the LDTs did.

Due to lower levels of unity and interdialectal communication in the Likpakpaanl language community, it was recommended in Section 5.3.1 that to foster CAWS, they may need more motivational activities than do language communities with greater levels of unity and interdialectal communication. As was presented in Sections 6.2, 6.3.2, and 6.3.3, the Likpakpaanl LDT undertook activities to inform and involve the language community so that they would be motivated to accept the written standard.

In the Lelemi language community, the levels of unity and interdialectal communication were not particularly low, but they appeared to have been decreasing in recent years. It was recommended in Section 5.3.2 that to foster CAWS, they may need more motivational activities than do language communities where the trend is towards greater unity and interdialectal communication. As was presented in Sections 6.1, 6.3.2, and 6.3.3, the Lelemi LDT did undertake activities to inform and involve the language community so that they would be motivated to accept the written standard.

Both LDTs worked through the existing social networks, using the aspects which served to unify their language community. The Lelemi LDT communicated with the town chiefs and the

paramount chiefs, working through them, especially in the early stages of the programme, to inform members of the community about the language development work. However, in later years, direct communication between the LDT and the chiefs diminished, resulting in some chiefs lacking current information about the project. While the distribution of Lelemi churches reinforces the division between upper and lower Lelemi, the Lelemi LDT, by working equally with the two largest churches from the beginning of the programme, has used this social network as a way to reach Lelemi speakers in all towns. Funerals were utilized by the Lelemi LDT as a venue at which to disseminate information about the programme. The only social institution identified as having a unifying impact that was not used by the Lelemi LDT was the secondary school that is attended by speakers of all Lelemi dialects.

The Likpakpaanl LDT also worked through the social networks that unify their language community and enhance interdialectal communication. The LDT informally cooperated with KOYA. They scheduled RILADEP Literacy Days to coincide with KOYA Conferences for greater publicity while the KOYA leadership publicised the adult literacy classes and encouraged attendance. The Likpakpaanl LDT also realized that the migrant farm areas would be receptive to the literacy work and beneficial to the spread of information to many clans. Especially in the early years, the Likpakpaanl LDT placed a heavy emphasis on communicating with members of the language community through the congregations, even though only a small proportion of Likpakpaanl speakers were Christian at that time. The congregations did provide a good way to get messages to at least some residents of many villages. The only social institutions identified as having a unifying impact that was not utilized by the Likpakpaanl LDT were the secondary schools in Saboba that are attended by speakers of four of Likpakpaanl's five major dialects.

Communicating with people at the level at which they self-identify was done more effectively by the Lelemi LDT than the Likpakpaanl LDT. The Lelemi LDT regularly visited each of the 18 Lelemi towns from the early stages of the language development programme. The Likpakpaanl LDT had a much greater task: to assure that they communicated with each of the over 40 Likpakpaanl-speaking clans. No specific effort was made by the LDT to establish communication with each clan. In the early years, the LDT had regular communication with clans from only four of the five main Likpakpaanl-speaking tribes. Since the LDT established regular communication with the LiKoonl tribe in the late 1980s, that would have been the earliest that communications were established with all clans.

In Section 5.3.5, the Teteman, Baika, LiKoonl, LiNafeel and LiGbinl dialects were identified as those which were socio-culturally isolated, to some extent from the other dialects of their respective languages and may have needed special attention to motivate them to accept the written standard. Of these, the LiKoonl speakers were the most isolated, and therefore, in the

greatest need of specific attention. From 1966 to the mid 1980s, speakers of the LiKoonl dialect were considered unable to use the Likpakpaanl materials, so they were never invited to events and their villages were never visited by members of the LDT. However, some LiKoonl speakers living in the migrant farm areas did attend literacy classes along with speakers of other dialects and learned to read. In the late 1980s, a concentrated effort was made to start literacy classes in the LiKoonl-speaking area. At the same time, a recording was made and distributed of a LiKoonl speaker spontaneously adapting the Likpakpaanl New Testament into the LiKoonl dialect. The ELCG provided additional motivation by paying for the pencils, exercise books and primers for which speakers of other dialects had to pay. Speakers of the other four Likpakpaanl dialects were not as socio-culturally isolated as were the LiKoonl speakers.

While the Lelemi LDT did not appear to make any special efforts to involve speakers of the Kunsu, Teteman or Baika dialects, they did accord them the same treatment as the other two Lelemi dialects: communicating with them as frequently and involving them in activities as regularly. As has already been noted, the Likpakpaanl LDT in the early years worked primarily with speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiNafeel with some involvement with LiGbinl speakers. The speakers of LiKoonl were not involved in the language development activities until the mid 1980s. With the start of REFLECT activities in 1999 and the decrease in support of the traditional literacy programme, only speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl are currently involved.

6.4 Summary

Both LDTs demonstrated some sensitivity to dialect differences and socio-cultural factors as they undertook the language development work. Both also incorporated activities into their language development programmes that served to inform the language community about the written standard and to involve them in the language development process. The Lelemi LDT was more intentional than the Likpakpaanl LDT in their efforts to equally inform and involve speakers of all dialects. However, neither LDT intentionally focused additional efforts on the dialects which were most distinct linguistically or most isolated socio-culturally. The impact of these activities on CAWS is explored in the next chapter.

7 Chapter 7 Acceptance of the written standards in Lelemi and Likpakpaanl

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the acceptance of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards by speakers of each of the dialects is explored based on responses of individuals, elders, and members of the LDT. The multifaceted nature of acceptance (see Section 2.3.1.3 and Section 3.2) necessitated that a variety of questions be used both in the interviews and in the questionnaires to adequately assess acceptance.

Section 7.1 focuses on 19 indicators of acceptance which are each related to one of Rogers' (2003) five stages of the innovation-decision model. When considered together, the 19 indicators provide an overall picture of the acceptance of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards by speakers of each dialect. Section 7.2 discusses reinventions of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards and their implications for acceptance. Section 7.3 presents the general perspective of community leaders and the LDT regarding the level of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect. Section 7.4 presents the perceptions of the language community regarding the primary influences on acceptance. Section 7.5 considers the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of the different dialects in the light of the linguistic factors, socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors.

7.1 Stages of acceptance of the written standards

In this section, responses to the individual questionnaire and the group interview with village elders are presented according to the five innovation-decision stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation. The data shows the relative level of acceptance of the Lelemi standard by speakers of each Lelemi dialect and the relative level of acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard by speakers of each Likpakpaanl dialect⁶⁰.

7.1.1 *Knowledge about the written standard and the language programme*

Knowledge of the written standard was described in Section 2.3.2.3.1 as consisting of three parts: awareness-knowledge, procedural knowledge and theoretical knowledge. In this section, the primary focus is on awareness-knowledge of the written standard since it is most crucial to

⁶⁰ The overall acceptance of the Lelemi standard is not being compared to the overall acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard. According to many of the indicators, the Lelemi standard was better accepted than the Likpakpaanl standard. This was probably due to the higher literacy rates in other languages among Lelemi speakers than among Likpakpaanl speakers at the start of the two mother-tongue literacy programmes. It may also have been due to the smaller size of the Lelemi language area and the smaller population of Lelemi speakers. The aim, however, was not to compare the acceptance of Lelemi to the acceptance of Likpakpaanl, but to consider the relative level of acceptance by different dialects within each language.

developing a persuasion toward or against it. Because procedural knowledge is related to the use of the written standard, it is subsumed under responses related to the decision and utilization stages. Because theoretical knowledge is not necessary for acceptance of a written standard, it is not considered here.

Indicators of awareness of the written standard included the ability to name or describe books written in the standard, knowledge of where one can obtain books in their language, and knowledge of where a pre-literate can learn to read. Knowledge about two other aspects of the language development process was also assessed: knowledge about members of the LDT, and knowledge about the nature and selection of the written standard. These two pieces of knowledge are not as necessary as the former three for a person to move through the remaining stages of the innovation-decision process. However, knowledge about the LDT provides an individual with greater access to other knowledge about the standard.

Respondents were asked to name or describe books they had seen. Non-specific responses, such as “some books,” were not counted as knowing about a book, but those which included a description of the content, such as “a health book,” were counted. As shown in Table 7.1, among Lelemi respondents, those from Teteman mentioned the most books per respondent while the Jasikan respondents mentioned the least. When considering only readers, the Bodada respondents mentioned nearly as many books per respondent as did the Teteman respondents. Of the 38 books which have been produced in Lelemi⁶¹, 27 were named by at least one respondent. The most books mentioned by a single respondent were eight. One book, the New Testament, was mentioned by three-fourths of the respondents. One or both primers were mentioned by two-fifths of the respondents. The book on AIDS, and the Ghana Constitution were each mentioned by about one-fifth of the respondents. Other books were mentioned less frequently.

Table 7.1 Number of Lelemi books named by respondents from each dialect

Dialect	All respondents			Readers			Non-readers		
	# of books	N	Books per person	# of books	N	Books per person	# of books	N	Books per person
Kunsu	37	13	2.8	32	9	3.6	5	4	1.2
Jasikan	17	9	1.9	14	7	2.0	3	2	1.5
Bodada	28	9	3.1	24	5	4.8	4	4	1.0
Baglo	27	9	3.0	24	7	3.4	3	2	1.5
Teteman	35	9	3.8	31	6	5.2	4	3	1.3
Baika	19	6	3.2	18	5	3.6	1	1	1.0
All	163	55	3.0	143	39	3.7	20	16	1.3

⁶¹ According to GILLBT’s database of publications, 23 unique titles in Lelemi were produced between 1980 and 1997. BALP workers mentioned three other titles which were produced since the database was last updated. Twelve books in Lelemi were produced by Dogli.

As shown in Table 7.2, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl-speaking respondents named the most books, while those speaking LiKoonl and LiNafeel named the least. When considering only readers, LiChabol speakers named the most while LiKoonl speakers named the least. When considering only non-readers, the LiMonkpenl respondents named the most and the LiKoonl and LiNafeel respondents named the least. Of the 57 books produced in Likpakpaanl⁶², many of which are now out of print, 28 were named specifically by at least one person. The most books named by a single respondent were eight. Nearly three-fifths of the respondents mentioned seeing one or more of the primers. Just over half of the respondents mentioned the Bible, the New Testament or both. All other books were mentioned by less than one-fifth of the respondents.

Table 7.2 Number of Likpakpaanl books named by respondents from each dialect

Dialect	All respondents			Readers			Non-readers		
	# of books	N	Ave	# of books	N	Ave	# of books	N	Ave
LiKoonl	16	11	1.5	10	4	2.5	6	7	0.9
LiNafeel	30	20	1.5	16	5	3.2	14	15	0.9
LiGbinl	32	17	1.9	11	3	3.7	21	14	1.5
LiChabol	47	21	2.2	21	5	4.2	26	16	1.6
LiMonkpenl	42	15	2.8	29	8	3.6	13	7	1.9
All	167	84	2.1	87	25	3.6	80	59	1.4

Most respondents knew where to obtain books in their language. As shown in Table 7.3, most Lelemi respondents said they obtain books through the local literacy facilitator. The second most common response was purchasing books from a supervisor. Some respondents in Jasikan and Baglo said that they bought books from an executive committee member. Some respondents in the lower area said they purchase books at the LDT office. Other respondents said they could purchase them through their church. Books can be obtained in each of these ways. Only three respondents, one each from three dialects, said that they did not know where to buy books.

Table 7.3 Where Lelemi respondents say they get Lelemi books

Dialect	Facilitator	Supervisor	Committee Member	Head Office	Church	Other	Don't know	N
Kunsu	6	3	0	2	1	0	1	13
Jasikan	1	0	3	2	1	0	1	8
Bodada	2	1	0	4	0	1	0	8
Baglo	5	2	1	0	1	0	0	9
Teteman	7	1	0	0	0	0	1	9
Baika	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	6
All	21	12	4	8	4	1	3	53

⁶² According to GILLBT's publications database 52 unique titles in Likpakpaanl were produced between 1969 and 1998. RILADEP workers mentioned one title which was produced since the database was last updated. School for Life produced at least four books in Likpakpaanl.

As shown in Table 7.4, most Likpakpaanl respondents said that they could buy books through the head office. Formerly, literacy facilitators and supervisors sold books; however, books have not been available through most RILADEP facilitators and supervisors for several years. The facilitators from School for Life do distribute primers to students. Some churches and missions sell books to their members. About one-seventh of Likpakpaanl respondents said they did not know where to get Likpakpaanl books. Two-fifths of LiKoonl respondents and one-fifth of LiNafeel respondents gave this response. These two dialects are the ones in which literacy classes are no longer being officially organized by the LDT.

Table 7.4 Where Likpakpaanl respondents say they can get Likpakpaanl books

Dialect	facilitator	supervisor	head office	church	from learners	other	Don't know	N
LiChabol	3	1	13	0	1	1	2	21
LiGbinl	1	0	11	1	1	1	2	17
LiKoonl	1	1	0	3	0	1	4	10
LiMonkpenl	5	3	6	0	0	0	1	15
LiNafeel	2	0	10	3	0	1	4	20
All	12	5	40	7	2	4	13	83

All respondents of all dialects knew equally well where a person could learn to read (See Table 7.5 and Table 7.6). No respondent said, "I don't know." The vast majority of respondents said that a learner could go to the local literacy facilitator or to the local class. The second most common response for both languages was that the person could be taught one-on-one. Some of those who could read said, "I will teach him," while some of those who could not read said "I would ask X to teach me," naming a friend or relative. Since both literacy programmes encourage one-on-one instruction, this second category of response is as valid as the first. A few respondents mentioned both the facilitator and one-on-one.

Table 7.5 Where Lelemi respondents said a person could learn to read

Dialect	Facilitator	1 on 1	Both	Supervisor or Office	Not in our town	N
Baglo	8	0	0	1	0	9
Baika	1	3	0	1	0	5
Central	12	2	1	2	0	17
Kunsu	8	2	0	2	1	13
Teteman	9	0	0	0	0	9
All	38	7	1	6	1	53

Some respondents said that they would go to the LDT office or ask about lessons from a supervisor that visits their village. This response may indicate either a lack of knowledge about the classes led by local literacy facilitators or a lack of trust in them. However, because respondents who lived closest to the LDT office were most likely to respond this way, it may

indicate that they have closer ties to the LDT than do speakers of other dialects. Only one person said that it was not possible to learn to read in that town.

Table 7.6 Where Likpakpaanl respondents said a person could learn to read

Dialect	Facilitator	1 on 1	Both	Supervisor or Office	N
LiKoonl	9	0	1	1	11
LiNafeel	12	5	2	1	20
LiGbinl	13	3	0	1	17
LiChabol	12	3	1	4	20
LiMonkpenl	11	1	0	3	15
All	57	12	4	10	83

Respondents were asked to name any members of the LDT whom they know. Knowing LDT members provides speakers of a dialect with a strong link to further information about the development of their language. Some respondents were able to name or clearly describe current or former members of the LDT. Others named or described zonal or district supervisors. It is likely that more respondents knew such supervisors and would have mentioned them if asked about them. Thus, such responses were not counted affirmatively although knowledge of workers at this level is also important. Other respondents claimed to know members of the LDT by sight but gave no name or description.

As shown in Table 7.7, Lelemi respondents of different dialects vary greatly in their knowledge about LDT members. The Bodada and Baglo dialects, from which the LDT members come, had the greatest percent of respondents who knew members of the LDT. The Baika dialect had the lowest percent of respondents who knew members of the LDT.

Table 7.7 Lelemi respondents' knowledge of LDT members and literacy workers

Dialect	LDT	Zonal Supervisor	no name or description	none	N
Kunsu	7 (54%)	0	0	6	13
Jasikan	4 (44%)	0	2	3	9
Bodada	6 (75%)	0	2	0	8
Baglo	7 (78%)	0	1	1	9
Teteman	4 (44%)	1	1	3	9
Baika	1 (20%)	1	2	1	5
All	30 (57%)	2	8	13	53

As shown in Table 7.8, knowledge about LDT members by the Likpakpaanl respondents from different dialects also varies greatly. The LiChabol and LiMonkpenl dialects, from which the members of the LDT come, had the highest percent of respondents who know LDT members. The LiNafeel and LiGbinl dialects had the lowest percent of respondents who know LDT members.

Table 7.8 Likpakpaanl respondents' knowledge of LDT members and literacy workers

Dialect	LDT	District Supervisor	Zonal Supervisor	no name or description	none	N
LiKoonl	2 (33%)	0	0	2	2	6
LiNafeel	3 (15%)	1	0	2	14	20
LiGbinl	1 (6%)	3	0	4	9	17
LiChabol	10 (50%)	2	0	0	8	20
LiMonkpenl	6 (40%)	2	2	1	4	15
All	22 (28%)	8	2	9	37	78

The chief and elders were asked about their knowledge of the literacy programme. Most of the chiefs had asked the local literacy facilitator to be present during the group interview. The researchers asked the literacy facilitators not to respond to questions about the language development programme, so that the opinions and insights of the chief and elders could be heard⁶³. In most situations, the chief and elders answered all the questions about the written standard.

Most elders had accurate general knowledge about the language development work. However, the Lelemi elders seemed to be better informed about earlier stages of the work than of current work. For example, some requested that the Old Testament be translated. They were not aware that that work had begun in 1997. Some said that in recent years they have been less aware of the LDT's work because the LDT interacts primarily with the literacy facilitators, the literacy learners and the development groups, but not with the elders. Most of the Likpakpaanl elders were well informed about the literacy work in their own village and had a basic knowledge of the entire programme. However, the elders in Bonbonayili, a LiKoonl village, knew almost nothing about the literacy work.

The elders were asked to name the dialect in which the books were written and to explain how that dialect was chosen. The elders in Bodada, Kute, Old Baika and New Baika each stated that the written standard is a combination of all the dialects which was agreed upon by representatives of all dialects. Elders from several towns mentioned that the written standard resembles one dialect more than it does others. All those who mentioned a specific dialect, stated that the standard most resembled a dialect different from their own. Elders in Bodada said the standard most resembles the Baglo dialect. Elders in Kute (Baglo) and Odumasi (Baglo) said the standard resembles the Bodada dialect. Some elders mentioned that the use of Twi and Ewe words in the Lelemi standard is avoided. Elders in Kudje said that because their dialect is "adulterated by Twi", the books were written in upper Lelemi. Elders in Baika said that because their dialect is "a bit different" from the others, the written standard was from the "other side,"

⁶³ The literacy facilitators were interviewed individually or in a small group after the interview with the elders was complete.

meaning Bodada, Jasikan, Kudje and Baglo. Although Ring said the written standard contains, “...features that everybody recognized as their own,” many elders spoke most about the features that differed from their own dialects.

The Likpakpaanl-speaking elders from all the dialect areas stated that the written standard is based upon the LiChabol dialect. Elders who spoke LiNafeel, LiChabol and LiMonkpenl all mentioned that LiNafeel had originally been used in some books, but that the LDT later selected LiChabol. A variety of reasons were given for the selection of LiChabol including that it is the dialect of the district capital, it is best understood, it is easier to write, and it is the purest. The elders at Yankasia said that Steele moved to Saboba because the men in Yankasia were not interested in learning to read. Only the first reason was mentioned by Steele.

The elders were asked whether any speaker of their language might only have learned about the written standard recently or might not yet know about the written materials in their language. This question asks the elders to assess the knowledge of others about the standard. All the Lelemi elders said that all Lelemi speakers know about the written materials. Several attributed this knowledge to the visits that the LDT made to the Lelemi towns. One group of elders said friends and relatives passed on the information, so that those who have migrated to urban areas are aware.

The Likpakpaanl elders were not as unanimous in their response. Two-thirds of the groups of elders said that all Likpakpaanl speakers know about the literacy work. Those who said that not everyone knows cited people who live in interior villages and have little contact with villages where literacy classes are held. An elder in Wapuli stated that people in all the villages around Wapuli know about the materials in Likpakpaanl, but that in some villages, no one is able to teach others to read.

7.1.2 Persuasion toward or against the standard

Persuasion toward or against the written standard was assessed in both the individual questionnaires and the interviews with elders. The elders were asked about people’s initial response to the written materials. Individuals were asked about the perceived difficulty of learning to read the standard, the benefits of being able to read, and for whom they perceived the materials to have been written. If the goal of this research were to determine the actual difficulty for speakers of different dialects or the difference in benefits enjoyed, a more objective approach would have been taken. However, it is an individual’s perception about difficulties and benefits of an innovation that influence his decisions about it.

The Lelemi elders in every town stated that the people responded positively to the news that the LDT was resuming the language work begun by Dogli. Lelemi LDT members also indicated that speakers of all dialects responded positively.

The Likpakpaanl elders in most villages said that the people in their village initially responded positively to the materials in Likpakpaanl, but some mentioned negative attitudes that had been present. The Likpakpaanl elders in Yankasia (LiNafeel) said that although they were happy that Steele was learning their language, the residents there were not eager to learn to read when Steele first began literacy classes. They also said that they were not happy that Steele moved from Yankasia to Saboba. The elders in Toma (LiChabol) said they did not see the value of literacy in Likpakpaanl in the early days of the programme so they never learned to read. The elders in Labaldo (LiMonkpenl) said that the LiMonkpenl speakers were initially more eager to learn to read than were the LiChabol speakers, because the latter questioned the usefulness of reading a language that they already understood⁶⁴.

Elders and questionnaire respondents were asked “For whom are the books in L— written ?” All responses indicated that speakers of each dialect felt they were included in those targeted by the language development work. As shown in Table 7.9, the most common response by speakers of both languages was to state a variation of “For us, the L— speaking people.” Several respondents emphasized that it was for ‘all’ speakers of their language or the ‘whole’ community. Some Likpakpaanl speakers stated that the materials were for everyone without specifying the scope of everyone. Some respondents indicated that the written materials were for a specific subgroup of the language community: for those who had never been to school or for women and/or children. One respondent from each of three dialects, LiGbinl, LiKoonl, and LiNafeel, said the materials were for speakers of his or her dialect⁶⁵. Only four Likpakpaanl respondents said they did not know for whom the books were written, one LiChabol, one LiKoonl, and two LiNafeel respondents.

⁶⁴ This perception that there is little value in learning to read a language which one already speaks is common throughout West Africa where most children who attend school learn to read first in a language such as French or English which they are also learning to speak.

⁶⁵ Mentioning a dialect other than his own, would have indicated a lower persuasion toward the standard. Mentioning only his own may indicate a strong level of acceptance or may reflect the fact that Likpakpaanl speakers self identify at the level of clan.

Table 7.9 For whom the books were written

Response	Lelemi	Likpakpaanl
the L– speaking people	44 (80%)	46 (54%)
all the L– speaking people	4 (7%)	2 (2%)
the learners	6 (11%)	19 (22%)
everybody	0 (0%)	5 (6%)
women and/or children	0 (0%)	5 (6%)
speakers of my dialect	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
others	1 (2%)	2 (2%)
don't know	0 (0%)	4 (5%)
All	55 (100%)	86 (100%)

Questionnaire respondents were asked whether it was difficult to learn to read materials in the standard. Responses of ‘no’, and qualifications of ‘no’ such as ‘It is not very difficult,’ were categorized as ‘not difficult.’ Responses of ‘yes’ and all qualifications of ‘yes’, such as ‘It is difficult for us older people,’ ‘It is difficult when you begin,’ or ‘It is a bit difficult’ were all categorized as ‘difficult.’ Also categorized as ‘difficult’ were responses such as ‘I don’t know if it is difficult because I am not learning.’

As shown in Table 7.10, speakers of Kunsu and Central dialects most frequently said that learning to read Lelemi is not difficult. The number of Baglo, Teteman and Baika respondents who said that learning to read Lelemi was difficult was approximately equal to the number who said it was not difficult.

Table 7.10 Lelemi speakers’ evaluation of the difficulty of learning to read Lelemi

Dialect	not difficult	difficult	N
Kunsu	10 (77%)	3	13
Central	12 (71%)	5	17
Baglo	4 (45%)	5	9
Teteman	5 (54%)	4	9
Baika	3 (60%)	2	5
All	34 (64%)	19	53

Likpakpaanl speakers indicated that they found learning to read their own language to be more difficult than did speakers of Lelemi. Most Likpakpaanl speakers were learning to read for the first time, while most Lelemi speakers had already been taught to read another language. As was mentioned in Section 2.3.2.1.3, learning to read for the first time is always more difficult than learning to apply reading skills to a second or third language one already speaks. Again, the focus of this research is on the relative ease of learning to read for speakers of different dialects of the same language.

As shown in Table 7.11, more than twice as many LiKoonl and LiGbinl respondents said that learning to read Likpakpaanl was difficult as said it was not. Nearly equal numbers of LiNafeel,

LiChabol and LiMonkpenl respondents said that learning to read Likpakpaanl was difficult as said it was not.

Table 7.11 Likpakpaanl speakers' evaluation of the difficulty of learning to read Likpakpaanl

Dialect	not difficult	difficult	N
LiKoonl	2 (18%)	9	11
LiNafeel	10 (50%)	10	20
LiGbinl	5 (29%)	12	17
LiChabol	8 (40%)	12	20
LiMonkpenl	8 (53%)	7	15
All	33 (40%)	50	83

Another indicator of attitude toward the standard is the benefits that individuals ascribe to literacy in the written standard. It was expected that respondents who had a negative attitude toward the written standard would say there were no benefits or might explain why a revision to the standard would be more beneficial. Only three respondents, each speaking a different dialect, said there were no benefits. A few respondents stated no specific benefits, but affirmed that reading in the mother tongue was beneficial. These were categorized as 'general'. Such responses may indicate that the respondent views literacy in the standard as less beneficial than those who listed specific benefits.

Respondents listed many benefits of mother tongue literacy. The benefits which were mentioned most frequently each have separate columns in Table 7.12 and Table 7.13. Those benefits are: 1) that understanding is greater when one reads in one's own language; 2) that being able to read allows one to travel more easily on buses; 3) that being able to read helps one not to be cheated or over charged at the market; 4) that one learns more about one's language; and, 5) that one can read and write letters. Less frequent responses were combined to form other categories. The category *being informed* included the benefits of knowledge obtained from books and the greater ability to learn to read other languages. The category *greater self sufficiency* included being able to read for yourself, having greater confidence in getting help from government offices, and being able to correspond without others reading or writing your letters. *Helping others* included helping them learn to read, reading to them or giving them advice obtained from books. The category *enter formal school* refers to the practice in the Likpakpaanl-speaking area of teens who had never attended formal school being admitted to primary class 4 or 5 after learning to read Likpakpaanl. The category *material and social benefit* includes responses about getting jobs, being asked to do something important and having esteem because your language is written.

All Lelemi respondents but eight mentioned specific benefits of reading Lelemi. Some mentioned several benefits. Over half of the respondents stated that materials read in Lelemi

were better understood than materials read in other languages. Speakers of Kunsu and Teteman mentioned this benefit less frequently than did speakers of other dialects, which may indicate that speakers of these dialects have more difficulty understanding the written materials. Other frequently-mentioned benefits were that reading Lelemi helped individuals to speak their language better, provided them with material or social advantages and provided them with access to information. Speakers of Kunsu mentioned material or social advantages more often than did speakers of other dialects. Speakers of Teteman and Jasikan most frequently failed to state specific benefits or stated that there were none.

Table 7.12 Lelemi respondents' perceptions of the benefits of reading Lelemi

Dialect	under-stand better	Know own language better	being inform-ed	self suffi-cient	read and write letters	help others	travel	material and social benefit	general	none	Total benefits	N
Kunsu	4	2	1	1	0	1	1	4	2 (15%)	0	17	13
Jasikan	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	11	9
Central	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (13%)	0	8	8
Baglo	7	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	9
Teteman	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3 (33%)	0	10	9
Baika	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
All	29	7	4	3	2	1	1	5	7 (13%)	1 (2%)	61	53

Speakers of Likpakpaanl also mentioned many benefits of being able to read Likpakpaanl (See Table 7.13). Only two stated that there were no benefits, while seven others stated no specific benefits or said that they did not know what the benefits were. The most frequent benefits mentioned include being able to travel, having access to information, being able to read and write letters, not being dependent on others to read to them, not being cheated at the market and being able to enter formal school at an advanced level⁶⁶. Only a few Likpakpaanl speakers mentioned that they understood written materials in Likpakpaanl better than materials in other languages, perhaps because they did not understand written materials in other languages at all. While speakers of all dialects stated that reading Likpakpaanl was beneficial, the fact that speakers of LiChabol more frequently mentioned general benefits or no benefits may indicate that they perceived that the written standard was less beneficial than did speakers of other dialects.

⁶⁶ The differences in responses between the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl respondents reflects that most Lelemi speakers had basic reading skills in one or more languages before learning to read Lelemi, while most Likpakpaanl speakers gained their first literacy skills in their mother tongue. Thus, the benefits listed by speakers of Likpakpaanl focus on early reading skills including being able to read and write one's name, being able to read signs, and being able to read prices.

Table 7.13 Likpakpaanl respondents' perceptions of the benefits of reading Likpakpaanl

Dialect	understand better	know own language better	enter formal	being informed	self sufficient	write and read letters	travel	help others	not cheated at market	material and social	general or don't know	none	Total benefits	N
LiKoonl	3	1	0	5	2	3	3	1	2	0	1 (10%)	0	21	10
LiNafeel	1	0	2	7	1	2	3	0	4	3	0	0	23	20
LiGbinl	1	0	3	1	2	2	7	3	1	3	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	25	17
LiChabol	2	0	2	5	1	6	3	1	1	1	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	27	20
LiMonkpenl	0	0	1	3	6	2	5	1	1	1	1 (7%)	0	21	15
All	7	1	8	21	12	15	21	6	9	8	7 (8%)	2 (2%)	117	82

7.1.3 Decisions about and utilization of the written standard

Decisions related to accepting the written standard include deciding to buy books in the standard, deciding to learn to read the standard, deciding to attend a literacy event and deciding to listen to others read (see Section 3.2). The utilization of the standard involves acting on those decisions, especially the ones that can be done repeatedly. The respondents were asked about attending classes, attending literacy events and obtaining reading materials. The respondents were also asked to name locations where the books are read the most. Elders were asked to make similar evaluations.

One decision made by those who accept the written standard is to obtain books in the standard. As shown in Table 7.14, the average number of books owned by Lelemi speakers who owned books ranged from a low of 2.4 for speakers of the Central dialect, to a high of 3.6 for speakers of the Teteman variety. The averages for respondents from the other three dialects were values between these two. Respondents from Baika, Teteman and Central had the highest percent of respondents who owned any books while respondents from Kunsu had the least.

Table 7.14 Number of books owned by Lelemi-speaking respondents

Dialect	# of Books	# of respondents owning books	Ave	Total number of respondents N	Percent of respondents owning any books
Kunsu	19	7	2.7	13	54
Central	31	13	2.4	17	76
Baglo	16	6	2.7	9	67
Teteman	25	7	3.6	9	78
Baika	14	5	2.8	6	83
All	105	38	2.8	54	70

As shown in Table 7.15, LiMonkpenl and LiChabol respondents who owned books owned 2.4 to 2.6 books each. LiKoonl, LiGbinl and LiNafeel respondents who owned books owned 2.0 to 2.2 books each. The percent of respondents who owned books was highest for speakers of LiKoonl and LiMonkpenl at just under half. About 30 percent of LiNafeel, LiGbinl and LiChabol respondents owned books.

Table 7.15 Number of books owned by Likpakpaanl-speaking respondents

Dialect	# of Books	# of respondents owning books	Average books owned	Total number of respondents N	Percent of respondents owning any books
LiKoonl	11	5	2.2	11	45
LiNafeel	13	6	2.1	20	30
LiGbinl	10	5	2.0	17	29
LiChabol	23	7	2.4	24	29
LiMonkpenl	18	7	2.6	15	47
All	75	30	2.5	87	34

Respondents were not specifically asked if they had decided to learn to read. They were asked if they had ever attended a literacy class and whether they knew how to read. Respondents from both languages stated that any person literate in another language could easily learn to read his own language if he tried on his own or asked a friend for help. Thus the number of respondents who decided to read the standard was estimated by adding the number who had attended a literacy class to the number who had learned to read without attending. When respondents were asked whether they could read their own language, some responded that they could read it somewhat while others asserted that they could read it, giving no qualifications. In the tables below, only the latter were counted as being able to read the language.

Table 7.16 shows the percent of Lelemi respondents from each dialect that had decided to learn to read, and the percent that said they could read. Two-thirds or more of respondents of all dialects said they had decided to learn to read. Of those who decided to learn, all said they could read at least some. Respondents from Teteman, Kudje and Baglo had the lowest percent that had decided to learn to read while respondents from Baika and Bodada had the highest percent. Respondents from Bodada, Teteman and Kudje had the lowest percent that had actually learned to read while respondents from Baika had the highest percent.

In two interviews, Lelemi town chiefs and elders were asked to estimate the percent of people who are literate in Lelemi in their town. The Akaa chief (Kunsu) said that most residents of his village could read and write Lelemi because they have attended school. The Odumasi (Baglo) elders said that about 75% of the people in their town are literate. These figures correspond with those in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16 Lelemi respondents' decisions about reading

Dialect	Decided to learn	Can read	N
Kunsu	10 (77%)	9 (69%)	13
Jasikan	8 (89%)	7 (78%)	9
Bodada	8 (100%)	5 (63%)	8
Baglo	7 (78%)	7 (78%)	9
Teteman	6 (67%)	6 (67%)	9
Baika	6 (100%)	5 (83%)	6
All	45(83%)	39 (72%)	54

Lelemi facilitators and LDT members were asked to estimate the percent of people who were literate in towns with which they had regular contact. The estimates for Kunsu towns, four of which were given by the same supervisor, ranged from 40 to 70 percent, indicating that even within a dialect, variation in literacy rates occur. The supervisor attributed the high literacy rates in Okadjakrom to the high rates of school attendance there. He said that literacy classes have never been accepted due to tensions between Okadjakrom and Bodada, but that people have learned to read on their own by transferring their literacy skills in other languages. Except for the figure for Baika, the estimates given by facilitators and supervisors correspond closely with the percent of respondents from each dialect that said they were able to read.

Table 7.17 Lelemi literacy estimates by facilitators and supervisors

Dialect/Town	All	Men	Women
Kunsu/Kudje	65%, 55%		
Kunsu/Akaa	60%, 80%		
Kunsu/Atonkor	40%		
Kunsu/Okadjakrom	70%		
Bodada	60%		
Baglo/Kute		75-80%	55%
Baglo/Odumasi	75%		
Teteman	50%		
Old Baika	50%		

Table 7.18 shows the percent of Likpakpaanl respondents from each language that decided to learn to read, and those who said they could read Likpakpaanl. LiGbinl and LiKoonl respondents had the lowest percent deciding to learn to read while LiMonkpenl and LiNafeel respondents had the highest percent. LiMonkpenl respondents had the highest percent of readers while LiGbinl, LiChabol and LiNafeel had the lowest.

Table 7.18 Likpakpaanl respondents' decisions about reading

Dialect	Decided to learn	Can read	N
LiKoonl	6 (50%)	4 (33%)	12
LiNafeel	14 (70%)	5 (25%)	20
LiGbinl	8 (42%)	3 (16%)	19
LiChabol	13 (59%)	5 (23%)	22
LiMonkpenl	13 (87%)	8 (53%)	15
All	54 (61%)	25 (28%)	88

The Likpakpaanl-speaking elders were asked to estimate the proportion of men and the proportion of women in their village who were literate⁶⁷. After the estimate was given, the percent of those in the interview who were literate was determined in some of the villages. In every case, the estimate was higher than the percent of literates among those present. However, since Likpakpaanl literacy rates are highest among younger men, and since those gathered were mostly elders, this discrepancy is reasonable. The estimated literacy rate for women in every village is lower than the estimated rate for men, except in Toma where both rates were estimated at 'less than half'. Speakers of LiNafeel and LiMonkpenl were estimated to have the highest rates of literacy. Speakers in the migrant farm area around Kpassa were also estimated to have a relatively high literacy rate.

Table 7.19 Likpakpaanl elders' estimates of literacy rates

Dialect	village	men literates estimate	men present	women literates estimate
Migrant Farm	Jumbo Hilltop (Kpassa)	> 50%	27% (n=11)	
Migrant Farm	Jumbo Hilltop (Kpassa)		35% (n=31)	
Migrant Farm	Kpassa	> 50%		< 50%
Migrant Farm	Tinjase (Kpassa)	60%		20%
LiNafeel	Yankasia	≅ 50%	30% (n=23)	
LiNafeel	Wapuli	> 67%	54% (n=13)	very few
LiGbinl	Gbenja	< 50%	33% (n=18)	4 women read
LiChabol	Toma	< 50%	25% (n=4)	< 50%
LiMonkpenl	Labaldo	≅ 80%		< 50%
LiMonkpenl	Sajigban	> 67%		33-50%

Some literacy facilitators and supervisors were asked to estimate the percent of literates in the dialect or region where they lived and worked. These estimates are presented in Table 7.20. These estimates are more specific and slightly lower than are those given by the elders in the area. As with the estimates of the elders, the women's rates tend to be considerably lower than

⁶⁷ The method used in some villages to estimate the proportion of literates was to ask them to imagine all the men who could read standing to one side and all the men who could not read standing to the other. They were asked to estimate which would be more. If they said those who read are more, then they were asked to consider whether half of those who can read would still be more than all of those who cannot read.

are those for the men. The estimates for LiGbinl and LiChabol are nearly equal as they were in the estimates given by the elders.

Table 7.20 Likpakpaanl literacy estimates by facilitators and supervisors

Dialect	Village/Town	Men	Women	Comments
Migrant	Kpassa	30-40%	10-15%	
Migrant	Kpandai	40%	< 15%	
Migrant	Yendi	70%	20%	
Migrant	Kulkpeni (Yendi)	60%	35%	80% younger men
LiGbinl	Nayil	50%	10%	
LiGbinl	Gbadagbam	> 50%		young men can all read
LiChabol	Saboba	> 50%	< 50%	

Respondents were asked to name the places where they thought the books in their language are read most. The Lelemi respondents in Central, Baglo and Baika named towns in their own dialect area as much as or more than they named towns in other dialect areas. Respondents in Teteman mentioned other towns, especially those of Central and Baglo dialects twice as frequently as Teteman. Kunsu respondents almost exclusively mentioned towns other than their own. Lelemi respondents who named towns outside their own dialect area mentioned Central towns (usually Bodada) most frequently. The three towns of the Baglo dialect were mentioned about half as often as the Central towns. The Teteman and Baika towns were mentioned about one-third and one-fourth as often as the Central towns. Kunsu towns were mentioned only three times. Speakers of Central and Baglo dialects were perceived as using the written standard most by both themselves and others. Speakers of Kunsu dialect are perceived as using the written standard least by both themselves and others.

Table 7.21 Lelemi respondents' perception of where Lelemi books are read most

Resp. Dialect	Own	Kunsu	Central	Baglo	Teteman	Baika	Upper	All	Don't Know	Total responses	N
Kunsu	1	-	9	4	4	1	2	0	0	21	13
Jasikan	9	3	-	2	1	1	0	1	0	17	9
Bodada	6	0	-	0	1	1	0	2	0	10	8
Baglo	10	0	7	-	0	0	0	0	0	17	9
Teteman	6	0	5	4	-	2	0	1	0	18	9
Baika	7	0	1	0	1	-	0	0	1	10	6
All	39	3	22	10	7	5	2	4	1	93	54

The Likpakpaanl respondents perceived LiChabol-speaking villages as the places where Likpakpaanl is read most. LiKoonl and LiNafeel-speaking villages were only mentioned by speakers of those dialects. Some LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl-speaking villages were mentioned by speakers of LiChabol, but only by those who had married out of their village. Speakers of LiKoonl, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl all mentioned LiChabol-speaking villages about as frequently as villages of their own dialect. Speakers of LiNafeel mentioned villages of their own dialect

much more frequently than LiChabol-speaking villages. One of the responses categorized as “other” stated that villages with Christian congregations read Likpakpaanl books the most. The other “other” responses were names of villages for which the dialect is unknown.

Table 7.22 Likpakpaanl respondents' perception of where Likpakpaanl books are read most

Dialect	Own	LiChabol	Migrant area	All	Other	Don't Know	Total responses	
LiKoonl	2	2	1	1	0	2	8	8
LiNafeel	21	2	0	1	1	3	28	20
LiGbinl	8	10	0	2	1	0	21	15
LiChabol	15	-	0	2	4	4	25	23
LiMonkpenl	6	5	2	2	0	0	15	15
All	52	19	3	8	6	9		

The elders and chiefs were also asked where the books are read the most. In both language areas, elders were hesitant to state an opinion about people in other areas. Many indicated that the books were well used in their own locality, while others said they are well used in all localities. Elders in Akaa (Kunsu) mentioned both Bodada and Baglo as places where books are read most. Elders in Odumasi and Kute, two sister towns of Baglo, said that books are read most in Baglo.

Most of the Likpakpaanl-speaking elders stated either that all clans read the books or that they were not sure where it is read the most. The chief at Gbintiri (LiKoonl) said books are read most in the migrant farm villages. The elders in Toma (LiChabol) said that people in Sanguli (LiMonkpenl) and Wapuli (LiNafeel) read the books more than do people in Toma.

Attendance at literacy events such as literacy days, workshops, and dedication ceremonies showed wide disparity within both language communities. Among Lelemi respondents, those from Bodada were most likely to have attended an event. Respondents from Kunsu and Teteman were least likely to have attended.

Table 7.23 Number of Lelemi respondents' having attended each literacy event

Dialects	Only Literacy Day	Only Book Dedication	Both	Workshop	none	N
Kunsu	3 (23%)	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	9 (69%)	13
Jasikan	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	4 (44%)	9
Bodada	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	3 (38%)	0 (0%)	2 (25%)	8
Baglo	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	4 (44%)	9
Teteman	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (100%)	9
Baika	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	5
All	12 (23%)	2 (4%)	7 (13%)	2 (4%)	30 (57%)	53

Among Likpakpaanl respondents, those who spoke LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiKoonl were most likely to have attended, while those who spoke LiGbinl and LiNafeel and were least likely to have attended.

Table 7.24 Number of Likpakpaanl respondents' having attended each literacy event

Dialects	Only Literacy Day	Only Book Dedication	Both	Other	None	N
LiKoonl	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	7 (70%)	10
LiNafeel	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	18 (90%)	20
LiGbinl	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	14 (82%)	17
LiChabol	0 (0%)	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	14 (70%)	20
LiMonkpenl	2 (13%)	2 (13%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	10 (67%)	15
All	6 (7%)	8 (10%)	2 (2%)	3 (4%)	63 (77%)	82

7.1.4 Confirmation of use

The confirmation of use of the written standard would best be measured in a diachronic study. However, one question on the individual questionnaire provides some insight into the confirmation or rejection of the standard. In addition, comments by elders about ways in which the literacy materials and programme can be improved, are also indicators of confirmation of acceptance of the standard.

Questionnaire respondents were asked whether they knew how to read their own language. A person who attended classes and learned how to read has demonstrated confirmation of the decision to learn to read. Those who did not learn to read may be demonstrating a lack of acceptance in that they have reversed their decision to learn to use the written standard. As shown in Table 7.25, all of the Lelemi respondents from all dialects who had attended literacy class said they could read in Lelemi at least somewhat.

Table 7.25 Lelemi respondents who attended literacy class but do not read Lelemi

Dialect	attended	read at least somewhat	Percent	N
Kunsu	6	6	100	13
Jasikan	4	4	100	9
Bodada	3	3	100	8
Baglo	4	4	100	9
Teteman	6	6	100	3
Baika	4	4	100	6
All	27	27	100	48

As shown in Table 7.26, not all Likpakpaanl respondents who had attended literacy class were able to read Likpakpaanl. A higher percent of LiKoonl and LiMonkpenl respondents who had attended literacy class said they were able to read than were LiGbinl, LiNafeel and LiChabol respondents who had attended Likpakpaanl literacy classes. In every dialect over half of those

who had attended literacy classes were able to read at least somewhat. Several of the female respondents said that family members required them to stop attending the literacy classes because they were held in the evening. For such respondents, the failure to learn to read does not indicate a personal rejection of the written standard.

Table 7.26 Likpakpaanl respondents who attended literacy class but do not read Likpakpaanl

Dialect	attended	read at least somewhat	Percent	N
LiKoonl	4	3	75	12
LiNafeel	13	8	62	20
LiGbinl	7	4	57	19
LiChabol	11	7	64	22
LiMonkpenl	13	10	77	15
All	48	32	67	88

The elders' interviews were examined for suggestions about improving the literacy programme or materials. This is an assessment of confirmation of acceptance, in that if the elders provided recommendations but none were related to changing the written standard due to dialect differences, it indicates that the elders are confirmed in their acceptance of the standard. The Lelemi elders gave a variety of suggestions about the literacy programme: that Lelemi literacy be taught in the schools, that glasses and lights be provided to the learners, that Lelemi be used on the radio, and that the women's development groups be given loans. None of the Lelemi respondents suggested any change in the written standard.

The Likpakpaanl elders also mentioned a variety of ideas for improving the literacy programme: provision of lights, incentives for facilitators, free literacy materials for learners, visits from literacy supervisors, and greater diligence by the facilitators. Likpakpaanl elders from two dialects also mentioned changes to the literacy programme and materials related to dialect differences. LiKoonl elders in Bonbonayili and Gabon stated that materials in LiKoonl would be beneficial. The LiMonkpenl chief in Jumbo Hilltop expressed a desire for books in the Kucha dialect of LiMonkpenl. However, the other two groups of LiMonkpenl-speaking elders in the migrant farm area and the two groups of LiMonkpenl-speaking elders in the traditional area did not express this desire. Two members of the LDT mentioned that in the 1970s and 1980s speakers of LiMonkpenl requested separate written materials. Based on this indicator, speakers of the LiChabol, LiNafeel and LiGbinl dialects of Likpakpaanl are more confirmed in their acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard. than are speakers of LiKoonl and LiMonkpenl.

7.1.5 *Summary of acceptance based on Rogers' stages*

In the previous four sections, 19 indicators of acceptance of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards were presented that each relate to one or two of Rogers' stages of the innovation adoption process. In this section, the indicators are summarized. For each indicator in the previous four sections, each dialect was assigned a letter based on the level of acceptance relative to the other dialects of that language. When minimal or no difference in acceptance among dialects was observed, each dialect was assigned an 'n'. An 'n' was also assigned for an average level of acceptance when differences did occur. Dialects which were more accepting were assigned an 'a' while those which were less accepting or showed signs of rejecting the standard were assigned an 'r'. If respondents of one dialect were exceptionally more accepting or less accepting than were respondents of others, a capitalized letter was assigned.

The summary data for Lelemi is presented in Table 7.27 while the summary data for Likpakpaanl is presented in Table 7.28. The indicators are grouped according to Rogers' stages. To the right of all the indicators for a stage, the assigned letters are listed again as a summary for that stage. In the summary, they are ordered with 'r's to the left and 'a's to the right. If speakers of all dialects accepted the written standard equally well, each dialect would have only 'n's. A dialect with equal numbers of 'a's and 'r's is similar in acceptance to one with only 'n's.

The speakers of Lelemi dialects showed relatively little variation in the level of knowledge about the Lelemi standard. For each dialect, three to four indicators related to knowledge were at the average level. Bodada respondents had two 'a's and Baglo respondents had one, indicating that they had slightly higher levels of knowledge about the standard than respondents of other dialects. Jasikan respondents had two 'r's and Baika respondents had one indicating that they had the lowest levels of knowledge about the standard. Kunsu respondents had 'n's for all the indicators while Teteman respondents had one 'a' and one 'r' indicating an average level of knowledge about the standard.

The speakers of Likpakpaanl dialects showed greater variation in the level of knowledge. LiKoonl and LiNafeel respondents each had three 'r's and three 'n's indicating a relatively low level of knowledge about the standard. LiChabol and LiMonkpenl respondents each had three 'a's and three 'n's indicating a relatively high level of knowledge about the standard. LiGbinl respondents had an average level of knowledge about the standard. Most of the Likpakpaanl dialects only had two 'n's compared to the three to four of the Lelemi respondents.

Table 7.27 Summary of Rogers' five stages of acceptance for Lelemi respondents

Dialect	7.1 Books known per reader	7.1 books known per non-reader	7.3 Where get books	7.5 where learn to read	7.7 know LDT members	Summary - Knowledge	Initial response	7.9 For whom	7.10 Difficulty reading	7.12 Benefits	Summary - Persuasion	7.14 Ave # books owned	7.14 % of respondents owning books	7.16 Decided to learn	7.16 Can read	7.17 Literacy estimates	7.21 Where books are read most	Where read most (elders)	7.23 Attend event	Summary - Decision and Implementation	7.25 Attended but cannot read	Wants changed standard	Summary - confirmation
Kunsu	n	n	n	n	n	nnnnn	n	n	a	n	nnna	n	r	n	n	a	r	n	r	rrrnnnna	n	n	nn
Jasikan	r	n	n	n	r	rrnnn	n	n	a	r	rnnn	r	a	n	a	n	n	n	n	rnnnnnaa	n	n	nn
Bodada	a	n	n	n	A	nnnaA	n	n	a	n	nnna	r	a	a	r	n	a	a	a	rrnaaaaa	n	n	nn
Baglo	n	n	n	n	A	nnnnA	n	n	R	a	Rnna	n	n	n	a	a	a	a	n	nnnnaaaa	n	n	nn
Teteman	a	n	n	n	r	rnnna	n	n	r	r	rrnn	a	a	r	n	r	n	n	R	Rrrnnnaa	n	n	nn
Baika	n	n	n	n	R	Rnnnn	n	n	n	a	nnna	n	a	a	a	r	n	n	n	rnnnnaaa	n	n	nn

Table 7.28 Summary of Rogers' five stages of acceptance for Likpakpaanl respondents

Dialect	7.2 books known per reader	7.2 books known per non-reader	7.4 where get books	7.6 where learn to read	7.8 know LDT members	Summary - Knowledge	Initial response	7.9 For whom	7.11 Difficulty reading	7.13 Benefits	Summary - Persuasion	7.15 Ave # books owned	7.15 % of respondents owning books	7.18 Decided to learn	7.18 Can read	7.19 Literacy estimates	7.22 Where books are read most	Where read most (elders)	7.24 Attend event	Summary - Decision and Implementation	7.26 Attended but cannot read	Wants changed standard	Summary - confirmation
LiKoonl	R	r	r	n	n	Rrrnn	a	n	R	n	Rnna	n	a	r	n	-	n	r	a	rrn-nnaa	a	r	ra
LiNafeel	r	r	n	n	r	rrrnn	n	n	a	a	nnna	n	n	a	n	n	a	a	R	Rnnnnaaa	r	a	ra
LiGbinl	n	n	a	n	R	Rnnna	a	n	r	n	rnnn	n	n	R	r	r	n	n	r	Rrrrnnnn	R	a	Ra
LiChabol	a	n	a	n	a	nnaaa	n	n	n	r	rnnn	a	n	n	n	r	a	r	a	rrnnnaaa	r	a	ra
LiMonkpenl	n	a	a	n	a	nnaaa	a	n	a	n	nnaa	a	a	A	A	a	n	a	a	naaaaaAA	a	r	ra

In the persuasion stage, the Lelemi respondents also showed relatively little variation from one dialect to the next. However, Kunsu, Bodada and Baika respondents had slightly more positive levels of persuasion with each having a single 'a' and four 'n's. Jasikan and Baglo had average levels of persuasion since each had one 'r' and one 'a', but Baglo's 'r' was stronger than Jasikan's. Teteman had the lowest levels of persuasion toward the standard with two 'r's and no 'a's. Again the difference among the Lelemi dialects was relatively small.

The Likpakpaanl respondents also had relatively little variation in persuasion toward the standard from one dialect to the next. LiNafeel and LiMonkpenl respondents had the most positive levels of persuasion toward the standard with two 'a's and no 'r's. LiGbinl respondents were nearly as positive, with one 'a' and one 'r'. LiKoonl respondents had one 'a' and one strong 'r' resulting in a similar level of persuasion as LiChabol respondents who had one 'r' and no 'a's.

The combined decision and utilisation stage was the one with the greatest variation both among dialects. Bodada respondents, who had five 'a's, also had two 'r's. Baglo respondents showed a similar high level of decision toward the standard with four 'a's and no 'r's. Baika respondents were next most positive with three 'a's and one 'r' followed closely by the Jasikan respondents. Kunsu respondents, with one 'a' and three 'r's, and Teteman respondents, with two 'a's and three 'r's were the least likely to make decisions for the standard.

For the Likpakpaanl respondents, those from one dialect, LiMonkpenl, were far more likely than others to make positive decisions about the standard with seven 'a's and only one 'n'. LiGbinl respondents were the least likely to make decisions for the standard with four 'r's and four 'n's. The respondents who spoke LiKoonl, LiNafeel and LiChabol fell between these two in the decisions they made in favour of the standard.

In the confirmation stage all dialects of both languages had similar results. However, for speakers of Lelemi, all dialects had identical results for both indicators, so all had two 'n's. For the Likpakpaanl dialects each dialect had one 'a' and one 'r'.

In general, the Lelemi dialects had less variation in acceptance than did the Likpakpaanl dialects. Each dialect has some indicator for which its respondents are less accepting than are those of other dialects. However, respondents from Bodada and Baglo appear to be slightly more accepting than are respondents from Kunsu, Jasikan and Baika. Respondents from Teteman were less accepting than speakers of other dialects in several indicators. The Teteman have not rejected the written standard, but overall, they are slightly less accepting of it than are speakers of the other dialects.

Among the five Likpakpaanl dialects, respondents from LiMonkpenl had the most indicators of acceptance of the standard, especially decisions about and utilisation of the standard. LiChabol

respondents, followed closely by LiNafeel respondents, were next most accepting of the written standard. LiKoonl and LiGbinl respondents were the least accepting of the written standard. LiKoonl speakers were lowest in their knowledge stage of acceptance while LiGbinl speakers were lowest in the decision and implementation stage. Again, this does not mean that speakers of LiKoonl and LiGbinl have rejected the standard, for it is being used in both of these dialect areas.

7.2 Reinvention of the standard

Reinvention of the written standard may indicate either acceptance or rejection of the standard. Reinvention of the written standard by those who accept it can be manifested by using the pronunciation typical of one's dialect when reading the written standard aloud. This type of reinvention occurred, to a limited extent, in Lelemi and Likpakpaanl. Reinvention by those who reject the written standard may be manifested by publishing materials in a revised standard with the intent that a certain subset of the language community will only use materials in the revised standard. This type of reinvention occurred only in the Likpakpaanl language.

7.2.1 Pronouncing written words according to the reader's spoken dialect

The Lelemi LDT encouraged readers to pronounce words with the pronunciation typical of their dialect. The Likpakpaanl LDT neither encouraged nor discouraged using dialectal pronunciation when reading aloud. Both elders and individuals were asked which dialect it sounded as if readers from their dialect were speaking when they read aloud. Respondents from both languages and from most dialects of each said that readers read what is written: that they pronounce the words as they appear. What does that response mean? It could mean that they used dialectal pronunciation, or it could mean that they pronounced it according to a standard for that language. Because of this ambiguity, respondents were asked whether readers from their own dialect sounded as if they were speaking the respondent's own dialect or a different one.

Even though the Lelemi LDT encouraged dialectal pronunciation, only about half of questionnaire respondents, said that readers from their dialect sound as if they are speaking their own dialect (See Table 7.29). Speakers of Kunsu were least likely to say that readers sounded as if they were speaking their own dialect, followed by speakers of Baglo. Speakers of Teteman were most likely to say that readers sounded as if they were speaking their own dialect. Nearly one-fifth of respondents said that readers sound as if they are from Bodada. Respondents from Kunsu and Baglo gave this response most often. About one-seventh of respondents, all from lower Lelemi dialects, said that readers sound as if they are from an upper

dialect (three-fourths of those named Baglo specifically). Three respondents said that what is read is not their own dialect, but pure Lelemi. One further defined this as a mixture of the Lelemi dialects.

Table 7.29 Lelemi respondents' perception of readers' pronunciation when reading

Dialect	my dialect	Bodada	upper	different from mine	Lelemi	N
Kunsu	5 (39%)	5 (39%)	3 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	13
Jasikan	5 (55%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	9
Bodada	5 (63%)	-	3 (38%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8
Baglo	4 (44%)	3 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (22%)	9
Teteman	6 (67%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	9
Baika	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	5
All	28 (53%)	10 (19%)	8 (15%)	4 (8%)	3 (6%)	53

The elders, even more than the individuals, indicated that readers do not pronounce according to their own dialect. Those from Bodada, Baglo and Odumasi (Baglo) said that readers from all dialect groups sound identical when they read the written standard. They did not indicate which dialect oral reading most resembles. The elders in New Baika and Old Baika said that when speakers of different dialects read the same book, the reader's voice will indicate which dialect he is from, implying that readers resemble their own dialect. However, because the elders from Old Baika also said that readers from Bodada read Lelemi with better pronunciation, they implied that proper reading pronunciation is similar to that of Bodada dialect. Earlier in the interview the elders had mentioned the particle <ɔmmə> (see Section 4.1.2.4), that is written as people in Bodada pronounce it.

When the Likpakpaanl elders were asked which dialect it sounded as if someone was speaking when they read, eight of the ten groups of elders, stated that it sounded as if the reader was speaking LiChabol. One group of LiKoonl-speaking elders did not name LiChabol but stated that the person sounds a bit different from LiKoonl. The elders of Jumbo Hilltop, who are speakers of the Kucha sub-dialect of LiMonkpenl in a migrant farm area, said that the reader sounds like a Kucha speaker.

As shown in Table 7.30, over one-fourth of non-LiChabol respondents to the individual questionnaire stated that readers sound as if they are speaking their own dialect when they read while two-thirds said they sound as if they are speaking LiChabol. Variation is likely to occur from reader to reader, but it appears that the majority of Likpakpaanl readers do not reinvent in this way. Rather they agree with the LiNafeel speaker who said "If you don't pronounce it in LiChabol, you can't pronounce it in any other dialect."

Table 7.30 Likpakpaanl respondents' perception of readers' pronunciation when reading

Dialect	my dialect	LiChabol	not mine	N
LiKoonl	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	9
LiNafeel	6 (30%)	14 (70%)	0 (0%)	20
LiGbinl	3 (18%)	14 (82%)	0 (0%)	17
LiChabol	20 (100%)	-	0 (0%)	20
LiMonkpenl	5 (33%)	10 (67%)	0 (0%)	15
All	37 (46%)	41 (51%)	3 (4%)	81
All excluding LiChabol	17 (28%)	41 (67%)	3 (5%)	61

7.2.2 Developing separate written standards

When a separate written standard is developed for a subset of an ethnic group, it may be viewed both as a reinvention of the original standard and as a rejection of that standard by the subgroup that adopts the reinvented standard. It is a rejection especially if the subgroup no longer uses any of the materials written in the original standard. The development of a separate written standard is different from the revision of a standard in which minor changes are made which are used by all speakers of the language. The development of a separate written standard changes the boundaries separating those who use and do not use the standard.

In Lelemi, no evidence was found that a separate written standard was ever developed. The revision of Dogli's orthography by the LDT in the 1980s was not a rejection of his standard, but a modification of it, to increase its consistency and to facilitate its greater use.

In Likpakpaanl, three separate written standards have been developed or are being developed, each targeting a separate subset of Likpakpaanl speakers. Studying the acceptance of these written standards was beyond the scope of this research. However, their existence potentially signals lack of acceptance of the standard by some segments of the language community.

7.2.2.1 The reinvention of the Likpakpaanl standard in LiKoonl near Chereponi

The Likpakpaanl standard has twice been reinvented in the LiKoonl dialect of Likpakpaanl: once by the RC Church in Chereponi and once by the ELCG in Gbintiri.

Beginning in the 1960s, the RC fathers serving LiKoonl speakers living to the west of Chereponi town, began translating parts of the RC liturgy into LiKoonl. By 1993, about six prayers had been translated. In 1993, Father Fred Timp, who had moved to Chereponi to serve Catholics in fifteen LiKoonl-speaking villages, hired LiKoonl speakers to translate other parts of the RC mass. He observed that the LiChabol⁶⁸ translation of the New Testament included many words that LiKoonl speakers could not understand. He also observed that those who spontaneously

⁶⁸ In this section only, the materials developed by the Likpakpaanl LDT are referred to as the LiChabol standard to distinguish them from the three reinvented standards.

interpreted into Likpakpaanl as they read the English Bible lack consistency and accuracy. Because of this, he decided to start translating into LiKoonl, all Bible readings prescribed by the RC church. When he heard about the New Testament recording that had been done in LiKoonl he obtained a copy to play for people in his area. He said that LiKoonl speakers around Chereponi had difficulty understanding it.

Timp gave three reasons for the need for a separate translation for LiKoonl speakers. First, although LiKoonl speakers can understand the LiChabol spoken in the Saboba market, they have difficulty understanding spiritual language in LiChabol. The market variety uses everyday concepts; the church variety uses specialized and unfamiliar vocabulary. Second, the people have a strong sense of pride in their dialect of their language: the people want a translation that is as similar to their dialect as possible. Third, those who have interpreted from English into Likpakpaanl are proud of their ability to serve in that way. LiKoonl speakers prefer spontaneous interpretation from English into their own dialect if the alternative is having the lesson read in a dialect of Likpakpaanl that differs from their own.

In 1994, Paul Jakpoli, working with Timp, began translating portions of the New Testament into LiKoonl. For the first year and a half, the translation work was done independently of what had been done in LiChabol. In 1996, they obtained a computer program that allowed them to adapt the digital version of the LiChabol translation, consistently replacing each word in the translation with the appropriate word in LiKoonl. By 2003, they had translated all the Bible readings prescribed by the RC church. This has not been published, but print outs are used in the fifteen LiKoonl congregations. Timp acknowledges that the translation has weaknesses, but states that the goal was not a Bible translation, but to meet a pastoral need of providing Bible readings more similar to the variety of LiKoonl spoken near Chereponi.

The written standard they used was never formally described. Timp says the orthography is based on the LiChabol standard, but was adapted to the LiKoonl pronunciation. Timp said this orthography corresponds more closely to the surface pronunciation of LiKoonl rather than to phonemes as does the LiChabol standard.

Literacy classes were started in the fifteen LiKoonl-speaking villages in the mid 1990s using LiChabol primers. Because the language in the primers is simple, the LiKoonl speakers used them without too much difficulty. Young men taught the classes during dry season from other dialects. Once the rains began, the literacy facilitators returned to their home villages to farm. In some LiKoonl villages, no one learned to read. In others, about twenty people can read. Timp said he was disappointed that only a few of the church members joined the classes. In none of the villages has anyone become proficient enough to be able to teach others to read.

7.2.2.2 The reinvention of the Likpakpaanl standard in LiKoonl around Gbintiri

The other written materials in LiKoonl were produced by ELCG missionaries living in and near Gbintiri beginning in the early 1990s. This written standard was also never formally described. The materials were written using the LiKoonl lexicon, with graphemes based on the LiChabol and Dagomba orthographies. The materials included the liturgy, the Lutheran Catechism, and booklets on children's health and farming techniques (Esala, 2004:7). A set of Bible stories with teaching points were written, copied, and distributed to leaders of ELCG congregations, but not published. Separate primers were not developed. However, the first supervisor for Gbintiri Literacy District and some of the non-Ghanaians working with ELCG were reported to have said that the Likpakpaanl primers were difficult for LiKoonl speakers to use due to the lexical and phonological differences. The literacy supervisor believed that these dialect differences resulted in it taking longer for LiKoonl speakers to learn to read than it took for speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects.

In the late 1990s, an ELCG pastor asked Lutheran Bible Translators (LBT) to send both a translation team and a literacy team to the LiKoonl-speaking area. An assessment was done by LBT in 2000, during which leaders of congregations expressed a desire for separate materials in LiKoonl. They also said that the LiKoonl New Testament recordings that had been made in the late 1980s were much easier to understand than the printed LiChabol Bible. As a result of the assessment, LBT sent a team in 2003 to learn LiKoonl, further assess the language development need, and work with LiKoonl speakers to carry out an appropriate programme. At of September 2004, they had not yet produced any materials. The LBT team had shown some of the LiKoonl materials from Chereponi to church leaders in Gbintiri. The leaders said those materials, while a bit clearer, were still too much like LiChabol.

7.2.2.3 The reinvention of the Likpakpaanl standard in LiMonkpenl

In the mid 1990s, Ronaldo Lidório, a Brazilian missionary serving the ECG and Abraham Labuer Nimbu, an elder in the ECG congregation in Kpassa, began church work in rural LiMonkpenl-speaking villages 32 kilometres from Kpassa. Nimbu, a speaker of the LiDondom sub-dialect of LiMonkpenl, had learned to read the LiChabol materials during weekly classes at the Kpassa market and through help from other literates. He said that within the first year, he had been awarded the beginner's certificate and could read well enough to write a letter in Likpakpaanl. Within another year, he was awarded the advanced certificate. He was then admitted as an adult into the fourth year of primary school. He completed two years of primary school before joining Lidório in the church work.

Lidório and Nimbu lived in Koni village, so they could work with people in a cluster of six villages. All the residents of those villages are LiMonkpenl speakers except for one who speaks LiChabol. Nimbu reported that when people in those villages first heard him read the Likpakpaanl Bible, they did not understand it. Nimbu began teaching Likpakpaanl literacy classes in all the villages. He said that some people in those villages now understand LiChabol very well because of the literacy classes. They also enjoyed listening to the Bible cassettes in Likpakpaanl.

Nimbu no longer teaches literacy classes because he has trained people in each of the villages to be teachers. Nimbu reported that the LiChabol primers are serving the people well, so that plenty of the men can now read LiChabol. However, those who do not know how to read have difficulty understanding the Likpakpaanl books when others read them aloud. Another LiMonkpenl speaker who had expressed that reading the Bible in LiChabol is difficult was asked whether the difficulty was the different LiChabol words or the pronunciation. He replied that only the large words which are used in the Bible are difficult to understand. He said that all the other LiChabol books are easy to understand.

Because of the difficulty that people in Koni and other villages had understanding the Likpakpaanl Bible, Lidório and Nimbu decided to translate the New Testament into LiMonkpenl. The LiMonkpenl written standard was never formally described. However, Nimbu said that the LiMonkpenl orthography is similar to that of LiChabol, with only graphemes differing between them. LiMonkpenl has the grapheme <ε>, which does not occur in LiChabol. LiChabol has the grapheme <η>, which does not occur in LiMonkpenl. Nimbu reported that other than this, the differences between the standards are in the word choice and the syntax used.

At least seven LiMonkpenl speakers worked on the translation, but only five were involved to the end. The workers were from at least four different LiMonkpenl-speaking clans: Sambultib, Bidondom, Kpadzutib, and Binadzu. One of those assisting with the translation was a LiGbinl speaker. Only two books have been published. The first, published in 1998, included selections from the New Testament books of Matthew, Acts, and Romans. The second was the New Testament published in 2004. The team did not develop separate LiMonkpenl primers. Several LiMonkpenl speakers who were aware of the LiMonkpenl materials said that if someone knows how to read LiChabol he could easily read LiMonkpenl as well. Only one LiMonkpenl-speaking pastor of the ECG seemed to imply that separate primers in LiMonkpenl might be helpful when he stated that LiMonkpenl books would help the younger people to learn to read it.

During the data gathering, the LiMonkpenl speakers, with the exception of a few church leaders, indicated no awareness of the book that had been produced in 1998 nor of the dedication of the LiMonkpenl New Testament scheduled for the following month.

7.2.2.4 Discussion of the reinventions

None of the reinventions have been in use long enough, nor have published enough materials to determine the degree to which they have been accepted by the speech communities for which they were intended.

Each of the reinventions of a written standard occurred concurrently with the start of literacy efforts using the LiChabol standard. Thus, the teams did not allow the time necessary for the acceptance of the LiChabol standard (see Section 2.1.7) before initiating a reinvented standard. The results of concentrated literacy efforts in two of the areas showed relatively good acceptance of the LiChabol standard. LiMonkpenl-speaking elders in villages near Kpassa indicated good acceptance of the LiChabol written standard in their area. However, both Lidório and Nimbu stated that people in the more remote villages around Koni have greater difficulty understanding LiChabol than do those nearer Kpassa. Even around Koni, Nimbu indicates that over time and with teaching, people were accepting of the written materials in LiChabol and were able to understand them. Similarly, on over half of the indicators in Section 7.1, LiKoonl speakers displayed levels of acceptance similar to or greater than those of speakers of other Likpakpaanl dialects.

In all three situations in which reinvented standards were developed, non-Ghanaians appeared to be the initiator and motivator of the efforts. The non-Ghanaians based their decisions on feedback from mother tongue speakers soon after LiChabol materials were introduced to that area. In none of the areas where reinventions occurred was an attempt made to undertake any of the reading comprehension methodologies mentioned in Section 2.2.2.

In each case, the LiChabol standard was not completely rejected by those introducing the new standard. Literacy classes continued to use the LiChabol reading materials in spite of differences between the reinvented orthography and that of LiChabol. People in each area were never discouraged from using the LiChabol materials other than the New Testament. This use of two standards simultaneously raises pedagogical concerns. The lack of consistency in reading materials may eventually result in a rejection of both standards. However, this accepting attitude toward the LiChabol standard makes each of these reinventions less a rejection of the written standard than would be the case if those literate in the reinvented standard used only materials in that standard.

7.3 Assessment of acceptance of the written standards by elders and LDTs

Community elders and LDT members were asked to give a general assessment of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of the dialects with which they were familiar. These assessments supplement the assessments in Section 7.1.

Elders were asked whether they felt the level of involvement in literacy activities of people in their locality was a good level or whether they should be more involved. Lelemi elders in Baglo, Bodada, Old Baika, and Teteman stated that the residents of their community were well involved. However, elders in Baglo Old Baika, and Teteman also said that residents of their community could be more involved than they were. Elders in Akaa (Kunsu), Kudje (Kunsu) and Odumasi (Baglo) said that the residents of their community were not involved enough. Most elders said that the best way to increase involvement would be to provide the learners and facilitators with incentives such as free books and lights for night classes.

Members of the Lelemi LDT said that they observed different levels of acceptance of the Lelemi standard among the Lelemi towns. Diko, who supervised the Lower Lelemi area, said that interest was lower in Jasikan than in Bodada because people of many ethnic groups live there. He said interest was also lower in the Kunsu towns because they were used to reading in Twi. Ring noted that in the early years, the interest was lower in the Twi-speaking area, than in the upper Lelemi area. He attributed the difference to Dogli's positive influence in the upper area. Ring said that in recent years interest has been good in all areas. Pewudie commented that in the upper area, the interest has been less in the towns of Kute and New Ayoma due to the influence of Ewe speakers who live there.

Likpakpaanl-speaking elders in Gbenja (LiGbinl), Nayil (LiGbinl), Toma (LiChabol), Labaldo (LiMonkpenl) and Sajigban (LiMonkpenl) said that the members of their community are well involved in literacy. These villages all currently have REFLECT classes. Responses from villages where LiKoonl is spoken varied considerably. Likpakpaanl elders at Gbintiri (LiKoonl) said that the people in their village and surrounding villages are doing well in literacy. The elders at Bonbonayili (LiKoonl) said that literacy classes have never been held there. The elders at Gabon and Gmancheri (LiKoonl) both said that LiKoonl speakers in neighbouring villages are more interested in literacy than are people in their own villages. The elders in Wapuli (LiNafeel) also said that while the interest in their village has been low, the interest in other LiNafeel-speaking villages has been very high. Elders in many villages stated that RILADEP's literacy programme had 'collapsed' over the past several years resulting in fewer classes being held. However, those in Saboba and Gbintiri Literacy Districts said participation has continued in the modified NFED

classes and in Likpakpaanl School for Life classes. They also said that people continue to read materials in the standard, and continue to teach others to read one-on-one.

Wujanji and Kunji, former LDT members who had served Likpakpaanl speakers in all districts, said that speakers of the non-standard dialects often commented on words or syntax in the written materials that differed from their own dialect, but that those differences did not result in the rejection of the materials by speakers of any dialect. Both Wujanji and Kunji said that the dialectal differences influenced speakers of LiKoonl more than they influenced speakers of other dialects. They said learning to read was more difficult for them, resulting in slightly lower levels of interest and involvement. Two supervisors for Saboba Literacy District, who had almost no contact with speakers of LiKoonl, said that speakers of all the Likpakpaanl dialects and clans within the Saboba Literacy District now accept the books well. They said there are apparent fluctuations in acceptance and involvement related to the level of activity of the facilitators and zonal supervisors in each area. One of them said that Labaldo (LiMonkpenl) village was currently the place where Likpakpaanl books are used most. He said that competition among villages and districts results in that status changing frequently.

7.4 Reasons given for acceptance levels

In some interviews, elders, literacy facilitators, and LDT members suggested reasons for the varying degree of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of different dialects. Not all the reasons that were provided influence cross-dialectal acceptance. Some influence cross-generational acceptance or cross-gender acceptance of the written standard. In this section, all responses are presented in order to fully represent the perspective of the respondents about the influences on acceptance.

Many Lelemi respondents attributed high levels of acceptance to the frequent visits by members of the LDT during the early years of the project. High acceptance among RC members in the upper area was also attributed to Dogli's work. A few said the Lelemi standard was accepted because it was better understood than the written forms of English, Twi and Ewe. Several said that it was accepted simply because it is the people's own language.

Some Lelemi respondents mentioned linguistic factors that hindered people as they learned to read. Respondents from every dialect mentioned that differences in pronunciation between their spoken dialect and the written standard increased the difficulty of learning to read. Most emphasized that these differences only caused difficulty temporarily when an individual first began learning.

Lelemi respondents mentioned several other factors that hindered acceptance or use of the standard. Several emphasized that anyone who tries can learn to read Lelemi, implying that some learners do not try enough. One facilitator mentioned that acceptance was hindered because the number of students exceeded the number of books available. One facilitator also mentioned that lighting was a problem and that students were often tired from their farm work. Two facilitators mentioned that people who live in towns where many people from other ethnic groups live are less interested in learning to read than people living in towns which are predominantly Lelemi-speaking. Several respondents also mentioned the poor eyesight of older learners.

Likpakpaanl respondents also attributed acceptance of the written standard to the activities of their LDT. Several respondents mention that Steele truly cared for people: assisting with medical needs in the community as well as developing their language. Her encouraging visits to literacy facilitators within Saboba District were frequently mentioned. Langdon's visits to remote villages, and her desire to visit any village where literacy had not yet started were seen as instrumental. Many respondents commended Kunji, Wujanji, Binabiba and the literacy supervisors, at both district and zonal levels for encouraging literacy facilitators and their students. A few respondents mentioned the literacy facilitators' role in encouraging students who had stopped attending classes.

Likpakpaanl respondents also mentioned socio-cultural factors which influenced high levels of acceptance of the standard. Some said that KOYA's promotion of education, unity and development among all speakers of Likpakpaanl assisted acceptance. A few respondents viewed KOYA activities and the literacy activities as part of the same programme. One literacy facilitator said the programme spread because people who had not attended school desired any educational opportunity. Some respondents attributed the spread of literacy to the presence of a Christian congregation that would sponsor the literacy classes. Others perceived the opposite cause-effect relationship, stating that the spread of literacy caused new congregations to start in villages which previously had had none. Several people attributed the spread of literacy to the tensions that existed between Likpakpaanl speakers and people of other ethnic groups. Because Likpakpaanl speakers felt they were cheated and taken advantage of by people of other ethnic groups, they decided to learn to read in order to protect their rights. Some said that those tensions motivated speakers of different Likpakpaanl tribes and clans to work together more than they had in the past, including using a common written standard. LiKoonl speakers specifically attributed the spread of literacy in their area to the provision of literacy materials and salaries by non-Ghanaian workers in the ELCG in early years.

Respondents from three dialects mentioned linguistic factors as a reason for lower acceptance of the written standard. Speakers of LiMonkpenl, LiGbinl and LiKoonl mentioned that dialect differences made it difficult to learn to read the standard, during the initial months.

Some reasons given for poor involvement in the literacy programme were linked to the provision of materials by the LDT. Many said that the LDT did not provide literacy facilitators with incentives comparable to those provided by NFED and School for Life. Learners also felt that the primers, exercise books and pencils should be given freely as is done by NFED and School for Life. Respondents often mentioned that literacy class enrolment in recent years is lower due to the lack of supervisory visits since the programme ‘collapsed’ in 2002.

Other reasons given for poor acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard were linked to a specific subgroup other than speakers of a single dialect. The older people did not learn to read because of poor eyesight. Some women were told by fathers or husbands that they could not attend the night literacy class. Some respondents stated that farm work or other responsibilities prevented people from having time to learn to read. A few said that those already literate in English felt that since they already spoke and understood Likpakpaanl there was no need to learn to read it. Facilitators who speak LiNafeel and LiGbinl mentioned laziness of students as a reason that they had not learned. Some villagers in the LiNafeel-speaking area mentioned that the facilitators are lazy, rather than the students.

In both language communities, the impact of the visibility of the LDT on acceptance of the written standard was widely acknowledged. Some respondents mentioned linguistic factors as causing difficulties, but usually indicated that those difficulties were temporary. Some respondents mentioned the impact of socio-cultural factors such as inter-ethnic tensions, and the role of religious affiliation on acceptance of the standard. Such awareness affirms the importance of these factors, but does not indicate that other factors, which may be less visible to the language community, such as the LDT’s orthography decisions, are less important.

7.5 Comparison of acceptance to dialect differences, socio-cultural situation and activities of the LDTs

In this section, the influences of dialect differences, socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors on the acceptance of the two written standards are considered. The results of this chapter are considered in reference to the results of the previous three chapters. For each written standard a table summarizes the factors previously identified. Factors shown in bold in the tables are those which had the potential to negatively influence acceptance. In each table, acceptance for each dialect is presented as *high*, *average* or *low*, indicating the relative acceptance compared to speakers of other dialects of that language. Where the assessment in

Section 7.1.5 differed from an assessment in Section 7.2 or Section 7.3, both assessments are listed in the table. Because of this, a dialect may be shown with both *high* and *low* assessments.

The summarization of all factors for Lelemi dialects is given in Table 7.31. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Lelemi standard is a blended standard, based most heavily on the Baglo and Bodada dialects, but also containing aspects of each of the other dialects. Because it is a blended standard, the estimates given for lexical similarity are based on the similarity of each dialect with the Bodada and Baglo dialects. That is, Kunsu had 88 percent lexical similarity with Bodada and 84 percent with Baglo. The lexical similarity of Kunsu with the standard is estimated as 84 to 88 percent. The estimate for phonological differences between each dialect and the standard was handled in the same manner. Baglo, Bodada and Jasikan⁶⁹ are the dialects which are most similar to the written standard. The Kunsu dialect is most distinct from the written standard both lexically and phonologically. Based solely on the linguistic situation, speakers of Kunsu would be least likely to accept the written standard.

Table 7.31 Summary of linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors which influence acceptance of the Lelemi standard by speakers of Lelemi dialects

Dialect	Linguistic factors			Socio-cultural factors	Programmatic factors	Acceptance
	written standard	Lexical similarity	Phonological differences			
Kunsu	Based on it somewhat	84-88%	5-7 differences	Twɛ - Lower roads, schools, markets, churches Same district, chief	Zonal supervisor Some events Equal visits	average or low
Jasikan	Based on it somewhat	about 89-100%	about 0-5 differences	Twɛ - Lower roads, schools, markets, churches Same district, chief	No workers One event Equal visits	average or low
Bodada	based on it heavily	89-100%	0-5 differences	Twɛ - Lower roads, schools, markets, churches Same district, chief	Many LDT mem. Many events Equal visits	high
Baglo	based on it heavily	89-100%	0-5 differences	Ewe - upper roads, schools, markets, churches Same district, chief	One LDT mem. Zonal supervisor Some events Equal visits	high or low
Teteman	Based on it somewhat	87-93%	3-4 differences	Ewe - upper schools, markets, churches bad roads Same district, chief	No workers One event Equal visits	average or low
Baika	Based on it somewhat	88-91%	3-4 differences	Ewe - upper roads, schools, markets, churches Same district, chief formerly oth. dist.	Zonal supervisor Some events Equal visits	average

⁶⁹ Because Jasikan is part Central and no independent lexical or phonological data was gathered about Jasikan, the figures for Bodada are used.

As discussed in Chapter 5, most socio-cultural factors tend to divide Lelemi speakers into upper and lower regions based on the transport system, marketing system, language used in schools, the LWC and the distribution of EP and RC congregations. All Lelemi dialects are united by a common chieftaincy system and by their location in a single district. Teteman is somewhat isolated from all the other dialects due to poor roads and its location on a hilltop. The two Baika towns are also somewhat isolated due to their former inclusion in a different district and their stronger connections to the Ewe town, Hohoe. Based on the socio-cultural situation, speakers of Teteman and Baika would be least likely to accept the written standard.

As described in Chapter 6, the Lelemi LDT visited each town with equal frequency, first with the chief as the primary contact and later with the literacy facilitator and zonal committee members as their primary contacts. Residents of each town have been invited to attend workshops and participate in reviewing translated material. From the beginning, literacy facilitators were trained from and literacy classes were held in all dialect areas. Over the course of the programme, most dialect areas have hosted a literacy day at least twice. However, the programme was somewhat unbalanced in that Teteman has hosted a literacy day only once while Bodada has hosted several literacy days as well as many other events. The programme was unbalanced in that the LDT members were all residents of either Bodada or Baglo. However, zonal supervisors were appointed from Kudje (Kunsu), Kute (Baglo) and Baika. Teteman and Jasikan have not had zonal supervisors appointed from their towns. Based on programmatic factors, residents of Teteman and Jasikan would be slightly less likely to accept the written standard than would Lelemi speakers from other towns. Assessment of the programmatic factors also indicate that residents of Bodada and Baglo would be slightly more likely to accept the written standard than would Lelemi speakers from other towns.

The assessments of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of the Lelemi dialects were not completely consistent. In Section 7.1.5, the summary of the indicators of acceptance showed that respondents from Baglo and Bodada were slightly more accepting of the written standard while respondents from Teteman were slightly less accepting than were speakers of Jasikan, Baika and Kunsu. In Section 7.3, the overall assessment of chiefs indicated that the standard is best accepted by speakers of the Bodada dialect, and least accepted by speakers of Kunsu and Odumasi (Baglo) dialects. The LDT assessments indicated slightly lower levels of acceptance among Kunsu speakers and among Lelemi speakers in mixed towns such as Jasikan

and Kute (Baglo)⁷⁰. All assessments showed Bodada with higher acceptance of the written standard and Kunsu, Jasikan and Teteman with average and lower levels of acceptance.

How do the factors fit together? Based on linguistic and socio-cultural factors, speakers of the Baglo, Bodada and Jasikan dialects would be expected to be very accepting. However, the programmatic factors indicate that Jasikan would be less accepting than speakers of the other two. The levels of acceptance in 7.1.5 show that acceptance by Baglo and Bodada dialects are high but that Jasikan's acceptance was relatively low. This implies that programmatic factors may have been influential. However, a non-dialectal factor of having a high proportion of residents who are not Lelemi speakers was also identified as a possible causative factor for the lower acceptance.

Based on linguistic and socio-cultural factors, speakers of the Kunsu, Teteman and Baika dialects would be expected to be the least accepting of the written standard. Kunsu was most different from the written standard linguistically while Teteman and Baika were somewhat isolated socio-culturally. Based on programmatic factors, speakers of the Teteman dialect would be expected to be least accepting of the standard because fewer events were held there and no zonal employees came from there. Based on the indicators used in Section 7.1, Teteman had the lowest level of acceptance, again indicating that programmatic factors played a key role in their lower level of acceptance. Unlike Jasikan, Teteman has few non-Lelemi speakers.

Table 7.32 presents the linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors which influenced the acceptance of the Likpakpaanl written standard by the five dialect communities. As described in Chapter 4, the Likpakpaanl standard is based on the LiChabol dialect. LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl are the dialects which are most lexically similar to the written standard. LiNafeel, LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl are the dialects which are most phonologically similar to the standard. The LiKoonl dialect is most distinct from the written standard both lexically and phonologically. Linguistically, speakers of LiKoonl would be most likely to reject the written standard while speakers of LiChabol, and to a lesser extent LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl would be most likely to accept it.

As presented in Chapter 5, the Likpakpaanl speakers are traditionally divided into tribes, clans and sub-clans. Historically, speakers of different tribes rarely interacted except at the traditional weekly market. The recent development of roads, schools and churches has increased the degree of interdialectal communication among speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl, LiNafeel and LiGbinl. However, many speakers of LiNafeel and LiGbinl remain more isolated

⁷⁰ The factor of ethnically mixed towns is a socio-cultural factor which is not related to dialect. Speakers of an entire dialect are usually not equally impacted by this factor. For example, New Baika is mixed but not Old Baika, Kute is mixed but not Odumasi or Baglo, and Jasikan is mixed but not Bodada.

from other tribes than are speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl. Speakers of LiKoonl are the most isolated socio-culturally because they live in separate districts, attend separate markets, use different roads, attend different schools and have different churches working in their midst. The migrant farm areas and the work of KOYA have increased interdialectal communication. Based on the socio-cultural situation, speakers of LiKoonl would be least likely to accept the written standard while speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl should be most likely to accept it.

Table 7.32 Summary of linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors which influence acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard by speakers of Likpakpaanl dialects

Dialect	Linguistic factors			Socio-cultural factors	Programmatic factors	Acceptance
	written standard	Lexical similarity	Phonological differences			
LiKoonl	not based on it	75%	7 differences	different district, schools, markets, churches, roads, tribe endogamy ELCG active	late, some events, Dist Sup & EC No LDT mem. no support now	low
LiNafeel	not based on it	86%	1 difference	same district, schools, churches: different markets, roads tribe endogamy	early, one event, no Dist Sup, LDT or EC mem. no support now	average to low
LiGbinl	not based on it	96%	2 differences	same district, schools, churches, markets: different roads tribe endogamy	late, no events, no Dist Sup LDT or EC mem. current classes	low to average
LiChabol	based on it	100%	0 differences	same district, schools, churches, markets, roads tribe endogamy	early, many events, LDT mem. Dist Sup current classes	average
LiMonkpenl	not based on it	91%	3 differences	same district, schools, churches, markets, roads tribe endogamy	early, one event, LDT mem. no Dist Sup current classes	high

As presented in Chapter 6, the Likpakpaanl LDT, beginning in the mid 1970s visited many of the Likpakpaanl-speaking villages to encourage the start of literacy classes. However, LiKoonl villages were not visited until the late 1980s. The LiGbinl villages received somewhat less attention than did the villages of other tribes in the traditional area. Villages throughout the migrant farm area were visited from the late 1970s. Residents of many villages were invited to attend the annual literacy days and to support the programme by participating in the Annual Harvest. In the Saboba Literacy District, literacy days were always held in Saboba village in the

LiChabol-speaking area. It was never held in the other three dialect areas of Saboba Literacy District. Literacy days were regularly held in the other eight districts including the predominantly LiMonkpenl-speaking districts of Tatale and Kpassa and the LiKoonl-speaking district of Gbintiri. In each district, literacy days have always been held in the same village. The programme has been unbalanced in that the LDT members have all been speakers of either LiChabol or LiMonkpenl. Also, district supervisors have been speakers of LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiKoonl. However, speakers of all dialects have served as zonal supervisors. Until 2002, speakers of LiChabol, LiKoonl and LiMonkpenl were guaranteed at least one member on the EC. The current EC is largely LiChabol speakers. The LDT currently supports classes only in the LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiGbinl dialect areas. However, NFED and School for Life have Likpakpaanl literacy classes in all dialect areas. A further impact on acceptance of the Likpakpaanl standard has been the encouragement given to literacy efforts by the ECG in Kpassa Literacy District and that given by the ELCG in Gbintiri Literacy District. Based on the actions of the LDT, speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl should be most likely to accept the written standard while speakers of LiKoonl, LiNafeel and LiGbinl should be least likely to accept the written standard.

In Section 7.1.5, the respondents from different Likpakpaanl dialects were shown to have varying levels of acceptance of the standard. LiMonkpenl respondents, especially those living in Saboba Literacy District, were most accepting of the written standard. LiKoonl and LiGbinl respondents were the least accepting of the written standard while speakers of LiNafeel and LiChabol had levels of acceptance between the two extremes. In Section 7.3, the village elders' perceptions of acceptance of the standard in their village indicated that some villages in each dialect accepted the standard well. The elders who said their own village accepts the standard well were speakers of LiMonkpenl, LiChabol and LiGbinl. In these dialect areas, the LDT was still active. Some LiKoonl elders said their villages were very accepting, while others said that neighbouring villages of the same dialect were more accepting. LiNafeel elders also said that neighbouring LiNafeel villages were more accepting of the standard than were residents of their own village. The assessments by Likpakpaanl LDT members indicated that the written standard was accepted well by speakers of all dialects. However, they also mentioned slightly lower levels of acceptance by LiKoonl speakers and slightly higher levels by LiMonkpenl speakers. The assessments of acceptance for Likpakpaanl speakers were more consistent than were those for Lelemi. LiMonkpenl was always among those with the highest ranking, while LiKoonl was always among those with the lowest ranking of acceptance. LiNafeel and LiGbinl also received some lower rankings of acceptance.

How do the factors fit together? Based on the linguistic factors, speakers of LiChabol would be expected to be most accepting. Speakers of LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl would be next most accepting. Speakers of LiKoonl would be least accepting of the written standard. However, based on socio-cultural factors, expected levels of acceptance are different. Speakers of LiKoonl would again be expected to be least accepting; speakers of LiNafeel and LiGbinl, slightly more accepting; and speakers of LiMonkpenl and LiChabol, the most accepting. Based on programmatic factors, speakers of LiChabol would be expected to be most accepting followed by speakers of LiMonkpenl. Speakers of LiKoonl, LiNafeel and LiGbinl each have a different combination of positive and negative programmatic factors. Thus, it is difficult to assess which of the three would be most accepting of the written standard based on programmatic factors.

Based on the factors in Section 7.1, the levels of acceptance of the written standard by LiKoonl and LiGbinl speakers are very similar. This does not match the results expected based on linguistic or socio-cultural factors but does match the results based on programmatic factors. It is possible that the intensive efforts in the LiKoonl dialect area from the late 1980's until the late 1990's helped LiKoonl speakers overcome the linguistic and socio-cultural factors which negatively influenced acceptance.

The three dialects with the highest levels of acceptance of the Likpakpaanl written standard based on the factors in Section 7.1, had more concentrated literacy efforts in the early years of the programme than did the other two dialects. The LDT was based in the LiChabol area and many events were held in that dialect area. A literacy facilitator training was held in the LiNafeel language area in the early years of the project and some language team members lived there. The LiMonkpenl-speaking area also hosted a training course for literacy facilitators. Furthermore, the first project manager was a speaker of LiMonkpenl.

The fact that speakers of LiMonkpenl were more accepting of the written standard than speakers of LiChabol was unexpected based on all factors. It is possible that the fact that the first project manager was a LiMonkpenl speaker who was also very dynamic and motivational may have influenced their greater acceptance.

According to some reports, LiMonkpenl speakers in Kpassa Literacy District, especially those who live off of the main roads, had lower levels of acceptance of the written standard than did LiMonkpenl speakers in the traditional area. While this was not explored in depth, interviews of four groups of elders in and near Kpassa indicated that levels of acceptance were average. No assessment of acceptance levels was done off the main roads.

The two hypotheses: that socio-cultural factors influence acceptance and that programmatic factors influence acceptance are supported by the trends that have been observed. However, further research is needed to provide additional support for these hypotheses.

This chapter, in addition to providing insights into the relative levels of acceptance of the written standards by speakers of each dialect, has also demonstrated that no single indicator of acceptance can be relied upon, but that acceptance is manifested in a variety of ways. The consideration of a group of indicators can provide a clearer understanding of acceptance than would any single indicator. Furthermore, no single factor can be considered the only cause of acceptance of a written standard. Instead, linguistic, socio-cultural and programmatic factors each influence acceptance.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, the relative levels of acceptance of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards were explored. In Section 7.1, Rogers' five stages of acceptance were used as a framework to explore the many facets of acceptance of a written standard. The levels of acceptance by speakers of the Lelemi dialects varied less than did the levels of acceptance by speakers of the Likpakpaanl dialects. However, despite of the greater variation in acceptance levels by speakers of Likpakpaanl dialects, the two Likpakpaanl dialects with the lowest overall levels of acceptance had a number of positive indicators of acceptance.

Two aspects of the reinvention of the two standards were explored in Section 7.2: the pronunciation of the standard like one's own spoken dialect when reading aloud and the development of new standards for speakers of specific dialects. Although some materials have been prepared in three other Likpakpaanl written standards due to dialect differences, in all cases the use of materials which are based upon LiChabol was still encouraged.

Section 7.3 considered the perceptions of community elders and LDT members about acceptance of the written standards by speakers of specific dialects. This assessment was compared to the multifaceted assessment of Section 7.1. The general assessments of the Likpakpaanl LDT and elders correlated well with the multifaceted assessment of those dialects. The general assessments of the Lelemi LDT and elders did not correlate as well with the multifaceted assessment of those dialects. However, both the general assessment and the multifaceted one indicated that acceptance was quite uniform among the Lelemi dialects.

Section 7.4 presented the causes for higher and lower levels of acceptance of the standard which had been proposed by respondents. In both language communities, the role of the LDT was the most commonly mentioned factor-influencing acceptance.

In Section 7.5 the levels of CAWS were considered in light of the linguistic factors, socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors. None of the sets of factors accounted for all the variation in acceptance, but each set of factor had an apparent influence on acceptance levels. Programmatic factors appeared to have a particularly influential role in acceptance.

8 Chapter 8 Discussion of Results

8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the findings of this thesis, to summarize each chapter, to present the main contributions and limitations of the study, to provide recommendations to LDTs in general, as well as to the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl LDTs in particular, and finally, to discuss areas needing further research.

8.1 The aims of the study revisited

As written standards are developed for the thousands of languages which have previously not had any, the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect is an important goal. The goal of this study was to identify socio-cultural and programmatic factors in two language development programmes and determine the influences they have had on CAWS. The specific aims of the research were:

To identify **socio-cultural** factors which have the potential to hinder or enhance CAWS. Such factors were identified for each language development programme in Chapter 5.

To identify **programmatic** factors which have the potential to hinder or enhance CAWS. These factors were identified in Chapter 6.

To compare the **relative levels of acceptance** of a written standard by speakers of several dialects of the same language. These were compared in Chapter 7.

To analyse the **inter-relationship** between the socio-cultural factors, programmatic factors, and the relative levels of acceptance of the written standard. These comparisons were also done in Chapter 7.

To recommend how LDTs can **identify socio-cultural factors** that may influence acceptance of a standard by speakers of a specific dialect.

To recommend how LDTs can **plan language programmes** that will utilize the socio-cultural factors that enhance CAWS but will counteract the socio-cultural factors that hinder CAWS. Both categories of recommendations are given in Section 8.5.

While it was not possible to rigorously test this study's two hypotheses, they did guide the gathering of the data. The first hypothesis was that: The greater the degree to which socio-cultural factors foster unity and inter-dialectal communication between the speakers of a lect and the rest of the language community, the greater will be the degree of acceptance of the

written standard by speakers of that lect. The second hypothesis was that: The greater the extent to which the language development team (LDT) works through existing social networks to provide information and seek the involvement of speakers of a lect in the language development work, the greater will be the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of that lect.

8.2 Overview of the chapters

8.2.1 Introduction to the research problem

Chapter 1 introduced the need for a study on CAWS in the context of calls for mother-tongue literacy for all. With approximately two-thirds of African languages not yet having writing systems, and with governments, NGOs and speakers of the languages themselves being reluctant to develop more written standards than necessary, the relevance of the study is evident. The need for the study was also demonstrated by presenting two examples of language development programmes in which CAWS was low. In both languages, the development of additional written standards was considered.

8.2.2 Literature on written standards, literacy and diffusion of innovations

Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical basis for the research in the areas of development of written standards, the reading process and the diffusion of innovations.

A written standard is a separate dialect of a language that has less internal variation than any spoken dialect of the language. Written standards are less natural than spoken dialects and are less prone to change. During codification of a written standard one grapheme is paired with each spoken phoneme. However, dialect differences at the phonemic level result in non-standard dialects lacking this one-to-one correspondence to varying degrees. This in turn, often makes the written standard more difficult for speakers of non-standard dialects to learn to read.

Written standards both influence and are influenced by the language community in which it is used. When the speakers of all dialects are unified as an ethnic group, acceptance of a single written standard will be facilitated. However, the standard itself also influences people's sense of unity and identity. A written standard enhances the sense of unity with others who use the standard while increasing the sense of distinctiveness from language communities that do not use the standard. The participation of speakers of every dialect in the language development process often leads to broader and more rapid acceptance of the standard. Participation also gives them greater control over the influences that the standard exerts.

Language standardization takes time. The standardization of most international languages took hundreds of years. Today, the development of written standards in languages that previously had none occurs at a more rapid rate. However, assuring utilization and acceptance of the standard throughout the society requires time.

An understanding of the reading process is important because written standards are utilized primarily through reading. Reading has two aspects: decoding and discovering meaning. Decoding graphemes into phonemes and recognizable words is made more difficult when phonological differences exist between the spoken dialect and the written standard. Decoding is also difficult when lexical differences require readers to decode words which are not in their spoken vocabulary. The use of tools related to discovering meaning by using semantic, syntactic and discourse clues along with background knowledge may help readers overcome dialect differences.

Manuals on the development of written materials in languages with newly developed written standards rarely encourage sensitivity to dialect differences. The manuals provide some general recommendations related to dialect differences but lack specific instructions on implementation.

Rogers' (2003) diffusion of innovations theory provides the theoretical perspective for this study of CAWS. According to this theory, innovations are accepted most rapidly when they spread through existing social networks and when local opinion leaders encourage their adoption. Acceptance takes place in stages: becoming aware of an innovation, developing a positive persuasion toward it, deciding to use it, putting it to use on a regular basis and confirming the decision to accept the innovation. The re-invention or modification of an innovation may be manifested as personalization of the innovation which confirms its acceptance or as an adaptation so major that the original innovation is rejected.

8.2.3 *The methodology*

The purpose of Chapter 3 was to describe the methodology used in the study. A largely qualitative approach was selected in which the socio-cultural situation and the language development efforts were described with little quantification. The assessment of dialect differences was primarily quantitative, while the assessment of acceptance had both quantitative and qualitative aspects.

Two languages, Lelemi and Likpakpaanl which each had at least five major dialects were selected as the cases in this study. Over 150 hours of interviews of LDT members, village elders and individuals were recorded, transcribed and examined. Reports and other documents

related to the development of the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl written standards were consulted. Wordlists from each dialect were compared to determine the degree of lexical and phonological variation between five dialects of each language. Short answer questionnaires, which were administered to 94 Likpakpaanl speakers and 55 Lelemi speakers, were used to assess the level of acceptance of the written standards by speakers of each dialect.

Acceptance of a written standard was shown to be a difficult quality to assess because each behaviour that gives evidence of acceptance is also influenced by a variety of other factors which are not linked to acceptance. Because of the multifaceted nature of acceptance, several measures were used to assess acceptance at each of the five innovation decision stages.

8.2.4 *The dialects of the languages*

Chapter 4 establishes that the lexical and phonetic differences between the five dialects of each language were comparable to the lexical and phonological differences between dialects of languages where CAWS failed to occur. Pairs of Lelemi dialects ranged from 83% lexical similarity to 94% lexical similarity. Pairs of Likpakpaanl dialects ranged from 74% lexical similarity to 96% lexical similarity. Several regular correspondences between different phones were identified between pairs of dialects in each language. Pairs of Lelemi dialects had between one and seven regular phonetic differences. Pairs of Likpakpaanl dialects had between one and eight regular phonetic differences. In general, the Likpakpaanl dialects had greater lexical and phonetic differences than did the Lelemi dialects.

The research showed that the LiKoonl dialect differs most from LiChabol, the dialect upon which the Likpakpaanl standard was based. The degrees to which LiNafeel and LiMonkpenl differ from the Likpakpaanl standard are similar to the degree to which the Kunsu, Teteman and Baika dialects of Lelemi differ from the two varieties upon which the Lelemi standard is most heavily based. The LiGbinl dialect differed from the Likpakpaanl standard only minimally. The Bodada and Baglo dialects of Lelemi also differed only minimally from the Lelemi standard. The LiChabol dialect, being the one upon which the Likpakpaanl written standard is based is essentially identical to that standard lexically and phonologically.

8.2.5 *Socio-cultural factors which influence unity and inter-dialectal communications*

Chapter 5 presents the socio-cultural situation of each language community, focusing on those which they influenced the degree of unity of the ethnic group and the degree of inter-dialectal communication. The specific socio-cultural factors considered were social structure, governance, geo-political boundaries, marriage patterns, religious celebrations, religious

affiliation, commerce patterns, transportation patterns and education patterns. Opinion leaders and strong social networks were also identified within each language area.

In general, the levels of unity and inter-dialectal communication were higher for speakers of Lelemi than for speakers of Likpakpaanl. However, the sense of ethnic unity and the levels of inter-dialectal communication have been increasing for Likpakpaanl speakers, but have been decreasing for LiKoonl speakers.

8.2.6 The LDTs' decisions and activities

Chapter 6 described the two language development programmes focusing especially on each LDT's level of awareness of dialect differences, their efforts to inform speakers of all dialects about the work, their efforts to involve speakers of all dialects in the work and their incorporation of knowledge about the socio-cultural situation. Both LDTs had some awareness of the dialect differences but showed weakness especially in incorporating that knowledge into the literacy efforts. Both LDTs used a variety of means to inform and involve the language community about the materials in the standard and the work of the LDT. Both teams also identified and used appropriate social networks within the language community to spread information. In most aspects of the programme, the Lelemi LDT equally informed and involved speakers of all dialects. Likpakpaanl LDT did not initially inform or involve speakers of the LiGbinl or LiKoonl dialect to the same extent that they did speakers of the other three dialects.

8.2.7 Assessment of acceptance by speakers of each dialect

In Chapter 7, the acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect of each language was assessed. The complexity of acceptance necessitated the use of a variety of indicators to assess it.

The acceptance of the written standard by speakers of each dialect was considered in relation to the linguistic factors, the socio-cultural factors and the programmatic factors which had influenced the dialect community. In comparing the linguistic factors, socio-cultural factors and programmatic factors to the levels of acceptance by each dialect, none show a direct correspondence. However, for both languages, low or late influence by programmatic factors corresponded to lower acceptance of the written standard, all other factors being equal. The importance of the role of the LDT was frequently mentioned by respondents as having influenced acceptance of the written standard.

8.3 Main contributions of the study

This research has filled a gap in the literature on the development of written standards by providing descriptions of the relative levels of CAWS in two languages with different socio-cultural situations and different features in their language development programmes. No other study has considered the differing levels of acceptance of a written standard by speakers of each dialect.

This study is also the first to apply Rogers' (2003) diffusion of innovations theory to the acceptance of written standards. Rogers' stages in the innovation decision process allowed for the development of a multifaceted tool to assess acceptance. Such a tool is necessary because each of the measures related to acceptance is also influenced by other factors not related to acceptance. For example, an individual who accepts the written standard may not own many books either because they are not sold in his village or because he borrows the books he reads.

Furthermore, a questionnaire was developed in this study which can serve as a model for assessing acceptance of written standards in almost any language. This questionnaire takes into account the multi-faceted nature of acceptance of written standards. The questionnaire includes a wide variety of questions related to acceptance of written standards especially at the knowledge stage, the persuasion stage and the decision and utilization stages.

This research also provides a description of the way in which two LDTs informed the various dialect communities about the language development and involved them in that work. The socio-cultural situations of the two languages were quite distinct from each other: one more traditional, the other more modernized; one with a strong chieftaincy system, the other with a more egalitarian system, one large, one small; one with those who have migrated out of the community living in close proximity to one another, the other with migrants being widely scattered; and one with a strong grass-roots development effort, the other without. The two approaches to language development were also quite different: most programmatic decisions for Likpakpaanl from 1962 to 1980 were made by non-Ghanaians, while in the Lelemi programme, Lelemi speakers were involved in the decision making from the beginning. The way in which public relations was done by the two teams differed considerably. Nearly every Lelemi respondent saw Ring, a non-Ghanaian project leader, as the primary mouthpiece of the Lelemi programme. The Likpakpaanl respondents mentioned a wider variety of people. The Likpakpaanl-speaking members of the LDT: Binabiba, Brown, Kunji and Wujanji were mentioned as often or more frequently than the non-Ghanaian LDT members: Steele and Langdon. This variety shows that while informing and involving community members was important in both programmes, it can be done in ways that fit the socio-cultural situation and the skills of the LDT

members. It is hoped that in the descriptions of these language programmes, other LDTs will either find ideas that can be applied in their situations or be inspired to develop unique ways to inform and involve all dialect communities in the language development work.

This research has also identified a set of socio-cultural aspects that have the potential to influence CAWS because of their influences on the unity of the language community and the degree of inter-dialectal communication within the language community. These aspects are social structure, governance patterns, geo-political boundaries, marriage patterns, religious celebrations, religious affiliation, commerce patterns, transportation patterns and education patterns.

An interesting feature of this study has been the influence that a concentrated literacy effort had on the acceptance of the Likpakpaanl written standard by speakers of the LiKoonl dialect. This dialect of Likpakpaanl has only 75% lexical similarity with LiChabol, the dialect upon which the written standard is based. At least seven phonetic differences exist between LiKoonl and LiChabol. LiKoonl is very distinct socio-culturally from the other Likpakpaanl-speaking communities, with very low levels of inter-dialectal communication and a low sense of unity with those communities. Yet, through the concentrated efforts of the LDT, a local church and LiKoonl speakers who had learned to read Likpakpaanl in migrant farm areas, the level of acceptance of the written standard among LiKoonl speakers has risen to a level commensurate to that of LiGbinl, a dialect that is much less linguistically and socio-culturally distinct. Questions remain about the level of comprehension that LiKoonl speakers have attained or can attain when reading Likpakpaanl materials.

8.4 Limitations of the study

This study, like all studies, has a number of limitations. First, a study of two language development programmes cannot possibly cover all the possible socio-cultural factors or all the possible activities of LDTs that influence CAWS. It remains for others to apply the ideas presented here to other language programmes in order to test them further.

This study also assessed the socio-cultural situation after language development programmes had been in progress for an extended period. This causes two difficulties. First, because socio-cultural situations change with time, and because the presence of a written standard changes the socio-cultural situation as was noted in Section 2.1.4, the situation at the beginning of the two language development programmes must have been different from what has been described in this thesis. Second, the researcher benefited greatly from insights of the LDTs that had been working in the two areas for decades. Involvement in language development raises a

person's level of socio-cultural awareness. LDTs beginning language development work may find the assessment of the socio-cultural situation more difficult than did this researcher.

Calculations of statistical significance were impossible due to logistics of the research resulting in a limited sample size. This lack of data meant it was only possible to describe apparent trends rather than make conclusive statements about differences in acceptance. LDTs and others who desire to assess the acceptance of written standards would do well to assure that they attain a random sampling of respondents from each dialect in appropriate numbers to generate statistically significant results.

This study did not include an assessment of all dialects of Likpakpaanl. During the course of the study, it was learned that the variety of LiMonkpenl spoken in some villages of Kpassa Literacy District is quite distinct from the variety of LiMonkpenl spoken in Saboba Literacy District. In addition, some Likpakpaanl respondents were reluctant or had difficulty classifying some dialects as a sub-dialect of one of the five dialects studied. In each case, the respondent did state which dialect it most closely resembled. Thus, several more dialects could have been included in the Likpakpaanl part of the research, but time and resources did not permit this. Generally, the blurred nature of dialect boundaries is a challenge that faces all who study dialects.

8.5 Implications for language development teams

A number of implications for LDTs stem from this study. The implications are organized according to two stages of language development programmes.

8.5.1 At the beginning of language development work

Early in the course of a language development program, the LDT may benefit from studying and describing the socio-cultural situation of each dialect community of the language. The LDT might seek to determine the level of unity that speakers of each dialect feel with speakers of other dialects and the degree of inter-dialectal communication between them. The levels of unity and inter-dialectal communication can be determined by studying the social structure, governance patterns, geo-political boundaries, marriage patterns, religious celebrations, religious affiliation, commerce patterns, transportation patterns and education patterns. Because each language situation is unique, an LDT need not limit itself to these topics, but may consider any factors that appear to influence unity and inter-dialectal communication. The LDT might also identify the social networks that are strongest and most extensive as well as the opinion leaders who influence each social network. Because speakers of the dialects which are most linguistically different and most geographically distant are least likely to accept the

written standard, determining their sense of unity with speakers of other dialects of the language and their level of inter-dialectal communication is important. Group interviews with elders in each dialect community would provide an initial assessment. Over time, ethnographic observations could provide deeper understanding.

The five concepts presented in Chapter 5.3 may be used by the LDT to organize the socio-cultural information.

1) For each dialect community, the **degree of unity** they sense with speakers of other dialects and the degree of **inter-dialectal communication** can be identified. The factors that foster a sense of unity result in the speakers of the various dialects wanting to do things together and wanting to do what speakers of other dialects are doing. Inter-dialectal communication helps the different dialectal communities to be aware of what is happening in other dialect communities. If a single dialect has been selected as the basis for the written standard, degrees of communication with speakers of that dialect should be considered in addition to the general level of inter-dialectal communication.

2) For each dialect community, the **trends** in the degrees of **unity** and **inter-dialectal communication** can be identified.

3) The **social networks** and **opinion leaders** through which the written standard can potentially be introduced to the community can be identified.

4) The LDT may determine the level at which members of the ethnic group **self-identify**: village, clan, market town, area secondary school, geo-political region, etc.

5) The LDT may identify the dialect communities that are most **socio-culturally isolated** from the dialect community upon which the written standard is based.

Once the data is organized, the team can use it to assist in planning their work so that speakers of all dialects will be informed and involved from the earliest stages of the project. The information on levels and trends in the sense of **unity** can help the LDT determine the degree of effort that must be aimed at **involving** speakers of all dialects in the work. Especially where the sense of unity is low, the LDT may need to make a concentrated effort to involve speakers of all dialects so that they will understand that the written materials are for them. If the low sense of unity is found only among speakers of some dialects, then greater efforts may need to be directed specifically toward speakers of those dialects.

The information on the degree of and trends in **inter-dialectal communication** can help the LDT determine the degree of effort that must be aimed at **informing** speakers of all dialect about the work. When inter-dialectal communication is high, the entire community learns about new

information quickly. When it is low, speakers of one dialect may be well informed while speakers of other dialects know nothing about the language development work. Where inter-dialectal communication is low, the LDT can plan ways to communicate crucial information about the programme to all dialect communities. Such communication is particularly important early in a programme, when speculation about the purposes and activities of the LDT may lead to misconceptions.

Informing and involving speakers of all dialects may include visits to communities in all dialect areas, invitations to speakers of all dialects to participate in events, testing materials among speakers of all dialects, encouraging speakers of all dialects to author books, selling books in all dialect areas, rotating the location of workshops and celebrations between all dialect areas, etc.

Information about **social networks** and **opinion leaders** can be used by the LDT to plan effective ways to inform and involve speakers of all dialects. Social networks that involve speakers of several dialects may be good avenues through which to introduce the literacy work to speakers of all dialects and throughout each dialect. While village leaders and religious leaders are usually important opinion leaders in each language community, each community may have unique social networks that can also be linked to the language development efforts. For example, the Likpakpaanl LDT found many advantages in cooperating with KOYA while the Lelemi LDT shared information with the large groups that gathered at funerals.

The information on the level of **self-identity** can be used by the LDT to decide whether a single large event or multiple smaller events may be more effective. An ethnic group in which people strongly identify at the level of the entire ethnic group would be more amenable to single large gatherings while ethnic groups in which people most strongly identify at the level of village, clan, or market town would be most positively influenced by smaller events at the lower level. These might be gatherings for training, materials production, or presentation of certificates to learners.

The identification of dialects which are **isolated socio-culturally** can be used to determine which areas need extra attention from the LDT to assure that they are well informed and involved. The concentrated efforts may be in the form of extra visits, extra training, extra encouragement, or even temporarily living in an area for a time to get the work started just as Langdon and Kunji of the Likpakpaanl LDT temporarily lived in Wapuli, Bincheratanga and Ekumdipe.

Several of the LDT workers mentioned a philosophy that is almost the opposite of the one mentioned in the paragraph above: that where interest is lacking, it is best to move on to where it is greater. This often works well at the level of individual villages. A village that initially has

a low level of interest may see the impact of literacy on a neighbouring village and later becomes more interested. However, stopping all work in a dialect area may implant the idea that the written standard is not for speakers of that dialect. By identifying the two or three most interested villages in each socio-culturally isolated dialect area and assuring that they are well informed and involved, the LDT can promote their acceptance of the written standard.

LDTs often live in a town or village where the dialect is spoken upon which the written standard is based. This means that the LDT will be most aware of the perceptions, desires and interests of the speakers of this dialect. While it is easy to assume that those perceptions, desires and interests are representative of the entire language community, rarely is that the case. Speakers of this dialect will usually prefer that events and celebrations be held in their community. Unless the LDT makes concentrated efforts, it will get little or no input from speakers of other dialects. However, input from other dialects, especially those which are most isolated socio-culturally, is needed to plan how to effectively inform and involve each dialect community so as to facilitate their acceptance of the written standard.

Low or decreasing levels of unity and inter-dialectal communication in a dialect community do not necessitate the development of a separate written standard for speakers of that dialect. However, such dialect communities need extra attention from the LDT for it to reach the same level of acceptance of the written standard as speakers of other dialects. Members of that dialect community need time to learn about the standard, develop positive attitudes toward it, decide to use it, learn to read it and begin using it in their daily life.

8.5.2 For LDTs who are beginning literacy classes

A strategy in some literacy programmes has been to introduce literacy materials in a single dialect community to gain experience and work out the problems before involving speakers of other dialects. The literacy workers expect that people in other dialect communities will have no problems with the corrected materials. This approach has two weaknesses. First, if for a few years, the literacy work is done in only one dialect community, other dialect communities may think that the materials are not for them. Second, speakers of each dialect will probably have some problems with the materials that speakers of other dialects do not have. If speakers of other dialects are expected to have no problems with the materials, the LDT may be more resistant to suggestions from them for improvements which will in turn decrease the involvement of that dialect community. A better methodology would be to have pilot projects in one village of each of several dialect areas the first year, moving as quickly as possible to start at least one class in each dialect area, especially those identified as socio-culturally

distinct. This allows speakers of all dialects to provide input into the final version of the primers.

After printed materials have been available for a year or two, the LDT could assess the level of acceptance of the written standard in all dialect areas using a questionnaire similar to the one in Appendix 3. At this stage, acceptance of the standard is expected to be low for many of the measures, although the results for the knowledge stage may be high. Ideally, testing should be done in at least one village in each dialect area where literacy classes have been held and one village in which they have not been held. The goal is to select a village from each dialect in which the people have had minimal exposure to the standard. If no village in a dialect area has had a literacy class, testing should be done in two villages, one closer and one further from a village of another dialect area that has had a literacy class. A culturally appropriate means of selecting a random or stratified sample of members of each community should be used.

The assessment of acceptance can then be used to inform further programme planning. Where knowledge about the written standards is low, the LDT can seek to improve the methods it is using to inform people. Where persuasion, decision or utilization is low, the LDT can seek to increase the involvement of the people in that area. Comprehension, in addition to acceptance, will influence the use of the written standard. Comprehension difficulties may be addressed to some extent by adding a vocabulary or comprehension component to the literacy program or increasing the redundancy in printed materials. However, comprehension issues fall outside the scope of this research. Comprehension difficulties, like acceptance difficulties do not always necessitate the development of a separate written standard.

The level of acceptance of the written standard by speakers of all dialects can be assessed on a regular basis, perhaps every five years, in order to monitor changes in awareness, persuasion, and utilization of the written standard by each dialect community. Such an assessment could help the LDT adjust the programme so that each dialect community receives the support it needs.

The socio-cultural situation should also be monitored periodically. Migrations, the building of roads and schools, and the initiation of new development projects can change the socio-cultural situation which, in turn changes the degree of unity and the level of inter-dialectal communication for certain dialects. As the LDT becomes aware of these changes, the literacy programme may be appropriately adjusted.

The acceptance of any innovation takes time. People need time to grow in their understanding of how literacy in their mother tongue can benefit them. They need to find time in their already busy lives to sit for an hour a day to learn to read. They need to persevere beyond the

stage when reading seems hard until it becomes natural and seems easy. They need to determine what role the written standard will have in their daily lives. Acceptance always takes time. Acceptance will probably take more time in socio-culturally isolated dialects. With patience and perseverance LDTs can provide those dialect communities with the information and motivation they need to overcome the extra challenges they face in learning to read.

8.5.3 Recommendations for the Likpakpaanl and Lelemi LDTs

Some recommendations are also appropriate specifically for the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl LDTs. The most important recommendation for each LDT is to continue all they have been doing to inform and involve speakers of all dialects about the written standard, the literacy materials and the literacy programme.

8.5.3.1 Recommendations for the Lelemi LDT

The Lelemi LDT may wish to extend this research by assessing the socio-cultural situation and the levels of acceptance of the written standard by individuals in the towns that were not visited: Guaman, Nsuta, Atakrom, Okadjakrom, Atonkor, New Ayoma, Old Ayoma, and Dzolu. This may be particularly important because the LDT mentioned that some of these towns have demonstrated lower levels of interest in the literacy efforts than the towns that were visited.

In the area of informing people about the written standard and the literacy programme, the Lelemi LDT may wish to alter its communication practices with the Lelemi communities. Based on the desires of chiefs and elders to receive direct communication from the LDT as they did in previous years, the LDT members may visit the chief to share information several times a year.

The Lelemi LDT may also want to consider the way in which towns are selected to host literacy days. Although Lelemi literacy day celebrations have been held equally in the upper and lower areas, the towns of Jasikan and Teteman have had hosted fewer literacy days than other towns of similar size. As the LDT works with these two communities to host literacy days, their involvement in the entire programme may increase. The frequency of literacy days in smaller towns could also be evaluated to determine if other imbalances exist.

Concerning the involvement of speakers of all dialects in the language development programme, the Lelemi LDT may wish to encourage individuals from more towns to contribute materials for publication. *A Brief History of Bodada*, published in 2003 could be followed by a series of books on the history of other Lelemi towns. Encouraging people from all towns to write books will help further increase people's involvement in the programme.

The Lelemi LDT may also wish to strengthen its system for checking or reviewing materials. Elders in several towns were not aware that the LDT was already translating the Old Testament. They were also unaware that people were needed to review materials before publication. It is especially crucial that people in the Kunsu and Baika towns review materials since those dialects differ most from the written standard. Involving more people from Teteman and Jasikan in the reviewing may also help their interest in and ownership of the programme increase.

8.5.3.2 Recommendations for the Likpakpaanl LDT

The Likpakpaanl LDT could apply the results of this study in several ways.⁷¹ The Likpakpaanl LDT may wish to extend this research to include more dialects and villages. Particularly of interest would be to assess the linguistic factors, the socio-cultural factors the programmatic factors and the acceptance of LiMonkpenl speakers in three areas: LiMonkpenl-speaking villages in Kpassa district which are further from the main road, LiKoonl-speaking villages near Chereponi and LiKoonl-speaking villages surrounding Gushiegu. Within Saboba Literacy District, it may be beneficial to gather data in some of the villages in each dialect area which are further from the main roads.

The Likpakpaanl LDT has historically involved speakers of LiMonkpenl and LiChabol to a greater extent than they have speakers of other dialects. The Executive Committee could begin to improve the balance of involvement by assuring that at least one representatives of each major dialect is serving on the committee. The LDT could encourage the authoring of books by speakers of all dialects. The REFLECT programme could be expanded to include villages where LiKoonl and LiNafeel is spoken.

The Likpakpaanl LDT could also look for ways to motivate involvement in the literacy and language development work at the level of the clan since this is the level at which Likpakpaanl speakers tend to self-identify. One way to do this is to celebrate literacy days at the level of clan. The celebrations would be smaller, but would be held among a group of people which normally interact. This may allow the participation in literacy days to increase since participants would have a shorter distances to travel.

The LDT could also explore methods for selling published books by using existing social networks. The extensive market system in the Likpakpaanl-speaking area seems the natural

⁷¹ At the time the fieldwork was done for this thesis, the Likpakpaanl LDT was in the process of restructuring. While many in the community were expressing a desire that the traditional literacy programme be restarted, the LDT did not feel it had the resources to do that. The LDT was receiving funds which were sufficient to support REFLECT circles only in Saboba Literacy District. Many of the most urgent needs for the Likpakpaanl LDT have little to do with the scope of this research, but rather with restarting the work in a way that is sustainable.

social network to use. Vendors who sell exercise books and pencils could be encouraged to buy the Likpakpaanl books from the RILADEP office to sell in markets throughout the Likpakpaanl-speaking area.

Those who have expressed concern about comprehension of the Likpakpaanl standard may wish to investigate the possibility of including training in comprehension strategies in literacy lessons so that speakers of those dialects can more easily understand the materials which were published based on LiChabol.

8.6 Areas for further research

This research has only touched the surface of the issues involved in assuring the use of written standards by speakers of as many dialects as possible. The study has focused primarily on **socio-cultural** and **programmatic** factors which influence **acceptance**. The influence of these factors on **comprehension** has been largely untouched in this study. **Linguistic** factors were also not a major focus in this study except to establish that the degree of linguistic variation among the dialects of each language were great enough to potentially influence acceptance. Research on the influence of linguistic factors on both comprehension and acceptance are needed. Also needed is research on influence that socio-cultural and programmatic factors have on comprehension of a written standard by speakers of non-standard dialects.

A great need exists for documentation of literacy programmes that have incorporated comprehension strategies in order to assist speakers of the non-standard dialects in comprehending the written standard. As was stated in Section 2.2.5, the manuals on developing materials for use in languages with newly developed written standards do not cover the development of materials for teaching comprehension strategies. Any LDTs that have included comprehension strategies in primers with the goal of improving cross-dialectal comprehension would assist other LDTs if they would document their efforts and results.

Where comprehension building has been done in the literacy programme, the testing of comprehension of the written standard by speakers of non-standard dialects would fill another gap in the research. Especially important would be to retest comprehension in areas where dialect comprehension testing was carried out prior to, or at the start of, the language development programme. Like acceptance, comprehension requires time. Such testing could be done both when the learners have completed the primers and several years later, after they have had time to practice their literacy skills through regular use.

The aspects of unity, inter-dialectal communication, involvement level of the LDT and acceptance of the written standard were explored qualitatively in this study. Further research

may be able to quantify these in order to develop a formula through which the level of involvement required by the LDT in each dialect area could be estimated. Such a formula could help the LDT determine when the level of involvement of the LDT is so great that a separate written standard would be warranted.

Losey (2002) and Fine (2003) appear to be among the few orthography developers who have documented the comparative studies they undertook of the phonologies of a language's dialects as they developed its orthography. However, neither has documented the acceptance of those orthographies. Such documentation will be of great assistance to other orthography developers who desire to be sensitive to dialect differences. Others who do comparative research before developing orthographies will provide a great service by documenting such research as well as documenting the acceptance of the orthography by speakers of the various dialects.

This study looked at two language programmes at a single point in time. Further research on this topic could be pursued from several angles. Clearly, the socio-cultural situation was different in the various dialect areas at the start of each programme than it was in 2004. LDTs who apply the recommendations of this study to their language programmes are called upon to document the socio-cultural situations in each dialect as they change over time. The LDT would also do well to document the levels of acceptance in each dialect as they change over time. Such documentation should also include documentation of the activities of the language development team. In addition to documentation, it may also be possible for LDTs to develop hypotheses and conduct longitudinal tests over the course of their language program. For example, if a language has two dialects which differ from the written standard by similar degrees of lexical difference and phonological difference and which also have similar patterns of socio-cultural influence, the LDT could select one to be the test dialect and the other, along with the standard dialect to be the controls. The LDT could then compare the impact of doubling the frequency of involvement-type activities for speakers of test dialect relative to speakers of the standard dialect and the control dialect.

Because many written standards have been developed in the past forty years, a broader study of acceptance could be done in which many LDTs are asked to give their perceptions of the socio-cultural situation, the LDT activities and the current levels of acceptance. Such a study would confirm whether trends the trends observed here occur in many languages.

The methods and concepts used in this study could also be applied to a study of other discrepancies in levels of acceptance of written standards or literacy programmes. For example, one could consider cross-gender acceptance, cross-educational-level acceptance, cross-social-status acceptance, cross-border acceptance, etc. All of these could make use of a socio-cultural assessment and an assessment of acceptance of the written standard. The socio-

cultural aspects pertinent to cross-gender acceptance would probably differ considerably from those pertinent to cross-border acceptance. For some of these potential studies, differences in dialect would not need to be considered.

This study was focused on the influences that dialect differences, socio-cultural unity, inter-dialectal communication and activities of LDTs have on acceptance of written standards. It did not explore whether a minimal level of unity or inter-dialectal communication can be established below which separate written standards are required. Others may wish to explore whether such limits can be identified.

8.7 Conclusion

This study has identified socio-cultural and programmatic factors which influence CAWS. A questionnaire was also developed for assessing the level of acceptance of written standards while accounting for the complex and multifaceted nature of acceptance. It is hoped that LDTs at various stages of developing and promoting written standards will be able to use the research undertaken here in order to better understand the socio-cultural factors which influence the speakers of each dialect and to assess their levels of acceptance of the written standard. It is also hoped that the LDTs implement programmes that inform and involve speakers of all the dialects so that all will benefit from the development of a written standard for their language.

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Appendix 1 Alternative proper nouns

This Appendix contains two tables. The first includes the terms used for languages and dialects mentioned in this report and alternative names found in other documents for both the language and the ethnic group. The second table includes variant spellings of place names.

Words used for dialects and languages

Term used in Report	Term used in other documents for the dialect or language	Term used in other documents for the ethnic group
Anufo		Tshokossi
Bassari	Ntcham	Bassari
Bimoba		Bimoba
Dagbani		Dagomba
Lelemi	Buem, Lefana	Buem
LiChaaligbaanli	Licaligbaanli, Likyaaligbaanli	
LiChabol	Likyabol, Ličabol, Litjabol	Betshabob, Bichabob, Bitchabob
LiGbinl	Ligbel, Gbimba	Begbem, Bigbum, Bgimba
LiKoonl	Likoonli, Komba, Likonl	Bekwom, Bikwom, Komba
Likpakpaanl		Bikpakpaam
LiKpalil		
LiMonkpenl	Limonkpel, Mankpimba	Bemonkpen, Bemonkem, Bimonkpem, Bimankpim
LiNafeel		Benafiab, Nafeeba, Naféba
LiNalol	Linalokli	Benalog
Mampruli		Mamproussi

Place names

Name in thesis	alternative names
Bonbonayili	Bunbonayili, Bumbong, Bumbonayili
Dzolu	Dzorlu
Saboba	Chabob
Nayil	Nayili

Appendix 2 Interview guides

This appendix contains the interview guides used during data gathering. The following interview guides are included:

Group interview guide for elders and chiefs (2 pages)

Interview guide for LDT members who speak the language as an L1 (2 pages)

Interview guide for LDT members who speak the language as an L2 (3 pages)

Interview guide for individuals (2 pages)

Group interview guide for elders and chiefs

I want to know a bit about your community.

1. Tell me about the chiefs/leaders in this village. What are the different leaders, what ethnicity are they, who is their boss.
2. Do the chiefs/leaders at other villages have the same status, higher or lower?
3. Do people from your dialect only marry people from your own dialect or do they marry people of other dialects. In this village, how many women are not ___ dialect? Which dialects do they speak?
4. Do those women speak their own dialect or do they learn this one?
5. Do any men of this village not speak ___ dialect
6. Where do you go to the big market? Which day is it on? How often is it?
7. From which villages do other people come to attend that market?
8. Is there a market in this village? What day?
From which villages do people come to attend your market?
9. Are the speakers of any L__ dialects known for special skills: hunters, blacksmiths, singers?
10. What annual celebrations do you have? (harvest, planting, funeral, birth, marriage) Where do you go to celebrate them?
11. From which village do people come to attend these celebrations?
12. What did the people here think and say when the LDT began learning to speak L__?
13. What did the people here think and say when the LDT began writing books in your language?
14. What do the people think and say now about the books in L__?
15. When and where did the literacy program begin? How did it spread?
16. Which of the people who are writing books in L__ do you know?
17. Which of the people who are writing books in L__ do you see most often?
18. How often do you see him/her?
19. Which people from your chieftom have served on committees of the LDP?
20. How were they chosen? How many years did they serve?
21. Which dialect of L__ is being written in the books?
22. How was that dialect chosen?
23. Where have the meetings or celebrations of the language work been held?
24. Which ones have you heard about?
25. Which ones were people from this village invited to attend?
26. Which meetings or celebrations of the language work have people from here attended?
27. Do you think the people from your village should be more involved or less involved in the language work?
28. Who was the first person in this village to learn to read L___ ? What did the others in the village say about it?

29. How do the people in your region feel about the written materials?
30. How well are they accepting the materials?
31. What is causing them to accept/not accept the materials?
32. Which L__ people read L__ books the most?
33. Which other people should read L__ books?
34. In which L__ villages do people read L__ books the most? What causes that?
35. In which L__ villages do people read L__ books the least? What causes that?
36. Are there any L__ villages that have not yet heard that books have been written in L__?
37. Has anyone told you some years after the work began that they had only recently heard about it? Where were they from (dialect and village)?
38. What do people here say are the benefits of reading L__?
39. What do people here say are the difficulties or problems in reading L__?
40. What other difficulties do you think there are?
41. When people here read books in L__, which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
42. How do they do that? Why does that happen?
43. Have you ever heard anyone from another dialect read L__ books? Which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
44. How do people in this village learn to read L__?
45. For whom are the books in L__ written?
46. Are there any people here who are learning to read L__ who never attended school?
47. How long does it take someone who never went to school to learn to read L__?
48. How long does it take someone who never went to school to learn to read English?
49. How long does it take someone who already reads English to learn to read L__?
50. What are the benefits of being able to read L__?

interview guide for LDT members who speak the language as an L1

Interviewee _____

Role _____

Language name _____

General involvement

1. How did you get involved with the L_____ Language work?
2. What different roles have you had?
3. What did L_____ people say when people first started reading and writing in L_____?
4. Was the response different in different places?
5. Which L_____ people read L_____ books the most?
6. Which other people should read L_____ books?
7. What are you doing to involve them?
8. In which L_____ villages do people read L_____ books the most? What causes that?
9. In which L_____ villages do people read L_____ books the least? What causes that?
10. What do people say are the benefits of reading L_____?
11. What do people say are the difficulties or problems in reading L_____?
12. What other difficulties do you think there are?
13. When people here read books in L_____, which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
14. How do they do that? Why does that happen?
15. Have you ever heard anyone from another dialect read L_____ books? Which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
16. Has anyone told you some years after the work began that they had only recently heard about it? Where were they from (dialect and village)?
17. When and where did the literacy program begin? How did it spread?

PR by others

18. Has anyone who is not on the committees promoted the use of the standard in other dialect areas?
19. Did any organizations promote the use of the standard in all the dialect areas?
20. In what ways did they do this?

Acceptance

21. What percent of people in each dialect can read L___?
22. What are the dialects of those who have authored books?
23. How involved are speakers of each dialect with the Lg dev work?

Perceptions about the standard

24. For whom is the written standard easiest to read?
25. For whom is the written standard difficult to read?
26. Are there any aspects of the written standard that are difficult for speakers of some dialects to read? Which ones?
27. Which dialect perceives the standard to be most difficult?
28. What are the advantages of becoming literate in the written standard?

social situation

29. population centers – names and dialect location, larger center nearest lg area. % population of dialect, other dialects other lgs.
 30. marriage – marriage patterns, lg use by each spouse, lg learned by children
 31. chieftaincy – degree of heirarchy, degree of communication, areas of cooperation
 32. traditional celebrations – where held, which dialects participate
 33. market patterns – location and freq of largest market, loc and freq of smaller markets, what is avail daily in small villages. Freq of people going to market.
 43. identity level – when asked by an outsider from same country, how do they identify? when asked by resident of lg near pop center, how do they identify? when asked by speaker of another dialect?
- name – what names are used and to which people do they refer.

team actions

44. What committees were formed as part of the language development work?
45. What language name was used on materials?
46. How was that chosen?
47. Which villages were involved testing testing materials?
48. What events were held?
49. Where were the events located?
50. Who was invited to attend the events?
51. How did you inform people about the language dev. prog.?
52. How frequently did you visit each village?

interview guide for LDT members who speak the language as an L2

Interviewee _____ Role _____
Language name _____ Name of standard dialect _____
Names of dialects of L _____

What was the initial response by L___ speaking people when you began learning L__ ? Was the response different in different areas?

What was the initial response when you began writing their language down and reading it back to them.

When and where did the literacy program begin? How did it spread?

Has anyone told you some years after the work began that they had only recently heard about it? Where were they from (dialect and village)?

PR by others

In what ways did speakers of the language promote the use of the standard in other dialect areas?

Did any organizations promote the use of the standard in all the dialect areas?

In what ways did they do this?

Acceptance

reading rates in each dialect

literacy classes in each dialect (numbers, length, % of villages,

authors from dialect

eagerness to be involved in Lg dev work

Perceptions about the standard

For whom is the written standard easiest to read?

For whom is the written standard difficult to read?

What aspects of the written standard or the various dialects make it difficult for them to read it?

Which dialect perceives the standard to be most difficult?

Who perceives use of the written standard as being most advantageous? least advantageous?

In what ways is the ability to read _____ compatible with their lifestyle?

For which segments of the population is the ability to read _____ most compatible?

What are the advantages of becoming literate in the written standard?

What are the disadvantages of becoming literate in the written standard?

For which segments of the community do the advantages outweigh the disadvantages?

For which segments of the community do the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

How aware are speakers of each dialect of the possibility of learning to read and buy books in the written standard.

Which segments of the community are most aware of the possibility of learning to read and buy books in the written standard?

trialability?

observability – this is really evidenced by the pr.

Linguistic situation

dialects originally targeted, dialects using materials

phonological differences between the dialects

lexical differences between the dialects

morphological differences between the dialects

syntactical differences between the dialects

discourse differences between the dialects

comparative intralanguage linguistic studies done

Language Development

dates: first team, first publ. materials, first L1 primers, first transition primers, first lit class in each dialect,

materials available: titles, pages, type (auth/trans), dialect of primary author

orthography: based on one dia or combination, method of approval, year of approval, role of L1 speakers

what consideration was given to dialect differences in the development of primers and training teachers?

social situation

population centers – names and dialect location, larger center nearest lg area. % population of dialect, other dialects other lgs.

marriage – marriage patterns, lg use by each spouse, lg learned by children

chieftaincy – degree of heirarchy, degree of communication, areas of cooperation

traditional celebrations – where held, which dialects participate

market patterns – location and freq of largest market, loc and freq of smaller markets, what is avail daily in small villages. Freq of people going to market.

identity level – when asked by an outsider from same country, how do they identify? when asked by resident of lg near pop center, how do they identify? when asked by speaker of another dialect?

name – what names are used and to which people do they refer.

team actions

What committees were formed as part of the language development work?

What language name was used on materials?

How was that chosen?

Which villages were involved testing testing materials?

What events were held?

Where were the events located?

Who was invited to attend the events?

How did you inform people about the language dev. prog.?

How frequently did you visit each village?

Questionnaire for village residents

1. Name _____
 2. village of residence _____
 3. What variety of XXX do people here speak? Do you speakYYY?
 4. Did your mother's parents speak YYY? Did your father's parents speak YYY?
 5. In which villages and towns did you live as you grew up?
 6. What year were you born?
 7. Gender male female
 8. level of education _____
 9. occupation (or leadership role) chief, pastor, farmer, trader, teacher
 10. languages read English, Twi, Ewe, Lelemi, Konkomba, Basare, Dagomba, Kabre, Tshakosi
 11. How did you first hear that your language was being written?
 12. Do you remember the first day that you saw something written in your language?
 13. Please tell me about that day. (Where were you, who were you with, how did you know it was in your language, what did you do, what did you think and feel?)
 14. Did you tell anyone that you had seen things written in your own language? Whom did you tell?
- Note XXX is replaced by Lelemi or Likpakpaanl, YYY is replaced by the dialect name.
15. How do people in this village learn to read XXX?

16. Where can someone learn to read XXX?
17. Why have you not yet learned to read XXX?
18. Has anyone read to you from any of the books? Which?
19. Which of the XXX books have you seen?
20. What are the books about?
21. Where can you get books written in XXX?
22. How much do they cost?
23. Which of the XXX books do you own?
24. Have you heard of any other XXX books which you have not yet seen?
25. Which of the XXX books have you tried to read yourself?
26. Which did you succeed in reading?
27. How well do you read XXX?
28. How did you learn to read XXX?
29. Did you attend literacy class? (if no go to 24)
30. Which did you attend?
31. How long did you attend?
32. Why did you decide to try to learn to read XXX?
33. Who are the people you talk to most often?
34. Which people help you with your farming?
35. Which of these people know how to read XXX?
36. Are these people older than you or younger than you?
37. Which of your family members can read XXX?
38. Are they older than you or younger than you?

39. For whom are the books in XXX written?
40. What do you like most about XXX books?
41. What would make XXX books even better?
42. What is your favorite book in XXX? (accept up to two titles, if more than two say I am glad you like so many, but which do you like most of all?)
43. Words are not just written in books. We see them many places in our community. Other than in books, where else have things been written in XXX?
44. When people from here read XXX books, which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
45. How do they do that? Why does that happen?
46. Have you ever heard anyone from another dialect read XXX books? Which dialect does it sound like they are speaking?
47. Which XXX people read XXX books the most?
48. Which other people should read XXX books?
49. In which villages do people read XXX books the most?
50. Why are they read more in those villages than in others?
51. Are there any XXX villages where no one reads XXX books?
52. Why do you think no one there reads them?
53. How hard is it for a XXX person to learn to read XXX?
54. Are there any people here who are learning to read XXX who never attended school?
55. How long does it take someone who never went to school to learn to read XXX?
56. How long does it take someone who never went to school to learn to read English?
57. How long does it take someone who already reads English to learn to read XXX?
58. What are the benefits of being able to read XXX?
59. Is there a market town near here?
60. Which market town do people from here go to? How often?
61. What other dialects of XX are spoken at that market?
62. What things can people buy here in your own village?
63. From which villages do the men here find wives?
64. How well does such a man understand the dialect of his wife's family?
65. What celebrations do your people have? (harvest, planting, national, funeral, wedding)
66. Where are they held? Where do you go to attend them?
67. Do people from other villages attend those?
68. How often do you attend?
69. Which XXX chief or leader is respected most by other chiefs leaders and people?
70. Have you ever visited the XXX language office?
71. When? How many times?
72. Which people in the XXX language office do you know?
73. Did you ever attend a XXX language project event?
Which one?

Questionnaire for village residents

Name _____
 village of residence _____
 What variety of XXX do people here speak? _____
 What variety of XXX do you speak? _____
 What variety of XXX did your mother's parents speak? _____
 What variety of XXX did your father's parents speak? _____
 In which villages and towns did you live as you grew up?

What year were you born? _____
 Gender male female
 level of education _____
 occupation (or leadership role) chief, pastor, farmer, trader, teacher,

 languages read English, Twi, Ewe, Lelemi, Konkomba, Basare,
 Dagomba, Kabre, Tshakosi

How did you first hear that your language was being written?

Did you ever attend literacy class? Y N

How long did you attend? _____

Which of your family members can read XXX?

Are they older or younger than you XXX? _____

Which of the XXX books have you seen? _____

What are the books about? DK _____

Where can you get books written in XXX? _____

How much do they cost? _____

Which of the XXX books do you own? _____

For whom are the books in XXX written? _____

What do you like most about XXX books? _____

When people from here read XXX books, which dialect does it sound like they are speaking? _____

In which villages do people read XXX books the most?

Where can someone learn to read XXX? _____

Is learning to read XXX hard? YN _____

What are the benefits of being able to read XXX? _____

Have you ever visited the XXX language office? _____
 When? _____ How many times? _____
 Which people in the XXX office do you know? _____

Did you ever attend a XXX language project event? _____
 Which one? _____

Appendix 4 Phonetic correspondences between Likpakpaanl dialects

This appendix contains descriptions of the phonetic correspondences between dialects which were identified in at least four lexical items. The correspondences for Lelemi are given first followed by those for Likpakpaanl.

Lelemi phonetic correspondences

Correspondence 1) Baglo has no instances of nasal vowels following non-nasal consonants. In all the other dialects nasal vowels occasionally occur in this environment. The occurrence of nasal vowels in this environment is more frequent in the Central, Teteman and Baika data than in the Kunsu data. This contradicts Ring's report that nasal vowels occur more frequently in the lower dialects. It cannot be determined from this data whether nasalisation is being lost or acquired. Due to the presence of nasalisation in all other dialects, the rule is written as if nasalisation was lost in the Baglo dialect.

$$\begin{aligned} V_{\text{Nasal}} / _ C_{(-\text{Nasal})} &\rightarrow V_{-\text{Nasal}} && \text{(Baglo)} \\ &\rightarrow V_{\text{Nasal}} && \text{(Kunsu, Central, Teteman, Baika)} \end{aligned}$$

The current orthography does not represent nasalisation consistently. It is only shown when a pair of words has been identified that differs only in nasalisation in at least one dialect. This means that speakers of Kunsu, Central, Teteman and Baika must guess when a vowel should be pronounced as nasalised.

Correspondence 2) The mid vowels [o] and [e] of Kunsu, Baglo and Central dialects are realized as [ə] in the Teteman and Baika dialects. This correspondence is most consistent in Teteman in which about five sixths of the [o]s and [e]s in Baglo items are realized as [ə] in Teteman. In Baika, about two thirds of the [o]s and [e]s in Baglo items are realized as [ə] in Baika. No linguistic environment was identified which is related to the occurrence of this phonetic correspondence.

$$\begin{aligned} e, o &\rightarrow \text{ə} \text{ (Teteman, Baika)} \\ &\rightarrow e, o \text{ (Baglo, Central, Kunsu)} \end{aligned}$$

The current orthography uses only <o> and <e>. Readers who speak Baika or Teteman dialects must learn that both of these are usually pronounced /ə/. Because not all mid vowels are affected, both the reading and spelling of words with <o> and <e> should be somewhat difficult for speakers of Baika and Teteman.

Correspondence 3) Nearly a third of all occurrences of [o] in Kunsu correspond to [u] in other dialects while the remaining two thirds correspond to [o]. In neither of these correspondences is any pattern or environment present.

Because only a proportion of these vowels shift, and do so in an unpredictable way, reading for Kunsu speakers is more difficult. For example, each time <u> is encountered, a Kunsu reader must first sound out the word using both [u] and [o]. If both readings are meaningful words, the reader must use context to determine which word is intended. The same occurs when <ε> is encountered. If further study shows that this change is determined by the environment, this difference would cause less difficulties for readers, since the environment can be used to determine the correct pronunciation.

Correspondence 5) Elision of vowels occurs in all dialects to some extent, especially when two vowels are adjacent or when a vowel follows a semi-vowel. No consistent pattern was observed, but further study of dialectal patterns of vowel elision is warranted. Other infrequent occurrences of correspondences between vowels of these five dialects occurred. Such irregular correspondences require readers to learn the spelling of each written word in which such a correspondence occurs.

Correspondence 6) The velar nasal [ŋ] is occasionally elided in the Baika and Central dialects when it precedes [w]. The sound [ŋ] only occurs preceding [w] and velar stops. Elision of [ŋ] does not occur when it precedes a velar stop. In the data, the elision occurs four times in Baika, three times in Central, twice in Kunsu, and only a single time each in Baglo and Teteman. It may be a change that is spreading throughout the language.

- ŋ → ŋ / _w (especially in Kunsu, Baglo and Teteman)
- ŋ / _C_{velar} (in all dialects)
- Ø / _w (especially in Baika, Central)

Because the unelided form is represented in the orthography and because the elision occurs in only one environment, it will not cause reading difficulties, but may result in some minor spelling difficulties.

Correspondence 7) The voiceless bilabial fricative is realized as the consonant cluster [ɸʃ] in the Central dialect when it precedes [wi]. Elsewhere it is realized as [ɸ]. In Kunsu [ɸʃ] and [ɸ] are in free variation before [wi] but elsewhere only [ɸ] occurs.

- ɸ → ɸʃ / _wi or -wε (Central)
- ɸʃ ~ ɸ / _wi or -wε (Kunsu)

→ ϕ /elsewhere (Central, Kunsu)

→ ϕ (Baglo, Teteman, Baika)

In the orthography / ϕ / is written as <f>. Because the only other place that [ʃ] occurs is in the affricate [tʃ], and because the occurrence with [ϕ] is dependent on the environment, speakers of Central and Kunsu could easily learn to read <fwi> as [ʃwi].

Correspondence 8) For the majority of occurrences of [l] (about 27), it corresponds to [l] in other dialects. In six words, [l] in some dialects corresponded to [r] in others. Ring states that /r/ occurs only in loan words (Ring, 1981b:3). In two words in the data, [r] in Kunsu corresponds to [l] in each of the other dialects.

r /loan word → r (Kunsu)

→ l (Baglo, Baika, Central, Teteman)

Correspondence 8a) In the remaining four words, [r] occurred in Teteman four times, in Central three times, in Baika twice and in Kunsu and Baglo once. It is not known whether these are loan words.

r → r (Teteman, Central, Baika)

→ l (Kunsu, Baglo)

The current orthography uses <r> for borrowed words (Ring, 1981b), but it is not stated which criteria is used to determine whether <r> or <l> are used for a given word. If all borrowed words are spelled using <r>, then readers can be taught that it is acceptable to pronounce <r> as [l] if that is how they pronounce a given word. If only some borrowed words are spelled using <r> then both reading and writing become difficult for speakers of most dialects.

Correspondence 9) In the Central dialect, [l] is elided word initial in nouns. That is, the noun class prefixes [lɛ-] and [li-] are realized as [ɛ-] and [i-]. This elision occurs in over 20 lexemes in the data. The speaker from whom the list was elicited mentioned that while some of the words may be said either with or without pronouncing [l], the elided form is more typical. Elision did not occur in any of the three verbs in which [l] is word initial.

The orthography uses <l> for these prefixes. Since the pronunciation in the Central dialect is highly predictable based on location in the word and part of speech, neither readers nor writers should experience difficulty.

Likpakpaanl phonetic correspondences

Correspondence 1) When [ɪ] occurs in LiChabol in a word final syllable and is followed by [r] or [ɹ] it is realized as [ʌ] in LiMonkpenl. Other dialects show considerable variation in the vowel, which occurs in this environment.

[ɪ] (LiChabol) → [ʌ] / _ [r/ɹ] (LiMonkpenl)
→ [i] /elsewhere (LiMonkpenl)

Correspondence 2) In LiKoonl, some words have lengthened vowels or digraphs where other dialects have a single vowel of shorter duration. In 118 items, LiKoonl has 39 VV sequences while LiNafeel had 33 and the other three each had less than 25. No specific environment was identified in which lengthening or shortening of vowels occurs. During elicitation, the LiKoonl speaker occasionally appeared to emphasize the length of a vowel. It is possible that lengthened vowels in other dialects were not perceived by the researcher.

VV → VV (LiKoonl)
→ V (other dialects)

Correspondence 3) A shift in height has occurred in some vowels. Either LiKoonl has shifted towards using slightly higher vowels or the other dialects have shifted toward using slightly lower vowels.

ɛ → ɛ (LiKoonl)
→ a (LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl)
i → i (LiKoonl)
→ ɪ (LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl)
u → u (LiKoonl)
→ ɪ (LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl)
o → o (LiKoonl)
→ ɔ (LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl)

This set of correspondences is complex because each vowel corresponds not only to shifted vowels but also to vowels which have not shifted. The complexity of this correspondence is even greater because no specific environment could be identified in which this lowering occurs.

Correspondence 4) Where VV sequences or lengthened vowels occurred, a large variety of correspondences occurred between the dialects. For example, [uɔ] in LiNafeel corresponds to [o] or [oo] in LiGbinl four times however, [uɔ] in LiNafeel corresponds to [ao], [oo], [uo], [uɔ], [o], or [ɔ] in the other three dialects. Other vowel correspondences are even less regular. A comparative study of lengthened vowels which begins by examining the lengthening of vowels that occur in yes/no questions might clarify these correspondences between dialects. These

irregular correspondences are particularly problematic to readers because they must memorize the spelling of each new word rather than being able to sound out the word.

Correspondence 5) The noun class prefixes for Group C and D singular show dialect variation. Speakers of LiNafeel and LiKoonl say [ku], [kʊ] or [kʌ] while speakers of other dialects use a front vowel: [kɪ]. This correspondence should not cause difficulty to readers or writers.

Correspondence 6) A correspondence between [g] in LiChabol, LiMonkpenl and LiNafeel and [dʒ] in LiKoonl and LiGbinl occurs before [i] in four items. Preceding other vowels, [g] corresponds to [g] in all dialects.

g → dʒ / _ i (LiKoonl, LiGbinl)
→ g / elsewhere (LiKoonl, LiGbinl)
→ g (LiChabol, LiMonkpenl, LiNafeel)
dʒ → dʒ

Like Correspondence 3, this correspondence is complex because [dʒ] corresponds to [dʒ] in all dialects preceding all vowels.

Correspondence 7) The sounds [r] and [ɹ] both occur in all five dialects. In LiNafeel and LiChabol [r] is far more common than [ɹ] while in LiKoonl and LiGbinl the occurrence of [r] and [ɹ] are nearly equal. In LiMonkpenl, [ɹ] occurs about twice as frequently as [r]. No specific environment was identified which determines this occurrence. These are probably allophones of the same phoneme. Because these do not correspond with any other sound, this correspondence should not cause difficulties for readers or writers.

Correspondence 8) In LiKoonl, about half of the occurrences of [r] and [ɹ] were followed by a barely audible fricative (164, 168, 192, 199, 200, 205, 227). This was usually transcribed as [s]. Sometimes, however, the point of articulation of the fricative could not be determined. No pattern related to the presence or omission of the fricativisation could be determined.

r / _ # → r (LiChabol, LiMonkpenl, LiNafeel, LiGbinl)
→ rs / _ # LiKoonl

Correspondence 9) In all the dialects, the voiceless stops [p], [t] and [k] are often, but not always aspirated when they precede the high vowels [i], [u] and sometimes vowel [ɪ] and the semivowel [w]. Aspirated stops occurred least frequently in LiMonkpenl. Because the aspirated stops are not listed as phonemes, they are probably allophones of the unaspirated stops.

C_{-voice, +stop} → C_{+aspiration} / _ V_{high} (especially in LiKoonl, LiNafeel, LiGbinl and LiChabol)

10) In LiKoonl, aspiration of the voiceless stops [p], [t] and [k] also occurs, in some instances, before the low vowel [a].

$C_{-voice, +stop} \rightarrow C_{+aspiration} / _ V_{low}$ (LiKoonl)
 $\rightarrow C_{-aspiration} / _ V_{low}$ (LiNafeel, LiGbinl, LiChabol, LiMonkpenl)

The sounds involved in correspondences 9 and 10 appear to be allophones which only occur in specific environments. This makes these correspondences less problematic for readers.

Three of the phonetic correspondences, 7, 9, and 10 appear to be correspondences between allophones. None of the sounds occurring in these correspondences occur in other correspondences in any dialect of the language. These correspondences should pose minimal difficulty to readers. Correspondence 4 is the one which could cause the most difficulty for readers because of the lack of pattern to the correspondence. Correspondences 3 and 6 could also cause difficulty to readers because of the complexity of the correspondence.

Appendix 5 Summary tables for the Lelemi and Likpakpaanl programmes

Individuals with significant roles in the development of the Lelemi written standard

Name	Dialect	Position
Father Odaye Anastasius Dogli (1889-1970)	Baglo	Catholic father, translator
Andrew and Kate Ring	(English)	1979-80 Research in upper Lelemi 1980-90 Resident linguist 1990-2004 Visiting consultant
Mr. Osiban	Central	Presbyterian catechist* 1981-83 Language learning assistant* 1983-86 Literacy Supervisor lower
Mr. Andreas Antu	Central	Catholic catechist* 1983-86 Literacy Supervisor upper
Mr Olawu (??-1984)	Central	Oct-Dec 1981 Tone Workshop in Lome Translator Late 1982 – late 1983+*
Marcus Pewudie (1953-)	Baglo	Volunteer assistant 1980-86§ Upland Literacy Supervisor and Translator 1987-2004+
Mr. Kwaku A. Addey (1920-2004)	Central	Translator 1987-2004+
Daniel Diko (1950-)	Central	Typist 1985§ 1983® Lowland Literacy Supervisor and Translator 1987-2004+* Manager BALP 1992-2004 ®
Divine Mununkum (1954-)	Central	Occasional volunteer 1984-87+ Literacy Project organizer 1987-1992
Father Kumasi	Baglo	Committee chair* Helped with read through of NT *
+(Ring, 1992b), *(Ring, MEnglish) §(Diko-Pewudie, MCentral-MBaglo) ®(Diko, 1995)		

Chronology of events in the development of Lelemi written standard

Date	Event
1950s	Father Dogli produces first Lelemi books
1960-80	Use of Lelemi books discouraged by RC church
1979-80	The Rings test Ewe bilingualism in upper Lelemi
1980	The Rings move to Bodada and begin language development work
1982	Primer construction workshop involves all dialects
1983	BALP Committee members all from Bodada.
1983	Orthography workshop involving all dialects considers dialect differences Speakers of all dialects trained in use of primer
1984	First Literacy days in 5 towns in most dialects
1989	Committees established in all towns [^]
1989	The General Committee has representatives from all towns [^]
1992	Executive Committee re-formed with representation from all areas [^] (LYA 92)
1992	Four literacy days held Bodada, Kudje, Old Baika, Nsuta (LYA 92) [°]
1992-93	Towns with literacy committees increase from 8 to 11 [^] (LYA 93)
1992	Teachers trained at Nsuta, Atakrom, Guaman, Dzolu, Old Ayoma, & Baglo †
1993	26 Teachers trained to teach Lelemi literacy in school. [^]
1994	Responsibility for Lelemi literacy shifts to NFED [^]
1994	1800 students in 20 schools can read Lelemi (LYA 95)
1994	Representatives of eight denominations produce 2 Scripture song cassettes [^]
1994	30 more teachers trained to teach Lelemi [^]
1995	Joint NFED BALP literacy day (LYA 95)
1996	New Testament dedication Bodada ©
1998	Three Volunteer zonal supervisors (LYA 98)
1999	Literacy day held at Kute (LYA 99)
<p>*(Ring, 1992a), +(Ring, 1992b), ^ (Lelemi Program Documentation, 1995), ° (Lelemi Program Plan: Implementation Phase, 1995) § (Lelemi Background Summary, 1995), ° (Diko, 1993), ° (Ring, MEnglish), † (Diko, 1992), © (Ring, 1996) LYA= Lelemi Yearly Activities Report</p>	

Individuals with significant roles in the development of the Likpakpaanl written standard

Name	Dialect	Position
Mary Steele	(English)	1962-80 Linguistic research and translation coordinator 1980-1995 translation consultant 1995 informal consulting
David Brown Magbaan died 1990	LiChabol	late 1960s-1975 reviewer 1975-1980 literacy supervisor 1980-1990 translator
Thomas Torbi	LiMonkpenl	Presbyterian catechist 1977-? Wapuli zone literacy supervisor
Margaret Langdon	(English)	1975-1981 literacy coordinator
James Kunji	Linalol	primary school teacher 1976-1981 district literacy supervisor 1981-1988 literacy coordinator 1988-97 translator 1997-2003 literacy coordinator
Kenneth Wujanji	LiMonkpenl	secondary school teacher 1981-86 Project Manager/Coordinator
Winston Binabiba	LiChabol	1984-1987 district literacy supervisor 1987-2001 Project Coordinator
Father Timp and other RC Fathers *	(English) Likoonl area	1960-1990 other fathers 1993-2003 literacy and translation adaption coordinator/motivator
Rev. Tim Heiney and other ELCG missionaries *	(English) LiKoonl area	1984-1992 Heiney encourages literacy and use of New Testament 1992-2003 Others promote literacy 2000-present Investigate need for separate Bible translation
Dem Boar	LiKoonl	1989-199? Gbintiri Literacy District supervisor
Ronaldo Lidorio *	(Portuguese) LiMonkpenl	Mid 1990s- early 2000s translation coordinator LiMonkpenl
* not formally connected to RILADEP		
The information in this table comes from the interviews of LDT members and others and is supplemented with information from the RILADEP annual reports.		

Chronology of events in the development of Lelemi written standard

Date	Event
1960?	Assembly of God publish Likpakpaanl hymnal
1962-6	Steele lives in Wapuli and Yankazia to learn Likpakpaanl
1966	Steele conducts a dialect survey decides to relocate to Saboba and use LiChabol as the basis of the written standard
1966	First primers are published. Steele teaches literacy classes in LiChabol area
1966-76	Speakers of LiChabol and LiMonkpenl review materials
1976	13 literacy facilitators trained
1977	New Testament published in Likpakpaanl
1977	Konkomba Youth Association (KOYA) inaugurated
1977	First Literacy Day in Saboba
1977-80	literacy facilitator training courses in Wapuli, Zabzugu-Tatale and Kpandai
1977-present	literacy facilitators trained one-on-one
1981	Wujani appointed Programme Manager and Kunji appointed Literacy Coordinator
1981	Conflict with neighbouring groups
1986	Wujanji appointed director of GILLBT
1987	Bibabiba appointed Programme Manager, Kunji remains as Coordinator
1989	Literacy begins in LiKoonl-speaking area.
1989	Likpakpaanl New Testament recorded in LiKoonl dialect
1991	Literacy districts number 10 (5 new since 1986)
1991	Conflict between LiKoonl and Bimoba
199?	Likpakpaanl New Testament recorded by LiChabol and LiMonkpenl speakers
1994	Conflict between Likpakpaanl speakers and neighbouring groups
1996	Literacy districts number 11. Peak of programme activity
1997	Entire Bible is published in Likpakpaanl
2002	Literacy activities cut back to LiChabol, LiGbinl and LiMonkpenl areas
2003	RC church in Chereponi completes the LiKoonl Missal – unpublished
2004	New Testament in LiMonkpenl is published by ECG
The information in this table is taken from the RILADEP annual reports with additional information from the interviews of LDT members and others.	