

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN DANGME**



**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**2019**



**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN DANGME**

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**A thesis in the Department of Ga–Dangme Education,  
faculty of Ghanaian Languages Education, submitted to  
the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
(Ghanaian Language Studies)  
in the University of Education, Winneba**

**SEPTEMBER, 2019**

## DECLARATION

### STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, RAYMOND TEYE AKROBETTOE, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE:..... DATE:.....

### SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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SIGNATURE:..... DATE:.....

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my late mother, Mrs. Stella Dede Mawulehano Akrobettoe. I also dedicate it to my father, Mr. Moses T. Akrobettoe, my brother, Bright B. Addy, my sister, Jessie Padikie Teye, my cousin, Eric Tetteh and my fiancée, Regina Kweitsu.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Almighty Father for bringing me this far. I am very grateful to God for the protection and love He showed to me during the period of writing this thesis. I am most grateful for His traveling mercies, protection, guidance and love shown to me to bring the writing of this thesis to a successful end.

My profound gratitude also goes to my supervisors, who took the task upon themselves to supervise this thesis despite their schedules. I am highly indebted to my principal supervisor, Dr. Evershed Kwasi Amuzu and the co-supervisor, Dr. Regina Oforiwah Caesar, who supervised this thesis thoroughly and provided the necessary pieces of advice to me in order to organize and shape the work. I again thank them for working tirelessly, providing and recommending the necessary materials for me to read which eventually helped me to reach this height. My sincere gratitude also goes to Mr. Kwasi Adomako of the Department of Akan-Nzema Education, University of Education, Winneba, who encouraged me during the writing of this thesis. He always enquired about the progress of the thesis anytime he sees me on campus. He also helped in cross-checking the Akan data.

My next gratitude goes to my father, Mr. Moses T. Akrobettoe, who supported me spiritually, financially and also as a research assistant during the data collection period. Daddy, *Mawu ne E gbaa mo ne o se ne e ke kone dengme ne o gbo nge ye he ɔ he ne ba se nami ne o na e he nyu ne o du*. I am also thankful to my brother, Mr. Bright B. Addy and my sister, Ms. Jessie Padikie Teye, for their enormous supports: spiritually and financially. God richly bless them for their love and kindness showed to me. I am again indebted to my fiancée, Ms. Regina Kweitsu, for being supportive. Her prayers, advices,

and monetary supports have yielded positive result. May God's everlasting love and blessings continue to shower on her, her unborn children and her family. To my friend and brother, Mr. Jonathan Tanihu, I say I am appreciative to him for his pieces of advice since day one.

I cannot forget my research assistants who helped me to collect data from the respondents selected for the study. They are Mr. Moses T. Akrobettoe, Mr. Ruben T. Padi, Mr. Richard O. Kwenor, Mr. Jonathan Awuley and Mr. Francis Aborsi. I appreciate them so much for helping me in different communities to draw data for this thesis. My final heartfelt gratitude goes to all the respondents whom I drew data from to find answers to the research questions and the research problem of this thesis. God bless you all.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AD: Ada

GA: Ga

GB: Gbugblaa

MK: Manya Krobo

ML: Media Lengua

Q: Quechua

S: Spanish

YK: Yilo Krobo



## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated lexical borrowings in Dangme (a language that belongs to the Kwa family of languages of the Niger–Congo Phylum) from a sociolinguistic perspective. It investigated the borrowed items that permit nativization or adaptation and those that resist nativization in Dangme. The dialectal variation in the use of lexical borrowings for some entities in Dangme was also investigated. The Processes and Products Framework propounded by Winford (2003) to explain lexical contact phenomena was adopted to explain the linguistic features of the lexical borrowings in Dangme. Again, the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory propounded by Labov in 1966 was adopted to explain and discuss the dialectal variations in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme. Data were drawn from both primary and secondary sources. The convergent parallel mixed method research design, which merges both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time of the research before integrating the information in the interpretation of the results, was deployed in collecting primary data in this study. Elicitation, interviews and focus group discussions were used to gather primary data from 100 respondents from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo dialects of Dangme. The findings of the study showed that some borrowings to Dangme are localized to the extent that speakers of Dangme in direct contact with the source languages (Akan, Ga and Ewe) have knowledge and prefer to use them. It was also established that some Akan words borrowed to Dangme and most English words borrowed to Dangme are evenly distributed among all the respondents selected for the dialectal variations in the use of the lexical borrowings in Dangme. It also emerged from the study that whilst some lexical borrowings permit phonological, morphological and semantic adaptations in the course of borrowing, others also resist phonological adaptation during borrowing into Dangme.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates lexical borrowings in Dangme. It studies the linguistic features and dialectal variations in the use of lexical borrowings that are used to refer to same entities in Dangme. This chapter is on the general overview of the thesis. It examines the background to the study and presents briefly the background and contact of the Dangme people and speakers of the languages from which they borrow. The statement of the problem, the purpose and objectives of the study as well as the research questions, and the significance of the study, have also been explained in this chapter.

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Languages use different strategies to increase their lexical stock. Some of these processes include compounding, reduplication, borrowing among others. However, as noted earlier, the study concerns lexical borrowings in Dangme from all the languages that are in contact with it, namely Akan, Ewe, Ga and English. This study adopts Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) definition of borrowing that is, "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language." In this view, lexical borrowing is a language maintenance<sup>1</sup> phenomenon, which is a language contact<sup>2</sup> phenomenon, because speakers from the borrowing language preserve their

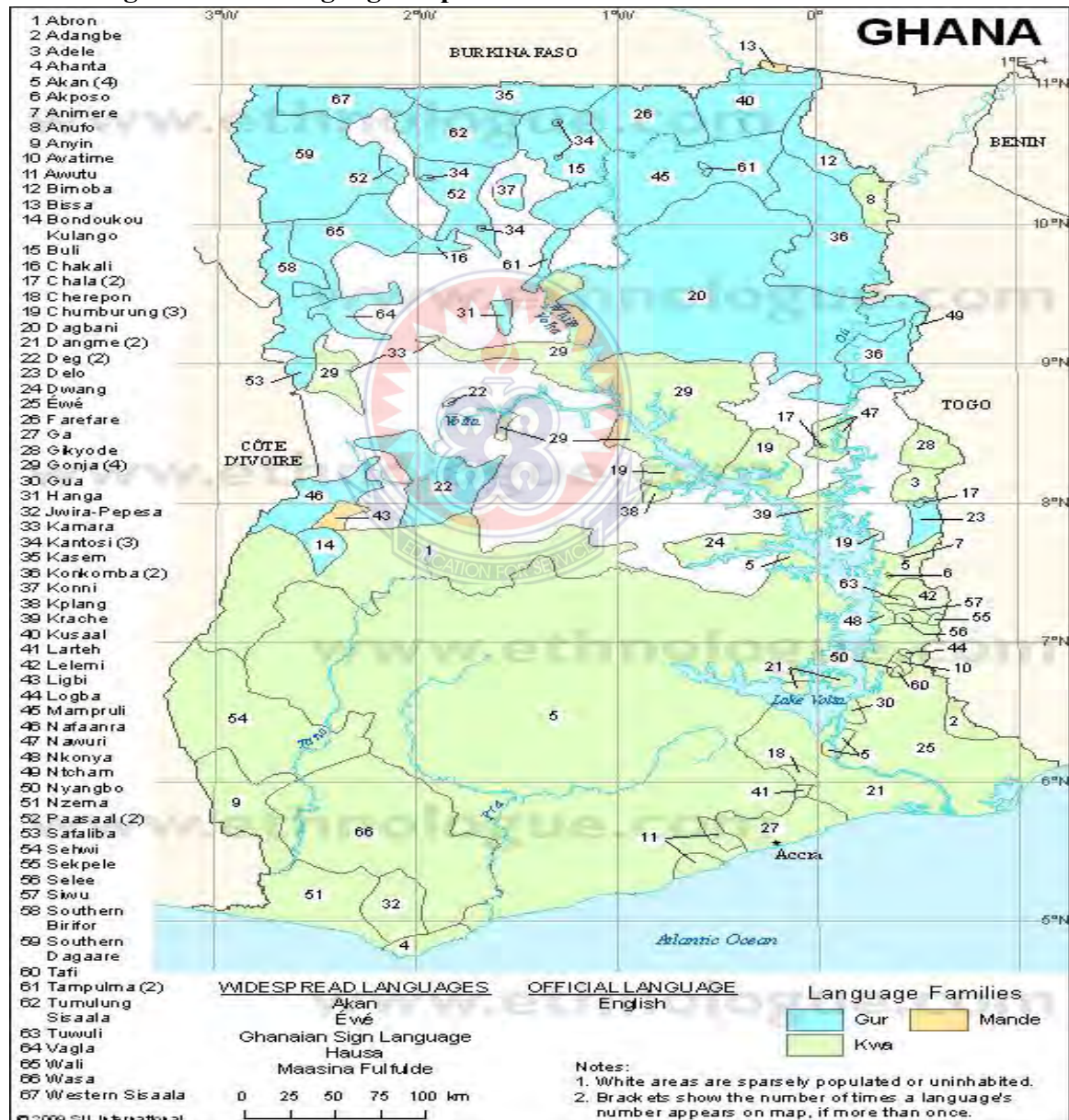
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<sup>1</sup> Winford (2003:11) defines language maintenance as the preservation by a speech community of its native language from generation to generation.

<sup>2</sup> Thomason (2001:1) defines language contact as the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time. She continues to say that language contact most often involves face-to-face interactions

language under some form of pressure while enriching it with words from a language or languages they come into contact with. The Dangme people are in multiple language contact with four languages. To the east of Dangme is the Ewe, to the west is the Akan (and the Guan who also speak Akan), to the south west is the Ga and in general with English because English is the official language of Ghana.

**Figure 1 The language map of Ghana**



Adopted from Owulah (2014)

Figure (1) above is the language map of Ghana. It shows the geography of the Dangme land and contact with the source languages. It can be seen from the south-eastern part of the map that Dangme (21) is in contact with Akan (4), Guan–Larteh and Cherepon/Kyerepon (18 and 41), Ga (27) and Ewe (25) languages. It can also be seen from the figure (1) above that all the languages from which Dangme borrow lexical items are from the <sup>3</sup>Kwa language family just as Dangme is also a language from the Kwa language family. Lexical borrowings from Akan, Ewe and Ga to Dangme came into existence because of the close contact with speakers of Akan, Ewe and Ga languages and the Dangme people. Lexical borrowing from English to Dangme became possible because English is the official language of Ghana.

Borrowing of lexical items into Dangme sometimes brings competition between the borrowed words and the indigenous counterparts used to refer to same entities in Dangme. One aspect of the study explores the dialectal variations which brought about lexical borrowings in Dangme by the different dialect groups of Dangme at the different locations of contact with Akan, Ewe and Ga. This situation leads to preferences in the distribution of the borrowed words and indigenous words for same entities in Dangme. For instance, the entity or variable, *garden egg* is being referred to in Dangme with three different words or variants namely, *agbitsa*, *sebe* and *ga* from Ewe, Ga and an indigenous word respectively. However, the choice of one of these variants (*agbitsa*, *sebe* and *ga*) to refer to the variable (*garden egg*) is based on the awareness or knowledge of the variant/word and the geographical location of the person. This study interrogates this situation by investigating the knowledge and preference of lexical borrowings in Dangme

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<sup>3</sup> The language map of Ghana in figure (1) above indicates that the languages in the area of the map shaded light green are languages of the Kwa language family.

and juxtaposing them to the knowledge and preference of the indigenous words used for the same variables/entities. This helped to have a fair idea of the particular group of people situated at a given geographical area who uses one of the variants over the other(s). This study also investigates the linguistic features of the lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### ***1.1.1 The Dangme people and their contact with various languages***

In order to understand the nature of language contact Dangme has with Akan, Ewe, Ga and English within the speech communities of contact carried out in this study, the study adopts Winford's (2003) typologies of language contact situations as an overview for the current study to help understand the trend of lexical borrowing in Dangme. That is, the nature of language contact Dangme has with each of the source languages which encourages different amounts and types of lexical borrowings to Dangme. Winford (2003) stipulates that without a clear understanding of the history and social dynamics of the contact situation, one will be in no position to explain anything. Again, Winford (2003) argues that the *intensity of contact* and *cultural pressure* between the source languages and the recipient languages need to be clarified in order to understand the social influences on various types and degree of borrowing.

It must be noted that the expanse of the research did not cover lexical borrowings from Dangme to the source languages but only studies lexical borrowings from the source languages to Dangme. A general study that investigates lexical borrowings from each side, which is from the source languages to Dangme and from Dangme to the source languages would have had a fair understanding of the type or nature of language contact

that led to the types and amounts of borrowings in the source and the recipient languages. However, Winford's typologies of speech communities in contact (also referred to as type or nature of language contact) was very necessary to hedge or suspect the type or nature of language contact that exists between Dangme and Akan, Dangme and Ewe, Dangme and Ga and Dangme and English that led to lexical borrowings in Dangme. Winford's typologies or nature of language contact or speech communities in contact include *casual contact situations*, *contact settings involving unequal bilingualism* and *contact settings involving equal bilingualism*.

Lexical borrowings in *casual contact situations* according to Winford (2003) is lexical borrowing that results from a language contact situation whereby the source language's speakers and the recipient language's speakers are in marginal contact. According to him this may happen without real or close contact with the source and the recipient languages. Lexical borrowings from this type of language contact according to Winford (2003) are massive.

Lexical borrowings in *unequal bilingual settings* is the situation where the recipient language speakers understand and speak the source language without the source language speakers speaking the recipient language. This is mainly because the recipient language speakers attach prestige to the source language with the source language speakers maintaining language loyalty (see also Winford, 2003). With lexical borrowing in *equal bilingual settings*, Winford (2003) argues that the lexical borrowings would be both more limited and more bi-directional. This means that both the source and the recipient languages speakers can borrow from each other's languages only that the borrowings would be few. And this is mainly because both groups understand and speak



each other's language. These typologies of language contact settings discussed in Winford (2003) is explained in detail in chapter two (2) and would be juxtaposed to the current study to help understand the trend in the lexical borrowings from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English to Dangme.

#### ***1.1.1.1 The Dangme people, their language and their sociological status***

Dangme is used to refer to the language and at the same time its speakers (the ethnic group). The people of Dangme, formerly called *La li*, 'the people of *La*' (see Pupilampu, 1953), inhabit the Greater Accra Region in the south-eastern coastal plains and the Eastern Region in the forest zone all in southern Ghana. The 2010 population and housing census merges the Ga and Dangme people as one ethnic group with a total population of 1,766,287 representing 7.4 percent of the total population of Ghana (see Ghana Statistical Service, 2012:34).

The Dangme people comprise Krobo (Yilo and Manya), Osudoku, Shai, Gbugblaa, Ningo, and Ada. The people of Krobo (Yilo and Manya) are situated in the Eastern Region whereas those of Osudoku, Shai, Gbugblaa, Ningo and Ada happen to be found in the Greater Accra Region. Caesar (2013), cited Djangma (2007) to have asserted that even though the Shai are closer to the Ga than to the Akan, they have been influenced by the Akan more and have therefore borrowed more lexical items from Akan. Apronti and Dakubu (1972) assert that the Dangme area is recognized as being culturally and linguistically closely knit and its people recognize a common heritage and speak one language that is intelligible to all.

Dangme is part of the Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo family of languages. It is spoken in the Greater Accra and the Eastern Regions in the south-eastern part of

Ghana. It is made up of seven mutually intelligible dialects namely Yilo Krobo, Manya Krobo, Shai, Osudoku, Gbugblaa, Ningo and Ada. Caesar (2013:11) specifies that Dangme had eight dialects in the past, however, the people of Kpomi (Kpone) who speak the Kpomi dialect of Dangme for whatever reason now have economic ties with the people of Ga and have now seen themselves as part of the Ga people. She further concludes that with the exception of some Dangme names that the people of Kpomi retained, there is nothing to show that they are part of the Dangme people.

Dangme is used in Ghana as the first language for native speakers and as a second language for speakers of other languages who learned it. It is taught from primary schools through secondary schools to tertiary institutions. The language is also used on the electronic media (radio and television). On radio, Dangme is used for giving information, education and for entertainment on Rite FM in Somanya, KW FM in Kpong, Sunrise FM in Koforidua, Obonu FM in Tema and Radio Ada in Big Ada, Ada. It is also used to serve these same purposes on Obonu TV in Accra and Mega TV in Kasseh, Ada. Again, quite a number of literature have been published in the language. It is also a language used in trading in markets and also used in performing cultural practices like libation, puberty rites, and traditional festivals among others. Songs are also recorded in Dangme. The language is also used in churches and mosques to perform religious activities.

### ***1.1.1.2 Dangme contact with Akan***

Statistics from the Ghana Statistical Service (2012) on the 2010 population and housing census indicates that the Akan people are the largest ethnic group in Ghana with a total population of 11,321,568 representing 47.5 percent of the entire population. This therefore clarifies that the Akan language is the mother tongue or first language (L1) for the 47.5 percent of the total population of Ghana. The Akan language is part of the Kwa languages of the Niger–Congo Family. It is made up of several dialects, both major and minor. According to Dolphyne (1988), Akan has since the 1950's been used in Ghana to refer to the language whose dialects include Fante, Akuapem, Asante, Bron, Wasa, Agona, Akyem, Kwahu. Obeng (1997) also declares that Akan enjoys a tremendous amount of prestige in the languages adjacent to it. He states that Ga, Dangme and Ewe have borrowed considerably from Akan and this by and large indicates Akan's prestige in these language areas.

Apart from Akan dominating most part of Dangme areas, there are some peculiar communities that Akan dominates than any other second language of the people of Dangme. Some of these areas are Asesewa, Somanya, Nkurakan, Aboabo and Klo-Agogo areas. This is because majority of Akan people can be found in these communities. The market at Asesewa brought about a lot of immigrants to the place. It attracts many traders from different parts of the country to the area. Different languages are spoken in the market. However, Akan is mostly used by traders and other people who come to the market. Most especially when the buyer is not known by the native traders, they advertise and speak to them using Akan. This is because most of the Dangme traders are bilingual in Dangme and Akan.

The community at Aboabo in the Yilo Krobo Municipality is the last town near Koforidua, an Akan community in the New Juaben South Municipality. Due to the geographical location of the town, members of the two groups interact most often through moving to and from the two communities. The Akan people are very loyal to their language and as such, do not speak the Dangme language with the Krobo people in Aboabo. However, the Krobo people rather prefer to speak Akan whenever they meet the Akan people. This resulted in bilingualism among the Krobo natives which eventually resulted in some language contact situations such as lexical borrowing. This makes the speech community of Aboabo among the Dangme (Krobo) and the Akan people an unequal bilingual one.

Next to Aboabo is the community of Nkurakan, another Krobo town in the Yilo Krobo Municipality which is also in contact with Akan. Dangme contact with Akan in the Nkurakan speech community is mainly as a result of trading in the Nkurakan market. The market at Nkurakan attracts a lot of traders from different parts of the country, but due to the geographical location of the town which is closer to Guan and Akan towns, most of the Guan and Akan natives dominate the market. The location of Guan towns near Nkurakan on the road to Somanya and the Akan town, Koforidua which is also closer to Nkurakan, motivates a lot of Guan and Akan natives to come to Nkurakan market to trade on daily bases.

Some of these Guan towns are *Asaman*, *Amamfrom*, *Nyamebikyere*, *Adukrom* among others. The Guan people usually speak Akan on the market. As a result, aside Dangme, Akan is the dominant language spoken in the market. This had also made the Dangme natives to be familiar with Akan initiating lexical borrowings from Akan to

Dangme. It must be noted that generally, in the speech communities of contact between the Dangme and the Akan, the Dangme understand and speak Akan but the Akan hardly speak Dangme, making the speech communities to be in an unequal bilingualism.

The mass media (radio and television) is a social factor that influenced or resulted in the Dangme coming into contact with Akan. On Dangme lands, Radio stations like Rite FM, and KW FM situated in Somanya and Kpong respectively use both Dangme and Akan in giving information to their listeners of which native speakers of Dangme are key consumers. Sunrise FM in Koforidua also uses Dangme and Akan for the same purpose. As a result of this, native speakers of Dangme are exposed to Akan. This contact do not only affect native speakers of Dangme to become bilingual in Dangme and Akan but also to borrow certain lexical items from Akan to Dangme.

#### ***1.1.1.3 Dangme contact with Ewe***

The Ewe people of Ghana are geographically located in the Volta and the Oti Regions of Ghana. The region shares boundaries with Greater Accra to the west, to the east lies the Brong Ahafo Region, to the north is Northern Region and to the south, the Gulf of Guinea (Aziaku, 2016). The Ghana Statistical Service's (2012) report on the 2010 population and housing census shows that the Ewe people are the third largest ethnic group with a total population of 3,323,072 representing 13.9 percent of the total population of Ghana. Aziaku (2016) states that the Ewe, by the nature of their geographical location, are exposed to French, English, Akan, Dagbani, Dangme and Hausa. Wornyo (2016), also specifies that Ewe belongs to a cluster of languages referred to as Gbe spoken from the Volta River in Ghana to Western Nigeria in Badagry (see also Ameka and Essegbey 2006).

The Dangme people are mostly in contact with the people of Ewe in towns and communities around the Volta Lake and the sea. Dangme contact with Ewe people in Akateng, Akuse, and Kpong for instance dates back to the invention of the Volta Lake<sup>4</sup> in 1964<sup>5</sup>. According to oral tradition<sup>6</sup>, part of the Krobo land extends from the river *Pɔpɔ* on one side to the river *Afram* on another side in the Kwahu areas. According to oral tradition, during the invention of the Volta Lake in 1964, a large stretch of the Krobo land between Asesewa and Akateng to other Krobo areas was occupied by the lake. As a result of this, the Krobo people were left on either side of the lake. The Ewe and the Akan people migrated to Akateng mainly for fishing. Information from this study shows that the Ewe realized that the Krobo people are aqua-phobic and as such do not go for fishing on the lake. Due to their long stay in Akateng, the Ewe and the Krobo people in Akateng inter-marry and do many things in common. Due to this, the Ewe and the Krobo people became equally bilingual in the Dangme and Ewe languages at Akateng.

Kpong, a fishing, farming and trading community situated along the Volta Lake in the Lower Manya Krobo Municipality is another community where the Dangme people can be found to be in very close contact with the Ewe and Akan natives. The Ewe people settled in Kpong mainly for fishing and trading purposes. Accordingly, they decided to stay there as their permanent home to continue their fishing expedition. The Krobo being aqua-phobic again motivated the Ewe people to migrate to Kpong to fish. This same

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<sup>4</sup> The Volta Lake of Ghana is the biggest artificial lake in the world.

<sup>5</sup> According to Petr (1969) the Volta Lake is by its surface area of 3,275 square miles, the largest man-made lake in the world and was established in May, 1964. See also Petr (1970:373).

<sup>6</sup> This is an ethno-linguistic information given to me by Nene Zugbatse Isaac Kwao Angmor (a 79 year old man), the current land owner of Asesewa (a town closer to Akateng), the Municipal capital of the Upper Manya Municipality. He is also the mouthpiece of the Kono or paramount chief of the Manya Krobo Traditional Area who reports issues in the towns of Upper Manya Krobo to the Kono, whose court or palace is situated at Odumase in the Lower Manya Municipality.

reason compelled majority of Ada people to migrate to the area just as they are in Akateng. Apart from the Ewe natives, most of Akan natives are also in Kpong mainly to trade since the community is situated along the roadside near the Volta Lake and also serves as a trading center.

Another area where Dangme and Ewe are in close contact is Ada. Ada is a coastal town with sea and river fishing, trading, salt mining and farming being the major occupation of the people. <sup>7</sup>The Ada Foah and the Agormanya markets in the then Dangme East District, now Ada East Municipality and the then Lower Manya Krobo district, now Lower Manya Krobo Municipality were the main markets on Dangme land at the time. For this reason, people from different parts of the country came to these markets to trade. In the Ada Foah market, most of the traders were Ewe natives. This was because the proximity of the Ewe people to Ada is very close. <sup>8</sup>Again, the Ada people also migrated to Ewe communities to fish. They moved from one community to another for this same purpose.

Some of the communities were *Denu*, *Keta*, *Aniho* and even to *Lome* in Togo. In these places, the men fish whereas the women trade mostly in fish. During their stay in the above mentioned Ewe towns, Ewe is the language used by the Ada, Ewe and Togolese nationals. Apart from these people who migrated to these Ewe lands, others in Ada also travelled to the *Denu* and *Keta* markets to trade. In the course of their transactions, they use Ewe. This made the people to become bilingual in both languages

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<sup>7</sup> This is a personal communication or an ethno-linguistic information given to me by Mr. Joseph Buer Plahar. (an 83 year old man), a retired educationist whose hometown is Azizanya but migrated to settle at Ayigbo as a result of the over flow of the sea some time ago at Azizanya, Ada.

<sup>8</sup> This is an ethnolinguistic information given to me by Madam Janet Otiboe, a 92 year old woman of the Ayigbo community near Ada Foah in Ada.

leading to lexical borrowings from Ewe to Dangme. The Ada natives who migrated to Ewe lands to fish and trade who are bilingual in Dangme and Ewe, later came back to settle in Ada, their hometown. As a result of their competence in Ewe, they use some Ewe words to refer to some entities which have Dangme words and those that do not have already existing Dangme words, especially products that were not part of (or known to) the Dangme people.

The community of Azizanya in Ada is a mixture of Ada and Ewe natives. As a result, both languages are used in their day-to-day dealings. <sup>9</sup>The people of Ayigbo, a coastal town near Ada Foah were part of the Azizanya community but later moved to their current home at Ayigbo due to the overflow of the sea to the Azizanya community some time ago which destroyed their habitats. They were bilingual in the two languages before settling at their current habitat. This made them to borrow and use some Ewe words in their daily lives. Another factor that led to the equal bilingualism of the people of Azizanya, Ayigbo, Ada Foah and the people of Ada in general is inter-marriages between Ada and Ewe. This made the people to be competent in both Dangme and Ewe triggering or initiating language contact situations like lexical borrowing.

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<sup>9</sup> This is a personal communication or an ethno-linguistic information given to me by Mr. Joseph Buer Plahar. (an 83 year old man), a retired educationist whose hometown is Azizanya but migrated to settle at Ayigbo as a result of the over flow of the sea some time ago at Azizanya, Ada.



#### ***1.1.1.4 Dangme contact with Ga***

The people of Ga are geographically located in the south-eastern part of Ghana, specifically in the Greater Accra Region. They share boundary with Dangme, and Akan. The people of Ga speak the Ga language. The Ga language is also part of the Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo Family of languages. According to Otoo (2016), the Ga language is spoken by the inhabitants of Accra (Ga Mashi), La, Teshi, Nungua, Tema and Kpone as well as some Ga villages like Abokobi, Bɔi, Oyibi, Bawaleshi, Akpɔman, Oyarefa, Kweiman, Teiman and Samsam which are spread at the foot of the Akuapem Hills.

The Prampram community is a coastal one with sea fishing, trading and to some extent farming being the main occupations of the people. They speak the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme. In the colonial periods, ships stop at Prampram to offload goods to other areas of the country. Prampram at the time was a trading center where the goods transported from the ship were distributed to other parts of the country. Through this, forts to keep the goods for distribution were built. People from many parts of the country came to the place to ply trade in Prampram. In line to this, Tanihu (2016) asserts that a popular trade known to have brought the people of Ga and Gbugblaa together is known to the people of Gbugblaa as *Akua hluimi*. In this trade, he says the Ga and Gbugblaa used canoes to offload goods from berthed ships of the Europeans on the sea at Gbugblaa. As a result of the longevity of the people in this trade, the languages came into contact, with the Ga language influencing the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme.

Apart from this trade, another factor that led to the contact of the Gbugblaa and Ga is migration. <sup>10</sup>Just like the Ga and Ewe natives who settled at Prampram mainly for fishing, some Gbugblaa natives also migrated to Accra around the coast where Ga is mainly spoken. This made these Gbugblaa people also competent in the Ga language. The major language spoken after their return to Prampram is Ga. This also had effect on the Gbugblaa dialect making the people not only borrowing lexical items from Ga but also mixing or attaching some Ga syllables to parts of Dangme words to refer to certain entities. Example, the word the Gbugblaa people use to refer to *there* is **lejɛmɛ** which is an integration of the Dangme word **leje** used to refer to *there* and **jɛmɛ** used to refer to *there* in Ga. The Gbugblaa people maintained the Dangme **leje** and incorporate it with the second syllable **mɛ** in the Ga word **jɛmɛ** to form **lejɛmɛ** in the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme to refer to *there*.

Inter-marriages among the Gbugblaa people and the Ga natives also made it possible for lexical borrowing and the mixture of Dangme and Ga lexical items in Gbugblaa. Most of the Gbugblaa and Ga natives in Prampram inter-marry. As a result of how related the two languages are, the people use the two languages concurrently. In trying to speak the two languages, they sometimes mixed some of the Dangme lexical items with part of the Ga ones. These forms of irregularities have been explained in chapter (4).

<sup>11</sup>Another social factor that led to the Gbugblaa contact with Ga which brought about lexical borrowing is their exposure to Ga on radio. Recently, their exposure to

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<sup>10</sup> This is an ethnolinguistic information given to me by David Quarshie Quarcoopoe, Emmanuel Annum Quarcoopoe, Nuumo John Djriri Sackey and Moses Awuley Gberbie.

<sup>11</sup> This is an ethnolinguistic information given to me by David Quarshie Quarcoopoe, Emmanuel Annum Quarcoopoe, Nuumo John Djriri Sackey and Moses Awuley Gberbie.

Obonu FM brought about the people of Gbugblaa to become very loyal to Ga. The usage of Dangme and Ga languages on Obonu FM motivate most if not all of the Gbugblaa populace to be loyal to Obonu FM. They listen to programs on this radio station in their homes, work places and during their leisure times. As a result of how similar the two languages are, the frequent use of the two languages by the Gbugblaa natives in the course of their contributions to programs on radio also resulted in the nature of the borrowing situation in Gbugblaa.

#### ***1.1.1.5 Dangme contact with English***

Lexical borrowings sometimes come into existence as a result of conquest from languages of the colonizers to those of the colonized (Winford, 2003:31). Majority of lexical borrowings from English into Dangme and for that matter most Ghanaian languages came into existence as a result of colonization by the British. During the colonizing period, English was used as the official language in Ghana and even till present. As a result of this, majority of English words enter most Ghanaian languages including Dangme. Colonization by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century for example, also results in lexical borrowings from Portuguese into some Ghanaian languages including Dangme (see section 2.1.2.6 for details of lexical borrowings from Portuguese into Dangme). During the colonization by the British, English was the language used by the British merchants to the local people which made the indigenes become familiar with the English language.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the system of Education in Ghana was largely informal. However, the education system was changed from informal to formal on their

arrival. <sup>12</sup>Information from this study shows that the Christian missionaries introduced their language through the spread of the gospel (Christianity) to the Ghanaian populace. This was because they could not speak the Ghanaian languages. They introduced primers, Christian study guides and the bible in their languages for instruction before translations were made later into some of the Ghanaian languages. It must be noted that the informal education system is still in practice in Ghana.

Through education currently, natives of Dangme borrow a lot of lexical items from English into Dangme. Instruction of English in the Ghanaian schools of which Dangme people are consumers play a significant role in lexical borrowing from English into Dangme. In addition to this, the mass media is another avenue that brought the Dangme natives into contact with the English language. For instance, their exposure to English on radio and television also familiarizes Dangme natives to the English language leading to lexical borrowing into Dangme.

## ***1.1.2 The Dangme sound inventory***

### ***1.1.2.1 The Dangme vowel phonemes (vowel inventory)***

Dangme has seven oral vowel and five nasal vowels. The oral vowels include /a/, /e/, /ɛ/, /i/, /o/, /ɔ/ and /u/. The nasal vowels also include /ã/, /ɛ̃/, /ɔ̃/, /ĩ/ and /ũ/. It must be noted that five of the oral vowels, which are /a/, /ɛ/, /i/, /ɔ/ and /u/ can sometimes be nasalized in the environment of nasal consonant in Dangme words.

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<sup>12</sup> This is an ethno-linguistic information was given to by Mr. Ebenezer Ofantcher, a 73 year old man of Somanya, the Municipal capital of the Yilo Krobo Municipality.

### 1.1.2.2 The Dangme consonant phonemes (consonant inventory)

Dangme has twenty-three consonant phonemes. They are /b/, /d/, /f/, /g/, /gb/, /h/, /ɖ/, /k/, /kp/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋm/, /p/, /s/, /t/, /tʃ/, /v/, /w/, /j/, /z/. Whilst some of the sounds are in pairs in terms of their manner of articulation others are not. The phonation type (voicing) of the consonant sounds, their place of articulation and manner of articulation is seen in the Table (1) below. In the table, the sounds on the left side in the boxes or domains are voiceless whilst those on the right side are voiced. On the top row of the table are the place of articulation of the Dangme consonant sounds. At the extreme left column of the table are also the manner of articulation of the consonant sounds.

**Table (1) The Dangme consonant phonemes**

	Bilabial		Labio-Dental		Alveolar		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal	Velar		Labial-Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b			t	d				k	g	kp	gb	
Nasal		m				n			ɲ		ŋ		ŋm	
Fricative			f	v	s	z								h
Affricate							tʃ	ɖʒ						
Central Approximant									j				w	
Lateral Approximant						l								

See also Caesar and Adi (2014:20) and Owulah (2014:31).

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

When people from different ethnic groups meet or act together at a given environment or speech community, the different languages they speak influence each other and cause different language contact situations such as lexical borrowing. This may be as a result of the intensity of contact, cultural influence, and attitude the people attached to the languages in contact (see Winford, 2003). Different kinds of works were

done on lexical borrowing across languages of the world. Puplampu (1953) highlighted on some words borrowed from English, Dutch, Latin and Portuguese into Dangme. Dakubu (2012) also studied Portuguese borrowings into some Ghanaian languages. Caesar and Adi (2014) highlighted on the phonological processes of borrowed words from English to Dangme. Owulah (2014) studied aspects of the Dangme phonology. On the part of borrowings from English, he examined vowel epenthesis as the repair strategy native speakers of Dangme use in the adaptation of the English words with consonant clusters that do not exist in Dangme. Adomako (Forthcoming) also investigated the phonology of Akan loanwords to Ga and Dangme. Apart from these works, the sociolinguistic study of borrowing from other language(s) to Dangme has been overlooked by researchers. The nature of language contact that leads to the different amounts or degrees of lexical borrowing, factors and motivations for the borrowings into Dangme and variations in the use of different borrowed and native words to refer to a particular entity in Dangme was not studied by these aforementioned scholars. In other words, the different variants (lexical borrowings versus native words) used to refer to a variable (entity) and the choice of one variant over the other(s) was not investigated. This gap and the fact that Dangme is in multiple contact with four different languages motivated me to investigate lexical borrowings from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English to Dangme from a sociolinguistic point of view.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The main purpose of the study is to investigate the dialectal variations in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme. This will help to identify the knowledge and the distribution (preference) of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The study also aimed at examining the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

As noted, the purpose of this study is to investigate the dialectal variations in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme and to examine the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. This purpose will be pursued by keeping in view the following objectives:

- to examine the lexical borrowings that permit linguistic adaptations (nativization) and those that resist adaptations in Dangme.
- to explore the dialectal variations in the lexical borrowings and the native words used to refer to the same entity in Dangme.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

In order to achieve the objectives of the research, the following questions were addressed:

1. which borrowed items permit phonological, morphological and semantic adaptations and which ones resist these adaptations in Dangme?
2. what are the dialectal variations in the borrowed items and the native words that are used to refer to the same entity in Dangme?

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study are that the findings of the research will enlighten readers and the Dangme people in general about the repair or adaptation strategies words borrowed from the source languages to Dangme go through during their adaptations or nativization. It will also help to detect the knowledge and distribution or preference of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The thesis will also be beneficial by serving as a reference material for researchers interested in exploring or delving deep into lexical borrowings in other languages.

## **1.7 Limitations**

The limitation of this research has to do with the geographical expanse that has to be covered. I have decided not to limit myself to one corner of Dangme land but to take on a complex language contact situation the Dangme people find themselves in, which exposes them to a three geographical front. Having to do justice to this coverage meant crisscrossing these geographical fronts. This has its financial implications such as having been subjected to depend on different research assistants. This is because I am not familiar with most of the communities. Managing these research assistants and the respondents is a challenge. This is also because I spent money on some research assistants, some respondents and transportation. I also spent money on accommodation on different occasions to stay in during the time of the research.

These challenges sometimes made me halt the research at some points in time to look for money before continuing it. If I had succumbed to one aspect of the research by insisting on overcoming the cost of the study, it would have also limited the scope to only



one aspect of the research, such as lexical borrowing from Akan to Dangme or lexical borrowing from Ewe to Dangme. This would have limited the extent of the work and would have also limited the general understanding of the dialectal variations of the lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### **1.8 Delimitation/Scope of the Study**

The scope of the study is on lexical borrowing to Dangme from the source languages and not lexical borrowing from Dangme to the source languages. The study is also not interested in code switching. That is, speakers spontaneously using lexical items from different languages into ones language that may not be integrated at the moment in Dangme. This study however, focuses on those that have been established integrated part of Dangme. I therefore, delimit the thesis to the sociolinguistic study of lexical borrowing of Akan, Ewe, Ga and English words in Dangme. The scope of lexical borrowing in this study includes the dialectal variation and linguistic study of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The study was also delimited to two coastal dialects: Ada and Gbugblaa and two inland dialects: Yilo Krobo, and Manya Krobo.

### **1.9 Summary and Organization of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized in six chapters. Chapter one examined the general background to the study. It presented the background of the Dangme people and the source languages speakers. The chapter explained Dangme contact with Akan, Ewe, Ga and English. It again outlined the statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, limitations and the scope of the study. Chapter two

discussed and critiqued some of the existing literatures on lexical borrowing. The chapter compared, contrasted and evaluated the existing literatures as they relate to the current study.

The theoretical frameworks used for the study were also explained. These are Winford's (2003) Processes and Products Framework on lexical borrowing modeled on the donor language and the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory to language change propounded by Labov in 1966 (see, Labov 1972). Chapter three discussed the data collection methodology. Chapter four investigated the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The phonological adaptations, phonological violations, morphological adaptations and semantic adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme were discussed. Chapter five discussed the dialectal variations of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The knowledge and the preference of the various borrowings from the different languages were established. The chapter also investigated the variations of the English words in Dangme. The final chapter, chapter six, summarized the study, outlined the findings, concluded the study and made recommendations for readers and future researchers.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter contains two major scopes. These are the literature review and the theoretical frameworks. Literature will be reviewed in section (2.1) and the theoretical frameworks in section (2.2).

#### 2.1 Literature Review

This section reviews related literature on lexical borrowing. The study of lexical borrowing has received significant attention from scholars across the world. In the view of Winford (2010), borrowing can be defined as “the transfer of linguistic materials from a source language into a receiving language via the agency of speakers for whom the latter is the linguistically dominant language.” Literature would be partitioned and reviewed into two major halves; those outside Africa and those inside Africa. A lot of works were done on borrowing. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Winford (2003) for instance gave an overview of the entire universe of lexical borrowing. Scholars like Ngom (2000), Iribemwangi (2013), Tanihu (2016), Buang, Halim and Rarnakresinin (2017) and others also worked on case studies of lexical borrowings in different languages. This review will traverse these thematic areas mentioned above and references would be made to what is happening in Dangme.

One major trend in the research on lexical borrowing is focused on the source and amount of borrowing into the recipient languages. To understand this trend better, Winford (2003:25) argues that without a clear understanding of the history and social

dynamics of the contact situation, one will be in no position to explain anything. Again, the *intensity of contact* and *cultural pressure* between the source languages and the recipient languages need to be clarified in order to understand the social influences on various types and degree of borrowing (Winford, 2003:29). In view of the above assertions, I will review literature on those that investigate the general idea of lexical borrowing and the typologies of speech communities that trigger the different types and amounts of lexical borrowing and finally narrow it down to the case studies on lexical borrowings outside Africa and in Africa.

### ***2.1.1 Literature outside Africa***

#### ***2.1.1.1 Thomason and Kaufman (1988)***

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) gave a general overview of borrowing and stratum interference. On the part of borrowing which this study concerns, Thomason and Kaufman define borrowing as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language.” According to them the native language is maintained but it is changed by the addition of the incorporated features (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:37). They assert that in borrowing situations the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are *words*.

On the form or shape of the borrowing words, Thomason and Kaufman argue that “if there is strong long-term cultural pressure from source language speakers on the borrowing language speakers, then structural features may be borrowed as well-phonetic, phonological and syntactic elements and even (though not rarely) features of

inflectional morphology. This assertion by Thomason and Kaufman is a replica or epitome of what is happening in the lexical borrowings in Dangme where some of the phonetic, phonological and morphological elements or features of the source languages are transported or borrowed into Dangme. In order to understand the types of features that can be borrowed into a particular language, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) propounded a tentative borrowing probability scale to explain how intense language contact must be in order to result in each of the types of borrowing in their scale below.

**Table 2          Borrowing Scale**

1. Casual contact:	Lexical borrowing only.
2. Slightly more intense contact:	Slightly structural borrowing.
3. More intense contact:	Slightly more structural borrowing.
4. Strong cultural pressure:	Moderate structural borrowing.
5. Very strong cultural pressure:	Heavy structural borrowing.

Adapted from Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74-75)

The full details can be seen in Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74&75) where they gave details of the various lexicons and structures or structural features that are likely to enter a borrowing language.

As identified in the borrowing scale above, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:76) asserts that borrowing in category (1) is characterized by casual contact whilst borrowing in categories (2) and (3) constitutes slightly structural interference. In category (4) they argue that borrowing is moderate and occurs under conditions of reasonably intense cultural pressure on borrowing language speakers with category (5) reflecting more intense cultural pressure. Thomason and Kaufman assert that “with a

minimum of cultural pressure we expect only lexical borrowing and only in non-basic vocabulary.

### 2.1.1.2 *Weinreich (1968)*

Weinreich (1968) explains mechanisms of lexical interference and internal reasons for borrowing into languages. According to Weinreich (1968:47), the ways in which one vocabulary can interfere with another are different. He asserts that “given two languages A and B, morphemes may be transferred from A and B, morphemes may be used in new designative functions on the model of A morphemes with whose content they are identified; and finally, in the case of compound lexical elements, both processes may be combined.”

The first way in which one vocabulary can be interfered according to Weinreich (1968) is what he referred to as *simple words* (non-compound). In the case of simple words or non-compound elements, he argues that the most common type of interference is the outright transfer of the phonemic sequence from one language to another. This simple words or non-compound interference can also be referred to as the un-adapted loanwords/lexical borrowings. It must be noted that this type of borrowings have been identified in the borrowings in Dangme from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English. Weinreich again declares that “the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model” is another type of interference from one language to another. He argues that “if two languages have semantemes,<sup>13</sup> or units of content, which are partly similar, the interference consists in

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<sup>13</sup> Semanteme is the indivisible unit of meaning.

the identification and adjustments of the semantemes to fuller congruence.” He used Russian and Yakut languages to explain the above assertion. Weinreich declares that “in Russian, the semanteme represented by the expression *úroven'* comprises the concept of ‘level’, concrete or abstract. He adds that in Yakut, the semanteme represented by *tahym* has been extended to represent all ‘levels’, whether of water, or of development, skill among others.”

The second way in which one vocabulary can be interfered according to Weinreich (1968) is compound words and phrases. Here, he argues that three types of interference are possible for multiple lexical units consisting of more than one morpheme. According to him, all elements may be transferred, in analyzed form; all elements may be reproduced by semantic extensions; or some elements may be transferred, while others are reproduced. The three types he gave are:

(1). Transfer of analyzed compounds occurs when the elements of a compound or phrase are adapted to word-formative or syntactic patterns of the recipient language.

(2). Reduplication in terms of equivalent native words can be carried out with compounds, phrases, and even larger units. Weinreich divided this type which he also referred to as loan translation as follows:

- a. Loan translation proper: Here, the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reduplication exactly, element by element.
- b. Loan redentions: Here, he says the compound only furnishes a general hint for the reduplication.

- c. Loan creations: This applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to much designation available in a language contact.

The third type of interference according to Weinreich (1968) involves the transfer of some elements and the reproduction of others. It must be noted that the above types of interference outlined by Weinreich have been revised and built upon in Winford (2003) which he referred to as the processes and products of lexical borrowing modeled on the donor language. And this study would be based on it in the analysis of the linguistic features of lexical borrowings to Dangme in chapter (4).

Weinreich (1968) again explains the linguistic motivations of borrowing into languages. Linguistic or internal factors play a role in borrowing linguistic materials from one language into another. Weinreich (1968:57&58) explains three linguistic factors that account for borrowing into languages. The first factor stated by Weinreich (1968:57) is low frequency of words. According to him other things being equal, the frequent words come easily to mind and are therefore more stable; relatively infrequent words of the vocabulary are, accordingly, less stable, more subject to forgetfulness and replacement. This means that items that are uncommon and unsteady are liable to be forgotten and replaced with words from other languages.

The second internal factor stated by Weinreich is the fact that words seem to have been borrowed sometimes from another language in order to resolve the clash of homonyms. What this means is that when two or more words sound the same and are spelled the same (have the same form or physical manifestation) but have different meaning in the recipient language, speakers of that language may be compelled to borrow



word(s) from another language to substitute one or all of the native word(s) to avoid the clash of the native words.

The third linguistic reason for borrowing asserted by Weinreich (1968) is the tendency of affective words to lose their expressive force. Where a word has lost its communicative potency or mobility power, a word from the source language whose meaning is the same as the one that lost its mobility power will be borrowed in order for the borrowing language speakers to be able to express themselves better using such word. For instance, during trading, if a speaker of say language X is selling an item of which the name of the item is not familiar to a speaker of say language Y but the speaker of language X knows the name of that item in language Y, s/he would be compelled to use the word speakers of language Y use to refer to the item. The continuous usage of the word speakers of language Y use to refer to that item by language X speakers will result in its permanent usage or borrowing by language X speakers into their lexicon. These linguistic factors of borrowing are very relevant in understanding some of the reasons of the borrowings in Dangme.

### ***2.1.1.3 Winford (2003)***

Winford (2003) gave a general overview of the study of lexical borrowing in languages. He inspires an understanding of the typologies of speech communities in contact that trigger the different types and amounts of borrowings from one language to another language. That is, to find out whether the speakers of the source language

and the recipient language are in casual contact or contact involving bilingualism<sup>14</sup> (unequal versus equal bilingual settings). In respect to this, Winford (2003:25) argues that without a clear understanding of the history and social dynamics of the contact situation, one will be in no position to explain anything. Again, the *intensity of contact* and *cultural pressure* between the source languages and the recipient languages need to be clarified in order to understand the social influences on various types and degree of borrowing (Winford, 2003:29). He adds that a thorough investigation of the social context of borrowing may lead to an understanding of whether there is a clear correspondence between degree of contact and cultural pressure on one hand, and degree of structural borrowing on the other hand. Winford's (2003) study helps to show the kind of language contact that exists between Dangme and the source languages speakers in the speech communities of contact that leads to the amount of borrowing from each of the different languages Dangme is in contact with.

In explaining the typologies of speech communities that help in understanding the trend of lexical borrowing from one language into another, Winford (2003) illustrates each of these types of speech communities with case studies of lexical borrowings from one language into another to help explain the trends and amounts of borrowings.

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<sup>14</sup> Bilingualism according to Fromkim, Rodman and Hyams (2011:460) is the ability to speak two (or more) languages either by individual speaker called individual bilingualism or with a society called societal bilingualism.

### **2.1.1.3.1      *Lexical borrowing in casual contact situations***

According to Winford (2003), majority of lexical borrowing came into existence as a result of marginal or casual contact of languages. That is, familiarity with the source language (even without real contact with its native speakers). This according to him may be due to travel, exploration, or conquest or it may be due to exposure to the donor language in the mass media, foreign language instruction among others. Winford argues that lexical borrowing from the language of the colonizer to those of the colonized is very common (Winford, 2003:31). Again, the global avenues of communication such as radio, television, and the internet according to Winford are another “distant” contact type leading to lexical borrowing. This scenario of speech community of contact is an indication of what is happening in the lexical borrowings from English to Dangme. In this instance, Dangme is not in direct contact with native speakers of English in the Dangme speech communities. However, through colonization, the mass media and the fact that English is a lingua franca and the official language of Ghana of which native speakers of Dangme are consumers, the language came into contact with English initiating language contact situations such as lexical borrowing.

Winford (2003) used English influence on Japanese lexicon as case study for lexical borrowing in casual contact (distant contact) situations. He says, Japanese contact with English dates back to the opening up of Japan to Western influence from the mid-nineteenth century on. The defeat of China in the Opium Wars with Britain between 1839-1842 and 1850-1860, according to Winford, impressed on the Japanese the need to learn about Western scientific and military concepts. This led to influx of English loans

in the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century. The post-war occupation of Japan set the stage for even greater exposure to English, which became an avenue to social advancement and education (Winford, 2003:32).

Winford also notes that the utmost motivation for borrowing from English into Japanese came from growing exposure to radio, cinema, newspapers and other forms of media, which spread popular American culture among the Japanese. Winford again asserts that Japan also borrowed English loans that abound in areas that reflect the influence of Western fashion, cosmetics, sports, music, among others. He also explains that the motivation for lexical borrowing in cases where a community is exposed to new areas of cultural knowledge and experience through contact is *need*. This assertion by Winford confirms Weinreich's (1968:56) statement that most of the borrowings associated with "distant" contact seem to be motivated by the "need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts." Winford further expounds that apart from the need to designate new things and concepts, *prestige* or *consideration of fashion* play a vital role in lexical borrowing.

#### **2.1.1.3.2      *Lexical borrowing in contact settings involving unequal bilingualism***

As stated earlier, apart from speakers of the source and recipient languages in casual contact settings, Winford (2003) explains that the degree of lexical borrowing is also dependent on *the type or nature of bilingualism* that exists between speakers of the source and the recipient languages in contact. That is, a close interaction between the recipient and the source languages' speakers in bilingual communities also influence the amount of borrowing from one language into another.

With communities involving unequal bilingual contact settings, Winford (2003) declares that where speakers of different languages come together within the same general community and bilingualism develops, lexical and other forms of borrowing may be more common. He adds that this kind of contact may be as a result of socio-historical reasons such as immigration, invasion, or military conquest, the realignment of national boundaries or the establishment of inter-group contact for purposes of trade, marriage and so on. Winford also explains that the languages of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities absorbed into a larger host community are mainly susceptible to lexical borrowing from the dominant language because the minority groups tend to become bilingual, or even shift entirely to the dominant language.

I suspect this type of speech community (unequal bilingual setting) to be the case of Dangme contact with Akan in the Dangme speech communities where this research was carried. I am hedging because the scope of the research is to investigate lexical borrowings from the source languages to Dangme and not a larger study that investigate lexical borrowing from both sides. For this reason, it is not convincing to be definite to say that Dangme and Akan are in this type of contact even though it is likely to be so, because according to Winford (2003), where languages are in unequal bilingual settings, the amounts of borrowings usually differ. In the sense that speakers of a language that attaches prestige to the other language (in this case Dangme) usually borrow more from the other language with the language speakers that attach loyalty to their language (in this case Akan) borrowing few from the other language. As noted earlier, the scope of the research is to investigate lexical borrowings from the source languages to Dangme but not from Dangme to the source languages. This makes it necessary to hedge that the

contact between Dangme and Akan is unequal bilingual one because the amount of borrowing from Dangme to Akan is not known. However, I suspect low amounts of borrowings from Dangme to Akan because according to Winford (2003), people who attach loyalty to their language hardly borrow from the language they are in contact with within the speech community of contact.

Using French influence on the lexicon of Middle English as a case study for this type of speech community, it was established by Winford that socio-historical connectivity between French and Middle English sets the stage for the motivations and the domains of lexical borrowing into Middle English from French. Winford (2003:34) expounds that after French speaking Normans conquered England between 1066 and 1070, French became established as the language of the court and nobility, the church officials and clergy, and the feudal lords who owned the best agricultural land. Winford (2003) asserts that for a very long time until the C13th, English lost its status as a literary and official language and was regarded as a less prestigious language. English however, remained the native language of the majority of the population. According to Winford, French (and Latin) were restricted to the nobility and intellectuals, among whom they enjoyed great prestige. During the C13th, the Norman increasingly shifted to English, and French began to emerge into their newly adopted language, English.

During the Middle English period, speakers who were bilingual in English and French most of whom were Norman, were basically responsible for the introduction of French lexicon into English. Winford explains that from 1300 on, when the Normans separated their ties with Normandy and opted for allegiance to England, they increasingly

abandoned French in favour of English. This process of shift according to Winford (2003) sets the stage for the massive French loans in English over one to two centuries.

As Winford (2003) declares, most of the words borrowed from French (*atom, engine, finance, machine* and *notion*), were motivated as a result of *need* since the concepts they expressed were new to English culture. Others were also motivated as a result of *prestige* since English already had native equivalence. Some of such loans according to Winford are dining terms like *beef, pork, veal* as well as terms related to areas of administration and the law. Examples given by Winford include *arms, court, justice, legal, royal* among others.

#### **2.1.1.3.3 Lexical borrowing in contact settings involving equal bilingualism**

Winford (2003) argues that in cases of equal bilingual contact settings, the power and prestige differences between the speakers of the languages involved played a major role in promoting lexical borrowing from High language to the Low language. In relation to this, he pronounces that in cases of more or less equal bilingualism, the borrowings would be both more limited and more bi-directional. This means that in contact situation where native speakers of both the source and recipient languages understand and speak the two languages regularly, both groups can borrow from each other's language only that the borrowings will be few or minimal as compared to those involved in casual contact and unequal bilingual settings. This type of speech community also happens in Dangme where native speakers of the recipient language, Dangme and those of the source languages, Ga and Ewe speak and understand both Dangme and any of these source languages in the speech communities of contact.

Treffers-Daller (1999) as cited in Winford (ibid) reports on the low rate of lexical borrowing in two situations, that is Flemish–French contact in Brussels, and French–Alsatian contact in Strasbourg. Based on a count of all tokens, Treffers-Daller (1999) as cited in Winford (2003:37) finds out that in both cases the proportion of French borrowings into the other language is only around 2.0-2.5 percent while borrowings in the other direction make up only 0.29 percent of all words in her corpus. These differences indicate the higher status French in both situations, however, the low rate of borrowing shows that the minority language acquired high degree of language loyalty by its people (Winford, 2003).

#### **2.1.1.4 Muysken (1994)**

Muysken's (1994) study was on a language contact situation where a language does not only borrow lexical items from another to enrich its lexicon but also put the phonological shapes of the words in the source language [Spanish (S)] into the lexical entries of the recipient language, [Quechua (Q)] resulting in a mixture of the structure of words forming a new language called Media Lengua (ML). According to Muysken (1994), Media Lengua which literally means 'half language' or 'halfway language' is spoken natively by at least up to a thousand people in Central Ecuador. Muysken asserts that Media Lengua came into existence because acculturated Indians could not identify completely with either the traditional rural Quechua culture, or the urban Spanish culture. He again opines that Media Lengua came into existence as a result of a departure from Quechua through massive relexification of Spanish.

Muysken stipulates that the Equadorian capital of Quito went through a phase of rapid expansion in the period between 1905 and 1925, after the railway linking it to



the pacific port of Guayaquil had been built. In his view, many of the construction workers were recruited in the provinces south of the capital, where the speakers of Media Lengua are to be found. In addition to this, Muysken adds that the Media Lengua-speaking communities are located on the fringe of a Quechua-speaking area, to which the community historically belonged. Due to its geographical situation and due to the necessity for and possibility of its inhabitant to make frequent trip to the capital to look for work, the community has culturally differentiated from themselves apart from the neighbours.

In explaining the nature of the mixture and structure of Media Lengua, Muysken (1994), states that Media Lengua is essentially Quechua with the vast majority of its stem replaced by Spanish forms. Below is one of the examples given by Muysken (1994) to explain the nature and structure of the language.

1. a.      unu    fabur-ta      pidi-nga-bu    bini-xu-ni (ML)  
           one    favor-AC      ask-FN-BN    come-PR-1  
           ‘I come to ask a favor.’
- b.      shuk    fabur-da      maña-nga-bu    shama-xu-ni (Q)
- c.      vengo    para pedir un favor (S)

Muysken explains the linguistic changes in the above example in the excerpt below:

It is clear that 1a has resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words in 1c into the lexical entries in 1b. Thus *shuk* is replaced by *unu*, *maña-* by *pidi-* etc. Several things should be noted. First, we get an emphatic form of the indefinite article in Media Lengua, *unu*, rather than Spanish unemphatic *un*. Second, the Spanish irregular verb form *vengo* appears in a regularized stem form *bini*. Third, the Quechua rule voicing the accusative case marker *-ta* to *-da* after *fabur* has not applied in Media Lengua; Quechua dialectological evidence suggests that this is a recent rule. Forth, what is peculiar about Media Lengua is not so much that it contains Spanish words (many dialects of Quechua do as well) but rather all Quechua words, including all core vocabulary, have been

replaced. Fifth, the Spanish forms have been adapted phonologically to Quechua; mid vowels have been replaced by high vowels. Quechua word order and morphology have been retained (Muysken, 1994:208).

This situation of relexification also happens in Dangme. The Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme did not only borrow lexical items from Ga but also mixed both Dangme and Ga words. Again, Ga sounds and phonological units (like length/duration) are incorporated to the Dangme lexicon by the Gbugblaa people. This scenario will be discussed in chapter (4).

#### **2.1.1.5 Buang, Halim and Rarnakresinin (2017)**

Buang, Halim and Rarnakresinin (2017) investigate the motivations for Malay lexical borrowings in Singapore Colloquial English. Buang *et al* (2017) explain that Singapore Colloquial English evolved as a contact variety with English as its superstrate and the local languages namely Chinese, Malay and Tamil as its substrate languages. The Singapore English contains features borrowed from the substrate languages. The colonization by the British, according to them, initiated the rapid spread of English language. Buang *et al* (2017) cited Gupta (1994) stating that after the British colonization, the English-medium schools of the Straits Settlements were instrumental in the spread of English. According to Buang *et al*, these were the places where institutionalized English was taught and spread in the early years of the twentieth century. Due to this, English spread from these schools and their students to others in the community. The contact with the native languages influenced the variety of Singapore English. The contact between English and the local languages is as a result of casual contact with the British. Gupta (1998) as cited in Buang *et al*. add that

speakers were mostly bilingual who speak at least one of the native languages and English in addition.

One of the motivations for borrowing Malay lexical items into Singapore Colloquial English is for *euphemistic purposes*. Buang *et al.* state that the words could be used in place of another as speakers may avoid such words because they are considered as ‘vulgar’ or as ‘taboo’ words. They state that speakers find it more comfortable to borrow Malay words and integrate them in the vocabulary of Singapore Colloquial English. The Malay word **pondan** (effeminate man) for instance is preferred and used in Singapore Colloquial English instead of the other more offensive terms like **fuggot** or **fairy**.

Words are also borrowed from Malay into Singapore Colloquial English for *idiomatic purposes*. Biang *et al.*, state that an idiom from Malay language could be used to equate one concept with another. Since the function of such idioms would be to provide meaning to be understood in a more abstract sense, speakers borrow from Malay into Singapore Colloquial English for comprehension.

### ***2.1.2 Literature Review in Africa***

The review of literature in Africa took three dimensions. First, I reviewed literature on case studies of lexical borrowings from other African countries outside Ghana before narrowing it down to those done in Ghana in other languages and finally those done in Dangme.

### 2.1.2.1 Ngom (2000)

Ngom (2000) examines sociolinguistic motivations of lexical borrowings in Senegal. His study is based on 145 loanwords collected from the Senegalese audiovisual website - 'www.homeviewsenegal.com' over a period of three hours, of which 66 words were borrowed from French into Wolof, 57 from Arabic into Wolof, 17 from English into Wolof, and 5 from Wolof into French.

Ngom begins his analysis by giving the social setting and the socio-historical background of Senegal, asserting that Senegal is a multilingual West-African French-speaking country of which over eighty percent of the population is Muslims. According to Ngom (2000), apart from French being the country's official language, six national indigenous languages have also been officially recognized. These are Wolof, Pulaar, Sesreer, Joola, Soninke and Mandinka. He explains that lexical borrowings from French, Arabic, English and to a smaller degree Pulaar into Wolof is common in the Senegalese speech community. Ngom (2000) adds that the reason for the dominance of French is because Senegal occupied a central place in the colonization of West Africa, as the capital of *Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF), 'French West Africa.'

Arabic influence in Senegal according to Ngom dates back to Islamization of West Africa between the eleventh and the sixteenth century. He says by the fourteenth century, Islamic schools were established in Senegal. This development, according to Diop (1989) as cited in Ngom (2000) led to Senegalese Muslims especially in Saint-Louis to use classical Arabic script to write their own languages by the twentieth century, especially Wolof and Pulaar. English influence according to Ngom is as a result of American youth culture, the media, television and the American movie industry. He also argues that lexical borrowings from Pulaar, the only local language in competition with

Wolof are mainly found among the youth and is mainly as a result of the rising prestige of Pulaar in the 1990s. Ngom asserts that lexical borrowing into Wolof from Pulaar results from Pulaar speakers' cultural movement for the recovery of Pulaar culture, language and customs in Senegal, especially in the region of Saint-Louis, the hometown of most Pulaar natives in Senegal. He clarifies that the primary goal for the movement was to resist the Wolof expansion in Senegal and assert a Pulaar identity, language, and culture.

Another interesting area of Ngom's investigation of lexical borrowing is the evidence of the unequal distribution of power and prestige that results in the amount of borrowing. According to Calvet (1974) cited in Ngom (2000) "in former French colonies of West Africa like Senegal, the high rate of lexical borrowing from French into the local languages represents the surface trace of the French linguistic superstructure imposed in the local communities as the result of French glottaphagia." Ngom also specifies that in the former French colonies such as Senegal, French borrows very few words from the native languages whereas those languages borrow extensively from French. This is due to France dominance on the local communities (Calvet, 1974 cited in Ngom, 2000:162).

In the view of Ngom (2000), the motivations for lexical borrowing is as a result of colonization from languages of the dominant European languages into most African languages is either to *fill lexical gaps* or to *acquire prestige* or *for both reasons*. These reasons according to him resulted in more borrowing from French into Wolof, whilst French has only borrowed few words from Wolof. The relationship between Wolof and Arabic that brought about a lot of lexical borrowing from Arabic into Wolof according to Ngom (2000) is the high number of Muslims in Senegal due to early Islamization of the

country. This indicates that the contact settings with the Muslims who speak Arabic is a bilingual one. In contrast, English influence in Senegal is minimal because according to Ngom, the American influence in Senegal is recent.

Another remarkable aspect of Ngom's (2000) study is the usage of lexical borrowing by all social groups in Senegal. The only type of lexical borrowings that are used by all Wolof speakers irrespective of their social class are the fully naturalized loans or those borrowed as a result of lexical gaps (Ngom, 2000). He states that such integrated loans existed in Wolof for a long time and can be considered to be part of monolingual Wolof natives and are not aware that such words are foreign. Ngom further asserts that bilingual speakers borrow the French words with the same sound patterns during pronunciation just as the native French speakers. This according to him may be due to the fact that they became prestigious and act as indices of high social status. This also confirms Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams' (2011) assertion that the pronunciation of loan words is often but not always altered to fit the phonotactics of the borrowing/receiving language.

#### ***2.1.2.2 Iribemwangi (2013)***

Iribemwangi (2013) investigates lexical borrowing into Kiswahili as a result of cultural transfer from Europe and Asia. He argues that by studying lexical items borrowed and adapted into Kiswahili from other languages, it is possible to indicate aspects of foreign cultures that have been adapted by Kiswahili speakers and to show that such aspects have become part of their way of life. According to him most of the borrowings from Europe and Asia into Africa and for that matter Kiswahili are items of tangible culture, that is, items that can be stored and physically touched.

Iribemwangi (2013) stresses that “the items are borrowed together with their uses and such use signifies the transportation of culture hence forming cultural current across the ocean.”

According to Iribemwangi (2013), for a very long time in Africa, the mode of travelling was on foot. Due to this, Africans, and Waswahili<sup>15</sup> in particular, travel long distances for various reasons including trade. Iribemwangi (2013) cited Ndege (2009) as stating that the arrival of Asians and Europeans brought new means of communication such as rail, water, air, and road transport. According to him the Waswahili, being a coastal people, always used water transport. Due to this, words have been borrowed from English, Indian, Persian, Portuguese, and Arabic into Kiswahili. He says, such words indicate a new transport culture from these source languages into Africa and Kiswahili to be specific. For instance, **gari** (vehicle) from Indian, **basi** (bus) and **eroplani** (aeroplane) from English are all means of *transport*.

Again, Iribemwangi (2013) cited Wosyanji (2013) as stating that before the arrival of the Europeans, Kenyan societies had their own system of education. He says there were no classrooms neither were there teachers but the entire community helped in the education of their children. However, after the arrival of the Europeans and the Asians to Africa, the system of education changed from the informal way to formal education. Wosyanji (ibid.) as cited in Iribemwangi (2013) opines that “the foundation of modern education was laid by missionaries who introduced reading to spread Christianity and also taught practical subjects like carpentry and garden which were useful around the missions.” These events led to a lot of borrowed words found in education into Kiswahili. Some of these lexical items are **jarida**, **chaki**, **alfabeti**, **skuli**

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<sup>15</sup> The people who speak Kiswahili

from the English words *journal*, *chalk*, *alphabet*, and *school* respectively. Others include **elimu** (education), **mwalimu** (teacher), **kitabu** (a book), **daftari** (a note book) and **herufi** (letter) from the Arabic words *ʕilm*, *muʕallim*, *kitaab*, *daftar*, and *ḥarf* respectively.

Other lexical borrowings came from the domain of *games* and *sports*. According to Iribemwangi (2013), even though Africans had their games and sports before the advent of the Europeans and Asians, words have been borrowed from these domains into Kiswahili indicating that such words were new games which entered their culture. In other words such games and sports never existed in the world of the Kiswahili speakers. Examples of such words are **ree** (ace), **seti** (seven), **karata** (playing cards) and **uru** (diamond) all from the domain of *playing cards* from the Portuguese words *rei*, *sete*, *karta*, *ôuru* respectively. Others include **soka**, **voliboli**, and **gofu** from English words *soccer*, *volleyball* and *gulf* respectively.

Apart from lexical borrowings from the domains of tangible culture, Iribemwangi (2013) also explains that Kiswahili also borrowed from concepts denoting intangible culture from both the Europeans and the Asians. He states that most of the words borrowed into Kiswahili from the domains of intangible culture involve *faith* and *belief*. His illustrations show that most of such words are from Arabic. Due to this, he states that this shows the extent to which the new Islamic faith penetrated and permeated the Waswahili culture. Some examples given by Iribemwangi (2013) are **nadra** (rare), **daima** (perpetually), **salamu** (greeting), **tafakari** (ponder), **iktisadi** (economy), **kiyama** (doomsday), **Imani** (faith), and **aibu** (shame) from the Arabic words, *nadir*, *daaiman*, *salaam*, *tafakkara*, *iqtisaad*, *qijaama*,



*iimaan*, and *Ʒajb* respectively. Also, **misa**, **Ekaristi**, **Sabatu** were borrowed from the English words *mass*, *Eucharist* and *Sabbath*.

### 2.1.2.3 *Bodomo (1995)*

Bodomo (1995) examines how loanwords in the Dagaare language of Northwestern Ghana can be used to gain insights into the cultural history of the Dagaaba<sup>16</sup>. He investigates twelve words borrowed into Dagaare from English, Akan, Hausa and Djula/Bambara languages. Bodomo based his arguments on only three loanwords each from the source languages mentioned above into Dagaare to illustrate his claims.

According to him, most of the borrowings into Dagaare from the source languages have incidentally been languages through which the Dagaaba have received items of trade, in particular, and western civilization in general (Bodomo, 1995:43). The examples he based his arguments on include **sinkããfa** (rice), **lafie** (health/well-being), and **pito** (guinea corn beer) from Hausa; **mii** (rice), **gyil** (xylophone), and **lonno** (hour glass) from Djula; **sakurii** (school), **sakiri** (cycle), and **sikiri** (sugar) from English; **dansiε** (witness), **bɔrbε** (pineapple) and **bɔduwa** (towel) from Akan. The English word *sugar* is however, asserted by Dakubu (2012) to have been borrowed from the Portuguese word **açucar** into English.

On the historical and cultural implication of loanwords into Dagaare, Bodomo asserts that apart from close relatives and neighbours, the next group of people the Dagaaba have come into contact with are the Akan, Djula, Hausa and English speaking people. This according to him is a clear indication of material acquisition and

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<sup>16</sup> The Dagaaba are the people who speak the Dagaare language.

cultural influence which the Dagaaba have been exposed to in the past. Bodomo (1995) states that Dagaare is spoken in northwestern Ghana and the Dagaaba share borders with the people of Burkina Faso and Cote D'Ivoire. Bodomo (1995) opines that "before contact with English, Akan and Bambara-speaking people, items or concepts like *school*, *pineapple*, and *rice* for instance were not known to the Dagaaba." This is a clear indication that those items or concepts were borrowed as a result of *lexical gap* or *need* in the Dagaare lexicon, hence the need to borrow from other languages.

In the case of the word **pito** (guinea corn beer) borrowed from Hausa into Dagaare, Bodomo (1995) declares that there was an indigenous word used to refer to the item, which is **dãã**. This according to him is concurrently used with **pito**. What triggered this might be that the Dagaaba had enjoyed prestige from Hausa or there are other dialects speakers of Dagaare in some areas who were not aware of the indigenous word, **dãã** used to refer to the *guinea corn beer* and as such opted for **pito** due to their familiarity with the Hausa language. Information on this was not given in Bodomo (1995). This as a result brought a gap on information on the specific agents of propagation of the borrowed word, **pito** into Dagaare.

In another sense, Bodomo argues that the studies on the structure of loanwords and the languages they originated from can also help gain insight into the sort of ethnic groups, cultures and their ecological environment a people might have encountered in their migration history. In connection to this assertion, Bodomo (1995) states that "many of the Dagaaba have recently migrated to and from the forest regions down by pointing to the presence of a lot of Akan lexical items for forest products and

concepts in Dagaare.” A gap identified in Bodomo (1995) is the fact that he did not exemplify how enormous the lexical borrowings from Akan to Dagaare are but only gave three loanwords from Akan to Dagaare for his entire study. This was because he focused on the contributions of loanwords to the study of cultural history of the Dagaaba people of Northwestern Ghana.

Bodomo (1995) also examines loanwords into Dagaare on the criteria for establishing loanwords from the source languages into Dagaare. Knappert (1970) as cited in Bodomo (1995) asserts that “the shape of a word (its morphophonemic form), its meaning, and the extent of its distribution that is, the extent to which similar forms are found in neighboring languages help in identifying loanwords into a language.” On the shape or morphophonemic form of a word borrowed into Dagaare, Bodomo (1995) declares that the phonological and morphological structure of Dagaare words help in identifying loanwords into Dagaare.

In terms of phonology, he argues that Dagaare words like most Ghanaian languages end in open syllable in most cases. In terms of morphology, he states that grammatical meanings in a Dagaare word are expressed by suffixes rather than prefixes. Bodomo expounds that words like **shínkááfáá** (rice), **ɔ̀dànsìní** (witness) and **school** are more suited to the morphophonemic of Hausa, Akan, and English respectively and would be more appropriate to say that Dagaare borrowed from these languages and not vice versa. Dagaare borrowed the above words as **sinkããfa**, **dansie** and **sakuuri** respectively which fits the phonotactics and morphological structure of Dagaare. It must be noted that the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in the Hausa word **shinkaafaa** [ʃɪŋka:fa:] has been substituted with the voiceless alveolar fricative

/s/, indicating that the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ does not exist in Dagaare. The singular prefix **ɔ-** denoting person in the Akan word **ɔdansini** is deleted to fit into the Dagaare morphological structure since the language prefers suffixes to prefixes. In borrowing **school** [skul] from English, a vowel segment is inserted to break the consonant cluster /sk/ to repair the violation of the consonant cluster.

He again illustrates two loanwords used to refer to *rice* that is **mii** (**mune** or **mui**) from Djula and the other **sinkāāfa** from Hausa. These two loanwords used to refer to *rice* according to Bodomo (1995) are not used by all the dialects of Dagaare with the same degree of regularity. He says **mune** is more popular to the Northern dialects speakers of Dagaare who share border with the Djula-speaking people of Burkina Faso while **sinkāāfa** is also popular to the central and southern dialects who are nearest to the more serious Hausa-speaking areas in Ghana. This assertion by Bodomo shows that apart from Dagaare being in casual contact with a language like English, the Dagaaba are also in a bilingual setting with the Djula and Hausa speaking people just that Bodomo (1995) did not explain the social settings in contact to demonstrate the trend of borrowing. This gap gives the impression that **mune/mui** and **sinkāāfa** are the only words borrowed from the Djula-speaking people of Burkina Faso and the Hausa-speaking people respectively into Dagaare.

The current study explains the phonological adaptation processes in the words borrowed from the source languages to Dangme. Especially, those words from the source languages that violate the Dangme phonotactics. It also illustrates different words (both borrowed and indigenous) used to refer to same entity in Dangme. This was achieved by investigating the phenomenon of lexical borrowings using Dangme natives from different

social background (like dialect of Dangme spoken, competence in different languages, occupation, and educational background).

#### *2.1.2.4 Adomako (2008)*

Adomako (2008) studied English loanwords adaptation in Akan, a Kwa language in Ghana focusing on the repair strategies of the adaptation of the English loanwords in Akan. He found out that the major repair strategies used in repairing illegalities in English loanword adaptation in Akan are vowel epenthesis, consonant deletion, vowel lengthening and non-native segmental adaptation.

It is worth noting that Adomako's main interest for the study is to investigate words borrowed from English to Akan which suit the Akan phonotactics to explore the repair strategies the borrowers' use, which made those words conform to the Akan syllable structure. As a result of the fact that his focus was not on the sociolinguistic aspect of the phenomenon, he did not show the variations in the English borrowings to Akan to show the trend of the borrowings into Akan but only focused on those adapted that suit the Akan phonotactics.

However, the current study investigates the English borrowings to Dangme from a sociolinguistic point of view, focusing on the variations of the English words used by the Dangme people without only looking at the English words that are borrowed to suit the Dangme phonotactics only. This is because the respondents selected were chosen from different social backgrounds without limiting myself to only monolingual speakers of Dangme. This trend helped to identify the phonological variations in the use of English words borrowed to Dangme. It also helped to identify the current trend in the use of

English words among the Dangme people. That is, whether more people are borrowing the English words to suit the Dangme phonotactics or otherwise.

#### **2.1.2.5 Wornyo (2016)**

Wornyo (2016) also examined the phonological analysis of English loanwords in Ewe, a Kwa language in Ghana. He investigated the variations of English loanwords into Ewe at the level of phoneme, syllable structure and stress (phonology) when they are adapted into Ewe. He found out that certain sounds in English words borrowed into Ewe are foreign to the speakers of Ewe. In overcoming this challenge, he says speakers of Ewe make adjustments by replacing the foreign sounds with native ones which are acoustically closer to the foreign ones. He identified two main operations that normally take place. These are deletion and insertion of segments. Wornyo (2016) concludes that “deletion and insertion are used to compel foreign syllable structures to conform to the phonotactic constraints<sup>17</sup> of Ewe.” He also identifies that stressed syllables in English are generally realized as high tones and unstressed syllables in English are realized as low tones in Ewe. These occurred because stress is not phonemic in Ewe.

Like Adomako (2008), the main objective of Wornyo (2016) was to investigate and analyze the English words that were adapted in Ewe and the repair strategies the people of Ewe use in the course of adapting the English words into Ewe. It must be noted that, Wornyo (2016) focused on the words borrowed from English which were adapted to suit the Ewe phonotactics. So, it is possible that people who make adjustment by deleting and inserting sound segments and those who substitute sounds that are not part of the Ewe sound inventory were consulted for his investigation. However, it is vital to

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<sup>17</sup> Phonotactic constraints are the phonological rules that exist in or govern a particular language.

investigate people from different social backgrounds. This trend normally brings to light differentials in the use of language by people. So, an English word, for instance, used to refer to an entity borrowed into a language such as Ewe, may be used differently by different native speakers of Ewe due to different social factors. In line with the above assertion, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2011) argue that it is not always the case that words are borrowed to suit the phonology of the receiving language even though most words are borrowed to suit the borrowing languages phonotactic constraints. The current study interrogates the current state of lexical borrowings from English to Dangme to check variations in the use of English words used to refer to same entities. As a result, the respondents were chosen from different social backgrounds.

#### **2.1.2.6 Dakubu (2012)**

Dakubu (2012) examines lexical borrowings from Portuguese into some Ghanaian languages. A vehicular variety of Portuguese served as the principal language of communication between Africans and Europeans from soon after the first appearance of the Portuguese on the Gold Coast towards the end of the fifteenth century until the end of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the nineteenth century (Dakubu, 2012).

Dakubu (2012) further explains that during these times, the Portuguese language was used as a language of trade on the Gold Coast. After 1642, the Portuguese continued to trade on the Gold Coast but the continuous use of their language seems to have been due mainly to an unspoken agreement between non-Portuguese Europeans and the local merchants, by which the local African merchants

with connections at the forts controlled the trade and kept it in their own hands (Dakubu, 2012:17).

The sources of Dakubu's data on the Portuguese lexical items in some Ghanaian languages were European writings about the coast since the 15th century, words attested in Ghanaian languages today and words attested in English as spoken on the erstwhile Gold Coast. She further clarifies that the last two sources are essentially similar, as they consist of loan words found in existing languages (Dakubu, *ibid*). In her study, Dakubu provides quite a number of loanwords and phrases of the Portuguese language borrowed into some Ghanaian languages like Akan and Ga. However, only the Portuguese borrowings into Dangme and the other Ghanaian languages would be outlined. I presented some of the items in Table (3) below. Column one represents the Portuguese items, column two represents how English borrowed the items from Portuguese, columns three, four and five represents how Akan, Ga and Dangme respectfully borrowed from Portuguese and column six is the English glossing of the words.

**Table 3 Portuguese Borrowings into some Ghanaian Languages**

<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Akan</b>	<b>Ga</b>	<b>Dangme</b>	<b>Glossing</b>
açucar	sugar	asikyirie	sikli	sikli/sukli	sugar
amarrador	-	amaradofo	amarado/ amralo	amlaalo	master
arca	-	adaka	adeka	daka	box
bambu	bamboo	mprampuro	pamplo	pamploo	bamboo
banco	bank	-	-	baaki	bank
bolo	-	abodoo	aboloo	aboloo/ abole	a type of pastry
branco	-	brɔfo	blofo	blefo no	Whites/European
candeia	-	kanea	kane	kane	lamp
cebola	-	sabolai	sabolai	sabola/ asamunaa	onion
chave	-	safe/safowa	samfee	safi/safie	key



cobre	copper	kɔbere	kapɛ	akɔblee/ kupa	copper
conta	account	akontaa	akɔntaa	akɔtaa	account
costumes	customs	-	kusumi	kusumi	customs/ (ceremonial homage)
day	-	ɔdehye	-	odehe	chief (note: in Dangme it means a <i>royal</i> )
dɔnkɔ	-	ɔdɔnkɔ	-	odɔkɔ	from slave
forno	-	ɔfronoo	frɔnɔɔ	flɔɔnɔɔ	oven
goiaba	guava	-	gowa	agowa/gowa	guava
porco	pig	prokoo	kplotoo	kpotoo	pig
prego	-	prego/preko	plɛkoo	plɛko	nail
sapate/sapato/ sapatete	slipper	asepatere	asepaatere	asupaatlee	slippers/shoe
seda	silk	seda	seda	sida	silk
tabaco	tobacco	-	-	taba/taabɛ	tobacco
terra	-	-	-	tita	land

Adapted from Dakubu (2012:24-33).

The table above shows that Dangme and some other Ghanaian languages borrow some lexical items from Portuguese during the colonization period by the Portuguese in Ghana in the fifteenth century.

#### 2.1.2.7 Tanihu (2016)

Tanihu (2016) investigates language contact situations in Gbugblaa, one of the dialects of Dangme. His main focus was to identify language shift and maintenance situations in Gbugblaa as a result of the influence of the Ga language. He states that the residents of Gbugblaa speak both Dangme and Ga with Dangme being the dominant language. On the history and social changes in Gbugblaa, Tanihu (2016) states that the main reason for interference of items from Ga into Gbugblaa are as a result of the geographical location of both Dangme and Ga people. In addition to the above, he emphasizes that Ga was used as the medium of instruction and taught as a

subject in schools on Dangme lands before Dangme was reduced to writing. This eventually made Gbugblaa natives to be bilingual in Dangme and Ga. Inter-tribal marriage and trade according to him also trigger borrowings to the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme.

One key aspect of Tanihu's (2016) investigation is the fact that borrowings from Ga have been integrated into the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme. He gave examples such as **o faa nɛ** (please/I beg you) from Ga and **I kpaa mo pɛɛ** (please/I beg you) from Dangme which have been integrated into Gbugblaa as **o pɛɛ nɛ**. Here, it is seen that **faa** (hat) in the Ga phrase **o faa nɛ** has been substituted with the Dangme **pɛɛ** (hat) for the entire phrase to be changed to **o pɛɛ nɛ** used by the Gbugblaa people.

Another example illustrated by Tanihu to confirm his claim is the conjunction **no he ɔ** (because of this) used by the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme. This is an integration of the Ga conjunction **no he wɔ** (because of this) and the Dangme one **lo ɔ he ɔ** (because of this). It can be seen that the Gbugblaa people substituted the Dangme **lo ɔ** with the Ga **no** and maintained the Dangme **he ɔ** to form **no he ɔ**, *because of this*. Other lexical borrowings from Ga into the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme noted by Tanihu (2016) are **apotompata** from the Ga word **aputumpata** used to refer to *bat*, **akoklonto** borrowed from the Ga word **akpokplonto** used to refer to *tortoise* and **pupɔ** from the Ga word **fufɔ** used to refer to *breast*. With **pupɔ** borrowed from the Ga word **fufɔ**, it is realized that the Gbugblaa people substituted the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ in the Ga **fufɔ** with the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/.

From the results of Tanihu's study, it can be established that borrowing of lexical items from Ga into the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme, borrowing of lexical

items whose patterns are made up of Ga and Dangme segments, and phrases that have resemblance of both Dangme and Ga, indicate a high degree/intensity of contact or influence of Ga on the Gbugblaa people.

#### ***2.1.2.8 Agbugblah (2018)***

Agbugblah (2018) studies lexical borrowing from Ewe to Dangme. He gave an account of the geographical location of the Ewe and the Ada dialect speakers of Dangme which results in lexical borrowings to Dangme from Ewe. According to Agbugblah, Ada is surrounded by Ewe natives and within the lands of Ada; there are Ewe natives who now see themselves to be part of the Ada people. Agbugblah (2018) states that apart from fishing and farming being the main occupation of the two groups (Ewe and Dangme), the influence of Ewe on Dangme could be as a result of the two ethnic groups staying together in Ada. Agbugblah (2018) again asserts that the words which the Ewe and the Ada natives use in their conversations and their similarities are clear indication of how close the two ethnic groups were during their migration days from Nigeria many years ago and till now.

It must be noted that Agbugblah's (2018) geography of study only covers (was limited to) the Ada area of Dangme land. However, the current study covers the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo areas to check the knowledge, distribution or variations in the lexical borrowings to Dangme. Agbugblah's (2018) study also focuses on lexical borrowings that were adapted and those were not adapted in Dangme. According to him, the borrowings that were adapted were phonological and semantic.

However, there were some deficiencies in some of the words he claim to have been borrowed from Ewe to Dangme. Some of these words were attested by some scholars to have been borrowed from other languages to Dangme and other Ghanaian languages whilst others also contain morphemes of other languages which prove that they are words of those languages. For instance, Dakubu (2012) argues that words like **daka** (box), **sikli** (sugar) and **sabola** (onion) which Agbugblah claims to have been borrowed from the Ewe words **adaka**, **sukli** and **sabala** were actually borrowed from the Portuguese words **arca** (box), **açucar** (sugar) and **cebola** (onion) respectively into some Ghanaian languages.

Other words like **ahuhue** (mirror), **kenami** (fried fish) and **odase** (witness) claimed by Agbugblah (2018) to have been borrowed from the Ewe words **ahuhoe**, **konami** and **dasefo** respectively can be attested to be lexical borrowings from Akan. This is because they are made up of compounds of morphemes which meanings are from Akan and not from Ewe or Dangme. For instance, the words **ahuhoe** in Ewe and **ahuhue** in Dangme is referred to in Akan as **ahwehwɛ** (mirror). The root word, **hwɛ** (look) was reduplicated to form **hwehwɛ** (search) and later attached to by the Akan nominalizing prefix **a-** to form **ahwehwɛ** (mirror).

These individual morphemes, **a-**, **hwɛ** and **hwehwɛ** are meaningless in Ewe and Dangme. In the course of borrowing the word from Akan, the Ewe and the Dangme adapted the word, **ahwehwɛ** to suit their phonotactics. It is seen that the Ewe and the Ada people substituted the [ɛ] in **ahwehwɛ** with [h] since [ɛ] does not exist in both Ewe and Dangme. Ewe therefore borrowed the word as **ahuhoe** and Dangme (Ada natives) also borrowed it as **ahuhue**. Most of these scenarios have been discussed in chapter (4).

Some of the lexical borrowings from Ewe to Dangme according to Agbugblah (2018) are **kɔpe** (village, cottage), **gbi** (voice/language), **ylɔ** (to wither), **mɔ** (prison/fortress/castle), **agbeli** (casava), **gbɛvu** (rogue), **sahu** (store building), **afani** (oyster) and **ajoloo** (riddle incantation). These words are respectively realized in Ewe as **kɔfe** (village/cottage), **gbe** (voice/language), **yrɔ** (to wither), **mɔ** (prison/fortress/castle), **agbeli** (there is life/cassava), **gbɛvu** (rogue), **asaɲu** or **sawu** (storey building), **afɔli** (oyster) and **ajoloo** (riddle incantation).

## 2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

This thesis studies lexical borrowings from two different dimensions. Regarding research question one (1) which focuses on the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme, I used Winford's (2003) framework on the processes and products of lexical borrowing in explaining the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. Concerning research question two (2) which has to do with the dialectal variations of the study of lexical borrowings to Dangme, the variationist sociolinguistic theory/approach to language change propounded by Labov in 1966 was used.

### 2.2.1 *The Processes and Products Framework of Lexical Borrowing*

Attempts to establish a coherent framework for dealing with contact-induced changes in the lexicon began as early as the nineteenth century with Paul in 1886 and continued in the first decades of the twentieth century with scholars like Seiler in 1907-13 and later Eugen Kaufman in 1939 (Winford, 2003). Winford (2003) stipulates that Bentz's (1949) early frameworks whose basic distinction between Lehnwort

(loanwords) and Lehnprägung (loan coinage) forms the basis for his (Winford) description. Winford (2003) again asserts that “Haugen (1950a, 1950b, 1953) added a new dimension to existing classifications with his distinction between importation<sup>18</sup> and substitution<sup>19</sup>- a dichotomy based on the presence or absence of foreignness markers (1950b).” This framework is grounded on the assumption that the products of lexical contact phenomena consist of different processes.

The table below summarizes Winford’s (2003) classification or taxonomy of lexical contact phenomena which classified the different types of lexical borrowings and native creations.

**Table 4 A Classification of Lexical Contact Phenomena**

<i>Types</i>	<i>Processes involved</i>
<b>I. Borrowings</b> (modeled on the donor language)	
A. <i>Loanwords</i> :	
1. Pure loanwords	They consist of total morphemic importation of single or compound words. They sometimes undergo phonological and semantic modifications.
2. Loan blends	These comprise a combination of native and imported morphemes.
2a. Derivational blends	They consist of imported stem and a native affix or a native stem and an imported affix.
2b. Compound blends	They consist of imported stem and native stem.
B. <i>Loan shifts</i> (loan meanings):	
1. Semantic loans (extensions)	These consist of a shift in the semantics of native words under the influence from a foreign word. Here,

<sup>18</sup> Importation refers to the adoption of a foreign form and/or its meaning, and may involve complete or partial imitation (Winford, 2003:43).

<sup>19</sup> Substitution refers to the process by which native sounds or morphemes are substituted for those in the donor model (Winford, 2003:43).

	there are both phonological and partial semantic resemblance.
2. Loan translations (calques)	These consist of a combinations of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern.
<b>II. Native creations</b>	
1. Pure native creations	innovative use of native words to express foreign concepts.
2 Hybrid creations	Blends of native and foreign morphemes to express foreign concepts.
3 Creation using only foreign morphemes	Combination of foreign morphemes for new concepts.

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Adapted from Winford (2003:45)

In table (4) above, it is seen that lexical contact phenomena has been divided into *borrowings* and *native creations*. The borrowings have further been divided into *loanwords* and *loan shifts (loan meanings)*. Loanwords can be *pure loanwords* or *loan blends* (loan blends are also divided into *derivational blends* and *compound blends*). Loan shifts, the second type of lexical borrowing is also divided into *semantic loans (extensions)* and *loan translations (calques)*. All these types of lexical borrowings are ways a lexical item can enter a given language from another language. The second type of lexical contact phenomena called *native creation* has been divided into *pure native creations*, *hybrid creations* and *creation using only foreign morphemes*. These are also ways by which a particular language can create new native words to express a given concept which has no word to refer to it in that language.

The processes and product framework of lexical borrowing which classifies the different types and processes involved in the lexical borrowings was used to explain the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme in chapter (4). In doing this, the processes involved in the lexical borrowings and the repair (nativization/adaptation) strategies of lexical borrowings to Dangme were revealed. In

other words, the framework dealt with the contact-induced changes in the lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### ***2.2.2 The Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory/Approach to Language Change***

The Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory/Approach to language change is a framework propounded by Labov in 1966 to track how language varies according to social factors. Holyk (2005) states that researchers all over the world adapts Labov's set of methodological innovations to track how language use varies according to social factors (e.g., speaker's gender, ethnic group or age), how it is influenced by social and regional dialects (e.g., certain local community or social group) or by the register (e.g., particular context of use). Chambers (2004:3) also declares that "the foundation of variationist sociolinguistics come from the rudimentary observation that the variations that occur in everyday speech are linguistically insignificant but socially significant."

For Anttila (2004), phonological variation is often studied from a sociolinguistic point of view, which is by examining the use of variants as a function of external factors such as sex, age, style, register, and social class. Labov (1994:44) as cited in Kerswill (2010) says "among variationist sociolinguists, there is now an acceptance that language change can be 'observed', replacing earlier linguists' pessimism on this point." According to Kerswill, Labov's speech community model (1966; 2006a) shows that, even if it is difficult to observe change directly across a speaker's lifetime, the social stratification<sup>20</sup> of linguistic features, coupled with age differentiation in the same features,

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<sup>20</sup>According to Labov (1972), social stratification simply implies that the normal workings of society have produced systematic differences between certain institutions or people, and that these differentiated forms have been ranked in status or prestige by general agreement.



gives us a way of understanding how change can proceed in a manner that is indirectly observable.

The variationist sociolinguistic theory to language change is grounded on the assumptions that there are variations in the use of language by a group of people as a result of different social (external) factors or independent variables. In applying his variationist sociolinguistic theory to language change, Labov (1966) as cited in Labov (1972) studies the use of social stratification of the *voiced alveolar glide* /r/ in New York City Department Stores (the stores includes Saks, Macy's and S. Klein) to check how the use of /r/ varies (presence and absence /r/ in words) due to social or external factors in both casual and natural/emphatic settings. In doing this, the dependent variable he used to track how language varies is /r/ (that is, the use of /r/ in different settings due to different social factors) and the independent variables are *the store, the floor within the store, age, sex, occupation, race, and foreign or regional accent*.

In short, Labov investigates the pronunciation of /r/ in post-vocalic positions. That is, pre-consonantal in the word *fourth* and final positions in the word *floorr* in both casual and natural settings. It was proven in Labov's study that there are variations in the *presence* and *absence* of the pronunciation of /r/ in the words *fourth* and *floorr* in each of the stores (Saks, Macy's and S. Klein) in pre-consonantal position (fourth) and final position (floorr) in both casual and emphatic styles of speeches of the respondents.

As said earlir, the variationist sociolinguistic theory to language change is grounded on the assumptions that there are variations in the use of language from a group of people as a result of different external factors or independent variables. This theoretical framework is applicable to the current study and was used in the analysis of

the dialectal variations of lexical borrowings to Dangme in chapter (5). This is because it catered for the variations in the use of different words, both borrowed and indigenous, used to refer to the same entity in Dangme. It also catered for the variations in sounds of words used to refer to same entity in Dangme.

In applying this theory (variationist sociolinguistic theory to language change) to this study, the dependent variables used are the *different entities and concepts*, of which different words are used to refer to them in Dangme. Also, the independent variables or the external factors used to track the variations in the use of different words to refer to a particular entity in Dangme are *dialect of Dangme spoken, geographical location, competence in speaking languages (monolingual versus bilingual speakers), educational background (both educated and non-educated), occupation, sex and age*. These factors helped in tracking the variations in the use of different words to refer to a particular entity in Dangme. The Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory was anchored with the Processes and Product framework to explain the variations in the knowledge and preference of lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### **2.3 Summary**

The chapter reviewed related literature on the study of lexical borrowings from one language into another language. The chapter was divided into two major sections, the literature review and the theoretical frameworks adopted for the study. The first section (2.1), literature review, reviewed literature on lexical borrowings outside Africa and those inside Africa. Literature outside Africa covered literature that gave a general understanding of the universe of borrowing, typologies of speech communities in contact

that lead to the various types and amounts of lexical borrowings, and later narrowed the review to those that investigate case studies of lexical borrowings from one language to another. Literature inside Africa touched on the case studies of lexical borrowings.

The second drive in this chapter, section (2.2), reviewed the theoretical frameworks adopted for the study. Winford's (2003) Processes and Products Framework on lexical contact phenomena was adopted and reviewed to help explain the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. In addition to the above framework, the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory to language change propounded by Labov in 1966 (see Labov, 1972) was also adopted and reviewed to help explain and discuss the dialectal variation in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme. These literatures and the theoretical frameworks reviewed were very relevant in understanding the trends of lexical borrowings in Dangme.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

The study of lexical borrowing is part of the study of language variation or language change. This study, as said earlier, adopts Labov's variationist sociolinguistic theory/approach to the study of language change. It adopts how Labov uses his methods to check how language use varies according to social and other factors. For this reason, the study calls for scientific investigations of language use from respondents to draw empirical data using interviews, focused group interviews/discussions, elicitation using picture presentations and description of abstract entities. This chapter, therefore, examines the methodology of the research. It presents the research sites and design, sample size and sampling technique. The chapter also looks at data sources, data collection instruments and data analysis procedure.

#### 3.1 Research Design

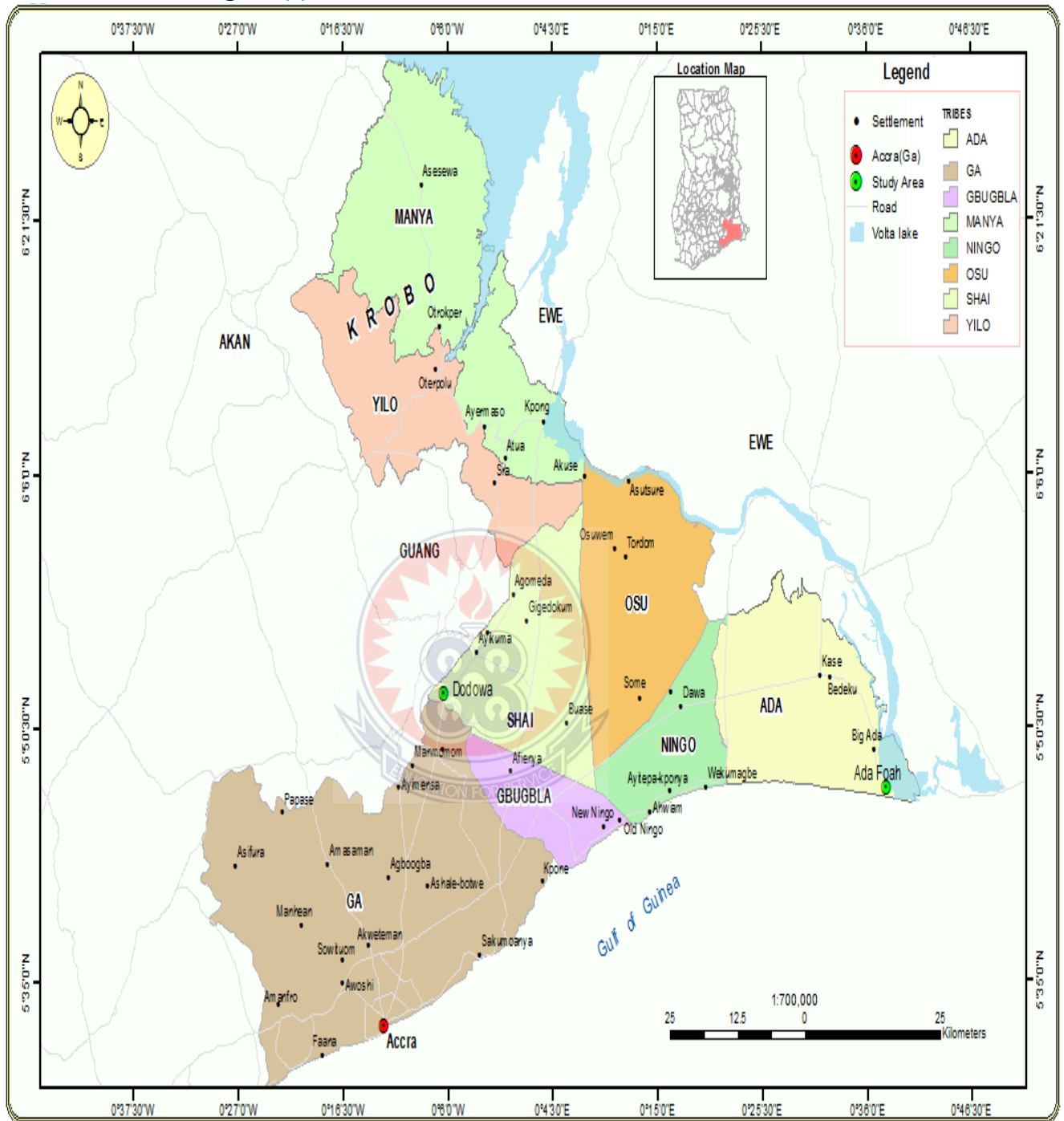
In this research, I deployed the convergent parallel mixed method research design also called concurrent mixed method. This design is a form of mixed method in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data *at the same time* and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem (see Creswell, 2014:15). In this study, both numerical data and detailed verbal descriptions were integrated at the same time in the course of the study to explain the phenomenon of lexical borrowing in Dangme.

### 3.2 Research Sites

The study focuses primarily on the Ada and Gbugblaa dialects of Dangme in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana and Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects of Dangme in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Ada shares boundary with Ewe whilst Gbugblaa shares boundary with Ga. The Yilo and Manya Krobo people on their part are surrounded by Akan, Guan, and Ewe speakers. In Yilo Krobo, I chose Aboabo, Nkurakan, Somanya and Klo-Agogo as the research sites. I also selected Asesewa, Akateng, Akuse and Kpong towns in Manya Krobo for the investigation. In Ada, the study took place in Ada Foah, Ayigbo and Kasseh. I also chose Prampram from the Gbugblaa dialect. Figure (2) below is the map of the Dangme speaking area.



**Figure (2) THE DANGME SPEAKING AREA**



Adopted from Owulah (2014)

### **3.3 Population**

Best and Kahn (2006) as cited in Owu-Ewie (2017) defines population as a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common and of an interest to the researcher. The main purpose of this work is to study the linguistic features, dialectal variation and motivations of lexical borrowings from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English into Dangme. However, it is not possible to use the entire population of Dangme on the phenomenon under investigation. This therefore, made me to delimit the investigation to some native speakers of Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo, and Manya Krobo dialects of Dangme. Ada and Gbugblaa were chosen because they are in contact with Ewe and Ga respectively. Again, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo were also chosen because they are also surrounded by Akan, Ewe and Guan natives.

### **3.4 Sample Size**

A sample in research refers to a small group of people having similar characteristics selected from the target population to participate in a phenomenon under investigation. The size of the target population (Ada, Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo speakers) is also too large for this investigation. This research is therefore limited to a sample size of one hundred (100) participants. Out of these number, fifty-eight (58) were males and forty-two (42) were females. More males were selected than females because most of the respondents who took part in the use of language in the working domains (masons, carpenters, drivers and fashion designers) were males. This is because of the nature of these works. Males are engaged in masonry, carpentry and driving than females.

### **3.5 Sources of Data**

It behooves the sociolinguistic researcher to use empirical data in a study of this kind. As a result, I drew data mainly from primary sources and few data from secondary sources.

#### **3.5.1 *Primary data***

Primarily, I relied on native speakers of Dangme in collecting the empirical data. The respondents in the study were purposively sampled for this investigation. The respondents were not chosen haphazardly. They were chosen based on what the research sought to achieve. Preliminarily, I was open-minded and was asking Dangme people across everywhere to harvest many words that have been borrowed to Dangme. This was aimed at making sure I grasp whatever information I could get from anybody as I walk around consulting and contacting people and documents. It was done in order to get a firsthand knowledge of the lexical borrowings. This helped me to identify the processes involved in the lexical borrowings.

The second drive was targeted on the geographical or dialectal variation of the lexical borrowings in Dangme. In doing this, different people from the four dialects selected were chosen to find out the distribution of lexical borrowings from different sources used for same entity in Dangme. Again, in order to draw data from different domains from which words are borrowed into Dangme and also to check the variations in the lexical borrowings, traders, farmers, retired educationist, drivers, masons, tailors, carpenters, non-workers, the educated, and the non-educated were all considered in this study.



I selected the respondents from ages ten (10) to over eighty (80) years. As said earlier, fifty-eight (58) males and forty-two (42) females totaling one hundred (100) were selected to participate in the study. Twenty-four (24) each were chosen from the Ada and Gbugblaa dialects whilst twenty-six (26) each were also selected from the Manya Krobo and the Yilo Krobo dialects. Among the twenty-four sampled from Ada, twelve (12) were males and twelve (12) were females. Again, with the twenty-four respondents selected from Gbugblaa, fourteen (14) were males and ten (10) were females. Sixteen (16) males and ten (10) females each from the Manya Krobo and the Yilo Krobo dialects were also sampled for the study.

Among the one hundred (100) participants sampled, eighty (80) respondents, twenty (20) each from the four dialects participated in the identification of pictures and description of abstract entities to check the preferences of lexical borrowings in Dangme. With the remaining twenty (20) respondents, five (5) each were drivers, masons, fashion designing, and carpenters who only provided data in their working domains. They did not provide data on the picture identifications and the description of abstract entities. All the five (5) respondents each from the driving, masonry and carpentry domain were males. Again, three (3) males and two (2) females were selected from the fashion designing domain.

As said earlier these drivers and artisans (skilled workers) did not provide data on the elicited picture description and the description of the abstract entities. This was because the nature of their work did not permit them to provide ample time to provide words used to refer to the items in the pictures, abstract entities elicitation and also for me to interview them on other aspects of the research. However, words used within their

working milieus were very vital data to the study hence the need to fall on them. Data from these drivers and artisans helped to identify the current usage of words borrowed from English to Dangme. It helped to detect that there are phonological variations in the English words borrowed to Dangme.

Again, among the 80 participants who participated in the identification of pictures, and description of abstract entities or concepts, those whose ages range from 10-39 years provided data by given word(s) they use to refer to those items and concepts. They were also asked to provide the word they usually use to refer to an entity where they provided more than one word to refer to a particular entity. This was done using closed-ended questions (see Appendix C). This helped me to collate statistical data on the preference of lexical borrowings in Dangme, the competition of lexical borrowings and indigenous words used to refer to a particular entity and some motivations of lexical borrowings to Dangme.

The rest whose ages range from ages 40 to over 80 years also provided data by identifying items in picture form and descriptions of abstract entities to give words they use to refer to those entities and concepts. When they provide two or more words to refer to a particular entity, they were asked to provide the words they normally use or prefer to use to refer to the entities. This was also done using the closed-ended questions. In addition to this also, I interviewed and discussed with these respondents (those whose ages range from ages 40 to over 80 years) on some of the items. This was done using open-ended questions (see Appendix B) for the respondents to brainstorm and give out every possible answer they could give. Some also provided data on the socio-historic backgrounds that brought about the source languages speakers and the Dangme people in

the speech communities of contact. Below is the summary of the distribution of respondents used in the study.

**Table 5 The distribution of respondents based on dialects**

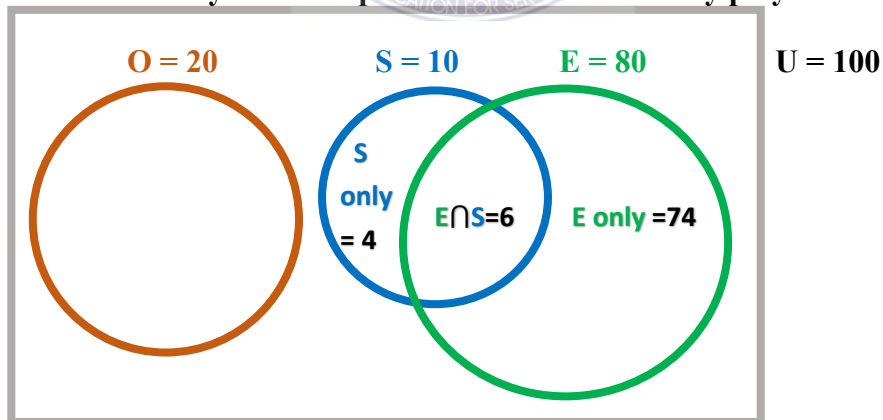
DIALECT	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
ADA	12	12	24
GBUGBLAA	14	10	24
MANYA KROBO	16	10	26
YILO KROBO	16	10	26
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 6 The distribution of respondents who participated in the elicited pictures and abstract entities' descriptions**

DIALECT	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
ADA	10	10	20
GBUGBLAA	10	10	20
MANYA KROBO	10	10	20
YILO KROBO	10	10	20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>80</b>

Figure (3) below also summarizes the total number of respondents that took part in the study and the role they played in gathering data for the success of the study.

**Figure 3 Summary of the respondents and the role they played in the study**



$U$ = Total number of respondents (sample size).

$E$ = Respondents who participated in the elicited pictures and the abstract entities.

$E$  only= Total number of respondents who provided data on picture elicitation, and abstract entities elicitation only.

- S= Total number of respondents who provided data for socio-historical information and contact settings in the speech communities of contact.
- S only= Total number of respondents who provided data on only the socio-historical information and contact settings in the speech communities.
- $E \cap S$ = Total number of respondents who provided data for the elicited pictures, abstract entities and the socio-historical information.
- O= Total number of other respondents who provided data in their working domains/milieus only (these were drivers, carpenters, masons and fashion designers).

The primary data from Yilo Krobo were solicited on Thursday November 01, 2018, Friday November 02, 2018 and Saturday November 03, 2018. Primary data from Manya Krobo were also solicited on Wednesday December 19, 2018 and Thursday December 20, 2018. Again, on Friday January 31, 2019 and Saturday February 01, 2019, I drew primary data from the Gbugblaa people. At Ada, primary data were solicited on Sunday February 02, 2019. At the time of collecting the primary data, I recorded the participants using an *HD voice recorder* and sometimes the audio recorder of an *itel 1503 mobile phone*. I also wrote some salient points down in a *writing pad* where the need arises.

### **3.5.2 Secondary data**

Ablorh-Odjidja et al (1990) and Tanihu (2016) were the documents I consulted to draw secondary data from for the investigation. I selected these documents because they contain vital data which helped to find answers to the research problem.

### 3.6 Sampling Technique

This is the means by which a researcher selects his or her participants. Whether they were sampled or chosen based on the fact that each member of the population stand a good chance of being selected called *probability sampling* or individuals in the population were chosen other than chance but by other means called *non-probability sampling* (see also Owu-Ewie, 2017). In this research, the *purposive sampling* of the non-probability sampling was considered. The purposive sampling is a sampling technique in which elements are chosen based on the purpose of the study (Owu-Ewie, 2017:31). The respondents were selected purposively from the four dialects mentioned above and from different social background based on the purpose of the study which is to investigate the dialectal variations of lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### 3.7 Data Collection Instruments

There are various ways by which the sociolinguistic investigator can rely on to collect natural or empirical data from the participants selected. In doing this, Milroy and Gordon (2003) states that the investigator is guided by the aims of the research. They again clarify that decisions on the data collection are crucial because patterns of language use are sensitive to various contextual factors and as such the researcher must recognize that the manner in which s/he approaches a speaker will affect the data available for analysis. I relied on sociolinguistic interviews, elicitations and focused group discussions to gather data for this study. As a native speaker of Dangme, I also used my intuition to provide some data for the study.

### **3.7.1 Elicitation**

According to Tavakoli (2012), elicitation is any technique or procedure that is designed to get a person to actively produce speech or writing, for example asking someone to describe a picture, tell a story, or finish an incomplete sentence. During the investigations, pictures were shown to the respondents to identify and provide the possible words used to refer to the entities and concepts. The respondents watched the pictures critically and provided the word(s) they use to refer to them. Abstract entities were also described for the respondents to provide words they use to refer to them. It was during this period that numerical data were collected from the respondents.

With the numerical information, where a respondent gives more than one word for an entity or concept, s/he is asked to choose the one s/he mostly used to refer to the entity. This helped me to identify the preference of lexical borrowings in Dangme. That is the borrowers who are fond of using a particular borrowed word to refer to an entity than its equivalent indigenous counterparts or borrowed words from other languages. It also helped to identify the borrowed items that are in competition with the indigenous words. Elicitations were done on November 01, 2018 to November 03, 2018 at Yilo Krobo; December 19, 2018 to December 20, 2018 at Manya Krobo; January 31, 2019 to February 01, 2019 in Gbugblaa and February 02, 2019 in Ada.

### 3.7.2 *Interview*

Interviews attempt to elicit more extended stretches of unscripted, conversational speech (Milroy and Gordon, 2003:58). Interviews are meant to finding credible and worthwhile solutions to a problem under investigation from respondents or interviewees. In this study, I engaged the respondents in free conversations using both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Bearing in mind the open-endedness of the interview, I took into consideration the length of the interview sections in order to avoid overelaboration of respondents or going wayward outside of the purpose of the study or the research problem under investigation. In doing this, Milroy and Gordon (2003:58) suggest that the researcher needs to prepare carefully in order to gain a successful interview. This according to them could be done by preparing lists of topics that will generate talk in each interview.

With the purpose of achieving the objectives of the research, I relied on the semi-structured interview technique. The semi-structured interview as stipulated by Patton (2002) as cited in Owu-Ewie (2017) “is the type of interview where the researcher specifies issues and topics to be covered in an outline form and the interviewer decides the sequence and wording in the course of the interview.” During the interview sections in this study, I clarified issues for the respondents in order to understand the open-ended questions better in order to give adequate responses on the topics and the problem under investigation to achieve the desired results. The respondents were interviewed on the following days, months and years. Those from Yilo Krobo were interviewed in November 01, 2018 and November 03, 2018 whilst the Manya Krobo respondents were interviewed in December 19, 2018 and December 20, 2018. In Ada, the respondents were

interviewed in February 02, 2019. The Gbugblaa respondents were not interviewed individually but were engaged in the focus group interviews/discussions.

### **3.7.3 Focus group discussions/interviews**

Focus group discussion is a data collection instrument that puts participants or respondents of similar characteristics together in discussing topics pertaining to a research problem with the purpose of finding solutions to the problem in question. Kitzinger (1994) asserts that the group is ‘focused’ in the sense that it involves some kind of collective activity – such as viewing a film, examining a single health education message or simply debating a particular set of questions. In using this technique, I overtly used group interactions in soliciting data from the participants.

Richardson and Rabiee (2001) as cited in Rabiee (2004:655) also declare that participants selected for this type of research technique is as a result of the fact that they possess information on the topic under investigation and are within the age-range, have similar socio-characteristics and would not have issues with the interviewer and other interviewees discussing the topics under investigation. I relied on the aged during the focused group discussions in this study. This is because they possess the information needed to address the socio-historic information and the social settings in the speech communities of contact.

Again, both old women and men were considered since they were with their parents and grandparents and are aware of some items that were used in the olden days which are not used or less used presently due to modernization and other factors. They were selected to discuss some items that have extinct as a result of substituting them with



the modern ones. Traders and farmers (both active and retired) were sampled to discuss words of certain items that emerged through trading and farming. Furthermore, both educated and non-educated people were used in the focus group interviews.

In using this method during the investigation, diverse views about the emergence of words of certain items and entities and some factors that motivated the borrowings were identified. This brought to bear the unique feature of focus group discussion, that is, the ability to generate accurate data based on the cooperation of the group interaction (see also Green *et al.* 2003 as cited in Rabiee, 2004:656). The Yilo Krobo, Manya Krobo, Gbugblaa and Ada respondents were engaged in the focus group discussions in November 01, – November 02, 2018; December 19, – December 20, 2018; February 01, 2019 and February 02, 2019 respectively.

### **3.8 Data Analysis Procedure**

Data drawn from the study was transcribed, coded and categorized. Different themes reduced from the codes were categorized according to the sources of lexical borrowings in Dangme. For each of the languages Dangme borrow linguistic materials from, data was grouped according to the domains from which the items were borrowed. With the information on the variation studies of the results, where different words (variants) are used to refer to same variables (entity) of which quantitative data were gathered, I first recorded the numerical results. In other words, numerical information on the respondents who prefer to use a particular word (variant of the same variable) to refer to a particular entity (variable) were recorded. I later based on the statistical results to

interpret and explain the findings in detail. The phonological, morphological and semantic adaptations of the borrowed words identified were also discussed.

### **3.9 Summary**

The chapter provided a critical overview of the methodology of the study. It adopted the convergence parallel mixed method research design. Reasons for choosing this design for the study was as a result of finding both detailed verbal descriptions and numerical interpretations of the phenomenon at the same time. The chapter also explained the population used for the investigation, data sources, data collection instruments, and data analysis procedure.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN DANGME

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. It adopts Winford's (2003) processes and products framework of lexical contact phenomena to explain the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The phonological, morphological and semantic adaptation procedures of the lexical borrowings were identified and explained. Finally, the chapter explains the linguistic features in the lexical borrowings in Dangme resulting from a mixture of Dangme and Ga sounds and morphemes.

#### 4.1 Integration/Adaptation of Lexical Borrowings in Dangme

As Treffers-Dallers (2010) noted, the phonological integration of loanwords has received much more attention in the literature than the morphological, syntactic or semantic integrations. This has become possible because when a word is borrowed into a language, the first thing to be identified is the form/physical manifestation of the word, whether the segments (sounds) and their patterns conform to the phonotactics of the receiving language or not. That is, whether the segments and their arrangements are the same as those in the native language, or otherwise. In most cases, during borrowing, certain segments are deleted, substituted whilst others are also inserted depending on the receiving language's sound inventory and phonotactics.

Where a sound in a word from the borrowing language is do not exist in the receiving language, native speakers from the receiving language make adjustments in the

course of borrowing by either deleting the sound or replacing it with a native sound that is acoustically closer to the sound in the word from the source language. Again, consonant clusters that do not exist in the receiving language found in a source word are also modified by either deleting one of the segments (in Dangme the first consonant sound is mostly deleted) or by inserting a vowel segment to repair such violations. In the following sub-sections, I discussed the repair or adaptation strategies that native speakers of Dangme use in the adaptation of lexical borrowings from the source languages to Dangme.

#### ***4.1.1 Phonological Adaptations/Integration in the lexical borrowings in Dangme***

In the course of borrowing words from the source languages into Dangme, some words go through some phonological adaptation processes and this is what this sub-section seeks to discuss. In Dangme, the phonological processes that normally take place when words are borrowed from different languages to Dangme are the syllable structure processes. These syllable structure processes alter the syllable structures in the foreign words borrowed into Dangme to maintain well-formedness in Dangme phonotactics. Insertion/addition, deletion and substitution of segments usually take place during the adaptation of words borrowed to Dangme.

Sometimes, certain segments are added to an existing syllable within a borrowing word to resolve the problem non-native consonant cluster. This is because those sound combinations are not permissible within one constituent of a syllable in Dangme. Other segments are also added before onsets because the language prefers onset-less syllable too. Again, other segments are added at the end of the borrowed

words because the sounds that end the words are not permissible at the coda position of syllables or words in Dangme. As a result, native speakers of Dangme in the course of borrowing add vowel segments before onsets, in the body and at the end of certain words in the course of borrowing them to Dangme. Some segments are also deleted in the course of borrowing words from the source languages to Dangme. The subsections below explain the adaptation processes that take place in the course of borrowing words from the source languages to Dangme.

#### ***4.1.1.1 Segment addition/insertion processes***

##### ***4.1.1.1.1 Addition/Insertion of segments at the beginning of the lexical borrowings in Dangme (Prothesis)***

Kpodo (2015:134) defines prothesis as the segment addition process that involves the addition of a segment at the initial position of a word. In Dangme these segments are usually vowels and are added to the first syllable of some word that begin with a consonant or consonant cluster. This type of borrowings in Dangme can be classified in Winford's (2003) processes and products framework of lexical borrowing as *pure loanwords*. This is because the processes involved in this type of borrowings consist of total morphemic importation of single or compound words which also undergo phonological modifications (see Winford, 2003:45). In Dangme, certain words borrowed from Akan and Ewe go through this process. Examples of borrowed words with the addition of vowel segments at the initial position of the borrowed words are in Table (7) below.

**Table 7 Addition of segments at the initial position of the borrowings in Dangme (Prothesis)**

Source word	Glossing	Source Language	Borrowed As
fofoŋ	sugarcane	Ewe	<b>afungu</b>
sɔ	horse	Ewe	<b>osɔ</b>
mɔnnaa	rape	Akan	<b>abonua</b>
nokore	truth	Akan	<b>anɔkuale</b>

Table (7) shows that some words borrowed from Ewe and Akan into Dangme add certain vowel segments at the beginning of the borrowed words. It is seen from the above table that the segment /a/ was added to the Ewe word **fofoŋ** (sugarcane) before other syllable structure process which will be discussed later in this chapter has taken place to those same words. Dangme natives borrowed the Ewe words **fofoŋ** as **afungu**. With the Ewe word **sɔ** (horse), the vowel segment /o/ was added at the beginning of it by the Dangme natives in the course of borrowing to refer to the same entity, *horse*. The Dangme people borrowed **sɔ** as **osɔ**.

Again, in the Akan words **mɔnnaa** (rape), and **nokore** (truth), the Dangme people added the vowel segment /a/ to the initial position of the words to form **abonua**, and **anɔkuale**. The alveolar nasal, /n/ in the Akan word **mɔnnaa** was also substituted with the voiced bilabial plosive, /b/. The /ɔ/ was also substituted with /o/ and the lengthened vowel, /a:/ was also changed to the vowel sequence /ua/. The Akan word **mɔnnaa** was borrowed into Dangme as **abonua**. The above words borrowed from Akan and Ewe to Dangme consist of total morphemic importation of single words which underwent some form of phonological adaptations at the beginning of the words, confirming Winford's (2003) classification of these types of borrowings called *pure loanwords*.

It can be established from the findings that this syllable structure process (prothesis), whereby a segment is added to the initial position of a borrowed word is only

peculiar to some words borrowed from Ewe and Akan into Dangme. This means that words borrowed from Ga and English into Dangme do not conform to this process.

#### 4.1.1.1.2 *Insertion of segments at the middle of the lexical borrowings in Dangme (Epenthesis)*

Epenthesis, another syllable structure process that normally takes place in Dangme when words are borrowed from English into Dangme is defined by Kpodo (2015:134) as the segment addition process that involves the insertion of a segment in the middle of a word. When words borrowed from English to Dangme contain cluster of consonants that violate the phonotactics of Dangme, some vowel segments are sometimes inserted between the consonant clusters to repair the ill-formed words to suit the Dangme phonotactics. This type of lexical borrowings is classified in Winford's (2003) processes and products framework as pure loanwords because they consist of total morphemic importation of single words. They also underwent phonological modifications.

For instance, in the course of borrowing *school* [skul] and *spray* [spɹeɪ] from English, native speakers of Dangme made adjustments by inserting vowel segments between the consonant clusters that violate the Dangme phonotactics. In doing this, Dangme borrowed [skul] and [spɹeɪ] from English as **sukuu** and **suplee** respectively inserting the vowel /u/ to break the consonant clusters /sk/ and /sp/ in the words to conform to the phonotactics of Dangme. Other English words that conform to this adaptation or nativization process can be seen in Caesar and Adi (2014) and Owulah (2014).

#### 4.1.1.1.3 *Insertion of segments at the end of the lexical borrowings in Dangme (Epithesis)*

The addition of a segment at the final position of a word is termed as epithesis (see Kpodo, 2015:135). In Dangme, some words borrowed from Akan, Ewe and English go through this adaptation process. This type of lexical borrowings is classified in Winford's processes and products framework as *pure loanwords*. They consist of total morphemic importation of single words only that they underwent phonological modifications to suit the Dangme phonotactics. With the English words, when a word ends with consonantal sounds, such consonants will either be deleted or a vowel segment would be added to it to conform to the Dangme syllable structure. Some examples of borrowed words with this process are *bag* [bæg] and *pipe* [paip] from English. The voiced velar stop /g/ and the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ do not occur at the final position of syllables and words in Dangme even though they can begin syllables or words in the language. By adding a vowel segment to the end of the words to repair this violation in Dangme, native speakers of Dangme borrowed the above words as **bagi** and **paipu**. Some of the English words borrowed with this repair strategy can be seen in Caesar and Adi (2014) and Owulah (2014).

Apart from English, Dangme also add vowel segments to the final position of some Ewe and Akan words. Some of these words identified in this thesis are **afungu** [afuŋu] (sugarcane) from the Ewe word **fofoŋ** (sugarcane). Dangme also borrowed the Akan words **ɔsrɔm** (moon), **nkonim** (victory), **animuonyam** (glory), and **nkyenam** (fried fish) as **oslami**.or **oslam** (moon), **kunimi** or **kunim** (victory), **anunyam** or **anunyam** (glory), and **kenami** or **kenam** respectively. The back rounded mid-low vowel,



/ɔ/ in the Akan word **ɔsrɛm** (moon) was substituted with the back rounded high-mid vowel, /o/.

It must be noted that in the Ewe word **fofoŋ**, the velar nasal /ŋ/ do not occur at the coda position of a syllable in Dangme. It is in this direction that Kpodo (2015) asserts that sounds or sound combinations that violate one constituent of a syllable (say onset) in one language can appear at another constituent of a syllable (say coda) of that same language. Even though the velar nasal /ŋ/ can be found at the onset of a syllable in Dangme, it cannot occur at the coda position of a syllable in the language and as such needs to be altered. In order to repair this violation of the velar nasal /ŋ/ at the coda position of the word, native speakers of Dangme added the high back round tense vowel, /u/ after the velar nasal, /ŋ/ for the word to conform to the Dangme phonotactics.

#### **4.1.1.2 Segment deletion processes**

##### **4.1.1.2.1 Deletion of segments from the interior or non-final position of the lexical borrowings in Dangme (syncope)**

Syncope is the process of deleting a segment from a non-final position of a word (Kpodo, 2015:136). This type of borrowings is referred to Winford in his processes and products framework as *pure loanwords*. This is because such borrowings also consist of total morphemic importation of single or compound words with phonological modifications. An example is the Akan word **nkonim** [ŋ.kɔ.nim]. The word is borrowed into Dangme as **kunim** or **kunimi** by deleting the initial velar nasal /ŋ/ in the /ŋk/ cluster. This has occurred for two main reasons. First, Dangme does not permit this cluster of consonants in syllables and words. Second, Dangme does not permit a consonant to be at the nucleus of a syllable to function as a syllable on its own as the Akan language does.

These reasons therefore compels native speakers of Dangme to delete the initial syllabic consonant /ŋ/ of the Akan word **nkɔnim** [ŋ.kɔ.nim], functioning as a syllable in Akan. The word is borrowed to Dangme as **kunim/kunimi**.

Furthermore, the word **ŋkɔmmɔ** (conversation) in Akan is borrowed into Dangme as **kɔmɔ** deleting the velar nasal, /ŋ/ at the beginning of the word. This is because the velar nasal, /ŋ/ which is functioning as the nucleus of the first syllable do not function as a nucleus in Dangme syllable and also the /ŋk/ cluster in the beginning of the Akan word does not exist in Dangme. As a result, Dangme natives delete the velar nasal, /ŋ/ for the word to conform to the Dangme phonotactics. The word is borrowed to Dangme as **kɔmɔ**. In Dangme, the word **kɔmɔ** is used to refer to *mourn/grieve/sorrow*. However, speakers of Dangme especially the Krobo natives also use the term to refer to *conversation or discussion* as it is used by the Akan natives. **Nkɔmmɔ** [ŋkɔmɔ] in Akan means *conversation or discussion*. as in **Kofi redi nkɔmmɔ** meaning, *Kofi is conversing or discussing something*. The Dangme people will also say **Kofi nge kɔmɔ yee** to mean the same thing that is, *Kofi is conversing or discussing something*. This kind of borrowing is classified by Winford (2003:45) as *extension or semantic loan*. According to him semantic loans or extensions consist of a shift in the semantics of native words under the influence from a foreign word. He adds that in semantic loans or extensions, there are both phonological and partial semantic resemblances. It can be seen that there is an extension in the meaning of the native word **kɔmɔ** (mourn/grieve/sorrow) as a result of the influence of the Akan word **nkɔmmɔ** (conversation/discussion) for the Dangme word to also mean *conversation or discussion*. In other words, **kɔmɔ** in Dangme already exist

only that its native meaning is extended to include another meaning from Akan due to the influence of the meaning or translation of the Akan word, **nkɔmmɔ**.

In addition to the above, the Akan words **mpopaho** and **kurowaa/akuraa** used to refer to *towel* and *village* respectively have also gone through this process of deletion from non-final position of words in the course of borrowing them to Dangme. These are also pure loanwords in Winford's (2003) processes and products framework. The process of *cleaning one's self* is termed in Akan as *popa wo ho*. The people of Akan modified this concept as **mpopaho** to refer to *towel*, the instrument which is used to clean the body. The word is a combination of the morphemes **m-** (nominalizing prefix), **popa** (clean) and **ho** (body/self). Dangme natives also borrowed the Akan **mpopaho** and modified it as **papahu** and **papami** (depending on where the borrower is coming from) to refer to *towel*. The bilabial nasal /m/ in the Akan word is deleted because the /mp/ cluster at the beginning of the word does not exist in Dangme hence the need for its nativization by the Dangme speakers. Again, the Akan nominalizing prefix, **m-** is not morphemic in Dangme hence the need for its deletion to maintain well-formedness in Dangme. This type of borrowing is a pure loanword because it is a total morphemic importation of a compound word with phonological adaptation just as Winford (2003) explained.

Another example of pure loanword is the Akan word **kurowa** (village) borrowed to Dangme as **aklowa** (towel). The Akan word **kurowa** (village) is made up of the root morpheme **kuro (w)**, meaning *town* in Akan and the Akan diminutive marker/suffix **-wa** (see Dolphyne, 1988:85). The diminutive marker, **-wa** has been compounded to **kuro** (town) to diminutize (lower the status of) *town (kuro)* to *village (kurowa/akuraa)*. Dangme also borrowed this as **aklowa**, deleting the /u/ in the Akan word before other

syllable structure processes took place. It is a borrowed word from Akan because in Dangme, the word used to refer to *town* is **ma** and the diminutive markers in Dangme are **-yo** and **-bi**. However, village is not termed in Dangme as **\*mayo\*** or **\*mabi\*** but rather **aklowa** from the Akan **kurowa/akuraa**, **kɔpe** from the Ewe **kɔfe**, or **ngmɔ si/yo nɔ**, native words which are currently becoming obsolete leading to their extinction among the Dangme people. Some other examples of this type of adaptation process are in Table (8) below.

**Table 8** Deletion of segments at non-final position in the lexical borrowings in Dangme (Syncope)

Source word	Glossing	Source Language	Borrowed As
[ŋ.ka.tiɛ]	groundnut	Akan	[akate] / [katiɛ]
[ɲ.tɛɛn.sɪ:]	eating bowl	Akan	[tʃesi]
[ŋ.kɔ.mɔ]	conversation	Akan	[kɔmɔ]
[ŋ.kɔ.nim]	victory	Akan	[kunim] / [kunimi]
[kɔŋ.kɔn.sa]	gossip	Akan	[kɔkɔsa]
[ɲtɛɛmɛm]	Fried fish	Akan	[kenam] / [kenami]
[a.pa.pran.sa]	a type of delicacy	Akan	[abablasa] / [apaprasa]
[kɛn.tɛn]	basket	Akan	[ketɛ]
[krɔŋ.krɔn]	holy	Akan	[klɔuklɔu]
[saŋ.ku]	a type of musical instrument	Akan	[saku]
[ba.ji.rɛ]	a variety of yam	Akan	[ba:le]
[æ.ni.mu.o.ɲam]	glory	Akan	[anɲam] / [anɲami]
[pɛsɛmɲkɔmɲɔ]	self-centeredness	Akan	[pɛsɛkumɲɔ]

In Table (8) above, it has been established that the Akan words borrowed to Dangme have been adapted by deleting either a beginning segment, a middle segment or both and even syllables in the course of borrowing them into Dangme. It is seen that the Akan words with the CC cluster which violate the Dangme phonotactics have all gone through nativization. These words include [**ŋ.ka.ti.ɛ**] (groundnut), [**ɲ.tɛɛn.sɪ:**] (eating bowl), [**ŋ.kɔ.mɔ**] (conversation), [**ŋ.kɔ.nim**] (victory) [**ɲtɛɛmɛm**] (fried fish) and others. Dangme therefore borrowed the above Akan words as **akate/katiɛ**, **tɛsi**, **kɔmɔ**, **kunim**

and **kenam** to refer to *groundnut, eating bowl, conversation, victory* and *fried fish* respectively as they mean in Akan.

With the Akan words that have the consonant clusters, which violate Dangme phonotactics as in the words [**kɛŋ.kɛŋ.sa**] (victory), [**a.pa.pran.sa**] (a type of pap food), [**kɛn.tɛn**] (basket), [**kron.kron**] (holy), [**ɲ.tɛn.sɪ:**] (eating bowl) and [**saŋ.ku**] (a musical instrument) in word medial position, it is discovered that the first consonant in the cluster which also happen to be at the coda position of one of the syllables in the word is always deleted to repair the violation of the CC cluster. This is because these consonants do not occur at the coda position of syllables in Dangme. In the above examples, it is seen that the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ in the first and the second syllables of the word [**kɛŋ.kɛŋ.sa**] (victory) were deleted. Again, the alveolar nasal /n/ in the third syllable of the word [**a.pa.pran.sa**] (a type of pap food) is also deleted. Further, the alveolar nasal /n/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the syllables of the words [**kɛn.tɛn**] (basket), [**kron.kron**] (holy), and [**saŋ.ku**] (a musical instrument) were deleted. These words demonstrate that the first consonants in the consonant clusters of the Akan words have all been deleted.

In deleting the consonants /ŋ/, and /n/ in the Akan words, it was established that those consonants happen to be a syllable on their own in Akan. However, Dangme does not permit syllabic consonant to function as the nucleus of a syllable as the Akan language does. As a result, native speakers of Dangme delete these syllabic consonants functioning as syllables of the Akan words to repair the violation of the CC cluster in the words. Secondly, at the word level, those cluster of consonants not exist in Dangme

hence the need to delete one for the word to conform to the Dangme syllable structure or phonotactics.

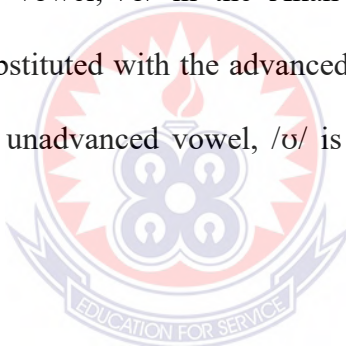
The final reason for deleting the nasal consonants instead of the oral consonants in those clusters is as a result of the strength of the sounds. In terms of strength, nasal consonants are weaker than oral consonants. It must also be noted that among the oral consonants, the plosives are the strongest. For this reason, the nasal consonants, /ŋ/ **and** /n/ which precedes the plosives, /k/ and /t/ in the clusters /ŋk/ and /nt/ in the words [ŋ.ka.tiɛ] (groundnut), [ŋkɔmɔ] (conversation), [ŋkɔnim] (victory), [kɔŋkɔnsa] (gossip), [kɛnten] (basket), [krɔŋkrɔn] (holy), [saŋku] (a musical instrument) and [pɛsemŋkɔmɪna] (self-centeredness) are always deleted. Again, because fricatives and affricates are also stronger than nasal consonants, the nasal consonants in the clusters /ns/ and /ntɛ/ are also deleted. Examples can be seen in the words [kɔŋkɔnsa] (gossip), [apapransa] (a type of pap food) and [ntɛɛnsɪ:] (eating bowl).

In the Akan words **bayerɛ** [bajɪɛ] (yam) and **animuonyam** [æ.ni.mu.o.pam] (glory), the second syllable [jɪ] in the word **bayerɛ** [bajɪɛ] and the third and fourth syllables [mu.o] in **animuonyam** [æ.ni.mu.o.pam] were deleted before other processes have taken place. Again, in **animuonyam** [ænimuopam], because Dangme does not prefer vowel harmony, the [+ATR] harmony vowel /æ/ in the word has been substituted with /a/ which is permitted in Dangme before deleting the syllables [mu.o]. Dangme borrowed the Akan word [ænimuopam] (glory) as **anunyami** [anupami] or **anunyam** [anupam] to mean *glory*.

In the Ewe words **favievuto** (owl) and **dzamatre** (watermelon) it emerged that the second and third syllables [vi.e] in **favievuto** were deleted and the voiceless labio-dental

fricative /f/ was also substituted with the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ in its adaptation in Dangme. Dangme borrowed **favievuto** (owl) as **vavioto** (owl). With **dzamatre** (watermelon), the first syllable [dza] and the bilabial nasal /m/ in the second syllable were deleted. Dangme therefore borrowed **dzamatre** as **atlɛ** (watermelon).

Apart from deletion of segments from non-final position in the words in the table above, there are also evidence of segment substitution of these same words. Example, /tɛ/ and /i/ in [ɲtɛnsɪ:], were substituted with /f/ and /i/. This is because these sounds are not part of the Dangme sound inventory. The Akan word [ɲtɛnsɪ:] is borrowed into Dangme as [ɲfesi] to mean the same entity, *eating bowl*. Again, the high back rounded unadvanced vowel, /ʊ/ in the Akan word, [ɲkɔnim] (victory) and [kronkron] (holy) were substituted with the advanced counterpart, /u/. This is mainly because the back rounded unadvanced vowel, /ʊ/ is not part of the Dangme vowel phonemes.



#### 4.1.1.2.2 *Deletion of segments at the final position of the lexical borrowings in Dangme (apocope)*

Another adaptation process that also occurs in the course of borrowing from other languages to Dangme is apocope<sup>21</sup>. These types of lexical borrowings is also classified in Winford's (2003) processes and products framework as *pure loanwords*. They consist of total morphemic importation of single words only that they underwent phonological modifications to suit the Dangme phonotactics. Some Akan words borrowed to Dangme with this adaptation process are **dadesɛn** (cauldron), **frɔɛɛ** [flɔɛɛ] (stew), **atadeɛ** [atadiɛ] (dress), **adansiɛ** (witness) and **opuro** (squirrel). The alveolar nasal /n/ in the final syllable

<sup>21</sup> Apocope is a syllable structure process whereby a segment is deleted from the final position of a word (see Kpodo, 2015:136).

of the word **dadeseɛn** (cauldron) has been deleted because the alveolar nasal, /n/ does not occur at the coda position of a syllable in Dangme. In **frɔɛɛ [flɔɛɛ]** (stew), the vowel sequence /ɔɛ/ does not conform to the Dangme phonotactics and so, native speakers of Dangme in the course of borrowing the word deleted the /ɛ/ sequence and lengthened the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ:/ in the remaining word. Dangme borrowed the Akan word **frɔɛɛ [flɔɛɛ]** into Dangme as **flɔɔ [flɔ:]**. Again, the vowel sequence /ɛ/ in the Akan words **atadeɛ [atadɛɛ]** (dress) and **adansiɛ [a.dan.sɪ.ɛ]** (witness), is substituted with /e/. These words are borrowed into Dangme as **[tade]** (dress) and **[odase]** (witness). The /n/ alveolar nasal in the word has also been deleted because it does not occur at coda position in Dangme words.

With the Akan word **opuro** (squirrel), it was realized that in Dangme, vowels hardly occur between any of the consonant phonemes forming C1 and the voiced alveolar lateral approximant<sup>22</sup> /l/ forming C2 in a word, with the exception of a compound of a verb and the singular or plural suffixes denoting person, **-ɔ** or **-li** respectively to form verbal nouns in Dangme. Examples, **do+-ɔ** (dance+-er) to form **dɔɔ**, *dancer* and **si+-ɔ** (fry+-er) forming **sɔɔ**, *fryer*. Again, there are few words apart from verbal nouns with this form, where a vowel occurs between a CC clusters in Dangme. That is the scenario where a vowel comes between any of the Dangme consonant phonemes except /l/ occupying C1 and /l/ occupying C2 in a word. The native words apart from the verbal nouns with this scenario also include **ayilɔ**, **hale**, **hale**, **hɛlii**, **hɔle**, **hule**, **kale**, **kalee**, **kpale**, **kpaloko**, **toli**, **vɔlu** and **yuluduu** (see <sup>23</sup>Ablorh–Odjidja *et al*, 1990).

<sup>22</sup> The voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/, is the only consonant phoneme that can occur at the second slot (C<sub>2</sub>) of a CC consonant cluster within a syllable or a word in Dangme.

<sup>23</sup> Ablorh–Odjidja *et al* (1990) contains about 3924 basic word list and phrases of Dangme.



For this reason, in the Akan word **opuro** (squirrel), the /r/<sup>24</sup> was substituted with /l/ and the high back rounded vowel, /u/ has also been deleted to form a CC cluster of /pl/ which is permitted in Dangme before adding the /eu/ vowel sequence. The Akan word **Opuro**, was borrowed into Dangme as **opleu** (squirrel). The findings demonstrate that the Akan words that contain any of the Akan vowels between an Akan consonant phoneme at C1 and, /r/ forming C2 are always adapted by deleting the vowel between the consonants and substituting /r/ with /l/. Other examples of lexical borrowings from Akan to Dangme with this scenario are “beduru” (turkey berries) borrowed as “abɛdlu” (turkey berries), “kurowa” (vilage) as “aklowa” (vilage), “kaakyire” (address term for last born child) as “kɛetsle” (address term for last born child) and ayeforɔ (address term for bride) as ayɛflo (address term for bride). Some Akan words with the form explained above are borrowed into Dangme without the CC cluster but rather an insertion of an additional vowel to form a vowel sequence between the two consonants. Examples, “bayere” (yam) as “baale” (a type of yam) and “nokore” (truth) as “anokuale” (truth).

It was identified that because vowel harmony is not phonemic (does not exist) in Dangme, in the course of borrowing words from Akan into Dangme that contain vowel harmony, such vowels are either deleted or substituted to conform to Dangme phonotactics. This type of adaptation is peculiar to some borrowed items from Akan into Dangme. They include **abofuo** [æbofuo] (anger), **adefodeɛ** [adɪfodɪɛ] (self-centeredness) and **agyapadeɛ** [ædzapadɪɛ] (inheritance). Dangme borrowed these words as **abofu** (anger), **adufude** (self-centeredness) and **japade** (inheritance) respectively to mean the same *concepts*, *anger*, *self-centeredness* and *inheritance*. In the course of

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<sup>24</sup> The /r/ sound is always substituted with /l/ since /r/ is an accidental gap in Dangme.

borrowing the words native speakers of Dangme modified some of the vowels in the Akan words since some of the sounds do not exist in Dangme.

#### 4.1.1.3 *Substitution of segments*

Finally, in the course of borrowing lexical items from other languages to Dangme, native speakers of Dangme also make adjustments by substituting certain segments that does not exist in the Dangme language with a native sound that is acoustically closer to the one in the source language. This type of borrowings also consists of total morphemic importation of single or compound words with phonological adaptations. Winford (2003:45) referred to the above process as *pure loanwords*. Examples include **kpakpaxɛ** (duck) from Ewe and **phone** [foun] from English. These words are borrowed into Dangme as **kpakpahe** (duck) and **fom** (phone) respectively. According to Aziaku (2016:139), the Ewe word **kpakpaxɛ** (duck) is a compound that is composed of **kpakpa**, which is the *onomatopoeic sound* that the bird makes and **xɛ**, which is the name for *bird* in Ewe. According to him the bird (duck) is so named in reference to its call. These two morphemes have been put together to form the Ewe word **kpakpaxɛ**. The Dangme people also borrowed the word with the same compound only that the voiceless velar fricative /x/ has been substituted with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. This is because the voiceless velar fricative /x/ does not exist in Dangme hence the need to nativize the word by substituting /x/ with a native sound /h/.

In addition, the Ewe word **agɔteku** used to refer to *part of a young plant of date palm* (usually cooked and eaten) is borrowed into Dangme by the Ada speakers as **agɔteku**. This word is also a combination of morphemes in Ewe. They are **agɔ** (date palm), **te** (yam) and **ku** (fruit). The Ewe people compounded these morphemes to refer to

the entity **agɔteku** to mean that it is *a type of yam from the agɔ plant*. The Dangme people mainly the Ada natives borrowed it as **agɔteku** to refer to the same item. This type of borrowings is also a pure loanword because it consists of total morphemic importation of compound words from Ewe with phonological adaptations.

Some other Ewe words with this form are **muɖɔ** (mosquito net) and **agɔmetaku** (ginger). In Ewe, **mu** means *mosquito* and **ɖɔ** also means *net*. These two concepts have been compounded to form **muɖɔ**. It must be noted that most Ewe natives refer to *mosquito net* as **mudɔ**, modifying the voiced retroflex plosive /ɖ/ in **ɖɔ** (net) with voiced alveolar plosive /d/. Dangme also borrowed the word **muɖɔ** by substituting the voiced retroflex plosive /ɖ/ with the voiced alveolar plosive /d/. Dangme therefore borrowed **muɖɔ** as **mudɔ**. Due to these explanations, one can conclude that the word is borrowed from Ewe. This is because *mosquito* is referred to in Dangme as **pwɔmi**, [pɔmi] or [pumi] whilst *net* is also referred to in Dangme as **ya**. However, *mosquito net* is referred to in Dangme as **mudɔ** and not **\*pwɔmi ya\*** as the two entities are known separately in Dangme.

An example from Ga is **eko egbee mi** compounded as **ekoegbeemi** (a type of porridge made from maize). This word is borrowed to Dangme as **ekuegbem (i)**. The word is a string of Ga morphemes compounded with phonological modification in Dangme. The vowel sequence /oe/ in the Ga word **ekoegbeemi** is modified in the course of borrowing it to Dangme as **ekuegbem (i)**. This is because in Dangme, words with the vowel sequence /oe/ where the vowel /e/ in the sequence of the word is *not functioning as the progressive morpheme/suffix [-e]* always changes to the sequence /ue/ in fast speech. For instance, in Dangme, the words **Ofoe** (personal name), **okpoe** (rat) and

**dodoe** (star) are pronounced as **Ofue**, **okpue** and **dodue** respectively. For this reason, native speakers of Dangme in the course of borrowing the Ga word **ekoegbeemi**, made adjustment by modifying the /oe/ sequence in the Ga word as /ue/ and borrowed the Ga word as **ekuegbeem (i)**.

Again, because Dangme only permits the bilabial nasal /m/ at the coda position of a syllable in a Dangme word, the alveolar nasal /n/ in the English word [foun] has been substituted with the bilabial nasal /m/ for the borrowed word to become [fom] to avoid the violation of that constraint in Dangme. Other examples are in Tables (9) and (10) below.

**Table 9 Substitution of segments from Ewe borrowings to Dangme**

Source word	Glossing	Borrowed As
Tedzi [tedzi]	donkey	teji [tedʒi]
dzogbe [dzogbe]	destiny/good omen	jogbe [dʒogbe]
dzogbevue [dzogbevue]	misfortune	jogbevue [dʒogbevue]
huadzi [huadzi]	oven for smoking fish	huaji [huadʒi]
muɖɔ [muɖɔ]	mosquito net	mudɔ [mudɔ]
atrakpui [atrakpui]	ladder	atlakpe [atlakpe]
dzamatre [dzamatre]	water melon	atle [atle]
anyikli [anikli]	custard apple	anyekli [anekli]
kɔfe [kɔfe]	village	kɔpe [kɔpe]
aguto [aguto]	bat	avuto [avuto]
kpakpaxe [kpakpaxe]	duck	kpakpahe [kpakpahe]

In table (9) above, it has been demonstrated that some of the sounds in the Ewe words which are accidental gaps in Dangme have been substituted with other sounds in Dangme which are acoustically closer to the Ewe sounds. The sounds /dz/, /dʒ/, /r/, /f/, /v/ and /x/ in the Ewe words [tedzi], [dzogbe], [dzogbevue], [huadzi], [muɖɔ], [atrakpui], and [dzamatre] do not exist in Dangme and as such the Dangme people substituted them with /dʒ/, /d/, /l/, /p/ /v/ and /h/ in the course of borrowing the words. It can also be seen that the place and manner of articulation of the Ewe sounds /dz/, /dʒ/, /r/, /f/, /v/ and /x/

even though differ, are closer to the substituted Dangme sounds /dʒ/, /d/, /l/, /p/ /v/ and /h/. However, the phonation type (voicing) of the Ewe sounds are the same as the substituted ones. Dangme borrowed the above Ewe words into its lexicon as [tedʒi], [jɔgbɛ], [jɔgbɛvuɛ], [huadʒi], [mudɔ], [atlakpe] and [atlɛ] respectively. Other sounds have also been substituted in the course of borrowing some words from Ewe to Dangme not because they do not exist in Dangme but because the Dangme people prefer to substitute them. Examples of these Ewe words include the Ewe words [agutɔ] and [apɪkli]. They were borrowed into Dangme as [avutɔ] and [apɛkli] not because /g/ and /i/ in the Ewe words [agutɔ] and [apɪkli] respectively do not exist in Dangme.

**Table 10 Substitution of segments from Akan borrowings to Dangme**

Source word	Glossing	Borrowed As
nkyenam [ntɛnam]	Fried fish	kenam [kenam]
ɔkyeame [ɔtɛram]	Spokesperson	otsiame [otʃiame]
kaakyire [kæ:teire]	Address term for last born	keetsle [kɛ:ʃle]
apɔnkye [apɔntɛ]	Goat	apletsɪ [apletʃi]
nkyɛnsɛ [ntɛnsɪ:]	Eating bowl	tseɪ [tʃɛsi]
dwene [dzʷɪni]	Think	jue [dʒuɛ]
adwaman [ædzʷaman]	Fornication	ajuama [adʒuama]
dwane toa [dzʷani toa]	A kind of plea	juani tua [dʒuani tua]
agyapadeɛ [ædzapadɛ]	Inheritance	japade [dʒapade]
abofuo [æbɔfuɔ]	Anger	abofu [abofu]
akuafɔ [ækʷiafɔ]	Farmers	akuafɔ [akuafɔ]
animuonyam [ænimuɔnam]	Glory	anunyam [anunam]
daabi [dæ:bi]	No	dabi [dabi]
ayɛforɔ [ajɪforɔ]	Address term for bride	ayɛflo [ajɛflo]
kaprɛ [kaprɛ]	A penny	kaplɛ [kaplɛ]
abɛrewa [abɪrewa]	Old lady	ablewa [ablewa]
kafra [kafra]	Sorry	kafla [kafla]
ɔsram [ɔsram]	Moon	oslam or oslami [oslam]
nokɔrɛ [nɔkɔrɛ]	Truth	anɔkuale [anɔkuale]
appapransa [apapransa]	A type of delicacy	abablasa [abablasa]
frɔɛ [frɔɛ]	Stew	flɔɔ [flɔ:]
ahwehwe [æwɪɛwɛ]	Mirror	ahuhue [ahuhue]
monaaa [mɔna:]	Rape	abonua [abonua]
mpopaho [mpopahɔ]	Towel	papami or papahu [papami]
ahenemma [ahinima]	Native sandals	ohihima [ohinima]

In Table (10) above, the voiceless pre-palatal affricate /tɕ/, the voiced pre-palatal affricate /dz/, the voiced pre-palatal labialized affricate /dzʷ/, the voiceless pre-palatal labialized fricative /ɕʷ/ and the voiced alveolar glide /r/ do not exist in Dangme. As a result of this, in the course of borrowing the Akan words which contain these sounds, the Dangme people substituted them with native sounds which are acoustically closer to the Akan sounds. The Akan sounds /tɕ/, /dz/, /dzʷ/, /ɕʷ/ and /r/ have been replaced with the Dangme voiceless palatal affricate /tʃ/, voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/, voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and the voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ in the borrowed words respectively.

The Akan words borrowed this way are **ɔkyeame** [ɔtɕiamɪ] (spokesperson), **kaakyire** [kæ:tɕire] (address term for last born), **apɔnkye**, [apɔntɕi] (goat), **nkyensee** [ntɕɛnsɪ:] (eating bowl), **dwene** [dzʷɪni] (think), **adwaman** [ædzʷaman] (fornication), **agyapadeɛ** [ædzapadɛ] (inheritance), **ahwehwɛ** [æwɪɕwɛ] (mirror), **ayeforɔ** [ayɪforɔ] (address term for bride), **kaprɛ** [kaprɛ] (a penny), **aberewa** [abirewa] (old lady), **kafra** [kafra] (sorry), **ɔsram** [ɔsram] (moon) and **frɔɛ** [frɔɛ] (stew). The above Akan words were borrowed into Dangme as **otsiamɛ** [otʃiamɛ] (spokesperson), **kɛɛtsile** [kɛ:tʃɪle] (address term for last born), **apletsɪ** [apletʃɪ] (goat), **tsesi** [tʃɛsi] (eating bowl), **juɛ** [dʒuɛ] (think), **ajuama** [adʒuama] (fornication), **japade** [dʒapade] (inheritance), **ahuhue** [ahuhue] (mirror), **ayɛflo** [ajɛflo] (address term for bride), **kaplɛ** [kaplɛ] (a penny), **ablewa** [ablewa] (old lady), **kafla** [kafla] (sorry), **oslam** or **oslami** [oslam] (moon), **anɔkuale** [anɔkuale] (truth) and **flɔɔ** [flɔ:] (stew) respectively.

It must be noted however, that in the Akan word **kyenam** [tɕɛnam] (fried fish), the Dangme people substituted the voiceless pre-palatal affricate /tɕ/ with the voiceless velar

stop /k/ and not the palato-alveolar affricate \*/tʃ/\*.

**Kyenam** [teɪnam] (fried fish), was into Dangme as [**kenam (i)**] (fried fish) and not \*/tʃenam/\*.

With the Akan word **appapransa** [apapransa] (a type of pap food), it is seen that it is not only the /r/ that has been substituted with /l/. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ in the word is also substituted with its counterpart, the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ before borrowing it into Dangme.

Dangme borrow **appapransa** [apapransa] (a type of pap food) as **abablasa** [abablasa] (a type of pap food). It must be noted that all the Akan words above borrowed into Dangme are pure loanwords because their processes consist of total morphemic importation of single or compound words and they also underwent phonological modification just as Winford (2003) explained.

Again, Dangme does not have vowel harmony as it is in Akan. Due to this, Akan words with either [+ATR] harmony or [-ATR] harmony vowels are substituted with the Dangme counterparts which are not in any form of harmony. The following Akan words which contain [-ATR] vowels were adapted to suit the Dangme phonotactics by substituting the [-ATR] vowels with the Dangme counterparts. The words are **ɔkyeame** [ɔteɪamɪ], **apɔnkye**, [apɔntɛɪ], **nkyɛnsee** [ntɛnsɪ:], **dwene** [dzʷɪnɪ] and **frɔɛ** [frɔɛ]. These words were borrowed into Dangme as **otsiamɛ** [otʃiamɛ], **apletsɪ** [apletʃɪ], **tsesi** [tʃesi], juɛ [dʒuɛ] and **flɔɔ** [flɔ:] respectively.

The Akan words with the [+ATR] vowels have also been adapted by substituting them with the Dangme vowels. Examples of these words with this adaptation process are **kaakyere** [kæ:teire], **adwaman** [ædzʷaman] and **daabi** [dæ:bi]. The above Akan words were borrowed into Dangme as **kɛtsle** [kɛ:tʃle], **ajuama** [adʒuama], and **dabi** [dabi]

respectively. It must be noted that the [+ATR] vowel /æ/ is either substituted or deleted in the course of borrowing into Dangme.

It must be noted that lengthening of vowels has also been identified in this study as another adaptation strategy in the course of borrowing lexical items into Dangme. These words are **adadee** [adade:] (cat) and **kusii** [kusi:] (basket) borrowed from the Ewe words **(a)dade** (cat) and **kusi** (basket) respectively.

Apart from the above adaptation processes discussed, sometimes, in the course of borrowing to Dangme, a morpheme or a stem of a word from the borrowing language is blended with an indigenous stem or word to refer to an entity in Dangme. Winford (2003) in his processes and products framework refer to it as loan blend specifically compound blend. According to Winford these compound blends consist of an imported stem and a native stem. An example is the word **blɛfo-ŋme** (pineapple) used by the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme. The word *pineapple* is termed in Dangme as **blɛfo ta**<sup>25</sup> whilst it is termed in Ga as **blɛfo-ŋme**<sup>26</sup>. It is seen that the Gbugblaa natives maintains the stem **blɛfo** (foreign) in Dangme and blended it with the Ga stem, **ŋme** (palm nut) as **blɛfongme** in Gbugblaa.

From the discussions on the phonological adaptations in the lexical borrowings in Dangme, it has been recognized that some of the borrowed words go through multiple adaptation processes before entering Dangme. I will use one word each from Ewe and Akan to explain this scenario. In Ewe, the word **fofoŋ** (sugarcane) has gone through a couple of adaptation processes in the course of borrowing it into Dangme. In this word, the Dangme people delete the first syllable [fo] from **fofoŋ** and the remaining becomes

<sup>25</sup> The individual morphemes or stems of **blɛfo ta** (pineapple) means *foreign* (blɛfo) and *palm tree* (ta) in Dangme respectively

<sup>26</sup> In Ga, blɛfongme is a combination of **blɛfo** (foreign) and **ŋme** (palm nut) to refer to *pineapple*.



**foŋ**. The segment /a/ was then added to the initial position of **foŋ** to form **afon**. The segment /o/ in **afon** was substituted with the segment /u/ to form **afuŋ**. Finally, the segment /u/ was added to the final position of **afuŋ** to form **afungu** [afuŋu] in Dangme.

One example from Akan is the word **nkyensee** [n.tɛɛn.sɪ:]. In borrowing this word into Dangme, the borrowers delete the palatal nasal /ɲ/ in the /ɲtɛ/ cluster of the word since /ɲ/ does not stand as a syllable on its own in Dangme as it is in Akan. Secondly, the voiceless pre-palatal affricate /tɛ/ which do not exist in Dangme was substituted with the voiceless palatal affricate /tʃ/. Thirdly, the alveolar nasal /n/ in the coda position of the second syllable in the Akan word was also deleted since it does not appear/occur at coda position of a syllable in Dangme. Fourthly, the [–ATR] vowel /ɪ/ in the Akan word was substituted with the Dangme /i/. This is because [–ATR] vowels and vowel harmony in general does not exist in Dangme. Finally, the lengthened vowel /ɪ:/ has been reduced to one /i/ in Dangme. The Dangme natives borrowed the Akan word **nkyensee** [n.tɛɛn.sɪ:] as **tsesi** [tʃesi].

#### ***4.1.2 Phonological Violations of Lexical Borrowings in Dangme***

These phonological violations take two forms. First, certain sounds that are either not part of the Dangme sound inventory or do not occur at one constituent of a syllable in Dangme and have been borrowed into Dangme from the source languages. Secondly, there are also sequences of sounds that violate the Dangme syllable structure but have also been borrowed from the source language into Dangme. The following sub-sections treat these situations in Dangme.

#### 4.1.2.1 *Sounds that are not part of Dangme sound inventory and those that do not occur at one constituent of a syllable in Dangme*

Certain sounds in the lexical borrowings in Dangme are either not part of the Dangme sound inventory or do not occur at one constituent of a syllable in Dangme. In the course of borrowing lexical items into Dangme, certain sounds that do not exist in Dangme are borrowed into the language. This is because the borrowers borrowed the words into Dangme when they were either bilingual in both Dangme and the source language or the borrowers who were monolingual speakers of Dangme at the time of borrowing the words borrow them as a result of been wanting to be seen among the elite speakers of the source language. That is, borrowing as a result of prestige attached to the source language (s).

Examples are the Akan voiceless pre-palatal labialized fricative /ɛʷ/ and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ from Ga and English. Dangme borrowed the Akan word for *mirror*, **ahwehwɛ** as **ahihwiɛ** or **ahuhue**. The Ada people who share borders with Ewe borrowed the Akan word **ahwehwɛ** [aɛʷiɛʷɛ] into the Ada dialect of Dangme as **ahuhue** which suits the Dangme phonotactics. However, the people of the two Krobo dialects of Dangme whose closest neighbours are the Akan natives borrowed the Akan word **ahwehwɛ** [aɛʷiɛʷɛ] as **ahihwiɛ** [ahieʷiɛ] with the voiceless pre-palatal labialized fricative /ɛʷ/ in Akan which is not part of the Dangme sound inventory entering Dangme.

With the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ borrowed from Ga and English into Dangme, the borrowers are both bilingual speakers and some monolingual speakers whom out of prestige attached to English, want to be seen as elite speakers of English. Examples of Ga words borrowed by the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme include **oshila** (accident/disaster), **shishi** (cheat or under), **shi** (left or pound or fried), **shushuma**

(spirit), **shinya** (door), **shida** (thanksgiving), and **shika** (money). It must be noted that in pure Dangme, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in the above words are represented by the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. And so, apart from the Gbugblaa people, the other dialect speakers of Dangme refer to the above words as **oslaa**, **sisi**, **si**, **susuma**, **sinya**, **sina** and **sika** respectively to refer to the same entities.

Some of the English words borrowed into Dangme with the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, /ʃ/ are **pɔlish** [pɔlif], **brash** [braʃ], **steshi** [stɛʃi], and **mashii** [maʃi:] from the English words *polish*, *brush*, *station* and *machine* respectively. The English voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ is also borrowed into Dangme in the word **tep mɛʒa** (tape measure), a tool used by *tailors* and *seamstresses* (*fashion designers*).

#### 4.1.2.2 Consonant clusters that violate the Dangme syllable structure

The CC sequence of consonants in Dangme can only take two forms. First, is the situation where the first slot, C1 of a CC sequence of an onset of a *syllable* is occupied by all the Dangme consonant phonemes except /l/ and the second slot, C2 of the onset of that *syllable* is only occupied by /l/. Examples, [nla] (dream), [gbla] (pulled). The second scenario is a CC patterning in Dangme *words* where the first slot is occupied by only the bilabial nasal /m/ normally ending a *syllable* and the second slot is occupied by any of the Dangme consonant phonemes except /m/ normally beginning the next *syllable* in that same *word*. This second situation only occurs in *word medial position* of some *personal names*, *place names* and *ideophones* in Dangme. Examples include – personal names: Puplampu [pu.plam.pu], Adamte [a.dam.te], Adamki [a.dam.ki], Adamno [a.dam.no];

place name: **Prampram** /**pram.pram**/ and *idiophones*: **plamplam** [**plam.plam**], **kamkam** [**kam.kam**], and **tamtam** [**tam.tam**].

In the course of borrowing lexical items into Dangme however, certain patterning of consonants that violate the Dangme phonotactic constraints in the borrowing word entered Dangme without the borrowers modifying them to suit the Dangme syllable structure. This is because the borrowers borrowed the words into Dangme when they were either bilingual in both Dangme and the source language or those who were monolinguals out of prestige they attached to the source language borrowed the words as such. Most of the words borrowed this way are from English and some from Ga and Akan. Some of the English examples with CC patterning borrowed into Dangme are ‘[spana]’, ‘clamp’ [**klamp**], ‘[stia]’ from the English words *spanner*, *clamp* and *steering wheel*. Some Ga examples into the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme include **alonte** [a.lɔn.te] (cat), **akoklonto** [a.ko.klon.to] (tortoise), **kenkɛɛ** [kɛŋ.kɛɛ] (first) from the Ga words **alonte**, **akpokplonto**, and **klɛŋklɛŋ**. The indigenous words used to refer to these entities and concepts are **ati/anɔ**, **alu/kolue**, and **kekke** respectively. It must also be noted that the CCC<sup>27</sup> sequence in **kenkɛɛ** borrowed from Ga does not exist in Dangme. The Akan words with the CC cluster that violate this rule in Dangme are **kente** (a type of cloth) and **sanku** (a type of musical instrument). The /nt/ cluster in **kente** [kɛn.te] and /nk/ cluster in **sanku** [saŋ.ku] do not exist in Dangme. But the people borrowed the words as such which violate the Dangme phonotactics.

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<sup>27</sup> It is a combination of three consonant phonemes in either a syllable or a word of a particular language.

#### 4.1.3 *Morphological Adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme*

In the course of borrowing words into Dangme, some foreign morphemes are substituted with native ones maintaining some other morphemes of the borrowing language. Other foreign morphemes are also deleted in the course of borrowing since those morphemes are not morphemic in the receiving or borrowing language. An example is the Akan word **wodasobo** (a kind of scarf). **Wodasobo** is borrowed into Dangme as **odasobo** (a kind of scarf), substituting the Akan second person pronoun, **wo** with the Dangme second person subject pronoun, **o**. Winford (2003) classified this type of borrowings in his processes and products framework as *loan blends*, specifically *compound blends*. They consist of imported stems and native stem.

Again, certain words are borrowed imperfectly into Dangme in the sense that certain affixes in the borrowing language which are added to a free morpheme to inflect the free morpheme in a certain grammatical category are compounded as one morpheme in Dangme before adding the native affix to it to inflect the grammatical category. Example, in Akan, **æ-kua-fo** means *farm-er-s*. The singular word for *farmer* in Akan is **o-kua-fo** or **o-kua-ni** which is a combination of the root, **kua**, used to refer to *farming*, the singular nominalizing prefix, **o-** and the suffix denoting person **-fo** or **-ni**. In Dangme, the word **akuafɔ** means *farm* when someone is referring to another person as **akuafɔ no** meaning a *farmer*. The **-no** is the singular suffix denoting person in Dangme. The plural form is **akuafɔ li**. The **-li** marks the plural form in Dangme. This can be referred to in Winford's classification as *derivational blend*. Winford (2003:45) explains derivational blends as words consisting of imported stem and a native affix or a native stem and an imported affix. The word **akuafɔ no** (farmer) or **akuafɔ li** (farmers), brought together

both imported morphemes and native ones to refer to the entities *farmer* and *farmers* respectively.

Other examples of this type of borrowings include **ta bua si** from Akan **to wo bo ase** meaning to *exercise patience* and **o tli kwa** from Akan **wo tiri nkwa** which is a *kind of greeting when someone gets himself/herself out of trouble or when a woman gave birth to her child successfully*. In the Akan **to wo bo ase**, the Akan second person subject pronoun, **wo** in the word **to wo bo ase** has been deleted and the other morphemes have also been modified to form **ta bua si** to refer to *exercise patience* in Dangme.

With the Akan **wo tiri nkwa**, the Dangme natives substitute the second person subject pronoun in Akan, **wo** with the Dangme counterpart, **o**. Again, the high front unrounded vowel /i/ has been deleted and the alveolar glide /r/ in **tiri** has also been substituted with alveolar lateral approximant /l/. These happened because alveolar glide /r/ does not exist in Dangme and Dangme also hardly prefers vowels to occur between a CC cluster where C1 is any of the Dangme consonant phonemes except /l/ and C2 is also occupied by only /l/. For this reason, **tiri** in Akan is modified as **tli** in Dangme. Finally, the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the Akan word **nkwa** [ŋ.k<sup>w</sup>a] has been deleted since it does not occur in the nucleus of syllables in Dangme as it is in Akan. Dangme therefore borrowed **wo tiri nkwa** as **o tli kwa**.

It must be noted that **to wo bo ase** and **wo tiri nkwa** borrowed into Dangme as **ta bua si** and **o tli kwa** are expressions in Akan that have been lexicalized in Dangme to mean the same concepts in Dangme as they mean in Akan.

#### 4.1.4 *Semantic adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme*

Semantic adaptation can be *semantic broadening* which is the process whereby a borrowed word acquires or adopts another meaning (s) to the existing meaning of the word in the source language. Mberia (2015) defines this as the expansion of the meaning of a word in a language. If in a language a word means *a baby girl* but with time its meaning changes to mean *a baby*, the word will be said to have undergone semantic broadening (Mberia, 2015:105). There is also *semantic narrowing* which is the process whereby a word in the source language has different meanings but is borrowed to mean one thing or fewer things in the recipient language. Mberia (2015) explains it as the shrinking of the scope of meaning. If in a language there is a word that means *animal* and with time the meaning changes to *domestic animal*, the meaning of the word is said to have undergone semantic narrowing (Mberia, 2015:105). We may also have *semantic shift* which is a change in the meaning of a word in the source language by speakers of the recipient language. Here, the recipient language speakers use the word from the source language to mean a different thing in the receiving language. Mberia (2015) defines semantic shift as “the shift in meaning whereby a word that denoted a concept changes to denote a different concept especially in the same or related fields.”

In this study, a word from Ewe was identified to have gone through *semantic narrowing* in Dangme. This word is **akple** from the Ewe word, **akple**. The word **akple** in Ewe is a generic term for *pap food*. And so, if an Ewe does not want to mention the pap food with the *substance (s)* used in making it, s/he will refer to the food as **akple**. However, there are times when an Ewe person needs to specify the substance(s) in cooking the food and that is when the different meanings of **akple** is identified. Examples

of these different types of meanings in Ewe are **wɔkple** which is the **akple** made from only *corn flour* (corn flour **akple**). There is also **amɔkple**, which is either a mixture of *cassava dough* and *corn dough* only or *corn flour* and *cassava dough* mixed and left over for some days before preparing it. This type is also referred to by some Ewe natives as **bakabaka** or **bakebake**. However, the type of **akple** which is made up of a mixture of *corn flour* and *cassava dough* without leaving it for some days is known in Ewe as **wɔde(wɔ)me**. Another type is known as **ayikple**. This is a mixture of *corn flour* and *beans* only or a mixture of *corn flour*, *beans* and *coconut juice/milk*. The **akple** made from *millet flour* is known in Ewe as **efokple**. Another type is called **agbelimɔkple** which is the type of **akple** made from only *cassava dough*. There is also **kokontekple** which is the type of **akple** made from either the *cassava flour* only or *cassava flour* and *corn flour*.

Dangme borrowed the Ewe **akple** as **akplɛ** to only mean the *pap food* made from only *corn flour* known in Ewe as **wɔkple** or the *pap food* made from a *mixture of corn flour and cassava dough*, known in Ewe as **amɔkple**. The other types are not called with the other meanings in Ewe. This is because Dangme also have a generic term for all the *pap foods*. So, with the exception of the above types where **akplɛ** is used to refer to them, when a Dangme person wants to refer to a particular *pap food* with the substance from which it is prepared, the name of the substance and the generic term for the *pap food* in Dangme, **ku** is used. Example, **kokote ku** (*pap food* made from *cassava flour*), **ma ku/banku** (*pap food* made from *corn dough* and *cassava dough*), **agbeli ma ku** (*pap food* made from *cassava dough*). Others include **blɛfo ma ku** (*pap food* made from *corn dough*), **gali ku** (*pap food* made from *gari*), **yɔ ku** (*pap food* made from *cooked beans* and



corn flour), **kungmi** (pap food made from only roasted corn flour) and **kaawi ku** or **abablasa** (pap food made from roasted corn flour prepared in palm nut soup) among other. But the Dangme people still find it necessary to borrowed **akplɛ** from Ewe to only mean pap food made from *only corn flour*; and the pap food made from a *mixture of corn flour and cassava dough*.

#### **4.2 Linguistic Features in Lexical Borrowings resulting in a Mixture of Dangme and Ga Sounds and Morphemes**

The high intensity of language contact between native speakers of the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme and native speakers of Ga had led to not only borrowing lexical items from Ga into Gbugblaa. It was demonstrated from the study that the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme is now emerging as a mixed language comprising of Dangme and Ga linguistic materials. Even though Dangme and Ga are very close and similar languages, there are certain sounds in words, vocabularies and some phonological units of words that are marked and as such make Ga and Dangme distinct languages. According to Winford (2010), the process of incorporating content morphemes into a receiving language can be taken to an extreme, resulting in new languages that derive their morpho-syntactic frame from one language, and their lexicon from another. Even though Gbugblaa maintains the morpho-syntactic frame of Dangme, it has been established that there are some sounds of some words; phonological units of some words such as duration/length; and morphemes that have been derived from the Ga language.

Bakker (2003) as cited in Winford (2010) referred to this creations as intertwined languages or “Lexicon-Grammar mixed languages” whilst Muysken (1997) as cited in Winford (2010:183) also referred to this process as relexification. Muysken (1994:207)

explains that Media Lengua which is a mixture of Spanish and Quechua spoken natively by at least up to a thousand people in Central Ecuador has resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words in Spanish into the lexical entries in Quechua. According to Muysken (1994:207), Media Lengua is essentially Quechua with the vast majority of its stems replaced by Spanish. Table (11) below comprises of some morphophonemic irregularities which depict a mixture of Dangme and Ga linguistic items in Gbugblaa.

**Table (11) Information indicating that Gbugblaa is emerging as a mixed language comprising Dangme and Ga phonological and morphological units**

Dangme	Ga	Gbugblaa	Glossing
<i>A. Borrowed Words with Foreign Sounds</i>			
maa	baa	baa	will
sina	shida	shida	thanksgiving
na si	da shi	da shi	thanked
si nami	shi dami	shi dami	thanksgiving
si	shi	shi	fried
si	shi	shi	left
sisi	shishi	shishi	under/cheat
sinya	shinya	shinya	door
fielo	shielo	shilo	preacher
fiemi	shiemo	shiem	preaching
sika	shika	shika	money
osiki	oshiki	oshiki	election
sa	sha	sha	offer
<i>B. Lengthening of Vowels</i>			
Ejaka	Ejaake	Ejaka	Because
Numo/Nomo	Nuumo	Nuumo	Old man
Yomo	Yoomo	Yoomo	Old lady
<i>C. Replacement of Syllables/morphemes</i>			
Blefo ta	Blɔfo-ŋme	Blɛfo-ŋme	Pineapple
<i>D. Addition of Foreign Syllable to Native Words</i>			
Leje~	Je~me	Leje~me	There
<i>E. Replacement of words in phrases</i>			
I kpa mo pɛɛ (see also Tanihu, 2016)	O faa ne	O pɛɛ ne	I beg you/please
Lɔ ɔ he ɔ (see also Tanihu, 2016)	No he wɔ	No he ɔ	Because of this

***F. Substitution of words with its native meaning due to the influence of a foreign word which form is similar to the form of the meaning of the native one***

Nyɔ (see also Tanihu, 2016) ( <b>Pupɔ</b> in Dangme means <i>sucking of breast</i> )	<b>Fufɔ</b>	<b>Pupɔ</b>	Breast
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Ga and Dangme are similar languages. However, there are some segments, phonological units (phonological elements) and morphemes that are marked and as such make Ga and Dangme distinct languages. It however, it emerged from Table (11) that lexical items and structures of Gbugblaa are a mixture of Dangme and Ga phonological and morphological units confirming that the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme is now emerging as one of the mixed languages of the world as the case of Media Lengua. Gbugblaa is basically Dangme with some sounds, phonological units, and morphemes being relexified with Ga ones.

It was established from table (10) that the high degree of language contact which had led to a high degree of bilingualism of Dangme and Ga, and prestige attached to Ga by the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme brought about different forms of morphophonemic irregularities into Gbugblaa leading to a mixture of Dangme and Ga phonological and morphological units. It is clear from the Table (11) that the words used by the Gbugblaa resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words (and some Ga morphemes) in Ga into the lexical entries in Dangme.

In the first place, the data demonstrates that the Gbugblaa substituted certain Dangme sounds with Ga ones. Example, In Gbugblaa, /m/, /n/, /s/, /f/ and /ɛ/ in the Dangme words **maa**, **sina**, **na si**, **si nami**, **si**, **sisi**, **sinya**, **fielɔ**, **fiemi**, **sika**, **osiki**, **sa** and **nɛ** were substituted respectively with the Ga /b/, /d/, /j/ and /i/ in the words **baa**, **shida**, **da**

**shi**, **shi dami**, **shi**, **shishi**, **shinya**, **shielɔ**, **shiemi**, **shika**, **oshiki**, **sha** and **ni**. Again, syllables/morphemes in Dangme words were also replaced with Ga ones in the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme. A case in point is the word **blɛfo-ngme** used to refer to *pineapple* in Gbugblaa. It can be seen from the table that **ta** (palm tree) in the Dangme word **blɛfo ta** (pineapple) was replaced in Gbugblaa with the Ga, **ɲme** (palm nut) in the Ga word **blɛfo-ɲme** (pineapple) to form **blɛfo-ngme** in Gbugblaa.

Further, the study demonstrates that certain Ga syllables were attached to Dangme words to refer to entities in Gbugblaa. Example, **mɛ** in the second syllable of the Ga word **jɛmɛ** (there), is attached to the Dangme word **leje** (there) to form **lejɛmɛ** (there) in the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme. More so, Vowels in Dangme words are lengthened in Gbugblaa just as they are lengthened in Ga indicating the influence of Ga in Gbugblaa. An example is the word **ejaakaa** (because) used by the Gbugblaa speakers. In Dangme, the word for *because* is **ejakaa**. However, the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme lengthened the /a/→/a:/ in the second syllable of the Dangme word ‘**ejakaa**’ to form ‘**ejaakaa**’. This is as a result of the lengthening of the vowel /a/→/a:/ in the second syllable of the Ga word ‘**ejaake**’ (because).

Again, some words in Dangme phrases are replaced with Ga words to mean the same concepts in the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme. Example, in the structure **o pɛɛ nɛ** (I beg you or please) in Gbugblaa. It materialized from the example that **faa** (hat) in the Ga phrase **o faa nɛ** (I beg you or please) was substituted with the Dangme **pɛɛ** (hat), maintaining the Ga **o...nɛ** for the entire phrase to be changed to **o pɛɛ nɛ** used by the Gbugblaa people. It is clear that the Gbugblaa people substitute the Ga word for *hat*, **faa** with the Dangme word for *hat*, **pɛɛ** and maintained the other Ga words in the structure.

Another example is the phrase, **no he ɔ** (because of this) used by the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme. This is an integration of the Ga phrase, **no he wɔ** (because of this) and the Dangme phrase, **lɔ ɔ he ɔ** (because of this). The data attests that the Gbugblaa people substitute the Dangme **lɔ ɔ** with the Ga **no** and maintained the Dangme **he ɔ** to form **no he ɔ**, *because of this*.

Finally, Dangme words are substituted with their meanings in Gbugblaa due to the influence of Ga words which forms or physical manifestations are similar to the forms or physical manifestations of the meanings of the Dangme words. For instance, **nyɔ** means *breast* in Dangme. However, the Gbugblaa dialect speakers of Dangme refer to *breast* as **pupɔ**. The meaning of **pupɔ** in Dangme is *sucking of breast*. However, the Gbugblaa rather prefer to refer to *breast* as **pupɔ**. This happened as a result of the influence of **fufɔ**, *breast* in Ga which pronunciation is similar to **pupɔ**. All the above realizations and explanations attest to the fact that Gbugblaa is emerging as a mixture of Dangme and Ga linguistic materials. In other words it also substantiates that Gbugblaa is now leading to relexification and if drastic measures are not taken in the interim, majority (or all) of the Dangme words in Gbugblaa will be relexified by the Ga lexicon as time goes by or even shift from Dangme to Ga.

### 4.3 Summary

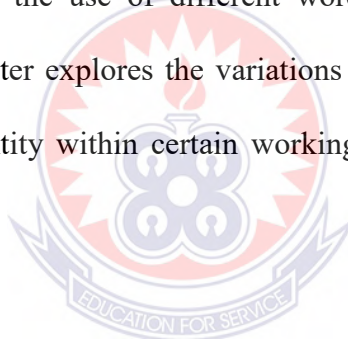
The chapter investigated the linguistic features of the lexical borrowings in Dangme. That is, the adaptation processes in the borrowings in Dangme. Deletions, insertions/additions and substitutions sounds were the phonological adaptation processes identified as the repair strategies the borrowers use in the course of nativization of the borrowed words. Still on phonology, it was established that some sounds in the lexical borrowings and some consonant clusters violate the pnonotactics of Dangme. With morphological adaptation, it was established that some morphemes in the source language are either substituted or deleted in the course of borrowing to Dangme. It was also established that semantic narrowing is the semantic adaptation process in the lexical borrowings in Dangme. The chapter finally discussed linguistic features in the lexical borrowings to Dangme that consist of some words used by the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme which resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words (and some Ga morphemes) in Ga into the lexical entries in Dangme.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DIALECTAL VARIATION IN THE USE OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN DANGME**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter investigates the dialectal variations of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The knowledge (awareness) and distribution (preference) of the lexical borrowings in Dangme were explained. Again, the competition between the borrowed words and the indigenous words were identified and explained. Labov (1966) as cited in Labov (1972) Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory was used to analyze and explain the dialectal variations in the use of different words to refer to same entities in Dangme. Finally, the chapter explores the variations in the use or choice of English words to refer to same entity within certain working domain among some selected respondents.



#### **5.1 Dialectal Variations in the Use of Lexical Borrowings in Dangme**

The geographical location of the speakers of the different ethnic groups of Dangme who speak different dialects of Dangme led to Dangme to be in language contact with speakers of the different languages closer to them. This also resulted in using different borrowed words and indigenous words to refer to particular entities in Dangme. In other words, the knowledge (awareness) and usage of these words differ among the Dangme people. Some of the words are widely used by all the respondents selected from the four dialects of Dangme whilst others are peculiar to some speakers from a particular dialect or ethnic group of Dangme. The sub sections below treat the knowledge and

distribution of lexical borrowings in Dangme from Ewe, Akan, Ga and English languages to Dangme. The variation in the use of English words within certain domains will be discussed. Again, competition between borrowed words and indigenous words will also be discussed in the chapter.

### 5.1.1 Knowledge and preference of Ewe words in Dangme

This sub-section explains the knowledge and preference of the Ewe words borrowed to Dangme to refer to entities and concepts using 80 respondents, 20 each from the four dialects. It must be noted that the numbers or figures for the respondents who prefer other words (either indigenous or borrowed words from other languages) for the entities were not represented in the tables below. However, the words and the number of respondents from each of the dialects who prefer those other words were noted and explained in the discussions. Again, the abbreviations AD, GB, YK and MK represent Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo respectively.

**Table 12 Food items**

Ewe	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total (%)
akple	akple	a type of delicacy	20	20	20	20	80 100
dzamatre	atle	water melon	20	20	-	-	40 50
agɔmetaku	agɔmetaku	ginger	20	-	-	-	20 25
agbitsa	agbitsa	garden eggs	20	-	-	-	20 25
atɔtɔ	atɔtɔ	pineapple	20	-	-	-	20 25
fofoŋ	afungu	sugarcane	20	-	-	-	20 25
anyikli	anyekli	custard apple	20	-	-	-	20 25
adiba	adiba	pawpaw	20	-	-	-	20 25
fɔyi	fɔyi	a type of blackberry	20	-	-	-	20 25

The distribution of Ewe words for *food items* is seen to be peculiar to the Ada dialect speakers of Dangme. This is because with the exception of the borrowed word



**akplɛ**, used by all the 80 (100%) respondents (20 each from the four dialects), the rest of the Ewe words borrowed into Dangme for the remaining food items are preferred by the Ada natives. It is seen from the table above that 20 (25%) respondents out of the 80 respondents from the Ada dialect prefer to use the words borrowed from Ewe that is, **afungu** (*sugarcane*), **agɔmɛtaku** (*ginger*), **atɔtɔ** (*pineapple*), **anyɛkli** (*custard apple*), **adiba** (*pawpaw*), and **agbitsa** (*garden egg*). The entity **atlɛ** (*watermelon*) is used by 40 (50%) respondents from Ada and Gbugblaa whilst the remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 from Yilo Krobo and 20 from Manya Krobo totaling 40 (50 %) prefer to use the English word **watamilo/wɔtamɛlɔn** for *watermelon*.

The word **agɔmɛtaku** (*ginger*) is also preferred by 20 (25%) respondents all from the Ada dialect whilst all the 20 (25%) respondents from the Gbugblaa dialect prefer to use the native word peculiar to them, **ingɛfɛɛle** for *ginger*. The remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 each from Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo also prefer the indigenous word peculiar to them, **ojahui** for *ginger*. The word **agbitsa** (*garden egg*) is also preferred by the 20 (25%) respondents selected from the Ada dialect whilst all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa also prefer the word for *garden egg* borrowed from Ga, **sɛbɛ** to refer to *garden egg*. The remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 each from Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo dialects also prefer the indigenous word, **ga** for *garden egg*. With the word **atɔtɔ**, it is seen that all 20 (25%) respondents from Ada use the word. All the 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa prefer to use the Dangme and Ga blended word, **blɛfongme** for *pineapple* whilst the remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 (25%) each from Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo prefer to use the native word **blɛfo ta** for *pineapple*.

The word **anyɛkli** (custard apple) borrowed from Ewe is also seen to be preferred by all the 20 (25%) respondents from Ada whilst the remaining 60 (75%) respondents, 20 each from Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo all prefer the indigenous word **habuɛ** for *custard apple*. The word **adiba** (pineapple) borrowed from Ewe is also preferred to all the 20 (25%) respondents from the Ada dialect whilst the remaining 60 respondents (75%), 20 each from Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo prefer the indigenous word **gɔ** for the entity, *pawpaw*. **Fɔyi** (a type of blackberry) is also used by all the 20 respondents from the Ada dialect whilst all the 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa prefer **punyu** to refer to the entity. The remaining 40 (50%), 20 (25%) each from Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo prefer **opunyu** for the entity.

**Table 13**      **Animal names**

Ewe	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
sɔ	osɔ	horse	20	8	-	-	28	35
kpakpaxe	kpakpahe	duck	20	-	-	-	20	25
agutɔ	avutɔ	bat	20	-	-	-	20	25
favievuto	vavioto	owl	20	-	-	-	20	25
ve	ve	monitor lizard	20	-	-	-	20	25
(a)dade	adadee	cat	12	-	-	-	12	15
akpɔkplɔ	akpɔkplɔ	frog	9	-	-	-	9	11.25

The distributions of animal names borrowed from Ewe to Dangme in Table (13) above also show that it is the respondents from the Ada dialect of Dangme that prefer to use those words. It can be seen that all the 20 respondents from Ada and 8 out of 20 respondents from Gbugblaa used **osɔ** for the entity *horse*. This indicates that out of the 80 (100%) respondents sampled for this aspect of the study, 28 (35%) of the respondents prefer to use **osɔ** for *horse*. The remaining 52 (65%) respondents, 12 (15%) from Gbugblaa, 20 (25%) from Manya Krobo and 20 (25%) from Yilo Krobo prefer to use the indigenous word **okpɔngɔ** for the entity *horse*.

The words **kpakpahe** (duck), **avuto** (bat), **vavioto** (owl), and **ve** (monitor lizard) are preferred by all the 20 Ada respondents representing 25% each for the entities. The remaining 60 (75%) respondents 20 each from Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo, and Manya Krobo used different words, either indigenous words or borrowed words from other languages to refer to these animals. With the entity *duck*, it is seen that all the 20 (25%) respondents from the Ada dialect prefer to use the word **kpakpahe** (duck) borrowed from Ewe, all the 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa refer to it as **dabodabo** (duck). With the 20 (25%) respondents selected from Manya Krobo, it came up that 16 (20%) of them use **dabodabo** whilst 4 (5%) also use **ɔ́kɔ́dɔ́kɔ́** for the entity *duck*. Again, 12 (15%) of the respondents sampled from Yilo Krobo use **dabodabo** whilst 8 (10%) of them use **ɔ́kɔ́dɔ́kɔ́** for the animal, *duck*.

**Avuto** (bat) is also preferred by the 20 (25%) respondents from Ada whilst all the 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa also prefer to use the word **apotompata** (bat) borrowed from Ga to refer to the same entity. The remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 (25%) each from Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo use the indigenous word **momo** (bat) for the entity. The word **vavioto** (owl) is also preferred by all the 20 (25%) respondents sampled from the Ada dialects whilst the remaining 60 (75%), 20 (25%) each from Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo also use the native word **klomi** for the entity *owl*. It is also realized that all the 20 (25%) respondents from the Ada dialect use **ve** for the *monitor lizard* whilst all the remaining 60 (75%) respondents, 20 (25%) each from Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo prefer to use **mampam** to refer to the entity, *monitor lizard* which is the same among the Akan people of Ghana.

In the case of **adadee** (cat), 12 (15%) out of the 20 (25%) respondents from the Ada dialect use the word. With the remaining 8 (12%) respondents from Ada, 7 (8.75%) prefer to use the indigenous word **anɔ** whilst 1 (1.25%) respondent also use the indigenous word **wedetɛ** for the entity. All the 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa prefer to use the borrowed word from Ga, **alɔnte** for *cat*. The remaining 20 (25%) respondents from Yilo Krobo and 20 (25%) respondents Manya Krobo totaling 40 (50%) prefer to use the native words **ati** to refer to *cat*. **Akpɔkplɔ** (frog) is used by 9 (11.25%) respondents from Ada. The remaining 11 (13.75%) respondents from Ada also prefer to use the native word peculiar to them, **kuɔwi**. The 20 (25%) respondents each from Gbugblaa, Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo dialects totaling 60 (75%) use the native word **ovɔnɔ** for frog/toad.

**Table 14 Other Entities**

Ewe	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
mudɔ	mudɔ	mosquito net	20	20	20	20	80	100
atsatsa	tsatsa	type of mat	20	20	20	20	80	100
atrakpui	atlakpe	ladder	20	-	-	-	20	25
tsi	mine tsi	wooden ladle	20	-	-	-	20	25
gatsi	gatsi	metal ladle	20	-	-	-	20	25

In table (14) above, it can be seen that the words **mudɔ** (mosquito net) and **tsatsa** (a type of mat) are preferred by all the 80 (100%) respondents from the four dialects. The words **atlakpe**, **mine tsi** and **gatsi** borrowed from the Ewe words **atrakpui**, **tsi** and **gatsi** are preferred by all the 20 (25%) respondents from Ada to refer to *ladder*, *wooden ladle* and *metal ladle* respectively. The 20 (25%) respondents from Gbugblaa preferred to use the word, **atsule** for *ladder* which is borrowed from the Akan word **atwere** for the same entity, *ladder*. They also prefer to use the native word **tɔtɔ** for both the *wooden ladle* and the *metal ladle*. The remaining 40 (50%) respondents, 20 each from Manya Krobo and

Yilo Krobo use native word **gba he tso** for *ladder*. They also use the native word **toto** for the *wooden ladle* and the *metal ladle*.

### 5.1.2 Knowledge and preference of Akan words in Dangme

In this sub-section, I explain the knowledge and preference of Akan words borrowed to Dangme to refer to entities or concepts using 80 respondents, 20 each from the four dialects.

**Table 15** Food items

Akan	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total (%)
nkyenam	kenam (i)	fried fish	20	20	20	20	80 100
apapransa	abablasa/paprasa	a type of delicacy	-	20	20	20	60 75
nkateɛ	akate/katiɛ	groundnut	-	20	20	20	60 75
(a)beduru	abɛdlu/ablɛdu	turkey berries	20	13	13	12	58 72.50
akutu	akutu	orange	20	20	-	-	40 50
bayerɛ	baale	a type of yam	-	-	20	20	40 50
koko	koko	porridge	4	3	8	6	21 26.25

The table above shows that **kenam** (fried fish) borrowed from the Akan word **nkyenam** (fried fish) is preferred by all the 80 (100%) respondents, 20 each from the four dialects. It is also seen that 60 (75%) out of the 80 respondents prefer to use **abablasa/paprasa** and **akate/katiɛ** borrowed from the Akan **apapransa** and **nkateɛ** respectively to refer to *a type of delicacy* and *groundnut*. All the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa prefer to use **paprasa** for the type of delicacy whilst 40 respondents, 20 each from Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo also prefer to use **abablasa** for the same entity. The 20 respondents from Ada prefer to use the indigenous word **kaawi ku** for the same entity. Again, all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa use **katiɛ** for *groundnut* whilst the entire 40 respondent from Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo use **akate** for the same entity. The 20 respondents from Ada on the other hand prefer the indigenous word, **gigɛ** for *groundnut*.

The Akan word **(a)beduru** (turkey berries) is borrowed to Dangme as **abɛɖlu/ablɛɖu/abɛɖu** to refer to *turkey berries*. It is seen that all the 20 respondents from Ada use the word for the entity whilst 13 out of the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa also use the word for the same entity. The remaining 7 respondents from Gbugblaa also prefer to use a compound blend of the Ga word for *garden egg*, **sɛbɛ** and the Dangme word for *small*, **tsɔwi** for the entity, *turkey berries*. They therefore, use the word **sɛbɛ tsɔwi** for *turkey berries*. These people see *turkey berries* to be a *small type of garden egg*. Again, 13 out of the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 12 out of the 20 respondent from Manya Krobo prefer **abɛɖu/ablɛɖu/abɛɖu** for *turkey berries*. The remaining 8 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 7 respondents from Manya Krobo use the native words, **ga tso ku** or **alitse ga** for the same entity.

**Akutu** (orange) is also seen to be preferred by all the 20 respondents from Ada and all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa to refer to *orange* whilst all the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and the 20 from Manya Krobo also prefer to use the native word **kpɛtɛ** for the entity. The word **baale** (a type of yam) borrowed from the Akan **bayerɛ** (yam) is used by all the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and all the 20 respondents from Manya Krobo to refer to *a type of yam*. The 20 respondents from the Gbugblaa dialect and the 20 from the Ada dialect do not have knowledge about this word and as such use the generic native word for *yam*, **hyɛ** to refer to the same entity. With the preference of **koko** for *porridge*, it is seen that only 4 out of the 20 respondents from Ada, 3 out of the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa, 8 out of the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 6 out of the 20 respondents from Manya Krobo use the word for *porridge*. The remaining 16, 17, 12 and 14 respondents from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo

respectively prefer to use **akasa** for the entity. This implies that **koko** (porridge) borrowed from Akan is not used often since the Dangme prefer to use **akasa** for the same entity, *porridge*.

**Table 16**      **Animals Names**

<b>Akan</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Glossing</b>	<b>AD</b>	<b>GB</b>	<b>YK</b>	<b>MK</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>(%)</b>
apɔnkye	apletsɪ	goat	20	20	20	20	80	100
opuro	opleu	squirrel	20	20	20	20	80	100
kɔkɔbo	kɔkɔbo	fox	20	20	20	20	80	100
bonsu	boso	shark	20	20	20	20	80	100
(ɔ)kɔtɔ	okɔtɔ	crab	-	-	-	6	6	7.5

It is established from Table (16) above that the words **apletsɪ**, **opleu**, **kɔkɔbo** and **boso** borrowed from the Akan words **apɔnkye**, **opuro**, **kɔkɔbo** and **bonsu** respectively are preferred to be used by all the 80 (100%) respondents, 20 each from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects of Dangme. However, **okɔtɔ** (crab) borrowed from the Akan **(ɔ)kɔtɔ** is preferred by only 6 respondents from Manya Krobo. The remaining 14 respondents from Manya Krobo use the native word **agaja/akaja** for the same entity. All the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo also prefer to use the native word **akaja/agaja** for the entity whilst all the 20 respondents from Ada and all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa use the native word **kaawi** for the same entity, *crab*.

**Table 17**      **Fashion**

<b>Akan</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Glossing</b>	<b>AD</b>	<b>GB</b>	<b>YK</b>	<b>MK</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>(%)</b>
mpopaho	papam(i)/papahu	towel	20	20	20	20	80	100
ahwehwe	ahihwiɛ/ahuhue	mirror	20	20	20	20	80	100
kente	kente	a type of cloth	20	20	20	20	80	100
atadeɛ	tade	dress	20	20	20	20	80	100
ahenemma	ohinima	native sandals	-	-	11	10	21	26.25
wodasobɔ	odasobɔ	a kind of scarf	-	-	10	8	18	22.50

The words **papam (i)/papahu**, **ahihwiɛ/ahuhue**, **kente** and **tade** borrowed from Akan are preferred by all the 80 (100%), 20 (25%) each from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo

Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects of Dangme to refer to *towel, mirror, a type of traditionally woven cloth and dress* respectively. The word **ohinima** (native sandals) is also used by 11 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 10 respondents from Manya Krobo. The rest of the 9 respondents from Yilo Krobo and the remaining 10 respondents from Manya Krobo use the native word **ablade** for the same entity. Meanwhile, all the 20 respondents from the Ada and all the 20 respondents from the Gbugblaa dialects also prefer the native word **ablade** for *native sandals*.

More so, it is seen that **odasobɔ** borrowed from the Akan **wodasobo** used to refer to *a particular type of scarf* is used by 11 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 10 respondents from Manya Krobo. The rest of the 9 respondents from Yilo Krobo and the remaining 10 respondents from Manya Krobo, use the generic term for *scarf*, **duku** to refer to that same *type of scarf*. The 20 respondents from Ada and the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa do not have knowledge of the word and as such use the generic term for *scarf*, **duku** to refer to that *type of scarf*.

**Table 18 Other Entities**

Akan	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
dadesen	dadese	cauldron	20	20	20	20	80	100
mmɔden	mɔde	to do well	20	20	20	20	80	100
abofuo	abofu	anger	20	20	20	20	80	100
okyeame	otsiame	spokesperson	20	20	20	20	80	100
sika	sika	sika	20	20	20	20	80	100
adansee	odase	witness	20	20	20	20	80	100
animuonyam	anunyam (i)	glory	20	20	20	20	80	100
nokore	anɔkuaɓe	truth	12	20	20	20	72	90
ɔsram	oslam (i)	moon	6	20	20	20	66	82.50
nkyensee	tsesi	eating bowl	20	20	14	11	65	81.25
kɛnten	ketɛ	basket	-	20	20	20	60	75
daabi	dabi	no	14	12	16	13	55	68.75
obubuafo	obubuafo	crippled person	6	4	20	20	50	62.50
apakan	apakɛɛ/akpaka	palanquin	20	20	-	-	40	50
nkonim	kunim (i)	victory	4	7	11	13	35	43.75
kɔnkɔnsa	kɔkɔsa	gossip	6	7	9	8	32	40



In table (18) above, it can be seen that the preference of the words **dadesɛ**, **mɔde**, **abofu**, **otsiamɛ**, **sika**, **odase** and **anunyam (i)** borrowed from the Akan words **dadesɛn**, **mmɔden**, **abofuo**, **okyeame**, **sika**, **adanseɛ** and **aninuonyam** respectively to refer to *cauldron*, *to do well*, *anger*, *spokesperson*, *money*, *witness* and *glory* are seen to be preferred by all the 80 (100%) respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo. Again, **kɛtɛ** (basket) is seen to be used by all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa, 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 20 respondents from Manya Krobo whilst the 20 respondents from Ada do not use the borrowed word from Akan but rather use the borrowed word from Ewe **kusii** to refer to *basket*.

With the word **dabi** borrowed from the Akan **daabi** [**dææbi**], the data from Table (18) proves that 14 respondents from Ada, 12 respondents from Gbugblaa, 16 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 13 respondents from Manya Krobo use the word for the entity, *no*. The remaining 6, 8, 4 and 7 respondents from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects respectively use the native word, **ohoo** for *no*.

The word **obubuafo** used to refer to *crippled person* borrowed from the Akan **obubuafo** is used by all the 20 (25%) respondents from Yilo Krobo and all the 20 (25%) respondents from Manya Krobo. Meanwhile, only 6 out of the 20 respondents from Ada and 4 out of the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa use the word for *crippled person*. The remaining 14 from Ada and 16 from Gbugblaa use the native word **libɔɔ** for the same entity. This means that 50 (62.50) out of the 80 (100%) respondents used the borrowed word **obubuafo** whilst the remaining 30 (37.50) respondents prefer the native word **libɔɔ** for the same entity.

The Akan word **apakan** (palanquin) is borrowed to Dangme as **apakεε** or **akpaka**. All the 20 respondent from Ada use **apakεε** for the entity whilst all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa also use **akpaka** for the same entity. However, the respondents from the Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects prefer the native word **tsokpo** to refer to *palanquin*. It can also be seen from the table that 4 respondents from Ada use the word **kunim (i)** for *victory*. Also 7 out of the 20 respondents, 11 out of the 20 respondents and 13 out of the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo respectively also use the word **kunim (i)**. Out of the remaining 16 respondents from Ada who do not use the borrowed word **kunimi** to refer to *victory*, 13 of them use the native word **ayilo** whilst 3 of them use the native word **manye** for the same entity. Furthermore, 9 out of the remaining 13 respondents from Gbugblaa use the native word **manye** whilst 4 of them use **nguɔ** for *victory*. Among the remaining 9 respondents from the Yilo Krobo dialect, 6 of them prefer **nguɔ** whereas 3 use **manye** for the entity. Again, out of the remaining 7 respondent from the Manya Krobo dialect, 6 prefer **nguɔ** whilst 1 prefers **manye** for the abstract entity, *victory*.

The word **kəkɔsa** (gossip) is preferred by 6 out of the 20 respondents from the Ada dialect, 7 out of the 20 respondents from the Gbugblaa dialect, 9 out of the 20 respondents from the Yilo Krobo dialect and 8 out of the 20 respondents from the Manya Krobo dialect. The rest of the 14, 13, 11, and 12 respondents from the Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects respectively prefer to use the indigenous word **sieku** for the abstract entity, *gossip*.

### 5.1.3 Knowledge and preference of Ga words in Dangme

In this sub-section, I explain the knowledge and preference of Ga words borrowed to Dangme to refer to entities or concepts using 80 respondents, 20 each from the four dialects.

**Table 19** The preference of Ga borrowings in Dangme

Ga	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
tsalewɔte	tsalewɔte	slippers	14	13	12	11	50	62.50
alɔnte	alɔnte	cat	-	20	-	-	20	25
akokooshi	akokoshi	coconut	-	20	-	-	20	25
aputompata	apotompata	bat	-	20	-	-	20	25
akpokplonto	akoklonto	tortoise	-	20	-	-	20	25
sɛbe	sɛbe	garden egg	-	20	-	-	20	25
akatawia	akatawia	umbrella	-	20	-	-	20	25
blɔfɔŋme	blefongme	pineapple	-	20	-	-	20	25

Table (19) shows that **tsalewɔte** (slippers) is used by 14 respondents from Ada, 13 respondents from Gbugblaa, 12 respondents from Yilo Krobo and 11 respondents from Manya Krobo. The remaining 6, 7, 8 and 9 respondents from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects respectively use the borrowed word from English, **slipesi/slipes** for *slippers*. However, the words **alɔnte** (cat), **akokoshi** (coconut), **apotompata** (bat), **akoklonto** (tortoise), **sɛbe** (garden egg), **akatawia** (umbrella) and **blefongme** (pineapple) can be seen to be preferred by all the 20 (25%) respondents from the Gbugblaa dialect. The remaining 60 (75%) respondents, 20 (25%) each from Ada, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects used indigenous words and borrowed words from other languages to refer to these entities. The Ada respondents use **anɔ/wedetɛ/adadee** (cat), **ngmɛ** (coconut), **avutɔ** (bat), **kɔlue** (tortoise), **agbitsa** (garden egg), **ajovia** (umbrella) and **atɔtɔ** (pineapple). The 20 (25%) respondents from Yilo Krobo and the 20 (25%) respondents from Manya Krobo

dialects also use **ati**, **ngmɛ/agɔle ngmɛ** (coconut), **momo** (bat), **alu** (tortoise), **ga** (garden egg), **ajohui** (ginger) and **blɛfo ta** (pineapple).

#### 5.1.4 Knowledge and preference of English words in Dangme

The table below demonstrates the preference of the lexical borrowings from English to Dangme. In this sub-section too, I explained the knowledge and preference of the English words borrowed to Dangme to refer to entities or concepts using 80 respondents, 20 each from the four dialects.

**Table (20) Fruits and Vegetables**

English	Borrowed As	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
Cabbage	kabeji/kabej	20	20	20	20	80	100
Carrot	kalɔti/karɔt	20	20	20	20	80	100
Pear	paya	20	20	20	20	80	100
Tangerine	tangarii	20	20	-	-	40	50
Watermelon	watamilo/wɔtamɛlɔn	-	-	20	20	40	50
Tomatoes	tomatosi/tomatos	-	-	20	20	40	50

It can be seen from table (20) that the preference of **kabeji/kabej**, **kalɔti/karɔt** and **paya** for *cabbage*, *carrot* and *pear* respectively is used by all the 80 (100%) respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo. The word **tangarii** (tangerine) is preferred by all the 20 respondents from Ada and all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa. The 40 respondents from Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects use the native word **blɛfo kpɛte** or **blɛfo mi kpɛte** for *tangerine*. It must be noted that **blɛfo** means *foreign*, **mi** is the postposition, *inside* and **kpɛte** is the word for *orange* among the Krobo dialect speakers of Dangme. So, they refer to *tangerine* as **blɛfo kpɛte** or **blɛfo mi kpɛte** to mean that it is a *foreign orange*. Again, **watamilo/wɔtamɛlɔn** (watermelon) and **tomatosi/tomatos** (tomatoes) are preferred by all the 20 respondents from Yilo Krobo and all the 20 respondents from Manya Krobo with all the 20

respondents from Ada and the 20 from Gbugblaa using **atlɛ** and **amoo** for the same entities respectively.

**Table (21) Electricity**

English	Borrowed As	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
Socket	səkɛti/səkɛt	20	20	20	20	80	100
Bulb	bəb/bəbu	20	20	20	20	80	100
Wire	waya	20	20	20	20	80	100
Generator	jenleta	20	20	20	20	80	100
Battery	batle	20	20	20	20	80	100

The table above shows that all the borrowed words from English from the domain of *electricity* are seen to be preferred by all the 80 (100%) respondents across the four dialects. These words are **səkɛti/səkɛt**, **bəbu/bəb**, **waya**, **jenleta** and **batle** for *socket*, *bulb*, *wire*, *generator* and *battery* respectively.

**Table (22) Other Entities**

English	Borrowed As	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
Mobile phone	fom/fon/moba	20	20	20	20	80	100
Bicycle	basikli/baisikli	20	20	20	20	80	100
Iron	ayɔm/ayɔn	20	20	20	20	80	100
Bag	bagi/bag	20	20	20	20	80	100
Matches	matsesi/matses	20	20	20	20	80	100
Plate	plɛte/plet	20	20	20	20	80	100
Coal pot	klopɔtu/koopɔt	20	20	20	20	80	100
Flag	aflaanga/flag	20	20	20	20	80	100

More so, other words like **fom/fon/moba**, **basikli/baisikli**, **ayɔm/ayɔn**, **bagi/bag**, **matsesi/matses**, **klopɔtu/koopɔt** and **aflaanga/flag** for *mobile phone*, *bicycle*, *iron*, *bag*, *matches*, *plate*, *coal pot* and *flag* respectively are preferred by all the 80 (100%) respondents across the four dialects (Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo).

## 5.2 Variation of English words in Dangme

The current state of the use of English words borrowed to Dangme vary phonologically. Whilst some of the words are borrowed to suit the Dangme phonotactics others are borrowed to violate the Dangme phonotactics. This section explains the phonologically variation of the English words in Dangme. It must be noted five (5) respondents from each of the domains: *tailoring*, *driving*, *masonry* and *carpentry* were chosen to check the number of respondents from each of the domains who use the words that suit the Dangme phonotactics and those that borrowed to violate the Dangme phonotactics.

The words in *Column A* were borrowed to suit the Dangme phonotactics whilst those in *Column B* were borrowed to violate the phonotactics of Dangme. It must be noted that the variants of the variables that violate the Dangme phonotactics in *Column B* in each of the tables in this section were prestige related or were used as such as a result of prestige they attached to English. This is because even though some of their counterparts in *Column B* were not adapted to conform to the Dangme phonotactics by the respondents chosen, the variable can be adapted and as such they could have been adapted by some respondents outside the working domains selected.

**Table (23) Tailoring**

ENGLISH	BORROWED INTO DANGME AS				
	A	NO.	B	No.	Total
Tailor	tela	5	-	-	5
Trousers	tlɔɔza	5	-	-	5
Knickers	nika	5	-	-	5
Collar	kɔla	5	-	-	5
Buttons	bɔto	5	-	-	5
Coat	kootu	2	kot	3	5
Scissors	sakisi	2	sakis/sizez	3	5
Zip	zipu	1	zip	4	5
Iron	ayɔm	1	ayɔn	4	5
Tape measure	tepu	1	tep mɛza	4	5
Shirt	sieti	1	shet	4	5

Material	matilia	1	matiria	4	5
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The words in column B violates the Dangme phonotactics because the segments /t/, /s/, /z/, /p/, /p/, /n/ and /t/ which ends the words **kot**, **sakis**, **sizez**, **zip**, **tep**, **ayɔn** and **shɛt** do not end words in Dangme. The sound, /f/, /ʒ/ and /r/ in **shɛt**, **mɛʒa** and **matiria** are also not part of the Dangme sound inventory. It can be seen from table (22) that all the 5 respondents selected from this domain use the words **tela** (tailor), **tlɔʒa** (trousers), **nika** (knicker), **kɔla** (collar) and **bɔto** (buttons) which suit the Dangme phonotactics. The words *coat*, *scissors*, *zip*, *iron*, *tape measure*, *shirt* and *material* were used differently by the respondents selected. Some respondents used the words to suit the Dangme phonotactics whilst others were borrowed to violate the phonotactics of Dangme. It can be seen that 2 respondents use **kootu** whilst 3 respondents use **kot** for *coat*. Again, 2 respondents used **sakisi** for *scissors* whereas 3 respondents used **sakis/sizez** for the same entity. The word **zipu** (zip), **ayɔm** (iron), **tepu** (tape measure), **siɛti** (shirt) and **matelia** (material) which were borrowed to suit the Dangme phonotactics were preferred by 1 respondent for each of the entities whilst **zip**, **ayɔn**, **tep** **mɛʒa**, **shɛt** and **matiria** were preferred by 4 respondents for each of the entities.

**Table (24) Driving (auto related words)**

ENGLISH	BORROWED INTO DANGME AS				
	A	NO.	B	No.	Total
Tyre	tai	5	-	-	5
Traffic indicator	tlafiketa	5	-	-	5
Book fee	bukufii	5	-	-	5
Gear	gia	5	-	-	5
Steering wheel	-	-	stia	5	5
Crutch	-	-	krɔts	5	5
Number plate	-	-	nɔma plet	5	5
Seat	-	-	sit	5	5
Head light	-	-	hɛd lait	5	5
Carrier	-	-	karia	5	5
Bookman	bukumai	4	bukman	1	5
License	lasesi	2	lases	3	5

Driver	dlɔɔva	2	draiva	3	5
Break	bleki	1	brek	4	5
Ticket	tikiti	1	tikit	4	5
Station	sitesia	1	steshin	4	5

The words **tai**, **tlafiketa**, **bukufii** and **gia** borrowed by all the 5 respondents suit the Dangme phonotactics whereas **stia**, **krɔts**, **nɔma plet** and **karia** borrowed by all the 5 respondents violate the Dangme phonotactics. **Bukumai** (bookman), **lalesi** (license), **dlɔɔva** (driver), **tikiti** (ticket) and **sitesia** (station) which suit the Dangme phonotactics were borrowed by 4, 2, 2, 1, 1, and 1 respondent respectively. However, 1, 3, 3, 4, 4 and 4 respondents also used **bukman**, **lases**, **draiva**, **tikit** and **steshin** which violate the Dangme phonotactics to refer to the entities. It must be noted that the /st/ and /km/ clusters in the words **stia** [stia], **steshion** [stɛʃin] and **bukman** [bukman] do not occur in Dangme but were borrowed to Dangme as such. Again, the sounds, /r/ and /ʃ/ in **krɔts** [krɔʃ], **karia** [karia], **draiva** [draiva] and **steshion** [stɛʃin] are not part of the Dangme sound inventory. Also, the words **krɔts** [krɔʃ], **hɛd lait** [hɛd lait], **lases** [lases], **brek** [brek], **tikit** [tikit] and **steshion** [stɛʃin] violate Dangme phonotactics. This is because the sounds /tʃ/, /d/, /t/, /s/, /k/, /t/ and /n/ at the end of the words do not occur at the coda position of Dangme syllable.

**Table (25) Masonry**

ENGLISH	BORROWED INTO DANGME AS				
	A	NO.	B	No.	Total
Mason	meesi	5	-	-	5
Trowel	tlowe	5	-	-	5
Shovel	sofi	5	-	-	5
Mortar	mɔta	5	-	-	5
Pillar	pila	5	-	-	5
Head pan	-	-	hɛd pan	5	5
Concrete	-	-	kɔnkret	5	5
Iron rod	-	-	ayɔn rod	5	5
Foundation	-	-	fandeshi	5	5
Block	blɔki	1	blɔk	4	5
Wheelbarrow	wuibalo	1	huibaro	4	5
Pickaxe	pingasi	1	pingas	4	5



Cement	simiti	3	sɛment	2	5
Spade	haspaa	4	sped	1	5

From Table (25), it can be seen that all the 5 respondents used **meesi** (*mason*), **tlowɛ** (*trowel*), **sofi** (*shovel*), **mɔta** (*mortar*) and **pila** (*pillar*) which suit the Dangme phonotactics. However, **hɛd pan** (*head pan*), **kɔnkret** (*concrete*), **ayɔn rod** (*iron rod*) and **fandeshi** (*foundation*) which violate the Dangme phonotactics were borrowed by all the 5 respondents. These words violate the Dangme phonotactics because the sounds /d/, /n/, and /t/ which ends the words **hɛd** [hɛd], **pan** [pan], **ayɔn** [ayɔn] and **kɔnkret** [kɔŋ.kret] do not end words in Dangme. Also, the velar nasal, /ŋ/ that ends the first syllable in the word **kɔnkret** [kɔŋ.kret] do not end syllables in Dangme.

Again, the voiceless palate-alveolar fricative, /f/ in the word **fandeshi** [fandɛʃɪn] is also not part of the Dangme sound inventory. The clusters /nkr/ and /nd/ in the words **kɔnkret** and **fandeshi** respectively do not exist in Dangme but were borrowed by these *masons* (respondents) as such. With the words *block*, *wheelbarrow* and *pickaxe*, it can be seen that 1 respondent each borrowed the words as **blɔɔki**, **wuibalo** and **pingasi** which suit the Dangme phonotactics whilst 4 respondents each also borrowed the same words as **blɔk**, **huibaro** and **pingas** which violate the Dangme phonotactics. This is because the sounds /k/ and /s/ in the final position of the words **blɔk** and **pingas** respectively do not occur at the coda/final position in syllables or words in Dangme.

The sound /r/ in **huibaro** is also not part of the Dangme vowel inventory but the sound was borrowed into Dangme. Furthermore, *cement* and *spade* were borrowed by 3 and 4 respondents as **simiti** and **haspaa** respectively which suits the Dangme phonotactics. However, 2 and 1 respondents each borrowed *cement* and *spade* as **sɛment** and **sped** which violate the Dangme phonotactics. These words violate the Dangme phonotactics because the

/nt/ and /sp/ clusters in the borrowed words **sɛmɛnt** and **spɛd** do not exist in Dangme. Again, the sound /d/ at the final position of the word **spɛd** violate the Dangme syllable structure.

This is because only the bilabial nasal ends syllables and words in Dangme.

**Table (26) Carpentry**

ENGLISH	BORROWED INTO DANGME AS				
	A	NO.	B	No.	Total
File	fai	5	-	-	5
Chisel	tsise	5	-	-	5
Saw	sau/sɔɔ	5	-	-	5
Bench	-	-	bɛnts	5	5
Clamp	-	-	klamp	5	5
Screw driver	-	-	skuudraiva	5	5
Sandpaper	-	-	sampepa	5	5
Plain	-	-	pleen	5	5
Spanner	-	-	spana	5	5
Plywood	-	-	plaiwud	5	5
Paint	-	-	pent	5	5
Carpenter	kabitɛ	1	kapɛnta	4	5

From table (26), it can be seen that most of the words borrowed from the *carpentry* domains by the respondents were borrowed to violate the Dangme phonotactics. All the 5 respondents sampled from this domain use **fai**, **tsise** and **sau/sɔɔ** which suit the Dangme phonotactics to refer to *file*, *chisel* and *saw* respectively. Yet, all the 5 respondents prefer to use **bɛnts**, **klamp**, **skuudraiva**, **sampepa**, **pleen**, **spana**, **plaiwud** and **pent** which violate Dangme phonotactics to refer to *bench*, *clamp*, *screw driver*, *sandpaper*, *plain*, *spanner*, *plywood* and *paint* respectively. The clusters /ntʃ/ in **bɛnts**, /mp/ in **klamp**, /sk/ and /dr/ in **skuudraiva**, /mp/ in **sampepa**, /sp/ in **spana** and /nt/ in **pent** do not occur in Dangme and as such violate Dangme syllable structure. However, the respondents borrowed the words as such to Dangme. Finally, the word *carpenter* is borrowed as **kabitɛ** which suits the Dangme syllable structure by 1 respondent whilst 4 respondents borrowed the same word as **kapɛnta**

which violate the Dangme phonotactics. This is because the /nt/ cluster in the borrowed word **kapenta** violates the phonotactics of Dangme.

### 5.3 Competition between Lexical Borrowings and Indigenous Words

This section explores the competition between some of the borrowed words and their indigenous counterparts. Table (26) below explains the competition between Akan words borrowed into Dangme and the native Dangme words used to refer to the same entities. It must be noted that the competition between the words borrowed from Akan and the indigenous words emerged as a result of the preference of the Akan words borrowed by most of the respondents and the preference of the indigenous words by few respondents to refer to same entities and concepts. It can be seen from table (26) that out of the 80 respondents used for the elicited pictures and abstract entities descriptions more respondents sometimes used words borrowed from Akan than indigenous words to refer to the same entities in Dangme (see also section 5.1.2 on Tables 15-18 for references).

**Table (27) Competition between words borrowed from Akan and Dangme native words**

<b>Words borrowed from Akan</b>	<b>Number of people who prefer to use the word</b>	<b>Native word</b>	<b>Number of people who prefer to use the word</b>	<b>Total</b>
anokuale – truth	72	niine	8	80
oslam(i) – moon	66	nyohio/hlami/lohwe	14	80
tsei – eating bowl	65	kplu	15	80
abablasa/paprasa – a pap food	60	kaawi ku	20	80
akate/katie - groundnut	60	gige	20	80
dabi/daabi – no	55	ohoo	25	80
akutu – orange	40	kpete	40	80
kunim (i) – victory	35	nguɔ/ayilo/manye	45	80
apakeε/akpaka – palanquin	40	tsokpo	40	80

The preference of the use of Akan words used to refer to entities by the Dangme people led to a competition between the borrowed words and the indigenous ones. In Table (27), it was established that the borrowed words from Akan, that is, **anɔkuale**, **oslam**, **tseɪ**, **abablasa/paplasa**, and **akate/katiɛ** are in keen competition with the indigenous words used to refer to the same entities the Akan borrowed items are used to represent. These native words are **niinɛ**, **nyɔhiɔ/hlami/lohwe**, **kplu**, **kaawi ku** and **gigɛ** respectively.

It is seen from the table that out of 80 respondents, 72, 66, 65, 60, and 60 of the respondents for each entity prefer to use the borrowed words **anɔkuale** (truth), **oslam (i)** (moon), **tseɪ** (eating bowl), **abablasa/paplasa** (a type of delicacy/ a type of pap food), and **akate/katiɛ** (groundnut) than using their respective native words **niinɛ**, **nyɔhiɔ/hlami/lohwe**, **kplu**, **kaawi ku** and **gigɛ** for the same entities. However, only 8, 14, 15, 20 and 20 of the respondents for each entity prefer to use the native words **niinɛ** (truth), **nyɔhiɔ/hlami/lohwe** (moon), **kplu** (eating bowl), **kaawi ku** (a pap food) and **gigɛ** (groundnut) to refer to the entities. These realizations show the high degree of competition among the borrowed words and the native ones.

Again, it can be seen from the table that the borrowed words from Akan, **dabi**, **akutu**, **apakɛɛ/akpaka** and **kunim** are also in competition with the indigenous words **ohoo**, **kpete**, **tsokpo** and **nguɛ/ayilɔ/manye** respectively. This is because out of the 80 respondents sampled, 55, 40, 40 and 35 of them for each entity prefer to use the Akan words **dabi**, **akutu**, **apakɛɛ/akpaka** and **kunim** respectively to refer to the entities. But 25, 40, 40 and 45 respondents for each entity prefer to use the indigenous words **ohoo** (no), **kpete** (orange), **tsokpo** (palanquin) and **nguɛ/ayilɔ/manye** (victory) to refer to *no*,

*orange, palanquin* and *victory* respectively). The only difference here is that the competition is not as keen but moderate as compared those explained earlier.

With the competition among the Ewe words and the indigenous words, it was seen from the earlier discussions on the preference of Ewe words in Dangme that in general, the Ewe borrowings and the indigenous words used to refer to same entities are not in much competition. This is because the Ewe borrowings are either used by all the Dangme people without equivalent Dangme words or only a small group (mostly the Ada respondents) prefer to use them with the remaining dialects having preferences for either the indigenous words or lexical borrowings from Akan, Ga or English for those entities. Ga words are also not in competition with the Dangme words because most of the borrowed words are preferred to be used by only the respondents from the Gbugblaa dialect. The English words are also not in competition with the indigenous words because almost all of the English words borrowed into Dangme are the fully naturalized loanwords which are borrowed as a result of lexical gaps in Dangme and as such preferred to be used by all the Dangme respondents.

#### **5.4 Motivations for Lexical Borrowing in Dangme**

Borrowing of words from the source languages to Dangme are motivated by both external and internal reasons. Socially, *need*, *lexical gaps* and *prestige* the people had enjoyed from the source languages are considered to be the eternal motivations for lexical borrowing. Some words borrowed by the people of Dangme had already existing indigenous words used to refer to them. However, due to the geographical location of the speakers of the different dialects speakers of Dangme, some speakers of some dialects are

not familiar with (do not have knowledge of) some of the indigenous words used to refer to some of the items. For this reason they felt the need to borrow words from their closest neighbours to refer to entities. For instance, the Ada respondents from the Ada dialect who are not familiar with certain indigenous words used by the other dialect speakers of Dangme and as such do not use them prefer to use borrowed words from Ewe to refer to those items as can be seen in table (28) below (see Tables 12-14 for references).

**Table (28) Table showing lexical borrowings motivated by *need***

Ewe	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total (%)
agometaku	agometaku	ginger	20	-	-	-	20 25
agbitsa	agbitsa	garden eggs	20	-	-	-	20 25
atoto	atoto	pineapple	20	-	-	-	20 25
fofoŋ	afungu	sugarcane	20	-	-	-	20 25
anyikli	anyekli	custard apple	20	-	-	-	20 25
adiba	adiba	pawpaw	20	-	-	-	20 25

The need to borrow the **agometaku** (ginger), **agbitsa** (garden egg), **atoto** (pineapple), **afungu** (sugarcane), **anyekli** (custard apple) and **adiba** (pineapple) by the 20 respondents from Ada is as a result of the lack of knowledge of the indigenous words **ojahui/ingefɛɛle** (*ginger*), **ga** (*garden egg*), **blefo ta** (*pineapple*), **ahleu** (*sugarcane*), **habue** (*custard apple*) and **go** (*pawpaw*) used by the Yilo Krobo, the Manya Krobo and the Gbugblaa respondents.

Another social motivation that led to lexical borrowings into Dangme is as a result of *lexical gaps* in Dangme. This is the need to designate names or words to items whose inventions are new to the culture of a given people, in this situation, Dangme. Invention of new items results in given such items names. As a result, native speakers of Dangme resort to the names given to a particular item which is not part of the Dangme culture with a foreign word. Examples can be seen in Table (29) below.

**Table (29)** Table showing lexical borrowings motivated as a result of *lexical gaps*

Akan	Borrowed As	Glossing	AD	GB	YK	MK	Total	(%)
duku	duku	scarf	20	20	20	20	80	100
mpopaho	papam(i)/papahu	towel	20	20	20	20	80	100
ahwehwe	ahihwie/ahuhue	mirror	20	20	20	20	80	100
dadesen	dadese	cauldron	20	20	20	20	80	100
adansee	odase	witness	20	20	20	20	80	100
animuonyam	anunyam (i)	glory	20	20	20	20	80	100

From Table (29), it can be seen that due to lexical gaps in Dangme (the fact that Dangme do not have indigenous words for the entities) all the 80 respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo used the borrowed words from Akan, that is, **duku** (*scarf*), **papam (i)/papahu** (*towel*), **ahihwie/ahuhue** (*mirror*), **dadese** (*cauldron*), **odase** (*witness*) and **anunyam(i)** (*glory*).

One of the internal reasons for lexical borrowings to Dangme that confirms Weinreich's (1968) view of the linguistic motivation for borrowing is borrowing from another language in order to resolve the clash of homonyms<sup>28</sup>. In Dangme, certain words with the same form and pronunciation but different meaning are used to refer to different concepts and entities. As a result of finding solutions to this clash of homonyms, native speakers of Dangme resort to borrowing a word from a neighbouring language to replace one of the words used to refer to one of the concepts. Some examples of such words are **he tsɔ** - *clean* and **he tsɔ** - *holy*; **kpɛte** - *lime* (referred to by the coastal dialects) and **kpɛte** - *orange* (referred to by the Krobo dialects).

With the word **he tsɔ** (clean and holy), the natives of Dangme resorts to how the people of Akan refer to *holy*, **kronkron** [**krɔŋ.krɔn**]. In the course of borrowing the Akan word [**krɔŋ.krɔn**], native speakers of Dangme substituted the voiced alveolar

<sup>28</sup> Homonym is a semantic relation in which two or more words have the same physical manifestation (pronunciation and spelling) but different unrelated meaning (see also Thakur, 1999:33).

glide /r/ with the voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ since /r/ is an accidental gap in Dangme. The high back rounded lax vowel /ʊ/ in the Akan word has also been substituted with the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ since /ʊ/ is an accidental gap in Dangme. Again, the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ at the coda position of the first and the second syllables respectively of the word [kroŋ.kron] are accidental gaps at the coda position of syllables in Dangme. As a result of this, native speakers of Dangme also substituted them with the high back rounded tense vowel /u/.

Dangme borrowed the Akan word **kronkron** [kroŋkron] as [klɔuklɔ] to suit its phonotactic constraints. Again, **akutu** has been borrowed from the Akan word **akutu** /ækutu/. The Dangme people borrowed the word **akutu** from Akan in order to avoid the clash of homonyms **kpete** used to refer to the entities *lime* and *orange* respectively. This clash happens as a result of dialectal differences. Here, too because Dangme does not permit vowel harmony, the +ATR vowel /æ/ in the word has been substituted with the Dangme counterpart /a/ to conform to Dangme phonotactics.

Some words have also been borrowed into Dangme as a result of the indigenous words losing their expressive force. In the olden days where *cowrie* was used as the medium of exchange, the word used for *cowrie*, **hlangu**, was what the Dangme speakers used to refer to what was used as the medium of change. As a result of civilization and modernity, *cowrie used as a medium of exchange* was replaced with *notes* and *coins* (money) as the nation's medium of exchange. **Hlangu** (cowrie), used to refer to the medium of exchange then became obsolete and as such lost its mobility power (communicative potency/expressive force). This made the people of Dangme to rely on **sika** which the Akan speakers use (**sika**) for *money*.



## 5.5 Summary

This chapter studied the variations in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English. It investigated the distribution of the borrowed words used to refer to the same entities by the Dangme people from the different dialect backgrounds used in this thesis. The chapter revealed the number of respondents from a particular dialect of Dangme who prefer to use lexical borrowings from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English to refer to entities and those who prefer indigenous words over the borrowed words from these source languages. The chapter also showed that there are variations in the use of borrowed words from English from the *tailoring*, *driving*, *masonry* and *carpentry* domains by the 5 fashion designers, 5 drivers, 5 masons and 5 carpenters chosen. It came up that whilst some of these *drivers* and *artisans* borrowed the words to suit the Dangme phonotactics others do not but rather borrow to violate the Dangme phonotactics. The competition between the borrowed words and the indigenous words were also identified. Finally, the motivations of lexical borrowings in Dangme were also explained.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the general conclusions of the thesis; it summarizes the thesis by highlighting the major findings of the study of lexical borrowing from Akan, Ewe, Ga and English to Dangme. It also provides some recommendations for further investigation into language contact phenomena involving the Dangme language.

#### 6.1 Summary

This thesis set out to investigate and discuss the sociolinguistics of lexical borrowings in Dangme. It adopted Winford's (2003) Processes and Products Framework to explain the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in Dangme in chapter four. This theory is grounded on the assumption that the products of lexical contact phenomena consist of different processes. The thesis also adopted the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory propounded by Labov in 1966, to explain the variations of the use of the lexical borrowings in Dangme in chapter five. The Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory is also grounded on the assumption that there are variations in the use of language as a result of different social or external factors (independent variables). In order to achieve the objectives of the research, the following questions were addressed:

1. which borrowed items permit phonological, morphological and semantic adaptations and which ones resist these adaptations in Dangme?
2. what are the dialectal variations in the borrowed items and the native words that are used to refer to the same entity in Dangme?

The questions were addressed in the preceding discussions in chapters four and five.

This thesis comprised six chapters. Chapter one served as an introduction to the study. It presented the background to the study as well as the statement of the problem. The chapter also spelt out the purpose, objectives and research questions of the study. It also examined the significance of the study, the limitations, and delimitations of the study.

Chapter two reviewed and critiqued the literatures and theoretical frameworks relevant to the study of lexical borrowings. The chapter was divided into two major sections: literature review and theoretical framework. In the first section, (2.1), I reviewed literature outside Africa and those inside Africa. The literatures outside Africa explained the general understanding of lexical borrowings and the typologies of speech communities in contact that trigger the different types and amounts of lexical borrowing from one language into another. The section also explained some case studies of lexical borrowings into some languages outside Africa. The chapter further reviewed literature inside Africa. It reviewed those outside Ghana and later narrowed the review to those in Ghana and Dangme to be specific. The second section, (2.2), reviewed the theoretical frameworks adopted for the study. These are the Processes and Products Framework by Winford (2003) and the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory propounded by Labov in 1966 (see Labov, 1972).

Chapter three presented the methodology of the research. It explained the research design and research sites. It also discussed the sources of data and data collection instruments. The data analysis procedures were also explained. Using Winford's Processes and the Products framework, the linguistic features of lexical borrowings in

Dangme were discussed in chapter four. The phonological, morphological and semantic adaptation procedures in the lexical borrowings in Dangme were identified and explained. It was also established that some sounds which are not part of Dangme sound inventory and some consonant clusters which also violate Dangme phonotactics are borrowed to Dangme by some respondents. Chapter five discussed the dialectal variations of lexical borrowings in Dangme. Here, the knowledge and preference of the lexical borrowings in Dangme were explained. The chapter also discussed the variations in the use of English words from certain domains by some selected respondents who work in those domains of work. The competition between the borrowed words and the indigenous words were also discussed. Finally, chapter five discussed the motivations of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The final chapter; chapter six, summarized the study, outlined the findings, conclude the study and made recommendations for future studies.

## **6.2 Findings of the Study**

The study sought to investigate the linguistic features in the lexical borrowings in Dangme. It also aimed to discuss the dialectal variations in the use of lexical borrowings in Dangme. The specific findings of the study can be seen in the sub-sections below.

### ***6.2.1 Phonological adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme***

Regarding phonology, the study revealed that Ewe, Akan, English and Ga words borrowed to Dangme were adapted or nativized in the course of borrowing them into Dangme. Addition or insertion of sounds/segments, deletion of sounds and substitution of sounds were the repair strategies the Dangme people use in the course of borrowing from

these languages. The segment addition or insertion processes identified to be the repair strategies used in the nativization of the borrowed to Dangme are prothesis, which is the addition of segment at the beginning of the lexical borrowings in Dangme; epenthesis, which is the insertion of segments at the middle of the lexical borrowings and epithesis, the insertion of segments at the end of the lexical borrowings in Dangme. The segments deletion processes also include syncope, (the deletion of segments from the interior or non-final position of the lexical borrowings in Dangme) and apocope, the deletion of segments at the final position of the lexical borrowings in Dangme.

### 6.2.2 *Phonological violations of lexical borrowings in Dangme*

Still on phonology, the study showed that some Akan, Ga and English sounds which are not part of the Dangme sound inventory are now used in the lexical borrowings from these languages. Examples, the sounds /ɛʷ/ from Akan and /f/ from Ga and English are not part of the Dangme sound inventory but are now seen in lexical borrowings from Akan, Ga and English. Examples of some of these words are the Akan word **ahwehwɛ** [aɛʷɪɛʷɛ] (mirror) borrowed into Dangme as **ahihwɛ** [ahieʷɛ] and the Ga word **akokooshi** [akoko:ʃi] also borrowed as **akokoshi** [akokofɪ] (coconut). Also, the study revealed that consonant clusters that violate Dangme syllable structure are now seen in English words borrowed into Dangme. An example is **spana** [spana] (spanner) borrowed from the English *spanner* [spænə].

Again, certain sounds which do not occur at certain constituents of a syllable (normally at the coda position in Dangme) in Dangme are now permitted by some speakers of Dangme in the course of borrowing lexical items from Ga and English into

Dangme. Examples are **alɔnte** [a.lɔn.te] (cat) and **zip** [zip] (zip) from the Ga and English words **alɔnte** [a.lɔn.te] and **zip** [zip] respectively. The alveolar nasal /n/ at the coda position of the second syllable in the word **alɔnte** [a.lɔn.te] borrowed into Dangme and the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ at the coda position in the word [zip] borrowed into Dangme *do not exist at the coda position of syllables* in Dangme but are now seen in some borrowed words.

### 6.2.3 *Morphological adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme*

With morphological adaptation, it was revealed that some foreign morphemes in the words of the source languages are either substituted with indigenous counterparts or deleted in the course of borrowing to Dangme. Example, in the Akan word **wodasobo** used to refer to *a kind of scarf*, the Dangme people substituted the second person pronoun, **wo** (you) with the indigenous counterpart, **o** (you) in the course of borrowing to refer to the same entity. Dangme borrowed the word as **odasoba**.

### 6.2.4 *Semantic adaptations of lexical borrowings in Dangme*

It was shown that semantic narrowing was the semantic adaptation process identified in the study. Here, certain generic terms or words used to refer to different entities are narrowed to mean one or fewer things in Dangme. For instance, the word **akple** from the Ewe word **akple** is borrowed into Dangme to mean that *pap food* made from either *corn flour only* or *a mixture of corn flour and cassava dough*. Meanwhile, **akple** in Ewe is the generic name for any *pap food*, especially if one does not want to use the substance(s) used in preparing the food. And so, in Ewe, the people have **wɔkple**;

**efokple**; **agelimɔkple**; **kokontekple**; **emɔkple**; and **ayikple** to mean *akple made from corn flour only*; *akple made from millet flour*; *akple made from cassava dough only*; *akple made from cassava flour only*; *akple made from cassava dough and corn dough* or *akple made from cassava dough and corn flour mixed and put down for some days*; and *akple made from corn flour and beans* or *akple made from corn flour, beans and coconut juice/milk* respectively. These and other forms of **akple** can be identified in Ewe. This is however not so in Dangme because the other forms of **akple** have their indigenous words in Dangme.

#### **6.2.5 The preference of Ewe words in Dangme**

The preference of most of the Ewe words borrowed to Dangme was established from the study in section (5.1.1) to be peculiar to the respondents from the Ada dialect of Dangme. This resulted because the Ada dialect speakers of Dangme are in direct contact with natives of Ewe. The words **agɔmɛtaku** (ginger), **agbitsa** (garden egg), **atɔtɔ** (pineapple), **adiba** (pawpaw), **kpakpahe** (duck) and **atlakpe** (ladder) for instance were used by all the 20 respondents from Ada with the remaining 60 respondents, 20 each from Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects using other variants (either native words or borrowed words from Ga, Akan or English) of the same variables (**agɔmɛtaku**, **agbitsa**, **atɔtɔ**, **adiba**, **kpakpahe** and **atlakpe**) to refer to the entities.

### 6.2.6 *The preference of Akan words in Dangme*

In section (5.1.2), the study revealed that the preference of the Akan words borrowed to Dangme are evenly distributed by the 80 respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects used for the dialectal variations. It materialized from the study in section (5.1.2) that some Akan borrowings to Dangme are evenly distributed among the respondents selected. However, most of the Akan borrowings in Dangme are preferred by the Manya Krobo and the Yilo Krobo dialects speakers of Dangme. And this is mainly as a result of their direct or close contact with Akan in the speech communities where the research was carried. This shows how Akan enjoys a tremendous amount of prestige in Dangme land. The words **kenam(i)** (fried fish), **apletsi** (goat), **opleu** (squirrel), **papam (i)/papahu** (towel), **dadese** (caudron), **ahihwiε/ahuhue** (mirror) for instance are preferred by all the 80 respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects used for the dialectal variations.

### 6.2.7 *The preference of Ga words in Dangme*

The study also revealed in section (5.1.3) that the Ga words borrowed into Dangme are preferred by the Gbugblaa respondents. This became possible due to the fact that the Gbugblaa people who speak the Gbugblaa dialect of Dangme are in close contact with the Ga natives who speak Ga. The words **alonte** (cat), **akokoshi** (coconut), **apotompata** (bat), **akoklonto** (tortoise), **sεbe** (ga), **akatawia** (umbrella) and **blefongme** (pineapple) were seen to be used by all the 20 respondents from Gbugblaa. The respondents from Ada, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo use other variants (native words



and borrowed words from Ewe) to refer to the the same variables or entities (**alɔnte**, **akokoshi**, **apotompata**, **akoklonto**, **sɛbɛ**, **akatawia** and **blɛfongme**).

### ***6.2.8 The preference of English words in Dangme***

With the preference of the English words, it was established that most of the words were used by all the 80 respondents, 20 each from Ada, Gbugblaa, Yilo Krobo and Manya Krobo dialects used for the dialectal variations. Example, **kabeji/kabej** (cabbage), **paya** (pear), **waya** (wire), **battle** (battery), **bagi/bag** (bag), **matsesi/matses** (matches) among other words were used by all the respondents (see section 5.1.4 for details).

### ***6.2.9 Mixture of Ga and Dangme phonological and morphological units in Gbugblaa***

It emerged from the study in section (4.2) that the Gbugblaa are now mixing Dangme and Ga linguistic features confirming that Gbugblaa is now emerging as one of the mixed languages of the world. This is because the data in section (4.2) shows that most of the words used by the Gbugblaa resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words in Ga into the lexical entries in Dangme. Example, the Gbugblaa words ‘**shiemɔ**’ (preaching), ‘**ejaakaa**’ (because), ‘**blɛfo-ɲgme**’ (pineapple) and ‘**lejɛmɛ**’ (there) resulted from the integration of the Dangme and Ga words (or putting some sounds, phonological units and morphemes of Ga into the Dangme words) ‘**fiɛmi**’ versu ‘**shiemɔ**’ (preaching), ‘**ejakaa**’ versus ‘**ejaakɛ**’ (because), ‘**blɛfo ta**’ versus ‘**blɛfo-ɲgme**’ (pineapple) and ‘**lejɛ**’ versu ‘**jɛmɛ**’ (there).

### 6.2.10 *Competition of lexical borrowings and indigenous words*

It was further revealed that some Akan words borrowed to Dangme are in competition with some indigenous words. In the sense that the study showed in section (5.3) that out of 80 respondents used to choose the words they used to refer to entities, majority of the respondents prefer to use the borrowed words to using the indigenous counterparts, and if care is not taken such indigenous words will extinct as time goes by. For instance, the words **anɔkuale** (truth), **oslam(i)** (moon) and **tsesi** (*eating bowl*) borrowed from the Akan words **nokore**, **ɔsrɔm** and **nkyɛnsee** are used by 72, 66 and 65 respondents out of 80 respondents whilst 8, 14 and 15 respondents use the indigenous words **niinɛ**, **nyɔhiɔ/hlami/lohwe** and **kplu** for the same entities.

### 6.2.11 *Motivations for lexical borrowing in Dangme*

It was evident in section (5.4) of this thesis that what motivate lexical borrowings to Dangme include *need*, since some native speakers of a particular dialect of Dangme do not have knowledge of the indigenous words other dialect speakers of Dangme use to refer to entities in the language. Again, the Dangme people are motivated to borrow from other languages to fill *lexical gaps*. This is because there are certain entities which were not part of the Dangme culture and as such are new to the people. For this reason, they find it necessary to borrow words from other languages to name those entities and concepts. For instance, **fom/fon/moba** (mobile phone) was borrowed to Dangme because the entity (phone) as of the time of its invention or creation was new to the Dangme people.

The study also revealed that some words are borrowed to Dangme as a result of some indigenous words losing their expressive force or mobility power. For instance, **sika** (money) borrowed from Akan is now used to refer to the means of exchange instead of **hlangu** (cowrie) used in the olden days as the medium of exchange. This is because *cowrie* used in the olden days has become obsolete and has been substituted with *notes* and *coins* (money). As a result, **hlangu** has lost its communicative potency or mobility power. This made the Dangme people to borrow **sika** from Akan for the entity, *money*.

### 6.3 Recommendations

This study did not set out to investigate a cross linguistic study of Dangme and the other source languages to find out whether there are also transfer of linguistic materials from Dangme to the source languages. I therefore, recommend a larger or a holistic study of lexical borrowing to investigate a comparative study for more holistic understanding on contact settings involving equal and unequal bilingualism.

Again, the study did not investigate the social variations in terms of differences in age and sex in the usage of the lexical borrowings and the competition between the lexical borrowings to Dangme versus the indigenous words from the viewpoint of age and sex. For this reason, future studies should investigate the social variations of lexical borrowings in Dangme.

Furthermore, measures should be taken to curtail the Ga segments, phonological units and morphemes in the Gbugblaa dialect that are marked in Dangme to avoid the morphophonemic irregularities. This can be done by posting Dangme teachers to Gbugblaa to teach the Dangme language in the basic schools in Gbugblaa since the

respondents from Gbugblaa argue that they lack teachers to teach Dangme in the basic school. By so doing, the pupils will learn the Dangme sounds and their combinations. This will at the long run limit the relexification of the Ga phonological and morphological shapes in the Dangme lexicons in Gbugblaa.

Finally, future studies should also investigate a comparative phonological study of Dangme and any of the Ghanaian languages using data from the English lexical borrowings (loanwords that were adapted by speakers of the languages) to check the variations in the syllable structures of the borrowed words in the languages. For instance, the English word *belt* is borrowed into Dangme as **bɛti** changing the syllable structure from CVCC to CV.CV, which is from a mono-syllabic word to a disyllabic word. However, the word *belt* is borrowed into Ewe as **beleti** (see Kpodo, 2015:135), a CV.CV.CV syllable structure. Here, the English mono-syllabic word, *belt* has been borrowed into Ewe as **beleti**, changing the English *mono-syllabic word* to a *tri-syllabic word* in Ewe. A comparative study of this kind will demonstrate the variations in the repair strategies the two languages use when borrowing the words to the languages.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**BIO-DATA/DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

This is designed purposely for academic work and as such, the privacy of the respondents is fully assured. The main purpose of the study is to investigate the nature of language contact between Dangme and the source languages speakers, linguistic and variation studies of lexical borrowings in Dangme.

**AGE:**

- |            |                          |            |                          |            |                          |
|------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| a. 10 – 19 | <input type="checkbox"/> | b. 20 – 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> | c. 30 – 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. 40 – 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. 50 – 59 | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. 60 – 69 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. 70 – 79 | <input type="checkbox"/> | h. 80 +    | <input type="checkbox"/> |            |                          |

**SEX:**

- |           |                          |         |                          |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| a. FEMALE | <input type="checkbox"/> | b. MALE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------|--------------------------|

- DIALECT:** a. YILO KROBO  b. MANYA KROBO  c. ADA   
 d. GBUGBLAA

**OCCUPATION:**

.....

**OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN:**.....

**EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:**.....

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW AND FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL INFORMATION OF THE SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN CONTACT

1. I kpa mo pɛɛ ma nɛ ɔ piɛɛ Dangme ma amɛ a he lo?  
(Please, is this town/community part of Dangme towns?)
2. Majeli kpahi nge ma nɛ mi lo?  
(Are there speakers of other languages here?)
3. Ke majeli kpahi nge ɔ, ke a he hiemi nge kɛɛ nɛ ke nihi nge ma nɛ ɔ mi nge a gbi ɔ he ni tsue kɛɛ?  
(If YES, how dominant is the people and the use of their language?)
4. Ke a Dangme gbi ɔ tumi nge kɛɛ? A tuɔ lɛ wawɛɛ aloo a nye we tumi?  
(How competent are they in the use of Dangme?)
5. Ke Dangme li ɔmɛ hu nge kikɛmɛ a majeli nɛ ɔmɛ a gbi ɔmɛ he ni tsue kɛɛ? A nye tuɔ loo a nye we tumi?  
(How competent are the Dangme natives in the use of the other ethnic groups' languages?)
6. Mɛni he je nɛ majeli ɔmɛ ba to Dangme li ɔmɛ nge ma nɛ ɔ mi ɔ?  
(What brought about the foreigners/natives of other language groups into this community?)
7. Ke tsa pi Dangme zugba/ma ji nɛ ɔ lɛɛ mɛni ba nɛ Dangme li he ba hiɛ nge ma nɛ ɔ mi nge ɔ?  
(If the answer to question 1 is No, then, what brought about a lot of Dangme speakers in this area?)
8. Mɛni ji ni komɛ nɛ yaa nɔ nɛ ha nɛ nihi ba buaa a he nya nge he kake nge ma nɛ ɔ mi?  
(What are some social activities that go on in the community that bring the people together?)
9. Ke nihi bua a he nya nge nɔ ko pee ɔ, mɛni gbi nɛ a pɔɔ tumi nge a he nya buami he ɔ? Mɛni he je nɛ a tuɔ jamɛ a gbi ɔ?  
(Which language(s) do the people in the community prefer to use in each of the social settings? Why?)

## APPENDIX C

### ELICITATION

#### SECTION A: QUESTIONS ON PICTURES AND ABSTRACT ENTITIES DESCRIBED TO THE RESPONDENTS

Please, for each of the entities in the pictures, mention the word(s) you use to refer to them. Also, give the word(s) you use to refer to the abstract entities or concepts described by the researcher.

1. I kpa mo pɛɛ, kɛ a tɛɔ nɔ nɛ nɛ foni ɔ mi ɔ kɛɛ?  
(Please, how do you refer to the entity in the picture?)
2. Munyungu ekpa kome nɛ a kɛ tɛɔ nɔ nɛ nɛ foni ɔ mi ɔ lo?  
(Are there other words that are used to refer to this same entity?)
3. Ke munyungu ekpa ko nɛ ɔ, munyungu ɔ tenɔ nɛ nɛ o pɔɔ kɛ nɔ ɔ nɛ foni ɔ mi ɔ tsemi?  
(If YES to (2) which of the words do you prefer to use to refer to the entity?)
4. Nɔ nɛ a kɛ nɔ nɛ nɛ foni ɔ mi ɔ tsuɔ amlɔ nɛ ɔ, nɔ ekpa ko nɛ nɛ blema a, a kɛ tsuɔ kikɛmɛ a nɔ ɔ nɔuu lo?  
(Are there other entity (ies) used in the olden days to perform the same task that this entity is used to perform currently?). NOTE: This question is specific to some few entities.

In the case of abstract entities, I described the entities to aid the participants give the possible words to them.

5. Ke ni kome kpe nɛ he ko nɛ a nɛ nɔ ko he munyu tue kusikusi nɛ blɔ yaya ko nɔ ɔ, mɛni o deɔ ke ni ɔmɛ nɛ nɛ nɔ ɔ he?  
(If some people are conversing/talking about another person's private lives which might be unkind, disapproving or untrue about the person, what do you say they are doing?)
6. Ke nɔ ko yi ni nɛ be ko mi loo nɛ ligbi ko mi nɛ e nɛ sɔlee nɛ e nɛ Mawu munyu kasee ɔ, mɛni o deɔ ke nɔ ɔ nɛ nɛ nɔ ɔ he?

(When one do not eat food within some time period in a day or the whole day and s/he stays mostly indoors praying and studying the word of God, what do you say the person is doing or has done?)

7. Ke nɔ ko bua jɔɛ nɛ e ngɛ haoɛ titli ngɛ be mi nɛ nɔ ko gbo lɛ ɔ, kɛ o deɔ ke nɔ ɔ ngɛ pee kɛɛ?

(What do you say when a person feels or expresses great sadness, especially because of someone's death?)

8. Meni munyungu (hi) loo bie (hi) o kɛ tɛɔ nɔ nɛ huɔ ngmɔ?

(What word (s) or name (s) do you use to refer to someone who farms?)

9. Ke nyumu ko ya nu yo ko kiklii nɛ e kɛ lɛ na bɔmi ɔ, kɛ wa deɔ ke jame a nyumu ɔ pee yo ɔ kɛɛ?

(If a man forcefully slept with a woman, what do you say the man has done?)

10. Ke nɔ ko de nɔ ko nɛ nɔ nɛ e de ɔ ngɛ mi ɔ, kɛ o deɔ ke nɔ ɔ pee kɛɛ?

(If someone said something and you see what s/he said to be real, what do we say the person has done?)

11. Ke a po lakpa munyu ko kɛ fɔ nɔ ko nɛ a ya tu munyu ɔ nɛ nɔ ɔ ye e he ɔ, meni o deɔ ke nɔ ɔ pee? Aloo wa deɔ ke e ye meni?

(If something untrue is said about somebody and people have sat to look through the matter and the person has been vindicated of the matter, what do you normally say unto the person? Or you say the person has become what?)

12. Ke a kɛ nɔ ko ya kojomi he nɛ e ya tu munyu ko loo nɔ fɛɛ nɔ nɛ e le ngɛ nɔ nɛ a ngɛ kojoe ɔ he ɔ, meni o deɔ ke jame a nɔ ɔ pee?

(If someone is sent to court to say anything s/he knows about an accused person, what do you say the person has done?)

13. Nɔ ko nɛ e ku/kplɔ kɛ pue si nɛ e nyɛ we nyɛɛmi ɔ kɛ o tɛɔ lɛ kɛɛ?

(How do you refer to someone who has broken down and as such can not walk?)

**SECTION B: ELICITED PICTURES WITH WORDS**

The sources from which some of the pictures were downloaded are located on top of those entities whilst the borrowed and indigenous words are below the entities.

123rf.com



afungu/ahleu



atɔtɔ/blɛfo ta/blɛfongme



akutu/kpɛte



tangarii/blɛfo kpɛte



adiba/gɔ

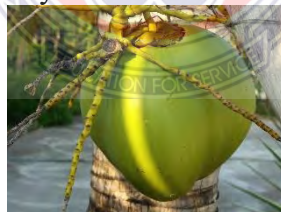
amazon.co.uk.Grocery



anyekli/habue

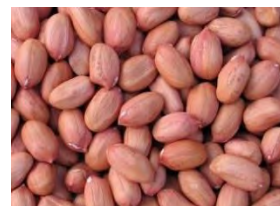


atlɛ/watamilo/wɔtamɛlon



ngmɛ/agɔlengmɛ/akokoshi

indiamart.com



akate/katiɛ/gige



agbitsa/sebɛ/ga



agɔmetaku/ojahui/ingɛfɛɛle



abɛdlu/ablɛdu/abɛdu/sebe  
tsɔwi/ga tso ku/alitse ga

medicalnewstoday.com



baale/hye



kenam(i)



koko/akasa



agoteku



adadee/alonte/ati/ano/wedetse



kpakpahe/dokodoko/dabodabo

letsdosomethingnow.com

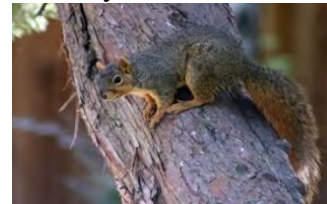


apletsi



okoto/kaawi/agaja

mercurynews.com



opleu

nrcm.com



kokobo

biolib.cz



avugbe/afugbe

mercurynews.com



akoklonto/alu/kolue

thesprucepets.com



osa/okpongo

123rf.com



teji

wildlifecomputers.com



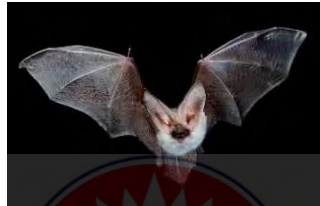
boso

liberaldictionary.com



akpokplo/ovono/kuwi

earthtimes.org



avuto/apotompata/momo

floridaspringsinstitute.org



vavioto/klomi

amazon.com



mine tsi/toto



gatsi/toto



tsesi/kplu



dadese



ketε/kusii



akatawia/ajohia/ajovia



dade/klaate

[altonladders.co.uk](http://altonladders.co.uk)



atlakpe/atsule/gba he tso



sika

[flipkart.com](http://flipkart.com)



tsalewote/slipesi/slipes



mudo

[macys.com](http://macys.com)



papami/papahu

[kentepioneer.com](http://kentepioneer.com)



ohinima/ablade

[kaaskas.com](http://kaaskas.com)



duku



tade



ahihwie/ahuhue



soso/pisa



pingasi/pikasi/pingas



123rf.com



ve/mampam



amoo/tomatosi



ayom/ayon

walmart.ca



tangarii/blefo mi kpete



plæte/plet



kabeji/kabej

freshmart.com



kaloti/karot

amazon.co.uk



matsesi/matses

amazon.com



aflaanga/flag



tsatsa



bobu/bob



soketi/soket

**APPENDIX D****SUMMARY OF TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ENGAGED IN EACH OF THE TOWNS (RESEARCH SITES) AND THE DIALECTS FROM WHICH THEY WERE SELECTED**

<b>TOWN</b>	<b>NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS</b>		<b>DATE</b>
Klo–Agogo	8	(All from Yilo Krobo)	01/11/18
Nkurakan	8	(All from Yilo Krobo)	02/11/18
Aboabo	4	(All from Yilo Krobo)	02/11/18
Somanya	6	(All from Yilo Krobo)	03/11/18
Akuse	8	(2 from Ada and 6 from Manya Krobo)	19/12/18
Kpong	10	(4 from Ada and 6 from Manya Krobo)	19/12/18
Asesewa	8	(All from Manya Krobo)	20/12/18
Akateng	6	(All from Manya Krobo)	20/12/18
Prampram	24	(All from Gbugblaa)	31/01/19–01/02/19
Ayigbo	8	(All from Ada)	02/02/19
Ada Foah	8	(All from Ada)	02/02/19
Kasseh	2	(All from Ada)	02/02/19
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>(From Yilo Krobo, Manya Krobo, Gbugblaa and Ada dialects)</b>	

## APPENDIX E

**Lexical Items borrowed from Ewe**

<b>Source word</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Indigenous word</b>	<b>Glossing</b>
(A)dadi	Adadee	Ati/Ano	Cat
Adiba	Adiba	Gɔ	Pawpaw
Agbeli	Agbeli	-	Cassava
Agbitsa	Agbitsa	Ga	Garden eggs
Agbotsu	Agbosu/Agbo	-	Ram
Agoteku	Akoteku	-	A food made from datepalm
Agometaku	Agometaku	Ojahui/ingefeele	Ginger
Akpɔkpɔ	Akpɔkpɔ	Ovɔnɔ/Kuɔwi	Frog/Toad
Akple	Akple	-	A type of delicacy
Anyikli	Anyekli	Habuɛ	Custard apple
Avugbɛ	Avugbɛ/Afugbɛ	-	
Ajo	Ajo	Amɔnɔsaa	Riddle
Ajo loo	Ajo loo	-	Riddle incantation
Akɔfa	Akɔfa	-	Oar/paddle
Asaɲu	Sahu	Mɔ	Storey building
Atsatsa	Tsatsa	-	A type of mat
Atɔtɔ	Atɔtɔ	Blɛfo ta	Pineapple
Bɔbi	Abɔbi	-	A type of fish
Dzamatre	Atle	-	Water melon
Dzɔgbe	Jɔgbe	Sɛsɛɛ	Good omen
Dzɔgbevɛ	Jɔgbɛ	Gbetsi	Misfortune
Fafali	Fafali		
Favievuto	Vavioto	Klomi	Owl
Fofɔɲ	Afungu	Ahleu	Sugarcane
Fɔyi	Fɔyi	(O) punyu	Black berry
Gatsi	Gatsi	Tɔtɔ	Metal laddle
Gbe	Gbi	-	Language
Gbevɛ	Gbevɛ	-	Rogue
Huadzi	Huaji	-	Oven for smoking fish
Kpakpaxe	Kpakpahe	-	Duck
Kɔfe	Kɔpe	Ngmɔ si	Village/cottage
Mawu	Mawu	-	Aimighty God
Mɔ	Mɔ	-	Prison
Mudɔ	Mudɔ	-	Mosquito net
Sɔ	Oso	Okpɔngɔ	Horse
Tedzi	Teji	-	Donkey

Tsi	Mine tsi	Tɔtɔ	Wooden laddle
Ve	Ve	Mampam	Alligator
Woevi	Wovi	-	A type of fish
Yrɔ	Ylɔ	Kplɔ	Wither



## APPENDIX F

**Lexical Items borrowed from Akan**

<b>Source word</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Indigenous word</b>	<b>Glossing</b>
Abawa	Abawa/mawa	-	Servants
(A)beduru	Abɛdlu/Abɛdu/Abɛdu	Alitse ga/Gatsoku	Turkey berries
Aberewa	Ablewa	Yomoyo	Old lady
Abofu	Abofu	Tsui fia/mi mi fu	Annoyance
Adanseɛ	Odase	-	Witness
Adefodeɛ	Adufude	-	
Adɔde	Adɔde	Afani	Oyster
Adowa	Adowa	-	
Adwaman	Ajuama	Yakayaka ni peemi	Fornication
Agyapadeɛ	Japade	Gbo si ni	Inheritance
Ahenemma	Ohinima	Ablade	Native sandals
Ahuto	Ahuto	Sane	Problem
Ahwehwe	Ahihwiɛ/ahuhue	-	Mirror
Akrɔma	Akrɔma (used only in playing draft)	-	Hawk
Akuafo	Akuafo li	Ngmɔ huli	Farmers
Akutu	Akutu	Kpɛte	Orange
Amane	Amane	Nyagba	Problem
Amanehunu	Amanehlu	Sane/dengme gbomi	Problem
Animuonyam	Anunyam (i)/nyau	-	Glory
Apakan	Apakɛɛ/Akpaka	Tso kpo	Palanquin
Apapransa	Abablasa/paprasa	Kaawi ku	A type of delicacy
Apem	Apem	-	A variety of plantain
Aponkye	Apletsi	-	Goat
Asafo	Asafo	-	Congregation
Atadeɛ	Tade	-	Dress
Awereho	Aywileho	Bɔ yemi	Sorrow
Ayeforo	Ayɛflo/ayiflo	-	Bride
Bayere	Baale	Hye	A variety of yam
Bɔfo	Bɔfo	-	Angel
Boa	Ye bua	Wa	Help
Bonsu	Boso	-	Shark
Buada	(O) buada	Ngma nyemi	Fasting
Daabi	Dabi	Ohoo	No
Dabodabo	Dabodabo	-	Duck
Dadaada	Dadaada	Momoomo/blemeblema	Long ago
Dade	Dade	-	Cutlass
Dadesɛn	Dadesɛn	-	Cauldron

Dede	Dede	Huhui	Noise
Due	Due	Kpo mo	Sorry
Duku	Duku	-	Scarf
Dwene	Juε	-	Think
Fitaa	Futaa/Fitaa	Hiɔ/Ehiɔ	White
Frɔee	Flɔɔ	Kuadaa	Stew
Kaakyire	Kεetsle	Dε nya bi	Last born
Kafra	Kafra	Kpo mo	Sorry
Kaka	Kaka	Tsɔku	Toothache
Kamfo	Kamfo	Yi jemi	Praise
Kente	Kente	-	A type of cloth
Kɔkɔbo	Kɔkɔbo	-	Fox
Kɔnkɔnsa	Kɔkɔsa	Sieku	Gossip
Kɔtɔ	Okɔtɔ	Kaawi/Agaja	Crab
Kentɛn	Kεtε	-	Basket
Koko	Koko	Akasa	Porridge
Krado	Klaalo	Dla o he	To be ready
Kronkron	Klɔuklɔu	He tsɔ	Holy
Kurowa/akuraa	Aklowa	Ngmɔ si	Village
Kusε	Kusie	Kpo mo	Sorry
Kyenam	Kenam (i)	-	Fried Fish
Mmɔden	Mɔde	-	To do well
Mpopahu	Papahu/papam (i)	-	Towel
Monnaa	Abonua	-	Rape
Nana	Nana	-	Grand mother
Nanakasowa	Nanakasowa	-	
Nkatee	Akate/Katie	Gigε	Groundnut
Nkɔmmɔ	Kɔmɔ	Ni sεemi	Conversation
Nklante	Klaate	-	Cutlass
Nkonim	Kunim (i)	Ngua/ayilɔ/manyε	Victory
Nkyensee	Tsesi	Kplu	Eating bowl
Nokore	Anɔkuale	Niine	Truth
Obubuafo	Obubuafo	Libɔɔ	Crippled person
Onniaba	Oniaba	-	A type of plantain
Opuro	Opleu	-	Squirrel
ɔkyeame	Otsiame	-	Spokesperson
ɔsram	Oslam (i)	Nyɔhiɔ/hlami/lohwe	Moon
Patapaa	Patapaa	Gbebi	
Pesemenkomenya	pεsekuminya	-	Self-centeredness
Sanku	Sanku/saku	-	A musical instrument
Sɔfo	Osafo	-	Priest
Sɔsɔ	Sɔsɔ	Pisa	Earth Chisel
Susu	Susu	-	Think

Susu	Susu	Kaa	Measure
Sika	Sika	Hlangu (obsolete)	Money
Sra	Slaa	-	Visit
Tae	Tai	-	
Teaa	Tiaa	Legelege	Slim
Wofa	Wafa	Tsewayo/tsengua	Uncle
Wofaase	Wofase	-	Niece/nephew
Wodasobo	Odasobo	-	A type of scarf



## APPENDIX G

**Lexical Items borrowed from Ga**

<b>Source word</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Indigenous word</b>	<b>Glossing</b>
Akatawia	Akatawia	Ajohia/ajovia	Umbrella
Akokooshi	Akokoshi	Ngmɛ/agɔlɛngmɛ	Coconut
Akpokplonto	Akoklonto	Alu/kolue	Tortoise
Alɔnte	Alɔnte	Ati/Anɔ/wedetse	Cat
Antele	Atele	-	A type of fish
Aputumpata	Apotompata	Momo	Bat
Ashikumɛ	Ashikumɛ	-	A type of fish
Blɔfɔngmɛ	Blɔfɔngmɛ	Blɛfo ta	Pineapple
Ejaake	Ejaakaa	Ejakaa	Because
Ekogbeemi	Ekuegbeemi	-	A type of porridge
Fata	Fata	Pata/piɛɛ	To be part something/inclusive
Fite	Fite	Dã/pue	Spoil
Jaase	Jaase	-	A type of fish
Jɔɔ	Jɔɔ	Gbaa	Bless
Jɛmɛ	Lejemɛ	Leje	There
Keteke	Keteke	-	Train
Kpakposhitɔ	Kpakposhitɔ	-	Pepper (green)
Kpalogo	Kpalogo	-	A type of fish
Kuamoshɛɛ	Kuamoshɛɛ	-	A type of fish
Nuumo	Nuumo	Numoyo/nɔmo	Old man
Odaa	Odaa	-	A type of fish
Odaabi	Odaabi	-	A type of fish
Okadantsua	Okadantsua	-	A type of fish
Oshiki	Osiki	Sɔ	Vote/Election
Pii	Pii	Fuu	Many/plenty
Sɛbɛ	Sɛbɛ	Ga	Garden egg
Sha (Sha afɔle)	Sha (Sha afɔle)	Sa (Sa afɔle)	Give (as in giving offering)
Shɔ	Shɔ	Pue	Create
Shɔpɛɛ	Shɔpɛɛ	-	A type of fish
Shielɔ	Shielɔ	Fielɔ	Preacher
Shiemɔ	Shiemi	Fiemi	Preaching
Srɔtoi	Slɔto	Muno/ekpa	Different
Tsalewɔte	Tsalewɔte	-	Slippers
Wala	Wala	Wami	Life
Yoomo	Yoomo	Yomoyo/yomo	Old lady



## APPENDIX H

**Lexical Items borrowed from English**

<b>Source word</b>	<b>Borrowed As</b>	<b>Indigenous word</b>
Aluminum	aluminio	-
Assemblyman	Asamblemai	-
Bag	Bagi/bag	-
Ball	Bɔɔlu/bɔl	-
Bandage	Baneji/banej	-
Baptism	Baptisimi	-
Barrel	Bale	Amɔtɔ/amatade
Battery	Batle	-
Bible	Baiblo	Ngmami Klɔuklɔu
Belt holes	Bet holes	-
Bench	Betsi/bents	-
Bill	bel	-
Blade	Bledi/bled	-
Blender	blɛɛda/blɛnda	-
Block	Blɔɔki/blɔk	-
Brake	Bleki/brek	-
Brake fluid	Brek fluu	-
Brick layer	Bligɛ	-
Board (wood)	Bɔd	-
Bookman	Bukumai/bukman	-
Booking fee	Buku fii	-
Bulb	Bɔɔbu/bɔb	-
Bulb holder	bub hooda	-
Bus	Bɔɔsu/bas	-
Buttons	Bɔto	-
Bicycle	Basikli/baisikli	-
Bye-day	Baidee	-
Cabbage	Kabeji/kabej	-
Candle	Kanle	-
Capenter	Kabite/kapenta	-
Car	Kaa	-
Carrot	Kalɔti/karɔt	-
Carpet	Kapeti/kapɔt	-
Carrier	Karia	-
Catarrh	Kataa	Soso
Cassette	Kaseti/kaset	Plɛɛte
Cement	Simiti/sɛmeti/segment	-
Chain	Tsei/tsen	-
Chalk	tsɔɔki/Tsɔk	-
Chewing gum	Tsigɔm	-
Chisel	Tsise	-

Cinema	Seni/sini	-
Clamp	Klamp	-
Coat	Kootu/kot	-
Collar	Kɔla	-
Coal pot	Klopɔtu	-
Coaltar	Kootaa	-
Coach	Kotsi/kots	-
Coffee	Kɔfi	-
Computer	Kɔmpiuta	-
Communal labour	Kɔmina labɔ	-
Concrete	Kɔkliti/Kɔnkret	-
Copper chain	Kupa tsei	-
Court	Kɔɔtu/kɔɔto/kɔɔt	Kojomi he
Cigarette	Sigaleti/sikaleti	-
Crutch	Krɔts	-
Cup	Kɔɔpɔɔ/Kɔpɔ/Kap	-
Cupboard	Kɔbɔdi	-
Cylinder	silida/silinda	-
Deck	Dɛk	-
Design	Dizai	Hue
Doctor	Dɔkita/dɔkta	-
Driver	Dlɔɔva/draiva	-
Electricity	iletlisiti	-
Engine	Inji	-
English	Ingleesi	-
Fees	Fiisi/fiis	-
File	Fail	-
Fine	Fai	-
Flag	Aflaangaa/flag (i)	-
Foam	Fom	-
Foundation	Fadesi/fandeshi	-
Gallic	Galiki/galik	-
Gas	Gaasi/gas	-
Gate	Geti/get	Agbɔ
Gear	Gia	-
Generator	genleeta	-
Glass	Glaasi/glas	-
Goalkeeper	Gokipa	-
Hanger	Haaga	-
Heater	hita	-
Head pan	Hɛd pan	-
Head light	Hɛd lait	-
Health insurance	Hefusuɔlasi	-
Helmet	Hemet	-
Hire	Hai	-
Hospital	Asipiti/hosipiti	Hio tsami he

Inspector	Ɛsupɛta/inspɛta	-
Iron	Ayɔm/ayon	-
Iron rod	Ayɔn rɔd	-
Junction	Jɔɔsi/janshi/jɔɔshi	-
Kerosine	Glaasim/glaasii	-
Kiosk	Kiɔsi/kios	-
Knicker	Nika	-
Licence	Lasesi/lases	-
Light	Laiti/lait	Kane
Line	Lai	Za
Linen	Laini	-
Lorry	Lɔle	-
Long sleeve	Lɔŋ/lɔn sliiv	-
Mason	Meesi	-
Matches	Matsesi/matses	-
Material	Matilia/matiria	Tade bo
Meter	mita	-
Microwave	maiklowev/maikrowev	-
Mobile	moba	-
Motor	Moto	-
Mortar	Mɔta	-
Number plate	Nɔma plet	-
Nurse	Nɛɛsi/nɛɛs	-
Offering	Afɔle	Tsumi
Paddler	Padila	-
Paint	Peti/pent	-
Paper	Pepa	-
Paradise	Paradiso	-
Partiion	Patesia	-
Park	Paki/pak	-
Pastor	Pasta	-
Pear/avocado	Paya	-
Pegs	Pɛsi/pɛɛs	-
Pen	Pɛɛ	Adimla
Pencil	Pɛsile/pensle	-
Petro	Pɛtloo	-
Phone	Fom/Fon	-
Photo	Foto	Foni
Plate	Plɛete/plet	-
Police	Polisi/polis	Jibifo
Powder	Pada/pauda	-
Pick axe	Pingasi/ pikasi/pingas	Aga
Pillar	Pila	-
Pipe	Paipu/paip	-
Plane	Pleen	-
Plumber	Plɔba/plɔmba	-

Plywood	Plaiwud	-
Polythene bag	Pɔliti bag (i)	-
Primary	Plaime	Bana/sisije sukuu
Purse	Pɔso/pɔsu	-
Referee	Laflii	-
Rice cooker	raiskuka	-
Rubber	Hlɔɔba/rɔba	-
Sandpaper	Sampepa	-
Saw	Sau/sɔɔ	-
Srew driver	Skuu draiva	-
Seat	Sit (Peculiar to only driving)	Sɛ
Secondary	Sekondle	-
Scale	Sikeli/skel	-
Schnapp	Sinapu	-
Scholar	Sikɔla/skɔla	-
School	Sukuu/skuu	-
Scissors	Sakisi/sakis/sizes	-
Shilling	Sele	-
Shirt	Sieti/shɛt	-
Shock	shɔki/shɔk	-
Shop	Tsuapo	-
Shovel	Sofi	-
Silver	Siliva/silva	-
Socket	Sɔkɛti/sɔkɛt	-
Socks	sɔsu/sɔks	-
Soldier	Soja	-
Spade	Haspaa/sped	-
Spanner	Supana/spana	-
Spay	Suplee/spree	Tsopa tsemi
Skirt	Sikɛti/skɛt	-
Station	Sitiesia/steshi	-
Steering Wheel	Stia	-
Store	Sitɔɔ/stɔɔ	-
Summon	Sama	-
Summons	Samasi	-
Tailor	Tela	Ni kpɛlɔ
Tangerine	Tangarii	-
Tape measure	Tɛpu/tep mɛza	-
Taxi	Taizi/taksi	-
Tarpentine	Tapɛtai	-
Teacher	Titɛ/titsa	Tsɔɔlɔ
Telephone	Tɛnglaafo/tɛlifo	-
Tickit	Tikiti/tikit	-
Tomatoes	Tomatosi/tomatos	-
Town council	Tangasi/tangas	-
Traffic	Tlafiki	-

Traffic indicator	Trafiketa	-
Train	Tlee	-
Trouser	Tlɔɔza	-
Trowel	Tlowe	-
Two by four (wood)	Tuu bai fɔɔ	-
Two by six (wood)	Tuu bai sis	-
Tyre	Tai	-
University	Yunivesiti	Olegɔhi a sukuu
Video	Vidio	-
Vote	Votu	-
Vulganizer	Bɔganaiza	-
Watch	Watsi/wɔts	-
Water melon	Wata milo/wɔta melen	-
Weighing	Weei	-
Wheel barrow	Wibalo/huibarɔ	-
Wire	Waya	-
Yard	Yale	-
Zing	Zingli	-
Zip	Zipu/zip	-

