Synonyms in Ewe: Morphologically Longer and Shorter Words & the Issue of Transparency in Language Meaning

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Résumé – Cet article traite des synonymes en Ewé (langue Niger Congo, Kwa). Le dialecte d'étude est l'Aŋlɔ̃. La recherche dans ce domaine veut d'abord attester comment la synonymie est exprimée (que se soit par des expressions courtes ou longues) et ensuite déterminer une différence de sens entre les deux. La raison fondamentale qui sous-tend la perspective adoptée est de mettre l'accent sur la distinction faite en linguistique entre des synonymes de sens proche et des synonymes de sens identiques. En adoptant la notion de « transparence » ainsi que des tests dits paradigmatiques et syntagmatiques, l'étude découvre que les synonymes morphologiquement courts n'ont pas de sens transparent alors que ceux qui sont morphologiquement longs et contiennent des vocabulaires importants (et non secondaires) sont transparents en sens. Par ailleurs, on observe que dans les deux cas, l'Ewé semble n'avoir que des synonymes de sens proche et non de sens identique. Ceci s'explique par le fait qu'en substituant une forme courte par une autre de même forme, le même degré de non-transparence est engendré. Parallèlement, le fait de substituer une expression longue par une expression courte engendre une nuance d'interprétation.

Mots clés : synonymes, Ewé, expression courte, expression longue, sens proche, sens identique, transparence

Abstract – The current article concerns Ewe synonyms. Ewe is a Niger Congo, Kwa language. The dialect of study is Aŋlɔ̃. The article seeks to find out how synonyms are expressed (short forms as well as long or longer forms) and to determine meaning differences between these. The reason for this move was to find out what constitutes "near synonymy" (similar in meaning) vs. "synonymy" (identical senses) distinction within this domain of synonyms in linguistics. Adopting the notion of "transparency" in addition to paradigmatic and syntagmatic tests, it was found that short synonyms have deep meanings and are therefore not transparent whereas long or longer forms with essential vocabulary (rather than peripheral vocabulary) tend to have much more transparent meaning. In both cases, the study found that whether morphologically short or long, Ewe synonyms tend to be near synonyms (having similar meaning) and are not rather identical in meaning since substituting one short form for another has its own depth of meaning and using a whole expression for another short form comes with nuances of its own.

Key words: synonyms, Ewe, short expression, long expression, similar meaning, identical meaning, transparency.

1. Introduction

Synonymy in linguistics is still an issue of current debate. Synonyms are understood as items having the same meaning (sameness). This is opposed to similarity (also called near-synonymy). In alternative terms, identical meanings tend to be labeled Synonyms, while meanings that are merely similar but not identical are called near-Synonyms. This means that in terms of the dichotomy:

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Form and Meaning, synonyms pose a problem. Why? In an ideal sense, one form must equal one meaning so that when something is said differently (different form), then, there must also be a difference in meaning. However, synonyms are not this way: With synonyms, two different forms can appear to have identical meaning and two different forms can have near synonymous meaning. In line with this reasoning, linguists question if synonymy has any relevance in language. My work is not to challenge the notion or concept of synonymy or near synonymy in language but to hypothesize that this concept exists in Ewe. By so doing, the article explores and seeks to discover the meaning of short and long synonymous expressions in Ewe. This is done with an aim of evaluating meaning differences as well as the relevance of the whole concept in the Ewe language.

1.1. *Previous studies and definition of synonyms*

In the opinion of earlier scholars such as Quine (1951), Goodman (1952), Cruse (1986), Clark (1992) among others, "absolute synonymy is impossible" (Čarapić 2014:12). Synonymy in this case is taken to mean *sameness*. Cruse (1986) and Clark (1992) particularly believe that language change means contrasts will exist in meaning. Words are therefore close, similar but not identical (same) or completely intersubstitutable (Čarapić ibid). The term near-synonym is used to correspond to words that are not identical.

Lyons (1995) on his part indicates that expressions are fully synonymous if all their meanings are identical, and in all contexts and if they can also serve as semantic equivalents in all aspects of their meaning.

Attempting to define near-synonymy, on the other hand, authors such as Edmonds and Hirst (1998) and Hirst (2002) indicate that the definition of near-synonymy must take granularity into account which granularity will make a difference between "the **essential** and **peripheral** aspects of meaning" (Čarapić 2014:13). The issue of granularity is also the issue of collocations which detail out meaning. Furthermore, Murphy (2003) proposes a description of synonymy taking into account "the author's meta-lexical perspective" which considers the "relation between our conceptualizations of words, rather than between their lexical entries" in dictionaries, (Čarapić 2014:13). To Murphy (ibid) then, "a synonym ensemble includes only word-concepts that have all the same contextually relevant properties, but differ in form."

Furthermore, Čarapić (ibid) adopting the lexical approach and collocation insights from earlier works looked at descriptive adjectives in Serbian and English which are not in isolation but rather occur within the context of nominal collocates.

This author found that describing synonyms using the collocations approach gives precision in meaning which approach also falls in line with the cognitive semantic approach. Thus when the author used collocations and in line with componential analyses, it was found that similarities exist between English and Serbian in near synonyms. Near synonyms showed more pairings (quantitatively) than items considered as non-near synonyms. The author however, identified an idiosyncratic property such as grammatical gender in Serbian which is unavailable in English. This property was an important element contrasting the two languages.

I shall use insights from these previous studies but use the term Synonym (s) as a cover term for both *Synonyms* and *near-Synonym*s unless otherwise specified. My standpoint concerning the relevance of the linguistic concept synonymy, as a semantic relation, shall be spelt out in the Interpretation of Ewe synonyms and also in my Conclusion.

1.2. *The question*

Languages can be similar and also different depending on the domain researched. Čarapić (2014) found that collocations which are longer words define meanings more precisely. This helped the author in identifying similar lexical items which serve as near synonyms. Since languages are all not the same, Ewe often does not have single word items that serve the same synonym or near synonym purpose. This means that a search for synonyms or near synonyms in Ewe using for instance the same approach may not necessarily provide useful insight into the language. In order therefore to allow Ewe to speak for itself, I set out to ask the following question: What is the nature of Ewe synonyms and what different aspects of meanings are found whether these are short synonyms or long/longer words (i.e. lexical chunks or collocations)?

Thus my question sets out to explore the domain of synonyms in Ewe in any how these are said (single words, or lexical chunks). My enterprise is thus different from Čarapić, ibid who used the lexical chunks or collocations as tests for discovering single word synonyms (i.e. pretty, lovely, handsome, comely) for the descriptive adjective *beautiful*. My second concern is to attempt to identify shades of meaning found in the lexical chunks as different from the shorter synonyms. Thus, I describe the data researched and suggest differences in meaning from a cognitive semantic perspective.

1.3.   Motivation and Objective

The contemporary scientific and linguistic era demands that researchers should not take notions or concepts for granted but rather explore their existence in languages. Thus in order to affirm that synonyms are attested in the Ewe language and to spell out how they behave with regards to current findings within the domain, we need to explore the Ewe domain. This is the factor that motivated this work.

The objective in doing this piece of work is to provide a description which can eventually assist in the teaching of this domain of the language. Didactic materials are rarely available in Togo. This is a problem since the teaching, at the University level, of native languages, especially Ewe and Kabiye has recently begun in Togo. It shall be found that in looking at this domain, there are some synonymous expressions in Ewe that one can only hear from the mouth of the elderly people (age groups of 40 and beyond). This is special vocabulary that the youth or current generation speakers of the language do not master or even have a sense of. Thus, there is need to teach this area of the language to young speakers and to point out shades of meaning they may not necessarily be aware of.

1.4.   Data and Methodology of Description

Data for this work come from collections of synonymous expressions (from Aŋlɔ speakers, the current author, and from books) and then checking native speaker intuitions about them. The check was to identify meaning differences and whether some expressions are more likely grownup or elderly people use rather than current or common uses by the youth. Thus two populations were important in terms of data: current young speakers of between 15 to 30 years old and the elderly ranging from the age groups 40 to 50 and above.

The methodology consists of two things: the methodological framework or theory and the method of presenting the collected data. In terms of the methodological framework, this study fits specifically within the Lexical semantic approach (as opposed to sentential semantics). Thus, synonymous expressions were considered as words or targeted words occurring in phrases understood as not syntactic elements but rather *lexical phrases* or lexical chunks (Lewis 1993). The work also took into account previous definitions and useful proposals in the consideration of near synonyms, namely,
  ➢ Edmonds and Hirst (1998)'s definition involving granularity for a better explanation

- ➤ Murphy (2003)'s consideration of author perspective within the account which is based on conceptualizations of words rather than a limitation to basic dictionary meanings. This makes the overall or general methodology chosen here a cognitive semantic enterprise.
- ➤ Lewis (1993)'s lexical chunks or collocations.

In terms of method of data presentation, I describe different Ewe words or notions and provide different synonymous expressions for these. Additionally, where relevant, I distinguish expressions used by the elderly people from those used by the youth. Finally, I account for the difference between shorter synonyms and longer synonyms.

2. Description: The Nature of Synonymy in Aŋlɔ Ewe.

This section describes the synonyms or synonymous expressions found in Ewe. Section 3 interprets them in terms of their meaning. My starting hypothesis is that long or longer synonymous expressions have transparency in that they contain more explanatory baggage. However, not all long synonyms are transparent.

It is often said that if something is said differently, then it must mean something not totally identical to another, even though similarities can be found. This is the domain of synonyms observed in Ewe. When previous scholars talk of near synonyms, they do so, on the basis of several reasons, which we shall also see with Ewe synonyms. I shall firstly describe Ewe short synonyms in (2.1) and then long or longer synonyms in (2.2).

2.1. Short Synonyms in Ewe

Short synonyms attested in Ewe can take the following forms:

1. a. Adzi-nɔ-wo
   bring.forth-mother-PL
   'procreators'

   b. Vi-dzi-la-wo
   child-bring.forth-TOP-PL
   'child bearers.'

   c. Dzi-la-wo
   bring.forth-PL

'parents.'

What is the nature of the examples in (1)? Firstly, we see single word forms, which are derivations. We can call each example a noun or a nominal. Example (1a) was found in an old Ewe book dated 1984. Most of the youth consulted for their view did not recognize this as a word they would use. The elderly people identified with it as something they would say easily but not in addressing younger people. Now, the fact that (1a) is quite old means that it appears also as having elements not recognized in current use: the a-initial. This form only appears similar to the dummy pronouns *a-* or *e-* in insistence forms such as; *aKofi* 'proper name,' *egbe* 'voice' in Ewe. Thus the older form in (1a) is less transparent in meaning, while (1b) is the most transparent of the three examples because it has more lexical content.

One reason we cannot attribute identical sense to examples in (1) and why they are synonyms or specifically, near synonyms (as used in previous scholarship) is that the forms or words expressing them are different. As said above, when something is said differently, it must carry something new in sense. Another reason why they are near synonyms is that often, we quickly say them in isolation as substitutes. A third reason for them not being exact copies of each other is that when used in syntactic contexts, they behave differently.

(2) a. !Vidzila-wo   me-lɔ-a   be ɖevi-wo ne   fa avi   o.
       Child.bearer-PL   NEG-love-HAB that child-PL they cry tear not
          'Child bearers don't like to see children cry.'

    b. Dzila-wo   me-lɔ-a   be ɖevi-wo ne   fa   avi   o.
       bearer-PL NEG- love-HAB that child-PL they   cry tear not
       'Parents don't like to see children cry.'

    c. Vidzila-wo kple vihela-wo   siã   va   bɔbɔ-la.
       bearers-PL and educator-PL all   come meeting-DET
       'Child bearers and child educators all came to the meeting.'

Example (2a) where *vi-* 'child' is introduced suggests a structural opposition with something similar such as: *vihela* 'child educator,' *vilɔla* 'child lover,' *vikplɔla* 'child guide' etc. as in (2c). Thus unless a contrast is intended, it will not be used. This is because the form is quite specific and thus transparent and not like in (2b)

even though all the examples in (2) are synonyms. Further examples can be seen in (3) below which show that synonymous items are not identical:

(3)   a. Adzre-ku-la
        Quarrel-die-DET
        'One who settles disputes ; a peace maker.'

        b. Adzre-dela
         quarrel-remover

        c. Adzre-tɔ́la
        quarrel-stopper

        d. Adzre-kpála
        quarrel-eradicator

        e. Adzre-wula
        quarrel-killer

        f. Adzre-gbela
        quarrel-refuser

On the semantic side, Ewe equivalents of the following verbs are not the same thing: die, remove, stop, kill, and refuse. Similarly, someone who makes disputes die is not totally like one who removes it or stops it or even kills it or refuses it. Furthermore, syntactically, we can say *gbe dzre nee* but not *wu dzre nee*, or *de dzre nee* or *tɔ* or *kpa* etc. These other forms occur in syntactic structures of their own. Thus the expressions in (3) are just near-synonyms (Synonyms alright but are not identical: not in form, nor in their occurrence in syntactic structures nor in meaning). The examples are short synonyms. See more examples in (4) below.

(4). a. Ko 'only' (Eya   ko 'this only')

    b. Sɔŋ 'only'   sɔŋ ko 'Intensification'

    c. Dzaa 'only'   dzaa ko 'Intensification'

    d. Pee 'only'   pee ko 'Intensification'

    e. Ɖeɖe 'only'   ɖeɖe dzaa 'Intensification'

    f. Ɖeke ma-kpii   o   'nothing added'
       none NEG-add not

Example (4) gives us five different synonymous expressions of the same form *ko* 'only.' The synonyms can only be taken as near synonyms. This is because *ko* is not the same form as *sɔŋ* or *dzaa* or *pee* etc. even though these are rough substitutes. The alternative expressions (collocations) in (4b, c, d, e) are used as emphasis or intensification which can also disambiguate meaning in different contexts and are therefore transparent in that they are more explanatory. The longer expression in example (4f) is a whole phrase which can substitute for (4a) somewhat, however, it is a lexical chunk with its own syntactic structure; even though it fills the same slot as the shorter expressions as shown below.

(5) a. Tsɔ e-ma   ko   na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM only to-1SG
    'Give/pick me only that one.'

  b. Tsɔ e-ma   sɔŋ na-m/ Tsɔ   e-ma   sɔŋ ko   na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM   only to-1SG/take 3SG-DEM only INT to-1SG
    'Give/pick me only that one/Give/pick me really only that one.'

  c. Tsɔ e-ma   dzaa na-m /Tsɔ e-ma   dzaa   ko   na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM only to-1SG/take 3SG-DEM only INT to-1SG
    'Give/pick me only that one/Give/pick me really only that one.'

  d. Tsɔ   e-ma   pee   na-m/Tsɔ   e-ma   pee   ko   na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM only to-1SG/ take 3SG-DEM only INT to-1SG
    'Give/pick me only that one/Give/pick me really only that one.'

  e. Tsɔ   e-ma   ɖeɖe na-m/Tsɔ   e-ma   ɖeɖe dzaa na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM only to-1SG/take 3SG-DEM only INT to-1SG
    'Give/pick me only that one/ Give/pick me really only that one.'

  f. Tsɔ   e-ma,   [ɖeke   ma-kpii   o]   na-m.
    take 3SG-DEM nothing NEG-add   not   to-1SG
    'Give/pick me that one, nothing added.'

The much more explanatory expression in (5f) is a whole sentence containing the lexical chunk.

2.2.   Long or Longer Synonyms in Ewe

I shall argue here that long or longer synonyms are transparent in meaning. Nonetheless, not all long synonymous expressions are transparent.

(6) a. **E-do   tre   ŋui   (elderly expression)**
    3SG-wear   calabash   flesh/skin
    'She/he/it is copper colored.'

  b. E-ŋuti   biã   abe   tre   ene
    3SG-skin   red   like   calabash   like
    'Its skin/covering is red like a calabash color.'

(7) a. E-le   vevie   na-m.
    3SG-be   costly/wealthy   to-1SG
    'It is costly to me.'

  b. E-le   tɔxɛ   na-m.
    3SG-be   special   to-1SG
    'It is special to me.'

  c. E-hɔ   aʃi/asi   na-m.
    3SG-has   cost   to-1SG
    'It is costly to me.'

Example (6a) is a long expression that one will hear from mostly the elderly people. It is quite opaque because it is almost like an idiomatic expression; however, the synonymous expression in (6b) is transparent in that it provides details for meaning comprehension. The examples in (7a, b) are long and respectively indicate that something is *vevie*, or *tɔxɛ*. These two adjectives are like the single words described above in that their meanings are not that obvious; we do need to ask what is *vevie*, or what is *tɔxɛ*? Only (7c) attempts to explain that *hɔ aʃi* or *hɔ asi* substitutes for *vevie* and *tɔxɛ* and therefore the two words carry similar meaning as *hɔ aʃi/asi* which is defined as 'costly.' Thus, even though (7a, b) are long expressions, they are more like short synonyms and only (7c) is a long synonymous expression with an explanatory baggage. Further examples are below.

(8) a. Nu   vlo   wɔwɔ:
    thing   vain   do.RED

'act of doing ugly, bad or valueless things' or bad things.'

b. Nu   dada wɔwɔ
   thing   awkward   do.RED
 'act of doing awkward, or disorderly/lawless things.'

c. Nu   masɔmasɔ wɔwɔ
   thing   unequal   do.RED
   'Act of doing inequity or unfair deeds.'

   These long synonyms are quite transparent in that each has an explanatory baggage: each involves doing something. Besides, reduplication on the adjectives in both (7b) and (7c) provides some intensified sense. Furthermore, (7c) carries negation which suggests that if (7b) and (7c) are listed as synonyms for (7a) then the two provide additional content for (7a). Therefore, doing something valueless is like doing something awkward or disorderly (reduplicated adjectives). Similarly, the negation of *sɔ* as *masɔmasɔ* provides some content to meaning. Example (9) has more of the long synonyms.

(9) Nu   me   kuku: biabia 'questioning'
      thing inside   dig.RED
      'digging into something'

(10) a. Hiã̃   tu   ame: ahedada 'poverty stricken'
        need/poverty reach   person
        'To be in need or be attached with poor'

   b. Nu   ma-nɔ   ame   ʃi/si
      thing   NEG-be.PAST   person   hand
      'Act of not having something.'

   c. Fu   wɔ   ame
      suffering do person
      'act of suffering'

   In both (9) and (10), the short synonymous word on the right can substitute for the expression on the left, however, only the leftward expressions have transparency in meaning. This is because they have more lexical content.

3. Interpretation

Transparency, in this article, is the term imposed on meaning which is easily available. Short synonyms such as (1a), (4a) and the rest of the unmodified versions in (4), are all not transparent. For (1a), the lack of meaning or explanatory baggage is a generational phenomenon; however in both cases, in order to understand them, modifying elements or longer words must be used to explain them. One can suggest from here that these types of short synonyms have deeper meanings rooted within them. Evidence for deepness in meaning is obvious and may even sound repetitive: in order to explain or provide meanings of them, we need to dilute them, or use contexts, and modifying elements or more words. This can also be the issue of the difference between **synonyms** and **near-synonyms**, or particularly for Ewe, the occurrence of near-synonyms. In order to explain this, I introduce the notions of **paradigmatic** and **syntagmatic** relations. A Paradigmatic relation in terms of meaning is looking for alternative single forms to explain the word while a syntagmatic relation refers to contexts or phrases (and beyond) in which the expression occurs and which explain it. These relations are illustrated below, where paradigmatic is a vertical relationship while Syntagmatic is a horizontal one.

<u>**Paradigmatic**</u>:   <u>**Syntagmatic**</u>

  Ko ⟶ *ko* gɔme nye be wo-ma-tsɔ nane ke akpii o
                  'The meaning of *ko* is that nothing should be added.'

  Sɔŋ ⟶ *sɔŋ* gɔme-e nye be nu-ma dzaa ko dzi-m wo-le
                  '*Sɔŋ* means that only that thing is desired.'

  Ðeɖe ⟶ *ɖeɖe* gɔme-e nye be e-ya ko, alo, e-ya dzaa dzi-m wo-le.
                  '*Ðeɖe* means that that thing only, or exactly that is what is desired.'

  Pee ⟶ *pee* gɔme-e nye ɖeɖe, alo dzaa, alo ko. Vɔ wu la, miateŋu agblɔ be pee gɔme-e nye ɖeke ma-kpii o '*Pee* means ɖeɖe, dzaa, or ko. To add, we can say that pee means, nothing should be added.'

Now, looking carefully at the Ewe data, if the words in a paradigm are short single words and short single words are not necessarily transparent, then it follows

that using a short word to define another short word does not give a transparent sense of the word. This is because; this other short word must be defined or situated within a context in order to be understood. This means in effect that even though synonyms exist (yes, they try to provide meaning that can stand for another), yet, because short synonyms stand alone, or are potentially single words, their meanings are opaque (dense, or deep) and can only be viewed as *near synonyms*. Contrarily, the expressions in a syntagmatic relationship used to explain the short words are transparent: more means, more sense. However, common sense tells us that the act of transforming a whole expression or phrase and beyond into a single word does not necessarily mean that the two sides are equal. Therefore, yes, the syntagmatic relationship provides transparency for meaning; however, it falls short of being identical in sense with the short form. This therefore makes the Syntagmatic relationship also a context for near-synonymy.

Long or longer Ewe synonyms therefore provide more meaning and are therefore transparent. However, not all long or longer expressions are transparent: a distinction must be made between peripheral and essential elements within the longer expressions. Only longer expressions carrying essential forms are explanatory. Nevertheless, transparency does not also mean necessarily, identical meaning. In the end, short and long Ewe synonyms are only near synonyms if we look at them from the standpoint of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations.

An illustrative list of some common synonyms in Ewe is provided below. This list is not exhaustive but illustrative of some of the most frequent synonymous expressions in Ewe. The purpose of including the list is to show that synonyms are relevant in Ewe. As can be seen, Vocabulary on the left side of the table is augmented by the synonymous expressions on the right hand side. In some cases, several expressions are seen in terms of the synonymous expressions. These expressions cannot be ignored, even if the dichotomy "form and meaning" in relation to synonyms poses a problem. This is because, the idea of "one form one meaning" itself is just an ideal situation which is not the norm in language, particularly, meaning. Cases of polysemy in language coupled with contextual meaning, or not, make the ideal "one form one meaning" impossible.

Elderly, in bold and after an expression, refers to those expressions that the elderly people will more likely use. G in the table refers to an author, Gbekɔbu, while p. after it indicates the page number where the item was found in the book. The abbreviation V refers to a verb. Conventional linguistic norms, such as 1SG or 3SG refer to, first person singular, or third person singular in that order.

Ewe Synonymous Expressions

No.	Vocabulary	Synonyms/Other expressions
1.	Adzinɔ-wo (G. 51) **Elderly** procreator-PL 'procreators'	*vidzilawo* 'child bearers' *vinɔwo* 'mothers' *dzilawo* 'parents'
2.	E-do tre ŋui (G. p. 51) 3SG-wear calabash skin 'He/she is copper colored.' **Elderly**	*Eŋuti biã abe tre ene* 3SG-skin red like calabash like 'It is red like the color of a calabash.'
3.	Adzre-ku-la quarrel-die-DET 'one who settles disputes, peace maker.'	*adzre-dela* 'peace maker' quarrel-remover *adzre-tɔla* 'peace maker' quarrel-stopper *adzre-kpála* quarrel-stopper 'peace maker' *adzre-wula* quarrel-killer 'peace maker' *adzre-gbela* 'peace maker'' quarrel-refuser
4.	Ha nu 'worry' heap thing	*fa konyi* 'lament' Cry V
5.	Bɔ /e-bɔ 'abound/it is plentiful'	*sugbɔ* 'plenty' *gbogbo ɖe* 'plenty' *e-li* 'it exists; it is plentiful' 3SG exist *e-li fũu* 'it is plentiful' *me-hiã o* 'it is not lacking' NEG-need not

		me-ve *o/me-ɖẽ o* 'it is not scarce' NEG-scarce not/NEG-scarce not
		e-li geɖe 'it exists plentifully' 3SG-exist plenty
6.	Ko 'only'(E-ya ko 'only this one'	*dzaa* 'only' *pee* 'only' *ɖeɖe* 'only' *ɖeke ma-kpii o* 'nothing added' nothing NEG-add not
7	Vevie 'important' (E-le vevie na-m 'it is important for me')	*e-hɔ aʃi na-m* 3-cost money/wealth to-1SG 'It is costly to me/It is wealthy to me.' *tɔxɛ/tɔxe* 'special' (E-le tɔxɛ na-m 'It is special to me.')
8.	Nunya 'knowledge'	*Nyasã* 'brain' (Nyasa le eʃi 'He/she has knowledge') *tagbɔ* 'head/forehead' (Tagbɔ me le eʃi o 'He/she does not have knowledge')
9.	Aɖaŋudzedze 'act of being wise; wisdom' (*Aɖaŋudzedze le eʃi* 'He/she has wisdom')	*tamebula* 'act of being a thinker' *ŋgbledede* **Elderly** 'act of pondering; considering things'
10.	Keŋ 'completely ' (evɔ keŋ 'it is completely finished)	*ʃio* 'completely' *ɖekeɖeke me-ga-li o* 'none is available' none.INT NEG-again-exist not *godoo* 'completely' (*evo godoo* 'it is completely finished')
11	Biabia 'question; act of asking	*nu me kuku* 'questioning'
12.	Vovovo 'different (types) '	*hamehame* 'different (types)'
13.	Gɔmeɖeɖe 'interpretation; meaning; answer, understanding, explanation'	*gɔmekuku* 'interpretation; explanation'

14.	Vodada 'mistake'	*Nu vlo wɔwɔ* 'wrong doing/doing vain things'
		agɔdzedze 'offensive; being offensive; an offense'
		masɔmasɔ 'inequality'
		gbɔdzɔgbɔdzɔ 'weakness'
15	Kpekpeɖeŋu 'help'	*alɔdodo* 'help, assistance'
		amenuveve 'merciful'
		nusẽdodo ame strengthening person ''strengthening a person; encouraging; giving assistance to'
16	Gawua /gawu-la 'additionally; extra, more than that'	*tsɔ kpe-e la* 'additionally' take add-3SG-DET
17.	Mlɔeba la 'lastly' **Elderly**	*tsɔ wue-nu* la 'lastly' take end.it
		kpɔtoekpɔtoe la 'finally, lastly' *le nuwuwu la* 'in the end' in end
18.	Ðɔɖɔɖo 'correction/revision' (*e-wɔ ɖɔɖɔɖo-wo le dɔ-a ŋutsi* 'he/she did some revisions to the work'	*dzadzraɖo* 'organizations, corrections' *aɸitɔtrɔ-wo* 'organizations, corrections, revisions'
19.	Ahedada 'poverty'	*hiã tu ame* 'needing/needy' need reach person *nu ma-nɔ ame ɸi* 'lacking, poverty' thing NEG-be person hand *fu wɔ ame* 'act of suffering' suffering do person

20.	Klã inform, warn	*sia /ʃia* 'inform'
		fi to fi –na 'inform, warn; secretly inform' steal ear theft-for
		gblɔ-na do'ŋkɔ 'inform; inform ahead' say-to ahead
21.	Amebubu 'respect'	*amesisi/ameʃiʃi* 'respect/shy away from'
		amevɔ̃vɔ̃ 'fear of a person, respect'
		amesosro 'reverence for a person' **Elderly**
22.	Ɖusẽdodo 'act of strengthening; strength-wear.RED strength'	*dzidodo* 'courage' heart.wear.RED
		tamesẽse 'hardening; a strong mindset' (can be negatively used)
		ɖoɖomadzidzɔmadzidzɔ 'act of sticking or holding unto practices and not relinquishing them'
23.	Ɖudzɔnɔnɔ 'act of being awake; alertness'	*tododo* 'act of listening; being alert; obedience'
24.	Tsɔtsɔke 'forgiveness'	*ŋutifafawɔwɔ* 'peace making'
		ɖekawɔwɔ 'act of seeking oneness'
		nɔviwɔwɔ 'act of being friendly'
25.	Mama 'division'	*kaklã* 'separation; division
		adzrewɔwɔ 'act of quarreling; act of being at loggerheads'
		nutovowɔwɔ 'act of behaving different'

26.	Dodokpɔ 'examination	*numedzodzrokpɔ* 'examination, reflection'
		nuŋutsibubukpɔ 'act of pondering about something'
		nulelekpɔ 'consideration; act of considering something'
27.	Tefe 'a place'	*afi* 'a place' (*Afi aɖe yim me le/Tefe aɖe yim mele* 'I am going to a place/somewhere'
28.	Nane 'something'	*wɔna aɖe* 'something' do-HAB
		Nane ŋutsi bum mele /wɔna aɖe ŋutsu bum mele 'I was thinking about something'
29.	Dɔtsɔvi 'an apprentice; a servant'	*dɔsrɔ̃vi* 'an apprentice; a learner'
		dɔkplavi 'an apprentice; a learner/trainee'
30.	Afetɔ 'employer; director; head'	*dɔfetɔ* 'employer; director; head'
31.	Blu 'shout with anger'	*nyra* 'shout with anger'
		fa 'shout with anger'
		E-blu ɖe-m/E-nyra ɖe-m/Efa na-m 'He/she shouted on me with anger'
		ɖo li ɖe ame ta 'shout on a person
32.	Ʋunyaʋunya ' tumult, hullabaloo, uproar, disorder' **Elderly**	*masɔmasɔ* 'iniquity; inequality' *adzrewɔwɔ* 'act of quarreling/being at loggerheads'
33.	Nublanuikpɔkpɔ 'Being merciful'	*amenuveve* 'grace; merciful' *nɔviwɔwɔ* 'act of behaving brethren or as siblings' *ɖekawɔwɔ* 'oneness' nunanaamenɔvi 'act of being kind, generous; generosity' *lɔ̃lɔ̃* 'love'
34.	Vɔ̃ɖi evil	*baɖa* 'bad'

		gblẽ 'spoilt, abnormal' *vlo* 'spoilt, empty' *nyrã* 'evil, worse' *sẽtame* 'wicked'
35.	Do dziku /kpɔ dziku 'act of being angry'	*do dɔmedzui* 'being angry' *me hɔ-e nyui o* 'not receive a thing well' *me kpɔ dzidzɔ ɖe eŋu o* 'not be happy about something' *me hɔe bɔbɔe o* 'not receive calmly'
36.	Dokpɔ 'to test'	*dzrokpɔ* 'test, examine' *ɖa ŋku ɖi kpɔ-e ɖa* 'observe it' *le ŋku ɖe e-ŋutsi kpɔ* 'observe/probe it'
37.	Ɣeaɖewoɣi 'sometimes'	*gbeaɖewogbe* 'some days; sometimes' *ŋkekeaɖewo* 'some days' *gaɖewome* 'sometimes'
38.	Ŋutikɔkɔe 'holiness'	*Ŋutidzadze* 'holiness; a sane body'
39.	Dɔmekɔkɔe 'truthfulness'	*dɔmedzadze* 'truthfulness' *dɔmefatu* 'truthfulness' *dɔmenyui* 'truthfulness; having a good heart'
40.	Dzro ame 'act of attracting a person; desire'	*dzɔdzi na ame* 'act of being desirable to a person' *le dzi na ame* 'act of attracting a person; desire' *kɔ ame* 'something making a person feel right/okay' *wɔ ame nyui* 'something acting positively on a person'
41.	Xixeme 'the world'	*agbeme* 'the world; life'
42.	Nyi kɔ 'be law abiding'	*wɔ ɖe se dzi* 'do according to law' *le se ɖe aʃi* 'keep the law' *gbenu le masɔmasɔ gbɔ* 'abandon iniquity/ inequality' *tsri se mawɔmawɔ* 'hate disobedience to law'
43.	Tɔnyenyenye/tɔnyenye 'selfishness'	*ɖokuitɔdzidzi* 'selfishness; seeking only for self'

		ametɔdzidzi 'selfishness'
		mawɔnɔvi 'not being kind; unfriendly'
44.	Xɔ ŋkɔ 'act of being renown'	*xɔ aʃi* 'being worthy/valuable/costly'
		tó ŋku 'act of being famous'
		xɔ bubunana 'act of being praise worthy'
		xɔ kafukafu 'act of being praise worthy'
		xɔ gã 'act of being big'
		dze aʃi dzi 'act of being in demand'
45.	Nugbegble 'a spoilt thing'	*nudovlo* 'a worthless thing'
		numaxɔaʃi 'a worthless thing'
		nuɖɔvui 'worthless thing' **Elderly**.
		numaɖinaneke o 'a worthless thing; a nonentity'
		nuyaka 'a disorderly/worthless thing'
46.	Enumake 'at once'	*ziɖeka* 'at once, suddenly
		ha ɖeka 'suddenly'
		ɣeyiɣi magumagutɔe 'without wasting time'
47.	Aɖaŋudzela 'a wise person'	*nuteƒewɔla* 'a righteous person'
		toɖola 'an obedient person'
		agbenyuinɔla 'a righteous person'
48	Dɔwɔlawo 'workers'	dɔlawo 'workers' **Elderly**.
49.	Vasẽɖe 'until; till'	he yi ɖe 'until; till'
		he sẽɖe 'until; till'
50	Zɔ̃ kaba 'walk quickly'	*ɖe bla* 'walk quickly; be quick'
		afɔ ne tsɔ na wo 'let your feet be quick'
		ne tsɔ́ 'be quick'
		wɔ bla 'do quickly'
		gó 'hurry up'
		zã̃ 'be smart'

ʋã	'move'
bǐ	'be smart'

4. Conclusion

This article looked at single word synonyms (some of which are derivations) and longer expressions in Aŋlɔ Ewe. Synonyms in general show the following properties:

> ➢ Difference in form/words: these can have synonymous/identical meaning or near synonymous meaning
> ➢ Synonyms are said quickly in isolation, often out of context, as substitutes
> ➢ When used in syntactic contexts, synonyms can behave differently

In terms of Ewe in particular, it was found that some expressions can only be used by the elderly people. Additionally, in checking for differences in meaning, it turned out that morphologically short or shorter words and those expressions used by the elderly are less transparent. Evidence for non-transparency is found in the fact that we use more words, or look for appropriate contexts in order to explain short forms or forms used by the elderly. This means that these forms have deep meanings. In order to back this argument up and also clarify the issues of synonyms and near synonyms, I introduced an existing notion; namely, the distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. The relation showed that single forms within a paradigm do not explain much for meaning. In other words, using a short word to define another short word does not necessarily give a transparent sense of the word. This is because this other short word must be defined or situated within a context of its own in order to be understood. Therefore, because short meanings are deep, using one to substitute for another only entails *near synonymy.*

Contrarily, long or longer forms were explained to be more transparent. This is because context is made available. However, it was indicated that not all long forms are transparent. Long synonyms with significant or essential words are more transparent. This means that if the long or longer synonym has peripheral elements accompanying it, then, this synonymous or alternative expression is just like a short expression which is less transparent. In other words, only synonymous expressions occurring in a syntagmatic relationship with crucial defining elements are transparent. Transparency here also does not entail identical meaning but near-synonymy.

The listing below, specifically shows the findings of this study:

i. Short and long synonyms are attested in Aŋlɔ Ewe, some of which occur only in elderly people's speech.

ii. Short synonyms occur or stand alone and therefore have deep meanings and need longer synonymous expressions to explain them.

iii. Using a paradigmatic and syntagmatic test, substituting a short word with another short one (paradigmatically), does not necessarily explain meaning. Alternatively, using words that occur in a syntagmatic relationship can make meaning transparent.

iv. However, when considering longer synonyms for transparency, only those with essential defining elements can achieve this goal.

v. Since short words have deep meanings, it follows that short synonyms may tend to be only near synonyms

vi. Similarly, since long expressions are adulterated or diluted forms of meaning with nuances of their own, it follows that whatever long expression is used as a synonymous expression can only be a near synonym (and may not forcibly carry identical sense in Ewe).

vii. Synonyms are relevant in Ewe; otherwise, they will not be attested. An important aspect for the lexicon is that they enrich the lexicon and augment the expressive power of the language as a whole.

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