DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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CODE-SWITCHING AMONG GA-ENGLISH SPEAKERS: A GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

BY

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear family members and to the Builders Christian Fellowship (North Legon Branch) of the Builders Christian Foundation International (BCFI).

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TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ADJ = Adjective

ART = Definite article

COP = Copula

CP = Projection of complementizer, Complement phrase

CS = Code-switching

CSed NG = Code-switched Nominal Group

DET = Determiner

E.g. = Example

EL = Embedded Language

EMP = Emphatic marker

Etc = et cetera

FUT = Future

HAB = habitual/ repeated action marker

INT = intensifier

ML = Matrix Language

N = Noun

NEG = Negator

NG = Nominal Group

PL = Plural marker

P = Past tense marker

PEF = Perfect marker

POS	= Possessive marker
PRG	= Progressive marker
PRES	= Present tense marker
PRON	= Pronoun
S	= Singular marker
VG	= Verbal Group
VP	= Verb phrase
1	= First person
2	= Second person
3	= Third person
?	= Interrogator/ question marker

LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

ABSTRACT

This study is a structural examination of Ga-English code-switched utterances among native Ga speakers. It seeks to find out the nature and structure of code-switching as it occurs among family members within the family setting. As such, data for the study was collected from selected people within a family. All the participants are balanced bilinguals and literate in both languages.

The analysis involved mainly an examination of the morpheme distribution patterns within the Nominal and Verbal Groups of the code-switched utterances as well as how prepositions perform in the code-switched structures. Adverbial Groups and conjunctions were also briefly examined. The theoretical framework used is the 4-M model of Carol Myers-Scotton (2002) and the grammatical theory of the Systemic Functional Grammar.

It was observed that, per the 4-M model's assumption, content morphemes are the main English items in the corpus. System morphemes are mostly supplied by Ga and their switch is subject to the principles of the differential access hypothesis.

Secondly, the research sought to find out whether differences exist between the Ga only syntactic structures and the code-switched syntactic structures. The results reveal that there are fundamental differences in both the Nominal Group and the Verbal Group of both structures, as well as within the switching of prepositions and conjunctions.

The structure of the utterances may be predictive, particularly in the Nominal and Verbal Groups as the position of morphemes are easily identified and recur over and over again.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In West Africa, Amuzu & Singler (2014) report that there is intense intrasentential code-switching. This is mainly because, as Dakubu (1997) observes, polyglottism is a major characteristic of West African cities (Amuzu & Singler, 2014). Moreover, Amuzu & Singler (2014) lament the fact that in spite of encouraging numbers of studies of CS in the region, the studies mostly involve language pairs of a majority language and a colonial language. Studies involving language pairs of a minority language and a majority language are scarce while those of a minority language and a colonial language are scarcer (Amuzu & Singler, 2014).

This study seeks to examine the grammatical structure of Ga-English code-switching as engaged in by 'educated' native speakers of Ga. The term educated speakers was first used by Sey (1973). In this study, however, Amuzu (2005a)'s definition is adopted. Amuzu (2005a) uses 'educated Ghanaians' to refer to Ghanaians who have acquired at least a secondary school education.

The study focuses on code-switching among family members in informal conversations. The rationale behind this is basically to examine the nature of code-switching within the family setting and largely to study the structure of the code-switched utterance among educated Ga speakers.

The analysis involves a description and explanation of the morpheme distribution patterns in the Nominal and Verbal Groups of the code-switched utterances. There are also comments on code-

switching of prepositions, adverbial groups, and conjunctions. The theoretical framework that is used for the analysis is Myers-Scotton (2002)'s 4-M model.

1.2. AN OVERVIEW OF CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching (CS) is appraised one of the central issues in bilingualism research; one that has received tremendous attention, and continue to excite scholars in the field (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Thomason, 2001; Dadzie, 2004, etc). It is defined by Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) as 'the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation. Thomason (2001: 133) similarly defines it as 'the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation'. Several manifestations of code-switching exist, such as, switching between turns of speakers; switching between utterances of one's turn; and even, switching within a single utterance. These differences have led to distinctions in descriptive terms for the phenomenon such as codeswitching, code-mixing, code alternation, borrowing etc. The main point however is that it has been discovered that the bilingual uses his/her two codes interchangeably, sometimes moving from one to another, other times substituting words in one for another within the same speech effort (Dadzie, 2004). In this study, code-switching (CS) is used to describe any of the manifestations mentioned above without any distinction.

Interest in the study of CS began in the 1950s when scholars like Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) dwelt on aspects of it in their publications (Milroy & Muysken, 1995:5; Clyne, 2003:70). The term 'code-switching' was however introduced by Gumperz (1964) 'for switching with a discourse function' (Clyne, 2003:70); but with time it has been increasingly used for all kinds of

switching (Clyne, 2003:70). According to Myers-Scotton (1993:19), subsequent studies of CS (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993b) mainly focused on its social motivations.

However, it soon became apparent that intra-sentential CS is not done haphazardly, but may be structured. The search for structural constraints thus began. Notable among these researchers are, Timm (1975), Pfaff (1979), Gumperz (1982), Poplack (1981) and Myers-Scotton (1993a).

At the moment, studies of CS are generally approached from three main perspectives – Psycholinguistic, Sociolinguistic and Structural.

- Sociolinguistic studies make inquiries into the social aspects of CS. Some of the studies are Blom & Gumperz (1972), Heller (1988), Clyne (1992), Myers-Scotton (1993b), Milroy & Li (1995) and Owusu-Yeboa (2013).

- Psycholinguistic researchers are concerned with the cognitive aspects of CS. Some studies are Grosjean (1982; 1995), etc.

- Structural studies are investigations into the grammatical structure of the CSed utterances. Scholars in this field include Poplack (1980), Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2002) and, Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995). The structural perspective is dealt with in detail in the next section.

1.3. THE STRUCTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF CS

The structural perspective of code-switching studies as mentioned in the previous section is a study of the syntactic structure of the code-switched utterances. Generally, CS utterances are classified as inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Inter-sentential CS occurs when a speaker switches from one language to another at a sentence or clause boundary, such as example (**1a**, **b** and **c**). Intra-sentential is when the switching occurs within the same clause as in (**1d, e** and **f**).

1. (a) … **this is what I'm going to do**-ɛ, hewɔ-ɔ ŋ-kpa nibii -ɛ hemɔ. (267)

   -ART so -ART 1S-stop things-ART buying (N)

   '… this is what I'm going to do so I stopped the buying of the things.'

   (b) Lɛ-ɛ, e-bɛ **aerial**. **That is it**. (48)

   3S-ART 3S-NEG ,, . ,,

   'That, it doesn't have aerial. That is it'

   (c) T**here's one here, left;** kɛ o-**keep to the left** nɔɔ. (81)

   if 2S INT

   'There's one here, left; when you just keep to the left'

   (d) Kɛ e-**decide** akɛ e-baa-wɔ … **Every day**-ɛ, e-wɔ-ɔ e-shi-ɔ Akuɔkɔ. (20)

   if 3S- ,, -that 3S-FUT-sleep … ,, -ART 3S-sleeps 3S-leaves ,,

   'If she decides that she will sleep … Every day, she sleeps and leaves Akuɔkɔ.'

(e) Kɛjɛ **past two years** kraa nɔ ni ya-a nɔ nɛ. (30)

from ,, INT thing that goes on this

'For the past two years, this is what goes on.'

(f) E-ba **papers** mli tamɔ **two years ago** jio **three years ago**. (169)

3S-come ,, inside like ,, or ,,

'It came inside the papers about two years ago or three years ago.'

The first clause of (**1b**) and the second clause of (**1c**) are also instances of intra-sentential CS.

Structural studies usually focus on intra-sentential CS. This is because the constraints on the languages involved are overt when switching is done within the clause. Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues, that intra-sentential switching produces three different types of constituents – the ML + EL constituent or mixed constituent, the EL island and the ML island.

- **The ML + EL constituent** occurs when materials or morphemes from both of the languages participating form a single constituent. For example, *ni-ko **sure,*** 'I am sure' and *ni-me-**decide***, 'I have decided' in (**2a** and **b**) and *a-**pile**-i*, 'they have been piled' in (**2c**).

- **The EL island** occurs when a constituent is formed with morphemes entirely in the Embedded Language (EL). Example, ***after two days*** in (**2a**) and **past two years** in (**2d**).

- **ML island** occurs when there is an entirely Matrix Language (ML) formed constituent. Example, *kwa wingi*, 'in abundance' in (2a) and *nɔ ni yaa nɔ*, 'what goes on' in (**2d**).

2. (a) Lakini ni-ko **sure** ukienda **after two days** utaipata 'Uchumi' **supermarket** kwa wingi.

'But I'm sure if you go after two days you will get it at 'Uchumi supermarket in abundance.'

(b) Hata siku hizi ni-me-**decide** kwanza kutumia sabuni ya miti.

'[But] even these days I have decided first to use bar soap.'

(From, Myers-Scotton (1993), p. 4: Swahili/ Luyia/ English CS)

(c) Hewɔɔ nibii fɛɛ ni a- baa- kwɛ-ɛ fɛɛ a-**pile**-i fɛɛ (17)

so things all that 3PL-FUT-watch-ART all 3PL-,,-P/PEF all

'So, all things to be watched have been piled.'

(d) Kɛjɛ **past two years** kraa nɔ ni ya-a nɔ nɛ. (30)

from ,, INT thing that goes on this

'For the past two years, this is what goes on.'

1.4. CODE-SWITCHING WITH ENGLISH IN GHANA

Since its introduction to the country in the 1550s primarily as a language of trade, the English language has developed as a major lingua franca and is now the second largest lingua franca of the country; the first being Twi, a dialect of Akan, which is the most widely spoken second language, especially in southern Ghana (Shoba & Quarcoo, 2012).

The English language's journey in Ghana began when pre-colonial British traders thought it wise to train some of the indigenes to be their interpreters (Sackey, 1996:126). Thenceforth, through various formal and voluntary policies in the missionary and colonial administration of the country, English has grown to become an approved medium of communication. It was also the approved medium of instruction in public schools during colonial times (Sackey, 1996).

At independence in 1957, English still remained the acceptable medium of communication in the the administration of the state. It has also been, as a matter of expediency, the medium of instruction from primary school onwards because of the unavailability of adequate materials to encourage use of the local languages (Sackey, 1996). Furthermore, English is the only national language of the country now in spite of many post-independence attempts by parliament to adopt one of the native languages. This has been due to the inability to reach a consensus any time the issue of adopting a local national language is raised in parliament (Sackey, 1996; Buabeng, 1995).

As the approved medium of instruction in schools, it is then generally expected that anyone who attains the level of secondary education in Ghana has an appreciable competence and command of the syntactic and grammatical requirements of English and is able to interact in it worldwide.

On the other hand, the average Ghanaian is assumed to have been brought up among native speakers of his or her own ethnic or community language. As such it is surmised that he or she has a native level ability and control of the said language, at most, by the time she/he reaches secondary school. An average Ghanaian is therefore generally a bilingual in at least his or her mother tongue and English by the time s/he reaches adulthood.

Since code-switching is one of the major consequences of bilingualism, it is a usual phenomenon almost everywhere in Ghana both in formal and informal settings and switching, especially of the native languages and English is so prevalent even in the home. From as early as the 1970s and 80s, this kind of code-switching has been described as the 'third tongue' of educated Ghanaians (Forson, 1979; 1988; Amuzu, 2005a; 2014). At the moment, Amuzu (2005a) argues that it is not only a third tongue but for most Ghanaians especially the youth, it is a first tongue.

1.4.1. **Ga-English code-switching**

The Ga language is in contact not only with English, but also with many other African languages. Due to this, it abounds in code-switching with many of these languages. CS of Ga and English is one of the major varieties of code-switching in Ghana because it is engaged in, not only by native speakers of Ga but many others as well who have acquired the Ga language for various reasons. A basic reason for people acquiring the Ga language is as a result of the geo-political location of the Ga tribe, which has attracted people from far and wide to Accra. Also, historically, the Ga language has been one of the key local languages in colonialism, work and education both in the Gold Coast and later in Ghana. In colonial times, it spread fast as the

language, though informal, of education and work to different parts of the country.

Ga-English CS is also unique because Ga is one of the first languages in Ghana to get into contact with European languages, including English and moreover, one of the first African languages to be written down (Berry, 1972).

1.4.2. **Problem statement and research questions**

Notwithstanding the popularity of the Ga language in the early history and administration of both the Gold Coast and Ghana, and the probability that it may have been engaged in code-switching with English for such a long time, there is, as far as can be ascertained, no recorded account of Ga and English code-switching. This work will therefore be the first recorded investigation of Ga-English CS.

The questions that this research hopes to answer are,

- Is there a difference between the Ga only syntactic structure and the syntactic structure of the Ga-English code-switched utterance?
- If there are differences, what accounts for them?

1.4.3. **Purpose and significance of the study**

The worth of this study is that it focuses on code-switching as it occurs among people of the same family within family settings. Such a study of CS has not gained much attention, nor any major research yet. Some researchers have however touched briefly on aspects of it in their studies. Among these are Shoba & Quarcoo (2012), whose data include extracts of a family

conversation. This study is also significant because it attempts to analyse the CS of Ga and English, a language pair that has likewise received little attention in the CS circles.

Nukunya (2003:49) defines the family as 'a group of individuals related to one another by ties of consanguinity, marriage or adoption, the adult members of which are responsible for the upbringing of children'. Basically two family types are recognized in Ghana – the nuclear and the extended. Nukunya (2003:49) again defines the extended family as 'a social arrangement in which an individual has extensive reciprocal duties outside his immediate (nuclear) family'. 'It is also 'a residential group comprising a series of close relatives built around either patrilineal or matrilineal lines, usually not along both' (p. 49). The nuclear family on the other hand is a small group made up of parents and their children, usually living in one household. According to Nukunya (2003), the extended family is a collection of nuclear families, but not always a household (p. 49). This means that, and in Ghana, it is common for people of the extended family to live together as one household. The sample taken for this study can be classified as an extended family in the above implications in the sense that, it cuts across nuclear families but stays within one extended family.

Since from the above definitions we understand that the extended family stretches along only one kinship tie – either matrilineal or patrilineal – usually, it is identified with one language which is the language of orientation and it is the pride and expectation that each member flawlessly expresses him/herself in that language, especially within the family settings. The purpose of this study therefore is to examine from the grammatical viewpoint the English items that have succeeded in defying this custom by 'penetrating' the expected Ga syntactic structure and how it affects the grammatical structure of Ga.

1.5. THE GA LANGUAGE – A BRIEF SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY

1.5.1. **The formation of the language**

Ga is one, and the smaller dialect, of the Ga-Adangme language, a member of the Western Kwa sub- group of the Niger-Congo branch of the family of languages. The Western Kwa group consists of the Ewe, Central Togo, Volta-Comoé and Ga-Adangme languages. (Dakubu, 1988a).

While Adangme is considered the mother of the two languages, factors which are mainly due to European influence led to the institutionalization and formalization of Ga as the umbrella of the two. As early as 1764, Christian Protten, a mulatto missionary of a Danish father and a Ga mother had published a brief introduction to the Ga language (Protten, 1764; Berry, 1972). Even earlier, Johannes Rask, also a Danish missionary, in 1754 published an account concerning the Ga people in his descriptive account of his stay in the Gold Coast (Rask, 1754; Berry, 1972). A grammar of Ga was first written by Reverend A. W. Hanson in 1853 (Berry, 1972). This was followed by the popular Zimmermann's Grammatical Sketch of Ga in 1858 (Zimmermann, 1972). Zimmermann's work has remained the standard reference work on Ga and, until well into the twentieth century, for Adangme also (Berry, 1972).

It is said that the Ga-Adangme speaking people had settled in their present location by C.E. 1400 (Dakubu, 1997). Their languages, however, gradually developed in a process of consolidation and assimilation that lasted into the twentieth century (Dakubu, 1997). In 1858, Zimmermann had commented on Ga, that 'the language is not yet fixed, but the formations are still very

rapidly going on … that the language is not only progressing and augmenting but also regressing, weakening again and it is impossible always to show the way, by which a form was formed' (Zimmermann, 1972:36, 39-40).

The Ga group of the Ga-Adangme people occupies a territory that stretches from Lanma in the West to Tema in the East; and from the foot of the Akwapim hills in the north to the Atlantic Ocean in the south (Odotei, 1991). They speak Ga, believed to be spoken by about 500,000 people as at 1960 (Kropp Dakubu, 1988b).

It has also been argued that the Ga, as an ethnic group is a people of mixed origin (Odotei, 1991; Dakubu,1997) consisting of mostly Adangmes and Guangs who by virtue of migration, assimilation, intermarriage, etc, settled in their present location as one people. Dakubu (1997:111) argues that the Ga language is a second language variety of Adangme, which took definitive form during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became established on the shore in the seventeenth century and spread as the dominant community language westward and eastward at the expense of both Adangme and Guang. It originated as Adangme in the mouths of a mostly Guang-speaking population.

Odotei (1991) also notes that from the 16th century onwards, there was influx of other immigrants, mostly Akans – Twi, Fante – and some Ewes who were later integrated into the fabric of the Ga state. Together with their languages all these people contributed in various ways in shaping and thus creating both the ethnic group and the language of the Ga state as it exists today (Odotei, 1991; Dakubu, 1997).

1.5.2. **European Influence**

The history of the Ga language we have today will never be a complete account without an acknowledgement of the contribution and impact of Europeans; through whose languages and contact the Ga language's journey to prestige began. The last and longest of these contacts, of course is the English language. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danes who preceded the English each may have contributed a quota. Although the Portuguese influence in this regard is given the most acclaim, the Dutch and Danes, no less, had their influence since there was much fluency of these languages among the local people at the time.

Dakubu (1997:143) reports that Portuguese, English and other European languages were simultaneously in active use on the coast, including Accra, for more than two hundred years after the Portuguese had left. Dakubu (2012) also notes that, there were borrowings from the European languages including Danish and Dutch; and the language in use generally along the coast and in trade was a mixture of Portuguese, the local language and other European languages collectively called 'Negro Portuguese' (Winsnes 2000:264, in Dakubu, 2012:19).

1.5.3. **Ga-English contact**

The British arrived on the shores of the Gold Coast in the 1550s, long after the other Europeans during the 1450s (Sackey, 1996). They came primarily to trade, and they succeeded greatly and marginalized the other Europeans, acquiring their possessions especially the forts and castles (Sackey, 1996). By 1872, the affairs and destiny of the Gold Coast was entirely in their hands (Sackey, 1996). Among other things they established schools in the castles to train the Africans to speak their language (Sackey, 1996).

Thus the English language spread among the local people. Sackey (1996) summarized it that 'the period of British trade contact with Ghana … brought new languages into contact and helped to introduce new skills which were previously not available to the receiving communities' (pp. 127-128). He continued that a number of English words might have entered the vocabulary of the receiving languages, but these have not been clearly established (Sackey, 1996).

For the latter part of colonialism and missionary activities in the country, English was the medium of instruction in government schools and some missionary schools while other missionary schools emphasized the use of the indigenous languages. This could have been the reason for fluency and simultaneous literacy in the indigenous languages and English.

Post-independence language policies also encouraged widespread use of English in the country. Moreover, emphasis on the local languages was not neglected either. Aside their domestic use at home, they were also taught as subjects in school.

The British first settled in Accra by 1673 when James Fort was built but unlike in other places such as Cape Coast and Elmina, the English language did not readily diffuse to the natives of Accra. English education in the Gold Coast started at Cape Coast Castle in the 1690s but was not held regularly (Dakubu, 1997). In Accra, school was mainly held at the Christianborg Castle by the Danes. English school was started at James Fort after 1807. Actual spread of the English language in education therefore mainly started in colonial times when the British government began to issue ordinances concerning compulsory use of the English language in schools.

Today, in spite of it being one of the smaller languages in Ghana in terms of number of first language speakers, Ga is one of the major languages in Ghana in terms of significance. It is a subject of study at all levels of education in Ghana; it is one of the nine government sponsored languages; and it is one of the sixteen languages in which the Bureau of Ghana Languages (BGL) publishes its materials.

1.6. NATURE OF GA-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

The data reveal that Ga-English code-switchers engage in both inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching, as revealed in the examples in section 1.3., above. In intra-sentential switching, it was assumed by the researcher that because the participants are equally competent in both languages, there could be instances where English alone will be the Matrix Language. However, this assumption was defeated by the results of the analysis of the data. Notwithstanding the copious use of English in the data, there is never an instance where English only is the Matrix Language. Moreover, brief informal interviews with some of the participants after recording reveal, that the language of conversation is always Ga. Some of the questions asked by the researcher in the interview are:

- What language were you speaking in the conversation?
- Are you aware that sometimes there is English in your utterances?

To the first question, there was one hundred percent consensus that they were speaking Ga. To the second, a few were not aware and expressed a little bit of surprise when they were referred to

some of their utterances. Most of them were aware, though some couldn't explain why. Others explained that it is 'natural' because they can speak both languages.

From the observation of the data, we may conclude that in Ga-English intra-sentential CS, Ga is the Matrix Language into which English expressions are inserted.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Initial studies of code-switching (Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1950, etc) focused primarily on its social significance such as reasons for switching, and neglected entirely its grammatical orientation. It was even viewed, as Milroy & Muysken (1995) note, as an abnormal occurrence, 'representing a deficient knowledge of language, a grammarless mixture of two codes'. These erroneous views may be pardoned based on reasons which include the fact that there was a lack of the 'sophisticated recording equipment' which is now available to contemporary researchers to enable them collect high quality naturally occurring bilingual conversations for analysis (Milroy & Muysken, 1995).

2.2. EARLY STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS PROPOSALS

The structural studies of CS were slow in starting. It was mainly triggered by a study by Gumperz (1964) on bilingual interactive strategies (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). Though Gumperz's study did not focus on details of constituent structure, his analysis contradicted the view that code-switching is grammarless.

Early researchers mainly dealt with a battle between what is to be referred to as code-switched and what should be referred to as borrowed. Prominent ones among these researchers are Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1980; 1981). According to Myers-Scotton (1993), Pfaff does not resolve the issue of separating the two, and Poplack's definition becomes increasingly narrow but still not

absolute. The CS versus borrowing problem is still a thorny issue in research today (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Most of these early researchers of the 1970s and 1980s proposed a number of possible constraints on code-switching structures. Among them are the following.

2.2.1. Timm (1975)

Timm is acclaimed one of the pioneers to start a syntactic study of CS. Working with Spanish-English CS data, she observed that there are syntactic rules governing the switching process and that some segments of speech cannot be switched (Quarcoo, 2009). According to Myers-Scotton, (1993a), Timm proposed five constraints on the types of construction or form class which can undergo CS. These are,

- Switching does not occur between pronominal subjects and the finite verb to which they belong.
- Switching does not occur between finite verbs and their infinitive complements.
- Switching does not occur between a verb and its auxiliary.
- Switching does not occur between verbs and a negating element, and
- Switching does not occur in most NPs containing nouns and modifying adjectives.

(from Myers-Scotton, 1993a:25)

Arguing with the same language pair, several other researchers including Wentz & McClure (1976) and Pfaff (1979), narrowed Timm's proposed constraints on switches between pronominals and finite verbs to clitic pronouns (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:25).

Bentahila & Davies (1982) also found examples in their Arabic-French data to contradict Timm's assertion that switching does not occur between a verb and its auxiliary (Quarcoo, 2009:13). Example (**1a**) shows Timm's constraint while (**1b**) reveals a counter example from Bentahila & Davies (1982). In (1b), Arabic auxiliaries precede French main verbs.

1. (a) *debo wait

   I must wait

(Timm, 1975, from Quarcoo, 2009)

(b) tajbqa j***confronter*** ***ces idees***

he keeps imperfect-oppose these ideas

'he keeps opposing these ideas'

(Bentahila & Davies, 1982:315, from Quarcoo, 2009:13)

Studying Twi-English CS, Quarcoo (2009) also found similar counter examples in which Twi auxiliaries are followed by English main verbs. In example (**1c)** the Twi future marker *bɛ* precedes an English main verb **bear**.

(c) **Cost** -o no, whaen na -ɔbɛ **bear** sa **cost**-o no?

Syll-v Det who Foc 3G-Fut that Syll-v Det

'The cost, who will bear it?'

(Quarcoo, 2009:13)

2.2.2. Poplack (1980)

Poplack argues for two constraints that govern CS: the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint. In the Equivalence Constraint, she says that,

> *Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map unto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other.*

(Poplack, 1979, from: Nartey, 1982)

Counter examples to the Equivalence Constraint have been cited from various language pairs around the world, especially of languages spoken in Africa. Examples are Nartey's (1982) Adaŋme-English CS.

(2a) *a ŋe mĩ* ***help****-e*

3PL COP me help-PRES PROG

'They are helping me.'

(2b) *e hé* ***house red*** *ɔ*

He/she PAST tone buy house red ART

'He/she bought the red house.'

(from Myers-Scotton, 1993:28)

In (2a), Adaŋme morpheme order (SOV) is followed with the VP, not English SVO; and in (2b), a head first NP (house red) in accordance with Adaŋme rule even though English noun and adjective are used.

Forson (1979) and Quarcoo (2009) have also observed counter examples to the equivalence constraint in their study of Akan-English CS. For instance, Quarcoo writes: "… the word order in the Twi NP is [N+ (mod) + (Det)], which is different from the English [(Det) + (Mod) + N], yet CS is allowed to occur in mixed NPs." She gives example (2c) in which the English adjective *hot* post-modifies the English head noun *tea* in accordance with Twi word order and contrary to English word order.

(2c). ***Daddy*** *me- pɛ* ***tea hot*** *bi a- nom*

1SG like DET CON- drink

'Daddy I would like some hot tea to drink.'

(Quarcoo, 2009)

The Free Morpheme Constraint states that:

> *Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. This constraint holds true for all linguistic levels but the phonological* …. (Poplack, 1979, from: Nartey, 198:3).

Citing such examples as ***boy****hi* (boys), ***teacher****foɔmɛ* (the teachers), and even the double plural inflected ***hangers****ɔmɛ* (the hangers), Nartey demonstrated counter-examples to the Free Morpheme Constraint using Adangbe-English CS data.

Nartey (1982) summarily states that it is evident even from his limited data that both the Equivalence and Free Morpheme constraints do not work for Adaŋme in particular and the Ghanaian languages in general. He asserts that, constraints such as these may only account for Indo-European data, and that, a different set of constraints may be needed to explain African languages.

Muysken (1995) laments as unsatisfactory the fact that these early proposed constraints are unable to account fully for the diverse cases of CS, making some cases appear to fall under one

constraint and other cases under another constraint. He explains that many of the studies also do not make the constraints or models very explicit, but limit themselves to descriptive statements. He therefore expresses the need for universal explanations in the attempts to find grammatical constraints for CS (Muysken, 1995:178).

2.3. THE SEARCH FOR UNIVERSAL GRAMMATICAL CONSTRAINTS

A ray of hope was seen when later researchers of CS constraints began an attempt to relate observations (Muysken, 1995). According to Muysken, the observations are that

- In different contact situations different switch patterns are found;

- The differences are related, at least in part, to typological characteristics of the languages involved.

(Muysken, 1995: 178)

He therefore calls for a model that believes that there is a general set of constraints on CS constituted by, for example, structural equivalence such as Poplack (1980), or government (DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh 1986) or a matrix language/embedded language asymmetry (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) to account for these observations (Muysken, 1995:179).

2.3.1. Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2002)

In 1993, Myers-Scotton proposed the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) as ‘a model to account for

the structures in intrasentential code-switching' (Myers-Scotton 1993:5; 2002:12). The MLF is a "production-based model which sees CS as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realized" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:6). The MLF model takes its cue from psycholinguistic models of monolingual language production and processing; whose basic premise is that, production proceeds by accessing various grammatical procedures to build a sentence frame. Another premise is that a sentence is assembled incrementally, but with different procedures operating simultaneously. Motivated by these two views of language production, the MLF model has as its premise

- In bilingual speech production, a frame also is built.

- Key hierarchies in the way frame-building procedures apply have the effect of constraining selections of the languages of CS utterances.

(Myers-Scotton, 1993a:76)

According to Myers-Scotton (2002), the MLF model was different, and remains largely different from previous treatments as well as its contemporaries in several important ways. For instance, it does not offer descriptively based constraints but rather explanations for why its constraints take the form they do. The MLF model contrasts with other models that are based on syntactic theories that are intended to explain monolingual phrase structure. According to Myers-Scotton, syntactic models devised for monolingual data do not suffice for explaining CS structures. She argues that bilingual data such as CS cannot be sufficiently explained at the level of phrase structure alone. The MLF model also emphasizes the abstract procedures directed by lemmas in the mental lexicon, thus it is lexically based (Myers-Scotton, 2002:13, 14).

In 2002, Myers-Scotton again introduced the 4-M and Abstract Level models as supporting models that refine and give further explanation to the MLF model (Myers-Scotton, 2002:16, 18). The 4-M model works with the 'content-system morpheme opposition' of the MLF model by breaking down the class of system morphemes into three types (Myers-Scotton, 2002:16). Out of these three types, two types – Early system morphemes and Late Bridge system morphemes may be allowed to come from the EL under certain circumstances or in some kinds of CS while the third type –Late Outsider system morphemes – can only be in the Matrix Language.

The Abstract Level model 'is useful in delineating what will count as 'sufficient congruence' in CS so that certain constructions are possible for certain language pairs.' It also 'provides a principled explanation for the nature of the abstract morphosyntactic frame that structures bilingual clauses in types of contact phenomena other than classic codeswitching' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:19).

2.4. CS STUDIES IN GHANA

2.4.1. Forson (1979)

Forson's (1979) PhD dissertation on Akan-English CS is the earliest study of CS in Ghana and one of the earliest in West Africa (Quarcoo, 2009; Amuzu & Singler, 2014:333). It is a mainly sociolinguistic study in which he regards CS as the 'third code' – that is, in addition to the bilingual's L1 and L2. CS has its domains of applicability, usually opposed to the first two languages of the bilingual (Amuzu & Singler, 2014).

According to Amuzu & Singler (2014), Forson's structural analysis anticipated Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model, when he explains that,

> *… when we say a person is using language X, what we are actually saying is that he is using the grammatical system and grammatical items of that language and not necessarily the lexical items. Thus, in Akan-English code-switching, the speakers are using the Akan grammatical system and items, and therefore speaking Akan. […] In intrasentential switching, the Akan word order is basically followed, where the word order for English and Akan differ [1979:160-162]* (Amuzu & Singler, 2014).

Forson (1979) also demonstrates, like Poplack (1980), that fluency in both languages is a prerequisite to intrasentential code-switching.

2.4.2. Nartey (1982)

Another significant study that is of relevance to this research is Nartey (1982) on Adangme-English CS. This is one of the phenomenal studies that argue the 'inapplicability' of earlier constraints such as the Equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint to African data. The fact that it is a study of Adangme, the other of the two main dialects of the Ga language also makes it a quite significant study for this research because the sameness or difference of results could determine how similar or different the two dialects are.

To Nartey, the social factors of CS are more important than structural ones. He does not therefore give considerable attention to structural concerns of CS. In this short paper, which he wrote to test the Equivalence and Free Morpheme Constraints of Poplack (1980), he noted that such constraints cannot be used to adequately account for CS involving African languages, especially the Kwa languages, which tend to behave similarly with respect to this phenomenon (Nartey, 1982:188). He therefore expresses the need for careful attention to be observed in the search for what constitutes universal constraints in code-switching.

2.5. GRAMMATICAL STUDIES OF CS IN GHANA

In West Africa, Amuzu & Singler (2014) assert that most of the earlier grammatical studies of CS anticipated Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model. Among these are Forson (1979) on Akan-English, Madaki (1983) on Hausa-English, Goke-Pariola (1983) on Yoruba-English and Amuda (1986) also on Yoruba-English. All these researches identified that there is a 'matrix language' which directs the frame of the code-switched language. Some of their observations are, 'constraints on code-switching … involve distinguishing between the language of discourse and the language of switching' (Madaki, 1983), 'Yoruba, the mother tongue of the speakers, is almost invariably the matrix language' (Goke-Pariola, 1983), 'Negators in switches can only be in Yoruba with verbs in English but not vice versa' (Amuda, 1986, in Amuzu & Singler, 2014:335,336).

With the introduction of the MLF model in 1993, several researchers began to employ it. In Ghana, such studies have been Amuzu (1998), Amuzu (2005) and Quarcoo (2009).

2.5.1. Amuzu (1998; 2005b)

In his bid to test the credibility of the MLF model using Ewe-English CS, Amuzu (1998) is among some researchers of West African languages who call for a modification of the MLF model because it is unable to account for some data types (Quarcoo, 2009). He observes that 'the procedure guiding the insertion of English content morphemes into Ewe structures differs from what is stipulated by Myers-Scotton and her associates' (Quarcoo, 2009). For instance while Myers-Scotton predicts that EL content morphemes would only occur in slots projected by their congruent Ewe counterparts, he realizes that it is rather the EL content morphemes that project their own slots within Ewe structures. This is the case with mixed copula constructions and mixed possessive constructions.

2.5.2. Quarcoo (2009)

Quarcoo (2009) observes that the key predictions of the MLF model – the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) and the System Morpheme Principle –apply in Twi-English CS. In the mixed NP, Twi morphosyntax is observed, and only Twi determiners are allowed with the English Nouns. She made similar observations with the mixed VP as well. She concludes that Twi is the main language that controls all the slots in which English content morphemes can occur (Quarcoo, 2009).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. METHODOLOGY

3.1.1. Data collection

The data for this research was obtained from recordings of spontaneous conversations between Ga-English bilinguals. The choice of the sample was dictated by one of the aims which was to examine code-switching as it occurs among one group of family members. They are all native L1 speakers of Ga and have learnt English in school. The conversations are therefore between people who were brought up, by and large, together, lived or are living together and, as such are very familiar with one another's linguistic abilities. This was done to ensure relaxation and ease of conversation among them as well as to encourage profuse use of the native language as much as possible.

There were twelve main participants, five males and seven females aged between fifteen and sixty years and all were engaged in various post-secondary school occupations and professions. The youngest was a final year Junior High School student of about fifteen, and the oldest, a man and a medical doctor of about sixty years old.

The conversations were all informal, mainly group conversations about various domestic and business topics such as children's education, water and electricity problems, Christmas activities,

farming and trading. The conversations took place in the homes of some of the participants or in a vehicle, and there are two telephone conversations.

As a result of the informality of the conversations, sometimes people other than the selected participants are present during some of the conversations and join in, sometimes influencing the course of the utterances. These secondary participants have been kept out of the data as much as possible by ignoring their contributions.

All the participants gave their consent and willingness to take part in the study and were informed before or after each recording. Recording was done with a voice recorder, either by the researcher or with the assistance of one of the participants.

The researcher, who happens to be a member of the family group investigated, was mainly a participant observer and so was present during most of the conversations. However, her contribution to the conversations was minimal and in many cases she did not contribute at all. This was mainly on purpose to, as much as possible, avoid influencing the data. This tactic was however not readily noticed by the participants involved because to a considerable extent she was not actually part of many of the conversations since as Shoba & Quarcoo (2012), etc annotate, in the African extended family system, 'children' are not expected to contribute in 'adult' conversations, especially when visitors are around (emphases mine).

In other recordings where participants had foreknowledge of the recording, the norm was to discard the first few minute's recording in order to focus on portions where participants were less tensed about the recording and focused on the conversation.

3.1.2. Data processing

The data was made up of thirteen different conversations of various lengths making a total of two hours, one minute and thirty-five seconds of recording. This was transcribed manually and translated by the researcher. The model used for transcription and translation is the Jefferson system of Transcription Notation. Examples of the symbols used and their explanations have been provided in section (**3.1.3**) below.

Since the research is about CS and the focus on English expressions in the utterances, by and large, only code-switched and English only portions were transcribed. The portions left out are mainly Ga only utterances.

The conversations are not arranged in any particular order. For ease of reference, the data have been numbered basically using speaker turns from the turn of the first speaker of **conversation 1** which has been numbered (**1**) to the last turn of the final speaker of **conversation 13**, numbered (**284**).

The data have been analyzed in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The analysis mainly involves the examination of code-switching within the Nominal Group (NG), the Verbal Group (VG), adverbials and conjunctions. The theoretical framework is the 4-M model of Carol Myers-Scotton (2002) and the syntactic theory used is the Systemic Functional Grammar.

3.1.3. The Transcription

The following translation and transcription conventions were used:

- All the data have been numbered for convenience and ease of access according to speaker turns.
- All English expressions or morphemes are in bold font.
- All Ga morphemes and expressions are in regular font; and underlined when being explained.
- Full English translation is given after the transcription of each speaker's turn.
- Any data whose portion is being explained anywhere in the thesis is identified by its number on the right side of the example such as (**272**) below.

(c) **babies**-a-**socks** (272
'babies' socks'

- All Ga expressions and spelling follow the regulations and rules of the model of the Bureau of Ghana Languages (BGL, 1975).

3.1.4. Jefferson System of Notation

The following symbols from the Jefferson System of Notation were used in the transcription.

- (.) = A short noticeable pause.

- (..) = A considerable pause
- Wor - = A dash shows a truncation.
- … = Some utterances have been omitted.
- A: word [word
B: [word = Square brackets denote the start of overlapping talk.
- A: word =
B: = word = The equal sign shows that there is no discernible pause between two speakers' turns.
- Wo:rd = Colons show that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound.
- (word) = Shows a guess at what might have been said.
- WORD = Words in capitals show louder sound

3.2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this study is the 4-M model of Carol Myers-Scotton (2002). This model was designed to explain the distribution of morphemes in the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1993) – a model which accounts for the structures in intra-sentential code-switching, especially in classic code-switching. The model gives empirical explanation to the distribution of morphemes in bilingual data by making claims about universal aspects of competence that are not restricted to bilingual data, but which are especially visible in such data (Myers-Scotton, 2002:13)

3.2.1. The 4-M model

The 4-M model takes the content-system morpheme opposition of the MLF model and refines it in order that it can explain a wider range of CS data. It does this by breaking down the class of system morphemes into three types – Early system morphemes, Late Bridge system morphemes and Late Outsider system morphemes. The motivation behind this is implied in a hypothesis concerning the abstract detail of language production (the Differential Access Hypothesis); and states that

> *The different types of morpheme under the 4-M model are differently accessed in the abstract levels of the production process. Specifically, content morphemes and early system morphemes are accessed at the level of the mental lexicon, but late system morphemes do not become salient until the level of the Formulator.*

(Myers-Scotton, 2002:17)

Table 1 below is an illustration of the language production model by Myers-Scotton (2002) as presented by Amuzu (2014).

Table 1: The Language Production Model (from Amuzu, 2014)

Conceptual level	• At this level, speakers make selections encapsulating the conceptual structures they wish to convey. What this means is that, pre-verbally, speakers make decisions regarding what their intentions are. Such pre-verbal speaker-intentions (which consist of universally available semantic and pragmatic information) are conflated as specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles, or SP feature bundles, which are necessarily language-specific. • If the discourse includes CS, then the ML for mixed constructions is selected. • Information is sent to the lemma level.
Lemma level	The language-specific SP feature bundles activate entries in the mental lexicon called lemmas, which support the realization of actual surface lexemes. Specifically, the SP feature bundles activate lemmas supporting **content morphemes** (such morphemes as verbs, nouns, and adjectives). These content-morpheme lemmas may also point to lemmas supporting early **system morphemes** - e.g. LOOK requires INTO in 'to LOOK INTO something'. The **lexical-conceptual structure** of content morphemes is salient at this level. Information is sent to the functional level where a control center known as *Formulator* operates.
Functional level	The formulator interprets the language-specific lemma information about the content morpheme, which comprises the already salient lexical-conceptual structure and the two other sub-parts of lemma information: the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. • Concerning predicate-argument structure, the formulator maps thematic structure onto grammatical relations. For instance, it detects how many arguments a verb takes and what thematic role the verb assigns each argument; it then maps the grammatical relations among these elements. • Concerning the morphological realization pattern, the formulator detects what language-specific devices for word order, agreement, tense/aspect/mood marking, case marking, negation, etc., are suitable for expressing the morpheme's grammatical relations with other morphemes. Crucially, ***late system morphemes***—or *functional elements*—are selected at this level to meet the content morpheme's morphosyntactic requirements. • Information is sent to the surface level.
Positional/ Surface level	Phonological and morphological realizations take place, i.e. the actualization of surface structure configurations is made.

The main premise of the 4-M model is rooted in the argument that, there are four general principles that guide the overall approach to contact phenomena (Myers-Scotton, 2002:8). 'Contact phenomena' is used to refer to all the different structural outcomes in the languages involved in the bilingual speech. 'This includes everything from the borrowing of words for concepts and objects new to the borrowing community … to changes in the morphosyntactic system of one of the languages' (Myers-Scotton, 2002:4). The four principles are the following (quoted from Myers-Scotton, 2002:8)

1. ***The Matrix Language Principle****. There is always an analyzable or resolvable frame structuring the morphosyntax of any CP. This frame is called the Matrix Language. In bilingual speech, the participating languages never participate equally as the source of this Matrix Language.*

2. ***The Uniform Structure Principle.*** *A given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this constituent type must be observed whenever the constituent appears. In bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language are always preferred, but some Embedded Language structures are allowed if certain conditions are met.*

3. ***The Asymmetry Principle for Bilingual Frames****. Bilingual speech is characterized by asymmetry in terms of the participation of the languages concerned. In … classic codeswitching, only one of the participating languages is the source of the matrix language. In other contact phenomena (such as composite codeswitching), the matrix*

language may be a composite of abstract features from more than one language, but asymmetry still marks the contributory roles of the participating languages.

4. ***The Morpheme-Sorting Principle****: All morphemes are not equal. …at the abstract level of linguistic competence and production, there are different types of morphemes. In bilingual speech, the outcome of these abstract differences is that all the morphemes from the participating varieties do not have equal possibilities of occurrence.*

The following examples from the data illustrate these principles. The Matrix Language Principle (MLP) can be seen operating in all the examples. The matrix language is Ga. It is the source of the morphosyntactic frame, controlling the structures, such as, the word order – e.g. noun before definite article (ART) in examples (**1a** and **b**).

Most function words and inflections are also from Ga. This also illustrates the Asymmetry Principle for Bilingual frames (APBF). It is revealed in the analysis and conclusion sections of this thesis that the CS in this data is not classic CS, but follows what Amuzu (2005b; 2014) describes for Ewe-English CS as composite. This is because occasionally some abstract features from English are allowed to contribute in the frame-building within the CP, though never with equal participation, hence confirming the APBF and MSP. Some examples are,

1. (a) Hewɔ-ɔ ni o-ya fee **exams**-ɛ**, results**-ɛ e-ba? (132)

so-ART when 2S-go do ,,- ART ,,-ART 3S-come

'So, when you went for the exams, are the results out?'

(b) Ni ŋ-teshi **three-thirty**-ɛ, ŋ-na **televisioŋ**-ɛ yɛ amɛ **door** shishi.

when I- got up ,, -ART I-saw ,, -ART at their ,, under

(When I woke up at three-thirty, I saw the television from under their door.)

(c) Kɛ wɔ-he yɛ **lucky**-ɛ **once a week**.

if 3PL-self at ,,-ART ,,

(If we are lucky, (it is) once a week)

In example (**1c**), an example of the Uniform Structure Principle (USP) is illustrated with the well-formed EL island, **once a week**.

3.2.2. The 4-M morphemes

The types of morpheme under the 4-M model are

- **Content morphemes**: These are the only morphemes whose lemmas link them directly to speakers' intentions. Their lemmas are directly elected and their content salient at the level of the mental lexicon when the speaker's intention activates language-specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles that underlie the conceptual information to be conveyed. Content morphemes are the main means of expressing intentions. Examples of content morphemes are nouns, most verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

- **Early system morphemes**: The lemmas underlying these morphemes also become salient at the level of the mental lexicon. They are indirectly elected lemmas that are

activated when the lemmas supporting content morphemes point to them. They further realize the conceptual content of the semantic/pragmatic feature bundles. For example, the determiner *the* adds definiteness to its head noun *book* in *the book*. The noun *book*, is a content morpheme, and the determiner *the* is an early system morpheme. They are both activated by the same semantic/pragmatic feature bundle.

- **Late Bridge system morphemes**: Late system morphemes integrate morphemes into large constituents. They become salient at the level of the Formulator where their lemmas are activated, and they are activated when directions to build larger units are sent to the Formulator by lemmas underlying content and early system morphemes. Bridges unite morphemes into larger constituents within their maximal projection. Examples of bridge morphemes are the English possessive markers *'s* and *of* as in (**2a and b**). Also the Ga plural possessive marker *a* in (**2c**).

2. (a) Mary'<u>s</u> pet

   (b) Pet <u>of</u> Mary

   (c) **babies**-<u>a</u>-**socks** (272)

   'babies' socks'

- **Late Outsider system morphemes**: These are Late morphemes that look outside their immediate maximal projection for information about their form. Examples are subject verb agreement in many languages. Others are tense/mood/aspect markers as well as case markers.

The oppositions that characterize the four types of morpheme are:

[+/- conceptually activated]

[+/- thematic role receiver/assigner]

[+/- looks outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form]

The [+/- conceptually activated] refers to activation that satisfies what the speaker intends to communicate in producing linguistic elements. [+conceptually activated] elements have semantic content, so speakers can focus on them to convey their intentions. They are salient as soon as a speaker's intentions are encoded as language, at the lemma level in the mental lexicon. Content morphemes and Early System morphemes are [+ conceptually activated] while the Late morphemes are [- conceptually activated].

The [+/- thematic role assigner/receiver] distinguishes Content morphemes and Early system morphemes. Though both have semantic content and are accessed at the lemma level in the mental lexicon, Content morphemes assign or receive thematic roles therefore are [+ thematic role assigner/receiver] but Early system morphemes neither assign nor receive thematic role so they are [- thematic role assigner/receiver]. For example, most verbs and some prepositions are typical thematic role assigners while nouns are typical thematic role receivers. Verbs and nouns are therefore classified as [+ thematic role assigner/receiver]. Early system morphemes such as determiners on the other hand, that neither receive nor assign thematic role are [- thematic role assigner/receiver].

The [+/- looks outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form] opposition distinguishes the two types of late morphemes. Bridges are [- looks outside] because they receive information about their form within their own maximal projection. However, unlike Early system morphemes which are closely tied to, and depend on their content head only, bridges connect content morphemes with each other without reference to the properties of a head. Examples of bridges are English possessives *of* and *'s* and their counterparts in other languages.

On the other hand, Late Outsider morphemes are [+ looks outside] because they are coindexed with forms outside the head of their maximal projections. Their information becomes available when larger constituents are constructed. Examples are subject-verb agreement, clitics/affixes, and case affixes in many languages.

The morpheme types and their oppositions are summarized in table 2.

Some examples are,

Ni nakai **rɔba** -ji **bowl** -ɛ eko bɛ jɛi? (4)

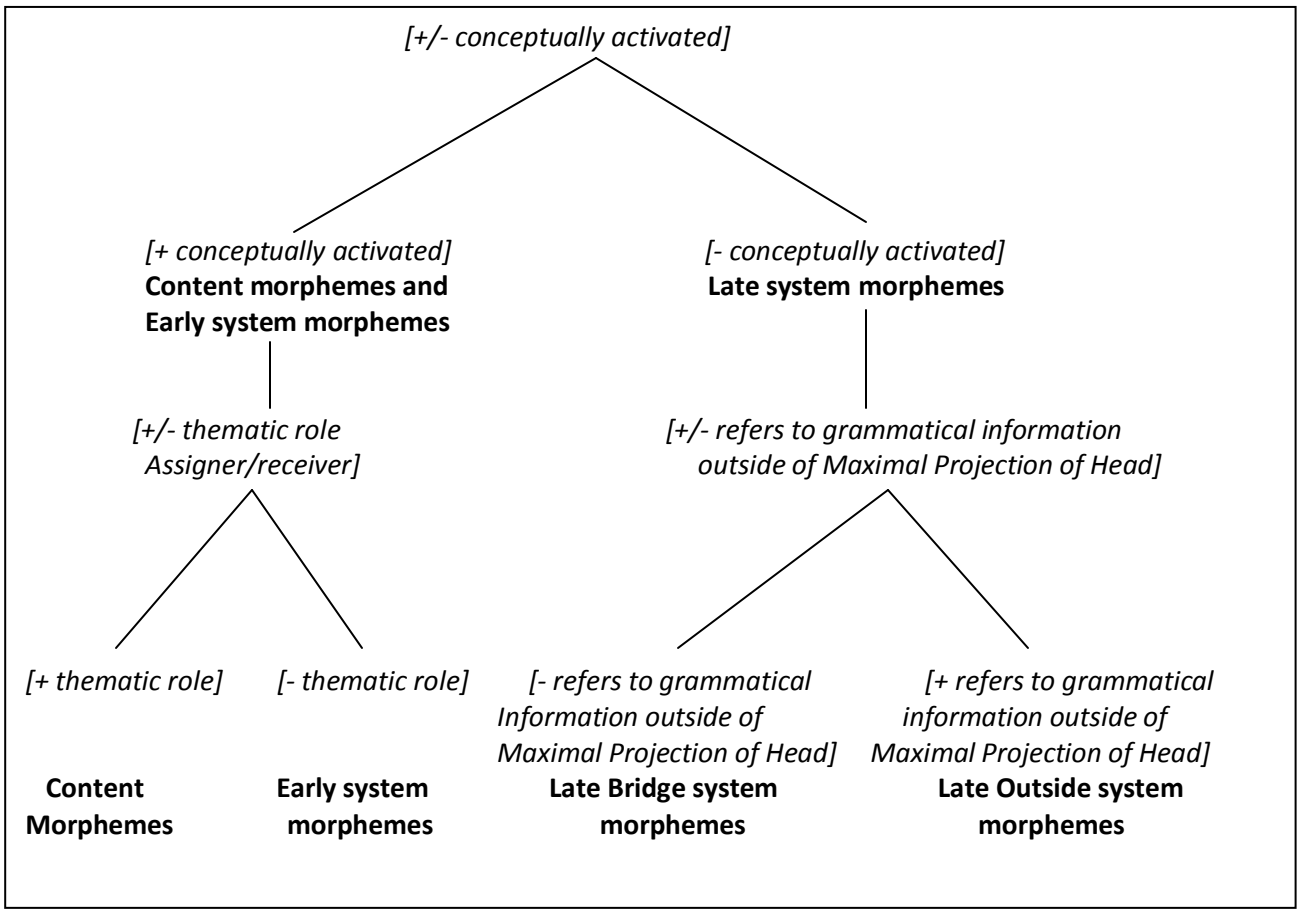
And DET rubber -PL bowl-DET some NEG there

'Are there none of those rubber bowls?'

In the extract above, English (the EL) has supplied the lexicons '*rubber*' and '*bowls*' (both nouns) which according to the 4-M model are content morphemes. These content morphemes are linked to the speakers' intention and activate language-specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles that underlie the conceptual information that the speaker wants to convey. When *rubber* and *bowls* were accessed, they pointed to other morphemes at the abstract level; for example, rubber points to the determiner *nakai*, **that** and the plural morpheme *ji*, and bowls points to the determiner *ɛ*, **the**. These are early system morphemes because they are indirectly activated when the lemmas supporting the content morphemes point to them and help realize the conceptual content of the semantic/pragmatic feature bundles. For example, the determiners *nakai* and *ɛ* add definiteness to the nouns *rubber* and *bowl* while *ji*, the plural marker shows quantification. The content morphemes *rubber* and *bowl* and the early system morphemes are all activated by the same semantic/pragmatic feature bundle.

These early system morphemes – *nakai, ji* and *ɛ* – come from Ga because it is the ML and within the 4-M, it is the ML's prerogative to supply them. This also conforms to The Morpheme-Sorting Principle which shows that morpheme distributions are not equally done by both languages.

Table 2: The 4-M morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 2002)



CHAPTER FOUR

THE CODE-SWITCHED NOMINAL GROUP

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The syntactic structures of the English and Ga Nominal Groups show certain similarities. There are however notable differences also. This chapter will examine the nature of code-switching within the Code-switched (CSed) Nominal Group. It begins with an overview of the syntactic structures of the Nominal Group of English; then Ga. The CSed Nominal Group is examined after that using the 4-M model and the syntactic theory of the Systemic Functional Grammar.

4.2. FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE NG

The nominal group (NG) semantically refers to those aspects of our experience that we perceive as entities (Downing & Locke, 2006:403). It includes concrete entities – persons, objects, places, institutions – names of actions (swimming, laughter); abstractions (thought, experience); qualities (beauty, speed), etc.

The NG functions in a sentence as subject, object, complement of clauses and complement of prepositional phrases. It has four primary elements – *the head, the determiner, the pre-modifier* and *the post-modifier* (Downing & Locke, 2006:403). Of these, the head is the central element and it, together with the determiner when present, can realize the nominal group (NG). The pre- and post modifiers are usually not obligatory members and may be omitted. Diagram 1 is an illustration of the structure of the NG of English (from Downing & Locke, 2006).

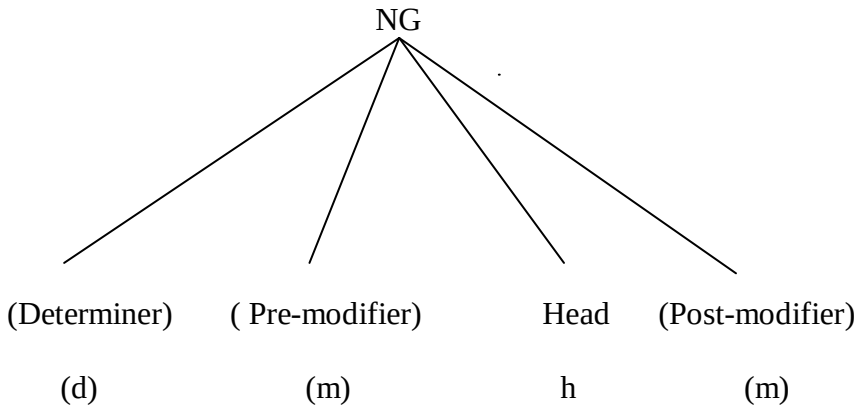


Diagram 1: The structure of the English NG

The determiner and the pre-modifier(s) take the pre-head position while the post-modifier(s) take the post-head position. The following are examples of typical realizations of the English NG. The heads are underlined.

1. (a) One Saturday morning in February 1893

   d m h m

   (b) A sale

   d h

   (c) The same cable (50)

   d m h

   (d) Stone walls

   m h

(e) Patients waiting

h m

(f) Children

h

4.3. THE NOMINAL GROUP IN GA

Like English, the Ga NG also has a structure of head, determiners and modifiers. There are pre- and post-head determiners, as well as pre- and post-head modifiers. Accordingly, the structure of the Ga NG can be represented as (Diagram 2).

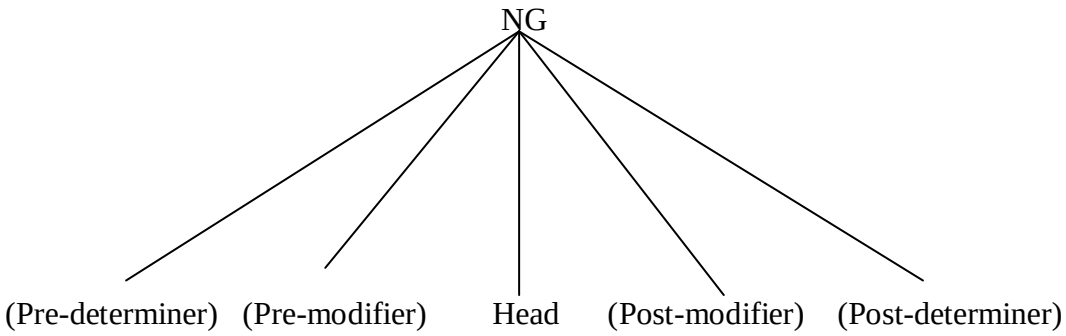


Diagram 2: The structure of the Ga NG

4.3.1. The Determiners

Ga determiners are either pre- or post-head depending on their kind, and some, depending on the intention of the message may be used either ways. Strictly, pre-head determiners are the possessives, both pronouns (examples **2a** and **2b**) and nouns (**2c**); interrogatives (**2d**), the negative determinative – *jeee* – (2g) and the demonstrative – nakai, **that/ those/ such** (**2e, 2f**).

2. (a) ŋ-yitswɛi

   1S-hair

   'My hair'

   (b) amɛ-wolo

   3PL-book/paper

   'Their book'

   (c) mɔ-ɔ nane (282)

   person-the leg

   'the person's leg'

   (d) mɛɛ akutso?

   Which neighbourhood/ area

   'Which area?'

(e) Nakai nii-ɛ (215)

that thing-the

'that thing'

(f) Nakai nii

such thing

'such thing/ such a thing'

(g) Jeee leebi (230)

not morning

'Not morning'

The demonstrative – nɛkɛ (emphatic demonstrative), **such,** is mainly used as a pre-head (**3a**) but may also be used as a post-head (Zimmermann, 1972:67) possibly producing a literary effect as in (**3b**). It can also be used both pre- and post-head at the same time (**3c**). Usually in pre-head position it is used together with *nɛɛ*, **this**, **these**, a post-head determiner for more intense emphasis (**3d**, **3e**), also (**3f**).

3. (a) Nɛkɛ gbɔmɔ wɔ taɔ-ɔ-ɔ.

such person 3PL search-PRG-ART

'We want a person such as this'

(b) Gbɔmɔ nɛkɛ

human such

'A person of this kind'

(c) Nɛkɛ bei nɛkɛ-ɛ

Such times these-ART

'Times like these/ Times such as these'

(d) Nɛkɛ gbɔmɔ nɛɛ wɔ taɔ-ɔ-ɔ.

such person this 3PL search-PRG-FOC

(This particular person is who we are looking for.)

(e) Nɛkɛ nibii enyɔ nɛɛ (238)

such things two these

'These particular two things'

(f) Nibii nɛkɛ nɛɛ

Things such these

'Such things as these'

Post-head determiners are mainly the definite article, *lɛ*, or *ɛ* (weak form; realized also by a repetition of the final letter of the referent when it is a vowel) – (4**a, 4b**).

4. (a) mɔ-ɔ̲ **or** mɔ lɛ̲

person-the person the

'The person' 'The person'

(b) jara lɛ̲ **or** jara-a̲

market the market-the

'The market'

The definite article modifies mainly in two ways within the NG. It either modifies a noun only. In this case, it immediately follows that noun, as in (**4c**); or it modifies the whole NG, where it occurs as the last modifying element in the group (**4d**). Sometimes, both the single noun and the whole NG are definite. Each of them then takes the definite article as in (**4e**).

(c) Okplɔ lɛ̲ nɔ nibii

table ART top things

'Things on the table'

(d) Leebi hulu ni kpɛ-ɔ kaŋŋ lɛ̲

morning sun that shine-HAB ADV ART

'The morning sun that shines so intensely'

(e) Okplɔ lɛ nɔ nibii lɛ

table ART top things ART

'The things on the table'

Ga has no morpheme for the indefinite article. The noun alone is therefore used when indefiniteness is meant. Compare (**5a** and **5b**) against (**5c** and **5d**), also (**2f**) and (**3b**) above.

5. (a) Mi-he wuɔwurɔ

1S-buy egg

'I bought (an) egg'

(b) Mi-he wuɔwurɔ lɛ

1S-buy egg ART

'I bought the egg'

(c) Kukwɛi ma okpɔlɔ lɛ nɔ

Pot on table the top

'There is (a) pot on the table'

(d) Kukwɛi lɛ ma okpɔlɔ lɛ nɔ

Pot the on table the top

'The pot is on the table'

Other post-head determiners are the demonstrative – *nɛɛ*, **this, these** (**6a, 6b**); quantifiers (**6c**), intensifiers (**6d**) and numbers (cardinals and ordinals) (**6e, 6f**). The ordinal number *klɛŋklɛŋ*, **first**, can also be used as a pre-head (**6g**). This may be because that is the only one with a given name. All the others have descriptive terms, not names. For example, *nɔ ni ji enyɔ*, **that which is two**, and *nɔ ni ji etɛ*, **that which is three** for second and third respectively. *Klɛŋklɛŋ* being a noun, then is capable of functioning in a pre-head slot as all nominal modifiers are. This is explained below in section (4.2.2).

6. (a) Gbekɛ nɛɛ wɔ taɔ-ɔ-ɔ.
   Child this 3PL search-PRG-ART
   'This child is who we are looking for.'

   (b) Fɔfɔi-i nɛɛ yɛ fɛo waa.
   flower-PL these are beautiful very
   'These flowers are very beautiful'

   (c) Nibii fɛɛ
   things all
   'All things'

   (d) Enɛ pɛ
   this only
   'Only this'

(e) Bi kome

child one

'One child'

(f) Mɔ klɛŋklɛŋ

person first

'First person'

(g) Klɛŋklɛŋ mɔ

first person

'First person'

4.3.1.1. Order of determinatives

Pre-head determinatives precede modifiers, and are usually not more than three for a particular NG. The usual order of pre-head determinatives in Ga is the negative determinative *jeee* (when present) preceding a demonstrative and a possessive respectively (**7a**); a demonstrative or interrogative preceding a possessive (**7b, 7c**); or any one of them individually, as in the examples above.

7. (a) Jeee nakai amɛmama lɛ

not that their-cloth ART

'Not that their cloth'

(b) Mɛɛ ŋduku?

which my-scarf

'which scarf of mine'

(c) Nɛkɛ wɔ-mama nɛɛ

this our cloth this

'This our cloth/ This cloth of ours'

Possessive pronouns are always prefixed to their head or the first modifier when pre-head modifiers are present (Zimmermann, 1972:32; BGL, 1975:20). All other determinatives are written separately as in examples (**7a, 7b and 7c**).

Post-head determinatives succeed post-modifiers and are always begun by the number, when present, then the demonstrative *nɛɛ*, followed by quantifiers, then intensifiers, and finally the definite article (ART) when present. Example,

(d) Nibii etɛ nɛɛ pɛ kɛkɛ

things three these only just

'Only these three things'

4.3.2. Pre-modifiers

Usually only nouns can pre-modify in the Ga NG. All other modifiers are post-head. The examples below are taken from BGL (1975:17).

8. (a) maŋo tso

mango tree

'Mango tree'

(c) gbekɛ yoo

child female

'girl'

(d) tsɛnsi kukwɛi

silver pot

'silver pot'

4.3.3. Post-modifiers

Post-modifiers include adjectives (**9a**), post-positions (**9b**) and clauses (**9c**).

9. (a) gbekɛ kpakpa

child good

'good child'

(b) Ŋmɔ mli

farm inside

'on/ in farm'

(c) nibii ni amɛyɔɔ kwɛmɔ (16)

things that 3PL have watching

'Things that they have to watch'

4.3.3.1. Order of Post-modifiers

Post-modifiers precede post determiners when modifying. The sequence of post-modifying elements is basically adjectives and then the clause(s).

10. (a) Tso bibioo lɛ ni ma tsu lɛ masɛi lɛ

tree small ART that on building ART side ART

'The small tree that is beside the house'

4.3.4. The Head of the Ga NG

Like English, the head of the Ga NG is typically a noun or pronoun. Adjectives may also take the noun's place in most cases to avoid repeating a noun that is known already. In fact, according to Zimmermann (1972:45), every adjective may be used as a noun. The adjective in this case may or may not take the definite article, depending on whether or not the referent is definite as in examples (11).

11. (a) Kɛ bibioo-ɛ a-ba

bring small-ART 3PL-come

'Bring the small (one)'

(b) Kɛ bibioo a-ba

bring small 3PL-come

'Bring (a) small (one)'

4.3.4.1. Plural Formation

According to Zimmermann (1972:27) the basic plural form is the suffix *i* as in *to, toi* **goat, goats**; *fa, fai*, **river, rivers**; *ekpakpa, ekpakpai*, **good, good ones**. However, when suffixing words ending *ŋ*, it becomes *ji* as in *gɔŋ, gɔji*, **mountain, mountains**; *maŋ, maji*, **town, towns**; *ediŋ, ediji*, **black, blacks**. Nasal vowels, as well as other terminational liquid sounds, related to or derived from *ŋ – m, n, l* – also change to ji as in, *nine, niji*, **hand, hands**; *nane, naji*, **leg, legs**; *truru, tsuji*, **red, reds**. Sometimes, the *i* drops the *ŋ* as in *gwaŋtɛŋ, gwaŋtɛi*, **sheep**.

The plural marking may also be carried by other elements in the clause such as verbs and adverbs. Example,

A-kɛɛ a- a- saa -saa -a **lines** (25)

3PL-say 3PL-PRG-repair-repair-PRG ,,

(They say they are repairing repairing lines)

'It is said that, the lines are being repaired'

4.4. THE CODE-SWITCHED NOMINAL GROUP (CSED NG)

The data reveals that in the CSed nominal groups, the head elements – usually nouns, are the most commonly switched items. Only a few of the head items of the CSed NGs are Ga. The bulk of them are English items. This agrees with predictions of earlier researchers (e.g. Poplack, 1981, in Myers-Scotton, 1993:22; Myers-Scotton, 2002:2) that singly occurring nouns are the most commonly switched items in code-switching corpora. It is also because, in the NG, nouns are the main content morphemes and, from the 4-M model's postulation, the major switching elements in CS.

4.4.1. THE HEAD

According to Downing & Locke (2006:405), nominal heads are of three main categories, which are, ***proper nouns*** – examples, *University of Ghana*, *Cape Coast*, *Akuɔkɔ*; ***common nouns*** – examples, *pot*, *flowers*, *cloth*; and ***pronouns*** – examples, *something*, *nothing*, *we* and *they*.

4.4.1.1. Pronouns

There is no evidence of Englsh pronouns within the CSed NGs although Ga pronouns abound in it. There is however the use of 'one' and 'ones', as in **Blue wan** (one) (3), **Proper one** (77), **Red one-s** (222,223), and **big time one-s** (117) in the CSed NGs. These, Downing & Locke (2006:403) call 'substitute heads', though others refer to them as pronouns (Amuzu, 2005b:193). Interestingly, although they exist in the CSed NGs, they can only occur in EL islands as in these examples. This is because, Ga does not use that substitute head; rather an adjective alone may stand in for the noun, and as mentioned already, all adjectives may be used to replace a noun (Zimmermann, 1972:45). This phenomenon is however unlike what

happens in other languages of the Kwa group such as Ewe (Amuzu, 2005b; 2014). Amuzu, for instance, gives the following examples.

12. (a) [Lòlò-tɔ a] gbɔ

Fat-one the return

'The one which/ who returned'

(b) [Nutsu {agble-tɔ} a] gbɔ

man farm-one the return

'The man who comes from (or who is living on) the farm returned.'

(c) [__ {agble-tɔ} a] gbɔ

farm-one the return

'The one who comes from (or who is living on) the farm returned.'

(From: Amuzu, 2005b:188,189)

According to Amuzu (2005b), in Ewe, adjectives cannot occur as 'lone-word NPs' (i.e. NG head) nor as headless modifiers in the NG. The substitute head *tɔ* '**one**', needs to be present, just as the English structure requires.

From the analysis of pronouns, we may describe Ga pronouns as late system morphemes; therefore they are not quite easily switched. Moreover, personal and possessive pronouns qualify to be what the 4-M model calls late outside system morphemes, because, as seen from different

examples in the data, their form usually determines the form that other constituents such as verbs will take, since they must be duplicated on most elements within the Verbal Group. Example,

(d) Ma-nyɛ ma-hi biɛ.

I-can I-live here

'I can live here.'

(e) Sa-ni o-fee o-ma shi omo. (99)

good-that 2S-do 2S-put down already

'You should have done it already.'

4.4.1.2. Proper nouns

Proper nouns are names of specific people, places, festivals, etc. (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973:288). They may be single words (e.g. Christmas, John, Accra, Ga, etc) or may combine with descriptive words, which Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) call *descriptors*, to make a composite name (e.g. Christmas Day, Cape Coast, Akate Farms, Mr. Tetteh, Auntie Naa Lamiley, etc.). Code-switching in proper nouns usually involves the descriptors, because most names are from the ML or of Ghanaian origin. Again, many times these descriptors are nouns or adjectives, and thus content morphemes which stand great chances of being switched. Examples are,

13. (a) 'Sta Akweley mɛ- a- jɛɛ- ɛ (30)

Sister Akweley 3PL-3PL(POS)-place-ART

'Sister Akweley and others' (their) place'

(b) **Auntie** Lamile jɛɛ-ɛ (33)

,, Lamile place-ART

'Auntie Lamile's place'

(c) ŋ-he wuɔ yɛ *Akate* ***Farms***. (220)

1S-buy chicken at Akate Farms

'I bought chicken at Akate Farms.'

Other proper nouns such as names of the days, months or festivals are used interchangeably because they are identified and have names in both languages. They are also freely switched because they are also usually nouns and so are content morphemes. Examples

14. (a) ***Christmas*** *nɛɛ -ɛ po*, ŋ-na-a Mama. (199)

,, this-ART even 1S-see-NEG ,,

'Even, this Christmas, I didn't see Mama.'

(b) **Monday to Friday**-ɛ a-kwɛ-ɛɛ lɛ ojogbaŋŋ. Hɔɔ-ɔ lɛ-ɛ … (9)

,, -ART 3PL-watch-NEG 3S well. Saturday-ART 3S-ART

'Monday to Friday, it is not watched well. As for Saturdays …'

(c) Hewɔɔ bɛ'ɛ ***Saturday*** *kɛ* ***Sunday-ɛ*** amɛ nɔ-ŋ.

(18) So then ,, and ,, -ART 3PL thing-that

'So, then, Saturdays and Sundays belong to them.'

Some proper nouns or composite names also come as fixed collocations. They are therefore switched in their entirety, and may be given ML determiners when necessary, according to ML conventions. Examples,

15. (a) Ei bɛ-ɛ bianɛ-ɛ lɛ ji **landlord** yɛ ***Apple Road***. (179)

then now-ART 3S COP ,, at ,,

'Then, now, he is landlord at Apple Road'

(b) ***Apple Road-ɛ*** amɛ ŋ-fee ekomei **cement**. (176)

,, -ART 3PL PROG do some ,,

'(On) The Apple road, they are making some cement.'

(c) **Queen Elizabeth** tamɔ enyɔ jio etɛ yɛ ŋ-tsu-ɛ mli. (255)

,, like two or three at my-room-ART inside

'There are about two or three 'Queen Elizabeths in my room.'

4.4.1.3. Common Nouns.

Downing & Locke (2006:405) argue that, the characteristic of common nouns is that, they are either singular or plural, and countable or non-countable.

In the CSed NGs, English common nouns usually appear with their English plural markers, as in:

16. (a) Nyɛ **bowl-s-**ɛ (1)

your ,, -ART

'Your bowls'

(b) **Cartoon-s** pii (16)

,, plenty/ many

'Plenty cartoons'

(c) E-**unit-s** (117)

3S- ,,

'Her units'

(d) **Bab-ies** -a- **sock-s** (274)

,, POS(3PL) ,,

'Babies' socks'

In some instances the plural marker may be omitted as in (**e**), although it is required in English.

This is because in Ga not all nouns are necessarily given the plural marker; especially not when there is also a plural modifier or determiner. This also provides evidence to the fact that Ga is the matrix language and so its syntactic expectations take precedence. All the English nouns may also carry Ga plural morphemes, and possibly both English and Ga plural morphemes for some, although the data provides no evidence of this.

(e) A-baa-kwɛ ***repeat*** *fɛɛ* (19)

3PL-FUT-watch ,, all

'All repeats will be watched.'

Since the plural markers are system morphemes, which are frame-builders, this gives an indication that the two languages involved both contribute to the building of the abstract frame of the utterance. Based on this, we may argue that CS in this data is not classic but composite as Amuzu (2014) argues for Ewe-English CS.

English nouns in the CSed NGs are also mainly count and concrete nouns, examples: **television, school, bowl, cartoon, pipe, door, brother, sister, shop, paper, light, form**, etc. English non count nouns are few and usually unmodified or come with their own English modifiers. Examples,

17. (a) Nakai **area** mii sa-ni mɔfɛɛmɔ a-hi; **no noise, peaceful.** (37)

that ,, inside fit-that everybody 3PL-live; ,,

'That is the kind of area in which everybody should live; no noise, peaceful.'

(b) **Apple Road**-ɛ amɛ-ŋ-fee ekomei **cement**. (176)

,, -ART 3PL-PROG-do some ,,

'(On) the Apple road, they are making some cement.'

(c) Yoo, wɔ-ŋ-jofoi. **Traffic** – ŋ-fee **late** **(**254)

alright 1PL-PROG-run. ,, 1S-make ,,

'Alright, we are running away. (There is) traffic – I am late.'

4.4.2. DETERMINERS

The determiner's function is to particularize the noun referent in different ways (Downing and Locke, 2006:403). It identifies the referent by telling us which or what or whose, etc, it is. For instance with the articles *–a, an, the* – the referent is marked as definite or indefinite. Determiners are the demonstratives, the possessives (both possessive nouns and possessive pronouns), quantifiers (one, first, next, some, a few, etc) and distributives (each, every, all, either, neither).

Determiners in the data are mainly of Ga origin and follow Ga structural order. This is because, determiners are system morphemes and per the 4-M model classification, are mainly supplied by the ML. Examples are,

18. (a) O-baa- he **rotating one-**ɛ? (76)

2S-FUT-buy ,, -ART

'Will you buy the rotating one?'

(b) nyɛ **bowls-**ɛ (1)

Your ,, -ART

'Your bowls'

(c) E**-connections** (52)

3S- ,,

'His/her/its connections'

(d) O**-waist** (146)

2S- ,,

'Your waist'

There is no incidence of an English determiner occurring with a Ga head in the data. Any time an English determiner is accessed, it necessarily triggers an EL island. When an English determiner is used, it comes in its English position as a pre-head, even when it is not of the type that Ga will allow in pre-head. Examples are:

19. (a) **<u>Every</u> day**-ɛ (20)

,, -ART

'Every day, ….'

(b) Tamɔ a-kɛɛ **<u>a</u> yard** tamɔ **fifty pesewas** (73)

like 3PL-say ,, like ,,

'They say a yard costs about fifty pesewas'

(c) E- baa- ba **<u>this</u> month** (133)

3S-FUT-come ,,

'It will come this month'

(d) **<u>This</u> year**-ɛ (134)

,, -ART

'This year, …'

(e) **<u>Next</u> year** ni e-baa- ba. (135)

,, that 3S-FUT-come

'It is next year that it will come.'

(f) **<u>The</u> last time** (164)

'The last time'

(g) Wɔ-baa- fee **assembly <u>every week</u>** (184)

1PL-FUT-do ,,

'We will conduct an assembly every week'

(h) **this time** nɛkɛ-ɛ (220)

such-ART

'This time for instance'

4.4.3. PRE-MODIFIERS

Since in Ga only nouns can pre-modify a head noun or pronoun, only English modifiers that are nouns are permitted to pre-modify in the CSed NGs as in example **20**(**a-c**). In (**20c**), all the morphemes are English morphemes but the Matrix Language (ML) is Ga because Ga syntactic order has been employed. Again, the English possessive marker is missing in the structure, because, under Ga conditions a possessive marker is not needed in such structure. Therefore, although it is not well-formed according to English structural order, in Ga it is a perfect utterance.

20. (a) **Pentecost** <u>nokonoko</u> (201)

,, pronoun

'Pentecost something something'

(b) **prison** osɔfo (204)

,, pastor

'Prison pastor/priest'

(c) **Lawyer wife** (116)

'Lawyer's wife'

On the other hand, unlike adjectives that can function as head in place of a noun or pronoun in Ga, the modifying nominal cannot function in the head slot. For example, where some languages will simply use 'Ga' or 'Gas' when referring to the people of the Ga tribe, it is not so in Ga unless a suffix head –such as, *mɛi*, **people**; *nyo*, **person**; *nuu*, **man** or *yoo*, **woman** – is added. In talking about **the English** – people from England – therefore, the Ga will rather say **English**bii, **English people**, but not English, as in,

21. **English-**bii ji amɛ

,, -children COP 3PL

'They are English.'

In code-switching where Ga is the ML therefore, such describing headless modifiers are suffixed with such appropriate relational heads. Example,

22. (a) **Boy**-ɛ **Accra Aca**-nyo ni (43)

,,-ART ,, -person COP

'The boy is from Accra Aca'

(b) **Accra Aca**bii e-ba e-e-**display** (43)

,, -childen 3S-come 3S-PRG-,,

'Accra Aca students were displaying.'

(c) a-kɛɛ mɛnɛmɛi-ɛ **condemn**-bii (204)

3PL-say these people-ART ,, -children

'These people are condemned.'

Accordingly, the system will block the ML as soon as there is an access of a non nominal modifier in the post-head slot. For example in (**23a**), the speaker employs a filler to fill the vacuum that was created since she expected to stay in the ML even after accessing the adjective **new** in a pre-head slot. In a situation like this the Universal Structure Principle (USP) demands that the phrase be continued in an EL island as in examples **20** (**b-d**).

23. (a) **New** mɛnɛɛmɛi (180)

Adj filler

'New …'

(b) **safe journey** (255)

'Safe journey'

(c) **Condemned prisoners** (204)

(d) **particular handkerchiefs** ko (282)

„ ,, certain/ some

'Some particular handkerchiefs'

4.4.4. POST-MODIFIERS

Post-modifiers help to define and identify the noun referent still further. Typical post modifiers in the CSed NGs are adjectives, and relative and adverbial clauses. English adjectives that are allowed in the CSed NG seem to be very limited. Popular ones are colours (**21a, b**) and a few descriptive adjectives such as **slim** and **fine** in (**21c, d, e**). The modifying clauses are usually in Ga, and if there is switching within these clauses it is usually on their complements, i.e. complements of prepositions and complements of adverbial clauses, and these are mainly nouns.

24. (a) Shitɔ **green**-ɛ (249)

Pepper ,, -ART

'The green pepper'

(b) **container white** ko (266)

,, ,, certain

'a certain white container'

(c) Obla-yoo **slim** ko

youth-female ,, certain

'A certain slim young woman'

(d) **Polythene bag fine** ko (125)

,, certain

'A certain nice polythene bag'

(e) Bɛ enɛ yɛ **fine**? (126)

hope PRO COP ,,

'Hope this is fine/ Is this fine?'

(f) Gbɛkɛ tamɔ **five, six** mli (230)

evening like ,, inside

'Evening, around five or six'

(i) Yoo ni hiɛ **bucket**-ɛ

female that hold „ -ART

'The woman holding the bucket'

4.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the structure of the code-switched Nominal Group (CSed NG) in the light of both the English only and the Ga only Nominal Groups. Some of the observations that we have made include,

- The heads of the NGs are the typical EL items in CSed NGs. These are often concrete and common nouns and they usually have Ga determiners and modifiers. EL abstract nouns are few and are either with EL determiners or are unmodified.
- Determiners are from Ga, except in EL islands when some EL determiners are accessed alongside their heads.
- Modifiers, both pre- and post-head, are free to be in either language but are limited to the slot that the ML has prepared for their kind. For example, English pre-head modifiers are not allowed in pre-head slots if their countaparts in the ML are not pre-head modifiers.
- There was no evidence of an English pronoun in the CSed NGs.
- One important discovery we also made is that some English items may be allowed to create their own slots in the CSed NG. This is the case with the pronoun form 'one' which may or may not be used to head an EL adjective in the CSed NG.

In conclusion, in answer to our research questions, we may say that the structures of the Ga only NG and the CSed NG are not the same. The reason for the difference is that, although Ga as the ML always determines the morphosyntactic organization of the utterance and has strict rules regarding the filling of its slots, English most often is seen pushing its way to interfere with the procedure in an attempt to impose its structures on the ML. Sometimes the ML is forced to give in although never completely, leading to both languages sharing the role of the ML by each contributing parts of the frame-building elements in the utterances.

CHAPTER FIVE

CODE-SWITCHING IN THE VERBAL GROUP

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In the syntactic structures of the Verbal Groups for both English and Ga, similarities and differences are also revealed. This chapter explores the manner in which these similarities and differences are integrated to form the code-switched Verbal Group.

5.2. THE VERBAL GROUP (VG) OF ENGLISH

The Verbal Group (VG) is what encodes our experience of events, activities, states, etc. It is the grammatical unit by which we most typically express our perception of event (Downing & Locke, 2006:317). It is headed by a lexical verb which can be either alone (**1a**) or preceded by one or more auxiliary verbs (**1b** and **c**) to form the VG.

1. (a) She cooks the food for the family.

   (b) She is cooking the food for the family.

   (c) She should have been cooking the food.

When alone as the VG, the lexical verb performs both lexical and grammatical functions. When auxiliary verbs are present, they realize the grammatical functions. Grammatical functions of the verb include expression of finiteness – tense, person and number – aspect and negation.

According to Downing and Locke (2006:323), the VG structure of English, is either **simple** or **extended**.

There is a simple structure when the VG is made up of a single element only, the lexical element. This is realized by a finite (**2a**) or non-finite (**2b**) form of a lexical verb. Example,

2. (a) He drives the car to the office always.

   (b) Driving the car was a great pleasure.

There is an extended structure when the lexical verb is accompanied by auxiliary verb or verbs as in (**3a, b** and **c**).

3. (a) She is sleeping.

   (b) He has been crying.

   (c) He must have been eating the food.

In the extended VG, finiteness is realized by the first auxiliary verb, which is called the operator, as in (**3a** and **b**) above. However, when there is a modal auxiliary, example **must** in (**3c**), it is an

alternative to the tensed auxiliary. In English, a modal auxiliary and a tensed form do not occur together. We can therefore have (**4a** and **b**) but not (**4c** or **4d**).

4. (a) I <u>am singing</u>.

   (b) I <u>may sing</u>.

   (c) *I <u>am may sing</u>.

   (d) *I <u>am may sing</u>.

The other auxiliary verbs express other grammatical meanings such as aspect (**5a** and **b**) and negation (**5c**).

5. (a) I may be <u>going</u> to Osu.

   (b) She has <u>gone</u> to the market.

   (c) We have not had food.

5.3. THE VERBAL GROUP OF GA

Like English, the Ga VG also is used to express our experience of events, activities and states. Examples,

6. (a) Amɛ-tee akrowa lɛ.

   3PL-went village ART

   'They went to the village'

   (b) Wɔ-tee wɔ-ya-he woji

   1PL-went 1PL-go-buy books

   'We went to buy books.'

   (c) Kofi baa-ya-sra e-mami.

   ,, FUT-go-visit 3S-mother

   'Kofi will go and visit his mother.'

   (d) Kofi tee e- ya-sra e-mami.

   ,, went 3S-go-visit 3S-mother

   'Kofi went to visit his mother.'

   (e) E-wɔ.

   3S-sleep

   'He is asleep / He has slept.'

The Ga VG can also be described as having a **simple** or **extended** structure as the above examples show. It is a syntactic rule in Ga to prefix the subject pronoun to the verb. In the case of more than one main verb, the pronoun is spread on all of them. The simple and extended structures of the VG are examined in the following sub-sections.

5.3.1. The Simple VG Structure

The simple VG is made up of only one element, example,

7. (a) Akwele yɛ woji pii.
   ,, has books many
   'Akwele has many books'

   (b) Lɛ ji shia-tsɛ
   3S is house-owner
   'He is the house owner'

   (c) Tɛte bɛɛ shia lɛ mli
   ,, swept house ART inside
   'Tɛte swept the house'

In the simple structure, the verb incorporates both the grammatical and lexical meanings. Some grammatical meanings are expressed by affixations (**8a, b** and **c**) and others by tonal change (**8d, e** and **f**).

8. (a) Wɔ miŋ-nu nu.

we PRG-drink water

'We are drinking water.'

(b) E-baa-ya wɔ leebi.

3S-FUT-go tomorrow morning

'He will go tomorrow morning.'

(c) E -fee- e diiŋ

3s-do-NEG quiet

'He doesn't keep quiet / He didn't keep quiet'

(d) E-ba shia nɛɛ.

3S-come house this

'He came to this house/ He has come to this house'

(e) Mi na Aku

I see ,,

'I have seen Aku/ I saw Aku'

(f) Wɔ-nu nu

we-drink water

'We drank water/ We have drunk water'

5.3.2. The Extended Structure

The extended structure is made up of two or more single verbs that function as one unit. In Ga, the extended VG structure can be any of these – **a modal construction**, **a serial verb construction** or **an extended verb complex**.

5.3.2.1. The modal construction

Ga has only one verbal form for expressing modality. This is by the use of the auxiliary verb *nyɛ*, **can**. Other modal forms are expressed by non-verbal items.The verb *nyɛ* also carries the tense, aspect and negation inflections of the VG when they are required. In the modal construction, only the auxiliary carries the grammatical meanings while the main verb remains mainly lexical as in examples (**9**).

9. (a) Ma-nyɛ ma-hi biɛ.

I-can I-live here

'I can live here.'

(b) E-baa-nyɛ e-bɛɛ.

3S-FUT-can 3S-sweep

'She will be able to sweep/ She can sweep'

5.3.2.2. Serial Verb Construction (SVC)

Serial Verb Construction (SVC) is a generally known phenomenon that is a feature of verbs in many languages. In Ga, Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) follow what is generally perceived world-wide (Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann (2007). Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann (2007) define an SVC as 'a sequence of verbs or VPs without intervening co- or subordinating particles, and without any subordination or argument-of relation obtaining between the adjacent verbs'. In an SVC, a non initial VP takes as its subject argument, a participant which is also an argument of the preceding VP, typically its subject (Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann, 2007). Generally, SVCs are divided into two main types.

- **Type 1:** Clause-chaining SVC

Here the consecutive VPs denote temporarily distinct events.

10. (a) E-wɔ-ɔ e-shi-ɔ Akuɔkɔ (20)

3S-sleep-HAB 3S-leave-HAB ,,

'She sleeps before Akuɔkɔ.'

(b) Mi-ba-saa mi-ba-ha bo.

I-FUT-repair I-FUT-give you

'I will repair it for you'

(e) Sa-ni o-fee o-ma shi omo. (99)

good-that 2S-do 2S-put down already

'You should have done it already.'

- **Type 2:** Integrated SVC

Here, the VPs express interleaving aspects of one and the same event, often in a collocational fashion (Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann, 2007).

11. (a) A- jɛ **school** a-ba (16)

3PL-come-from school 3PL-come

'(They) have come back from school/ (They) came back from school.'

(b) Nu tsɔ- ko mii kɛ ho-ko (23)

water pass-not inside with pass-not

'Water hasn'tpassed through (it)'

5.3.2.3. The Extended Verb Complex

The Extended Verb Complex (EVC) is used here in the manner of Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann (2007) who first used the term to describe a verb sequencing procedure that takes place within some Ga verbs. In the EVC, a single verb element, usually one word, comprises internally two or more lexical verbs. Examples,

12. (a) Akwele ya-wo kukwei lɛ.

,, went-picked pot ART

'Akwele went for the pot'

(b) Naa ba-he mama leebi nɛɛ

,, came-buy cloth morning this

'Naa came to buy a cloth this morning.'

(c) E-ya-a-sra yoomo-ɛ

3S-go-PRG-visit old lady-ART

'She is going to visit the old lady.'

(d) E-**phone** e –ya -gbee shi. (107)

3S-,, 3S-go(PEF) fall down

'Her phone has fallen down.'

In the EVC, tense and aspect markings are usually carried by the first verb and negation usually by the final verb. Again in the EVC, omission of the initial verb still gives a well-formed utterance as in examples (**13**).

13. (a) E-**phone** e -gbee shi.

3S- ,, 3S-fall(PEF) down

'Her phone has fallen down.'

(b) E-baa-sra yoomo-ɛ

3S-FUT-visit old lady-ART

'She will visit the old lady.'

5.4. THE CODE-SWITCHED VERBAL GROUP (VG)

Code-switching obtains in all the Verbal Group structures of the Ga Verbal Group. From the data, it can be inferred that code-switching within the Ga VG takes place on lexical verbs only. In both the simple and the extended structures, English verbs only involve the head elements in the VG. Following is an examination of how CS obtains in the various VG structures.

5.4.1. CS in the simple VG structure

In the simple structure of the CSed VG, the main verb is in English but all grammatical markings are realized with Ga. The English verb form that qualifies to be in CS is therefore only the bare form. The English verb thus expresses only its lexical meaning as it has in English. Examples

14. (a) O-**send** mi noko? (276)

2S- ,, me something

'Have you sent me something?'

(b) Nomii-ɛ wɔ- ŋ- **expect** lɛ yɛ jɛmɛ (156)

that time-ART 1PL-PRG- ,, 3S at there

'That time, we were expecting her there.'

(c) Bo-ɛ kaa-**worry**. (45)

2S-ART NEG- ,,

'You don't worry.'

(d) o-bɛ eko ni o- **use**-iii? (130)

2S-have not some that 2S- ,, NEG

'Don't you have one that you don't use?'

5.4.2. CS in the extended VG structure

In the extended structures also, only lexical and main verbs can be switched. The English verbs are the bare forms and all grammatical affixes or requirements are of Ga. The various structures are examined below.

5.4.2.1. The modal construction

All modal auxiliaries as well as their various inflections are in Ga.

15. (a) E-baa-nyɛ e-**manage** lɛ fio-fio (70)
3S-FUT-can 3S- ,, 3S little-little

'It can manage it.'

(b) M-a-nyɛ m-a-**pay** (79)

I-PRES-can I-PRES-,,

'I can pay.'

(c) Bɛ o-baa-nyɛ o-**operate shop**-ɛ **at the same time**? (232)

? 2S-FUT-can 2S- ,, -ART ,,

'You can operate the shop at the same time?'

5.4.2.2. The Serial Verb Construction

Any of the lexical verbs of an SVC may be switched.

16. (a) **Estimate**-mɔ o- ha mi. (75)

,, -PRES 2S-give me

'Estimate it for me.'

5.4.2.3. The Extended Verb Complex (EVC)

All initial verbs of EVCs are in Ga.

17. (a) Gbɛkɛ-ɛ …, kɛkɛ-ɛ, m-ba- **feed** amɛ ekoŋŋ. (229)

Evening-ART then-ART I-come- ,, 3PL again

'In the evening, then I come and feed them again.'

(b) Kɛ o-**choose** ni e-hi-i, kaa-ba-**blame** mi. (77)

if 2S- ,, and 3S-good-NEG, NEG-come- ,, me

'If you choose and it's not good, don't blame me.'

(c) O-baa-nyɛ-o-ya-**try roll-on**-ɛ (281)

2S-FUT-can-2S-go-,, ,, -ART

'You can go and try the roll-on.'

5.5. CONCLUSION

The examination of the data in this chapter has revealed also that, in code-switching within the VG, the syntactic structure is always that of Ga and English lexical verbs are inserted mainly to fill the slot of the main head of the VG. The English verb, though highly constrained by the Ga system, does not in any way function outside the English syntactic functions; such that it cannot fill lexical slots that do not exist in the English VG structure such as slots for the initial verbs in

the Ga EVC. In the SVC however, because all the main verbs function as heads of separate VGs, switching is possible with any of them and English verbs may freely take over.

We have also observed that constraint within the CSed VG is more strictly enforced than what obtains in the CSed NG. In the CSed VG, all system morphemes, i.e. all grammatical markings are provided by the ML only. The only English permitted is the lexical verb in its bare form.

Finally, we can observe from the meager amount of data on CSed VGs that switching in NGs is more common than switching in VGs.

In conclusion, to answer our research questions, we may say that the syntactic structures of the CSed VG and the Ga only VG are the same. This is because constraints seem to be strictly enforced in the CSed VG such that all system morphemes are provided by the ML only.

CHAPTER SIX

CODE-SWITCHING OF ADVERBIALS, PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Adverbials and conjunctions seem to undergo switching with considerable freedom in CS data. This chapter will examine briefly the code-switching of adverbials, prepositions and conjunctions in the Ga-English CS data.

6.2. CODE-SWITCHING OF PREPOSITIONS

The data did not reveal much use of English prepositions. Prepositions are mainly in Ga. In Ga, there are different kinds of prepositions and they function in various ways, not limited to the functions of prepositions in English. Basically, there are two kinds – **prepositions** and **postpositions** – as in examples (1). Most English prepositions have their equivalents in Ga as postpositions while Ga prepositions also function like English prepositions by introducing Nominal Groups.

1. (a) ŋ-na **televisioŋ-ɛ** yɛ amɛ-**door** shishi. (17)

   1S-saw ,, -ART at their ,, under

   'I saw the television from under their door'

(b) **ɳ-phone-**ɛ hu e- gbo yɛ maɳ -a- mii (92)

1S- ,, -ART also PEF-die at town-ART-inside

'In town, my phone also went off'

English prepositions used in the data are mostly used as adverbials (**2a**, **b** and **c**). Occasionally, they may be used to introduce Nominal Groups as in English Prepositional Phrases such as (**2d**).

2. (a) Nyɛ-tee **inside**? (204)

2PL-go ,,

'Did you go inside?'

(b) Hɛɛ ɳ-**waist joint**, kɛ -ɳ- ya **inside-ɛ** (147)

yes 1S- ,, and-PRG-go ,, -ART

'Yes, my waist joint, towards the inside.'

(c) amɛ ba **outside** (207)

3PL come ,,

'They came outside.'

(d) Nyɛ- tee **inside** amɛ **cells**-ɛ diɛntsɛ? (206)

2PL-went ,, 3PL ,, -ART EMP

'Did you go inside their cells themselves?'

Either English or Ga prepositions may introduce EL adverbial groups or adjuncts as in examples (**3**).

3. (a) Hɛɛ, **<u>for</u> about three months** nɛ a- gbe ko. (158)

yes, ,, now 3PL-off NEG

'Yes, for about three months now it hasn't gone off.'

(b) Bɛ o-baa-nyɛ ni o-**operate shop**-ɛ **<u>at</u> the same time**? (232)

? 2S-FUT-can that 2S- ,, -ART ,,

'You can operate the shop at the same time?'

(c) <u>Kɛjɛ</u> **past two years** kraa nɔ ni yaa nɔ nɛ. (30)

from ,, INT thing that goes on this

'For the past two years this is what has been going on.'

6.3. ADVERBIAL GROUPS

Adverbial Groups and adjuncts are utterances which commonly occur in English within CS utterances. They occur mainly as EL islands. Examples are,

4. (a) kɛ **<u>at least</u> <u>by six o clock</u>** ŋ-**feed** amɛ-ɛ, (229)

if ,, I - ,, them-ART

'If at least by six o clock I have fed them,'

(b) Kɛ wɔ he yɛ **lucky**-ɛ **<u>once a week</u>**. (22)

if we self at ,, -ART ,,

'If we are lucky, once a week.

(c) Nohewɔ moŋ-ŋ agbɛnɛ **<u>finally</u>**-ɛ e- ba- je o-jɛɛ (58)

so INT now ,, -ART 3S-come-appear 2S-place

'So, that is why now finally, it got to your place'

(d) **<u>Initially</u>**-ɛ ŋ-ŋa- a shi e- kɛɛ … (236)

,, -ART I-close HAB but 3S-say …

'Initially, I close (it) but she said …

6.4. CONNECTIVES

Conjunctions, like adverbials are also freely switched, so they may either be in the ML or the EL. This is because they are usually single items and freestanding. Again, syntactically they are linkers and may not have any strict connection with any of the parts of the sentence that they link. They are also usually not part of any constituent structure. Examples of conjunctions in the data are

5. (a) E- jɛ- ɔ **ds** tv-ɛ mii **<u>so</u>** no nɔŋŋ. (52)

3S-from-HAB ,, -ART in. ,, that same.

'It comes from the ds tv **so** it's the same.'

(b) **Because cable**-ɛ e- mɔ- mɔ- ɔ enɛ- ɛ- mɛi nɛɛ fɛɛ. (71)

,, ,, -ART 3S-catch-catch-PRE this-ART-PL such all

'Because, the cable catches all these things.'

(c) **I couldn't call her** (.) **because** (.) m-bɛ **battery power.**

I-have not

'I couldn't call her (.) **because** (.) I didn't have battery power.'

(d) tamɔ **two years ago** jio **three years ago**. (169)

like ,, or ,,

'About two years ago or three years ago.'

6.5. CONCLUSION

The switching of prepositions and conjunctions are also evidence to the fact that, the Embedded Language is allowed sometimes to contribute to the building of the morphosyntactic frame of the utterances by providing system morphemes. This is because conjunctions and most prepositions are Late Bridge system morphemes and are expected to be supplied by the Matrix Language alone.

Adverbs are to large extent content morphemes thus it is not surprising that they are often switched. Adverbials and adjuncts are usally fixed English expressions that are borrowed into the Ga utterances together with their English meaning, thus their often appearing as EL islands.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this work was to examine the syntactic structure of the Ga-English code-switched utterance. This was done by the examination of the Nominal and Verbal Groups of the code-switched utterances. The switching of adverbs, adjuncts, prepositions and conjunctions were also briefly examined.

7.2. FINDINGS

From the entire data, three kinds of syntactic structures were observed. These are

- Ga only sentence structure
- English only sentence structure
- Code-switched sentence structure

The analysis involved mainly the code-switched sentence structures. These structures had both intra and inter-sentential switching and, for the structural analysis, the focus is again mainly on the intra-sentential switching.

It was observed that the Matrix Language is always Ga. There was no instance when English alone plays the role of the Matrix Language in the code-switched utterances in spite of the large amount of well-formed English structures in the data; and also in spite of the fact that the study population consist of people who are equally competent and use both languages well. However, in many instances of the intra-sentential switching, English is permitted to contribute some of the frame-building morphemes.

We may therefore conclude that, as Amuzu (2005b; 2014) argues for Ewe-English CS, this Ga-English CS is also composite CS, not classic CS.

The following are also the findings that were identified for the structures that were examined.

7.2.1. The CSed NG

The morphosyntactic structure of the Csed NG is always Ga, although it may exhibit on the surface many English morphemes. It is mainly English content morphemes that are allowed into the Ga NG structures, but these content morphemes may be allowed to enter with their early system morphemes especially where these early system morphemes fit into the ML slots of their equivalent ML system morphemes. For example, most Ga plural morphemes are in the same slot of English plural morphemes.

Some fundamental differences were also observed between the Ga only NG and the CSed NG. These include the creation of a slot in the CSed NG structure for the 'pronoun' form *one* to head an English adjective to satisfy English requirements, although Ga does not need that pronoun.

7.2.2. The CSed VG

In the CSed VG, we found that English verbs are inserted into the VG structure of Ga. Unlike the NG however, there is no permission of any English system morpheme anywhere in the CSed VG. Thus English lexical verbs only may replace their ML lexical counterparts in the CSed VGs. Again, irrespective of the form of the English verb that occurs, only its bare form is accepted in the CS structure. From the observation, we can conclude that CS within the VG is more constrained than CS in the NG.

7.2.3. Adverbials, prepositions and conjunctions

Adverbs and conjunctions are commonly switched items in the data. They may appear in either language without any strict rules governing them. A few EL prepositions are allowed sometimes. Adverbs are mainly content morphemes therefore their switching is not quite surprising. The switching of prepositions and conjunctions on the other hand are worth noting because they are mainly Bridge morphemes which are to be supplied by the ML. This observation provides evidence to the fact that the ML is sometimes a composite of both Ga and English.

7.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In answer to our research questions, we may say that since the data reveals that the ML for all instances of intra-sentential CS is Ga, it is expected that the syntactic structures of the utterances will be that of Ga. To a large extent, this is so as seen in the CSed VGs, in prepositions and conjunctions. However, it is not always so as revealed largely by the CSed NGs where English is

mostly seen pushing its structures into the ML and possibly trying to take over the role of the ML.

7.4. FUTURE RESEARCH

This research may not be assumed to represent entirely the nature of Ga-English code-switching. First of all, it captures only the code-switching of balanced bilinguals and, in a much more limited sense, bilinguals of the same family background conversing within their family setting. Other data with other kinds of Ga-English speakers or in other settings may vary from this.

Again, syntactic structures such as the prepositions, adverbial groups and conjunctions have not been examined in detail. Further research is therefore needed to ascertain their nature in code-switching.

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APPENDICES

I. CONSENT FORM

PLEASE TICK TO CONFIRM

1. I confirm that I have been given and have read and understood the information sheet for the above study, and have asked and received answers to any questions raised.

   ……..

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have three weeks after data collection to withdraw without giving a reason, and without my rights being affected in any way.

   ……

3. I understand that the researcher will hold all information and data collected securely and in confidence, and that all efforts will be made to ensure that I cannot be identified as a participant in the study, and I give permission for the researcher to hold relevant personal data.

   ……

4. I agree to take part in the study. ……

Signed,

……..... …… ……

(Name of participant) (Signature) (Date)

…… ……..… ……..

(Name of researcher) (Signature) (Date)

III. THE DATA

Conversation 1 (5.28 minutes)

At home, a participant, Awo, who is about forty years, is pounding fufu. Present are her two nieces, Akweley and Akuɔkɔ, aged eleven and eight years respectively, and an elderly man of about fifty years old.

1. **Awo.1**: Akwele, yaawo *nyɛ **bowls-ɛ*** -

   (Adukwei, go and bring your bowls)

2. **Akwele.1**: **I should bring more bowls?**

3. **Awo.2**: Y**es. *Your small small ones*. The blue and then the white. The one you've been using to (.)** Aku, kwemɔ *nibii-ɛ amli* ake ***blu e w aŋ -a*** (.) ***B lu e w aŋ -a*** yɛ jɛi? Enɛ-ɛ ***daddy*** *nɔ*.

   (… Aku, look through the things (dishes) and see if the blue one (.) Is the blue

   one there? This one is for daddy.)

4. **Eld man.1**: Ni *nakai **rɔbaji bowl 'ɛɛ*** eko bɛ jɛi?

   (But those rubbers bowl, are some not there?)

Conversation 2 (4.05 minutes)

At the home of one participant, **A**, about sixty years old and a medical doctor. Three other participants (**B, C** and **L**) are present. B is visiting. **A**, **B** and **C** are cousins. L is their niece.

5. **A.1:** Nohewɔ'ɔ ŋka shi diŋŋ; mi'ɛntsɛ'ɛ ŋkwɛɛɛ eko.

   (Therefore, I'm lying down quietly; I myself I'm not watching some)

6. **B.1**: (laughs) Akɛɛ "ŋka shi diŋŋ"

   ((they) say "I'm lying down quietly)

7. **A.2:** Ohiafo ŋmɛnɛ hɔɔ; ŋmɛnɛ hɔɔ m'bɛ *naabu* nohewɔɔ -

   (Poor man, today is Saturday; today is Saturday, I have no voice.

8. **B.2**: Ei, *nɔ ts ɛmɛi-ɛ* yɛ jɛŋ

   (, the owners are there)

9. **A.3:** Bɛ **Monday to Friday'ɛ** akwɛɛɛ lɛ ojogbaŋŋ. Hɔɔ lɛɛ[…=

   (Since* Monday to Friday, (they) don't watch it well. Saturdays …)

10. **B.3:** Hɛɛ, hewɔɔ ŋmɛnɛ'ɛ abaakwɛ. [Hɔɔ kɛ hɔgbaa

    (Yes, so today (they) will watch.Saturdays and Sundays)

11. **A.4:** Beni ŋteshi **three thirty'ɛ**, Aku ete shi eekwɛ ***television***.

    (When I woke up at three thirty, Aku was up watching television.)

12. **B.4:** Amɛ bɔɔmɔdɛŋŋ 'ei.

    (They do well)

13. **A.5**: Amɛ bɔɔmɔdɛŋŋ akɛ meni?

(They do well with what?)

14. **B.5**: Kɛ ***T V'ɛ*** *kwɛ mɔ'ɔ*. Manyɛ mahi shi po ni ***T V 'ɛ*** ŋsuuu.

(With the TV watching. I can live without even switching on the TV)

15. **C.1**: Nakai?

Is that so?

16. **A.6:** Amɛ, amɛ*nibii ni amɛyɔ ɔ kwɛmɔ* -ɔ efa. Ajiɔ ***cartoons*** *pii kɛ nibii pii*. Shi gbietɛnɛɛ moŋ'ɛ ebɛ - ona, **Monday to Friday'**ɛ lɛ, ona, kɛ ajɛ ***school*** aba, akwɛ fioo, afee ***homework***, awɔ.

(They have lots of things to watch. Lots of cartoons and other things are shown. But these days rather, it's not – You see, Monday to Friday, when (they) come back from school (they) watch a little, do homework and sleep.)

17. **A.7:** Hewɔɔ *nibii fɛɛ ni abaakwɛ'ɛ fɛɛ* a**pile**ifɛɛ. No'ŋkɛɔ bo'ɛ, Aku te shi *h ɔ ɔ leebi* ***three thirty***. Ni ŋte shi **three-thirty'ɛ**, ŋna ***t elevisi oŋ'ɛ*** yɛ *amɛ* ***door*** *shishi*.

(So all the things to watch have been piled up. That's what I'm telling you, Aku woke up at three thirty. At three thirty when I woke up I saw the television from under their door.)

18. **B.6:** Hewɔɔ bɛ'ɛ ***Saturday*** *kɛ* ***S u n day'ɛ*** amɛ nɔŋ.

(So Saturdays and Sundays are theirs)

19. **C.2:** Abaakwɛ ***repeat*** *fɛɛ*.

(All the repeats will be watched.)

(…)

20. **A.8:** Kɛ e**decide** akɛebaawɔ … **Every day**-ɛ, ewɔɔ eshiɔ Akuɔkɔ. **Every day**!

(If she decides that she will sleep …. Every day, she sleeps and leaves Adukwei. Every day!)

21. **B.7:** *Nyɛ biɛ* ***pipe***-*ɛ* ebaa?

(Do your taps flow here?)

[...]

22. **A.9:** Kɛ wɔ he yɛ **lucky'ɛ once a week**.

(If we are lucky, once a week)

23. **B.8**: Wɔ hu **three weeks** nɛ nu tsɔ ko *wɔ **pipe**ɛɛ mii* kɛ hoko. (We have also not had water for three weeks now)

24. **C.3:** O, L bɛ **last week-ɛ** agbele …?

O, L but it was opened last week?

25. C.4: Akɛɛ aasaasaa-a ***lines***

(They say they are repairing repairing lines)

26. **A.10:** Oo wɔ lɛ'ɛ, (.) ***be:st*** *ni wɔ naa* ji **once a week**. (Oo, for us, best that we get is once a week)

27. **B.9**: Bɛ ehi

That's good?

28. **A.11**: ŋkɛɛ no ji **best** ee.

(I said that is best)

29. **C.4:** Aaa shi tsutsu Kinkawe bɛ nakai

(Aaa but formerly Kinkawe was not like that)

30. **B.10:** Kɛjɛ ***past two years*** *kraa* *nɔ ni yaa nɔ* nɛ.

(This is what has been going on for the past two years.)

(…)

31. **B.11**: Tsutsu '***sta*** *Akweley m-a-jɛɛ* - biane '***sta*** *Akweley m-a-jɛɛ hu*, **every week-ɛ** a - *leebi*

nɛɛ etswa

mi, ekɛɛ m'bakwɛ nu'ɛ m'ba **rough** (laughs) ekɛɛ nu-ɛ m'ba kɛkɛ!

(Formerly, 'sta (sister) N's place - now

(sounds from television)

32. **A.12**: C, ŋmɛnɛ'ɛ lɛ'ɛ afee *nyɛ* ***show*****.**

(C, today you've been done a show.)

33. **C.5**: Jeee n'aashwɛ eei

(It's not a joke at all)

(…)

34. **B.13**: Kɛfee'ɛ ŋhiɛ tseɔ ***Auntie*** *Lamile jɛɛ* eei!

(Sometimes I miss Auntie J's place)

35. **A.13**: Benɛnɛɛ yaa-kwɛ, jɛmɛ ejɔ!

(By now go and see the place is quiet)

36. **B.14**: ŋkɛɛ onuuu noko. Kɛ yɛmii aahuu ni obaanu ni ŋshɔ'ɔ ŋgbɛɛ, kwɛɛ!

(I say, you don't hear anything. It is once in a while that you will hear the sound of the sea.)

37. **B.15**: Jɛmɛ yɛ **fine** tsɔ, **wha:t**! *Nakai **area** mii* sani mɔfɛɛmɔ ahi; ***no noise*****, peaceful.**

(the place is very fine (nice), wha:t. That's the kind of area (neighbourhood) in which everybody should live. No noise, peaceful.)

38. **A.14**: C, kɛ oba ***leave-ɛ*** ni oyasra *yoomo-* O kɛ akɛɛ **quiet -**.
ɛ

(C, when you come on leave, then you go and visit the old lady. O if you say quiet-.)

39. **B.16**: Onuuu noko. Ŋkɛɛ looflɔ po onuu amɛ he. Kɛ yɛ mii aahu ni obaanu ni ŋshɔ'ɔ ŋgbɛɛ.

(You don't hear anything; not even birds. It is once in a while that you will hear the sound of the sea)

(…)

40. **C.6**: Hee, bɛ obaa **exercise** - obaa **control** oniyeli.

(Yes, you will exercise? - you will control your eating)

Conversation 3 (9.20 minutes)

Same participants and same venue. Now present are two men (**D** and **E**) of about thirty years old each, repairing a television.

41. **A.1**: … No ji ***next assignment-ɛ*** shi tamɔ boni nyele-ɛ blɛooo.

(That's the next assignment but, as you know, calmly (or slowly))

42. **B.1,C.1**: (laughter) ***Accra Aca***

43. **B.2**: *Ŋ mene ji otsi* ***wedding*** *ko* ni wɔtee. ***B oy' ɛ Accra Acanyo*** ni; ninɛɛ, ninɛɛ ***sports journalist***. …Eeii ni ***Accra Acabii*** eba ee**display**. Ei, ayeɔ ***rough*** nɛkɛ?

Onukpai onukpai ni aaye ***rough***. Ee-ei, aaye ***rough*** -

(A wedding we attended last week. The boy (groom) is an Academician. This thing, this thing, sports journalist. Eeii how the academicians were displaying. Ei, is this how people can jest? Prominent people, playing pranks.)

(television sounds)

44. **A.2**: (to D) Ohié ***remote*** ku-é ebaafee lɛ **easy** ona? (.) aloo -?

(It would have been easier if you had a remote, wouldn't it? (.) or?

45. **D.1**: Bo'ɛ kaa**worry.** Ke ŋgbenaa, maakwɛ ***aerial*** *lɛ hu*.

(You don't worry. When I finish, I'll check the aerial also)

46. **A.3**: *Mɛɛ* ***aerial***? Enɛɛ ebɛ ***aerial*** ee.

(Which aerial? This one hasn't got an aerial)

47. **D.2**: Ebe ***aerial*** kraa?

(It doesn't have an aerial at all?)

48. **A.4**: Ebɛ ***aerial***. No ji *nɔ ni ŋw ieɔ -ɔ* ; no ŋtsɔ'ɔ akɛ enɔfɛɛnɔ- lɛ-ɛ ebɛ ***aerial***. **That is it. That is the main** -

(It doesn't have aerial. That is what I'm saying; that is what I'm explaining that its everything - that doesn't have aerial. That is it. …)

49. **D.3**: (touching cable) - Enɛɛ?

(This?)

50. **A.5**: Enɛ-ɛ ***cable***. Enɛ ji er:m (.) Enɛ-ɛ, **it's *the same cable*** [….

(This is cable. This, it's the same cable….)

51. **D.4**: (talking at the same time) No nɔɔ a**use**ɔɔkɛhaa enɛɛ? Ejɛɔ ***ds t v'ɛ mii***? (.) Aaa bɛ-ɛ nɛkɛ nɔɔ nyɛ baa na lɛ.

(Is it the same that is used for this? Is it from the ds tv? (.) Well then this is just how you will get it.)

52. **A.6**: Ejɛɔ ***ds t v'ɛ mii***. **So** no nɔŋŋ. ***Econnections*** nɔɔ ji ***main thing. ds tv*.**

(It's from the DSTV. So it's the same. Its connections are the main thing (.) DSTV)

53. **A.7**: Ahaa, shi bɛ otee heko ni efee **fine** waa?

(Yes, but you got a channel that was very fine?)

54. **B.3**: ɛhɛɛ, ***GTV***

(Yes, gtv)

55. **D.5**: Mfee ni eba-a

(I did it and it came -)

56. **A.8**: **Ok, good**. Bo'ɛ hani eka jɛŋŋ. **At least** ke ekome baa (.) **Ok at least,** ekome baa **fine**; be ehi fe….

(Ok, good. Let it stay there. At least one comes (.) Ok at least, one comes fine (clear); isn't it better than ….)

57. **B.4**: Hewɔ'ɔ nomii'ɛ mɛni fee lɛ?

(So that time, what happened to it?)

58. **A.9**: ***Television*** *nɛɛ* lɛ'ɛ, oo *gbekɛbii-ɛ* egbɔntɔ lɛ aahu; ŋle noni feɔ lɛ … kɛ ayɛ moko

ni mɔ'ɔ le saamɔ'ɔ, shi nii'ɛ ji, mi'ɛ ŋle mɔ ni -; nohewɔ moŋ-ŋ agbɛnɛ **finally-ɛ** ebaje ojɛɛ (.) ejaakɛ ŋle moko ni baa – **first-ɛ** ona akɛ *ekome ko* yɛ biɛ?

(As for this television, the children have exhausted it; I don't know what ails it … if there's someone who knows how to fix it, but the thing is, I don't know who -; that's how come finally it got to you (.) because I don't know someone who will - At first there was another one here -)

59. **C.2**: Hee

(yes)

60. **A.10**: Nomii'ɛ ŋyɛ ***TV ko***; fia'akɛ …. ***Old one***. ***Guy ko*** ni bawo - ona, ***guy'ɛ*** ŋle lɛ; ebasaa ***ŋtelevision*** po ehami daŋ. ***Mr. T*** kɛlɛ ba. Egbo. Hewɔ'ɔ *nakai* ***televisi on 'ɛ*** yɛ ***eshop*** *mii* po. Nomii'ɛ *nakai* ***boy'ɛ*** lɛ ebakwɛɔ ***ŋtelevision*** ehaami. Shi nomii ona akɛ ***another LG, bigger one*** …. Ju ni mabi ***Mr T*** po (…) shi nɔni mafee ji, **maconnect** ***Mr. T*** kɛkɛ'ɛ kɛ awo'ɛ, - bɛ eyɛ ***shop***?

(Before, I had a certain television; I think …. Old one. A certain guy that came for it- You see, I know the guy; he's even come to repair my television for me before. Mr. T brought him. He died. So that television is even in his shop. That time that boy, he comes to see my television for me. But, that time, you see that another LG, bigger one …. I'll even ask Mr. T on Monday* (…) But what I will do is, I'll connect Mr. T so that when it is taken- I hope he has a shop?*)

61. **B.5**: Hee o eyɛ ***shop***

(Yes o he has a shop)

62. **D.6**: Obaana ***viasat*** *kɛ* ***gtv*** **clear**

(You will get viasat and GTV clear)

63. **C.3**: **Ok**

64. **A.11**: **Good**. Ofee eko ohawɔ

(,, You have done some for us)

65. **D.7**: shi eji oyɛ ***aerial*** *diɛ ntsɛ diɛntsɛ* ku'ɛ ebaafee **clear**.

(But if you had an actual aerial, it would have been clear(er).)

66. **A.12**: O **first'ɛ** ŋyɛ ***aerial-***

(O first I had an aerial)

67. **C.4**: shi nɔ ni anyɛɔ akɛ maa - ***internal w aŋ-a***?

(But the one that can be put- the internal one?)

68. **D.7**: Oyɛ eko?

(Do you have one?)

69. **C.5**: Daabi. Miŋtsɔɔ kɛ wɔ na no eko'ɛ?

(No. I mean when we get some of that?)

70. **D.8**: Ebaanyɛ**emanage** lɛ fiofio shi no moŋ enyɛŋ efee **clear**; kɛ eyɛ **outside'ɛɛ** (.) efeɔ

clear fe fɛɛ.

(It can manage it quite a bit but that rather it won't be able to become clear; if it's

Outside (.) it gets clearer than all.)

71. **A.13**: Shi mɛɛ, kɛ ŋfee ***cable-ɛ*** - **Because** cable'ɛɛ emɔmɔɔ *enɛɛmɛi nɛɛ* Hewɔ-ɔ kɛ *fɛɛ*

ŋfee ni **its well** - ….

(But hold on, when I do (fix) the cable- Because the cable catches all these things (stations))

….

72. **A.14**: Shi ***cable-ɛ*** enyiɛ?

(But how much is the cable)

73. **D.9**: Tamɔ akɛɛ **a *yard*** tamɔ ***fifty pesewas***

74. **A.15**: Nohewɔ'ɔ **assuming** akɛ wɔŋfee ***three cables***; wɔ ŋha enɛ ***aerial***

(So assuming that we are doing three cables)

75. **A.16**: Ok, bo-ɛ bianɛ-ɛ, maha bo ***assignment***. ***Asignment-ɛ*** ji, **estimate**mɔoha mi. Enɛ'ɛ ebɛ ***ŋweekend budget****'ɛɛ mli.* Hewɔ-ɔ bo-ɛ **estimate**mɔakɛ kɛ oofee …Kɛkɛ-ɛ, antenna, nɔni o **feel**ɔɔ akɛ eyɛ **proper**.

(I'll give you an assignment. The assignment is that, estimate for me. This is not in my weekend budget)

76. **D.10**: Bɛ'ɛ bɛ obaahe ***rotating one-ɛ***?

(Then, would you buy the rotating one?)

77. **A.17**: … ewɔ'ɔ bo o-baa**choose** ***proper one***. Nohewɔ-ɔ kɛ **o-choose** ni ehii, kaaba **blame** mi. **Ma-blame** bo. Ta'ɔmɔ ***proper one*** ni o-kwɛ ejra kɛ ***cable 'ɛ kɛ nofɛɛnɔ***.

(So, you will choose proper one. If you choose and it's not good, don't come and blame me. I'll blame you. Look for proper one and check its price and the cable and everything)

78. **D.11**: ***C able'ɛ*** lɛ'ɛ ebaafee **roughly five cedis**

(The cable will be roughly five cedis

79. **A.18**: Oota'ɔ okɛɛ mi akɛ cable'ɛ lɛ'ɛ manyɛma**pay**, yoo. … shi kɛ obaafee lɛ bianɛ hu'ɛ **feelmɔ free**.

(You want to tell me that as for the cable I can pay, ok. … But if you will do it now too, feel free)

Conversation 5 (2.43minutes)

A husband and wife in a car.

80. W.1: ŋgbɛ ***watermelɔŋ -ɔ*** akɛɛ wɔbaana yɛ'ɛ?

(Where did they say we would get some of the watermelon?)

81. H.1: T**here's *one* here, left**, kɛ **okeep to the left** nɔɔ (..) Ke odɔ **leftɛɛ** (.) **Its somewhere here** nɔɔ.

(There's one here, left; just when you keep to the left. When you turn left, (.) It's just somewhere here.)

Conversation 6 (4.16 minutes) (17.05minutes) from 9m; 11.30m-;

Same participants as **5**.

82. H.1: (.)**one is what?**

83. W.1: Er:m, **one is** er:m, mɛnɛ, er:m, **vodaphone**. No ŋtaɔɔ ni okɛ tswa lɛ'ɛ.

(Er:m, one is er:m, this, vodaphone. That's what I want you to use to call her.)

Conversation 7

A telephone conversation between a brother and a sister (adults)

84. I.1: **Hello**, Ama (.)

85. W.1: **Yes** (.) Kofi, ŋgbɛ bo yɔɔ?

(Yes (.) Kofi, where are you?)

86. I.2: Mba shɛ shia bianɛ nɔɔ.

(I have arrived home just now.)

87. W.2: aa, shi (.) Paulina kɛɛ etswa bo aahuu. Amɛ yɛ wɔjɛɛ; mokomoko bɛ jɛmɛ.

(Aa, but (.) Paulina said she's been calling you. They are at our place; no one is there.)

88. I.3: Hɛɛ, bianɛ nɔɔ mba shɛ

(Yes, I just arrived.)

89. W.3: Aaa shi (.) = no'ɔ ŋkɛɛ lɛ akɛ eba?

(Aa, but (.)= so, should I tell her to come?)

90. I.4: =Amɛ (.) Kɛɛmɔ lɛ akɛ, ehami ***like twenty minutes***. Kpaako kraa mba shɛ shi=bianɛ nɔɔ.

(=They (.) Tell her that, she should give me like (about) twenty minutes. I have just now arrived= right now.)

91. W.4: Eeii, mini sane nɛ!

Eeii, what (matter) is this!

92. I.5: (.) ***ŋph on e-ɛ hu*** egbo yɛ maaamii hewɔɔ = **I think** (.) ***Esister*** tswa mi **earlier,** shi (.) **I couldn't call her** (.) **because** (.) mbɛ **battery power.**

((.) My phone also went off while (I was) in town so = I think (.) her sister called me earlier, but (.) I couldn't call her (.) because (.) I didn't have battery power.)

93. W.5: =Hɛɛ (.) **because** e (.) hɛɛ (.) **because** ekee (.) hɛɛ (.) hɛɛ, **because** ekɛɛ *gbɔmɛi-ɛ* eba. **Surprise party** ni *gbomɛi-ɛ* eba.

(Yes (.) because she (.) yes (.) because she said (.) yes, because she said the people have arrived. Surprise party, and the people have arrived.)

94. I.6: Hm (.) miiba.

(Hm (.) I'm coming.)

95. W.6: Matswa lɛ makɛɛ lɛ akɛ oyɛ shia.

(I'll call her and tell hell that you are at home.)

96. I.7: Shi eha mi ***like twenty minutes*** **and let me put it together.**

(But she should give me about twenty minutes and let me put it together.)

97. W.7: **Ok**. Yoo. Makɛɛ lɛ = yoo; **bye**.

(Ok, alright, I'll tell her = alright, bye.)

98. I.8: =Hmn (.) **bye**.

Conversation 8

Same participants as **5**

99. H.1: **She's right** (.) **because** (.) '**you have to deliver it'**-ɛ lɛ-ɛ, '**you have to deliver it'. Because** benɛnɛɛ sani ofee oma shi omo. (.) **You should have done it before going to Koforidua**

(… You definitely have to deliver it. Because by now you should have done it already. (.) ….

100. W.1: **No. I think** amɛ halɛ (.) mɛɛbe? (.) Efiakɛ ŋmɛnɛ nɔɔ eha lɛ.

(No, I think they gave him (.) when? Probably they gave it to him today.)

101. H.2: Ekɛɛ **she 'ordered it long ago**.' Onuuu?

(She said she ordered it long ago. Did you not hear?)

102. W.2: **Long ago-ɛ, could it be**

ŋmɛnɛ? (Long ago, could it be

today?)

103. H.3: **It can't be today** ni obaakɛɛ **long ago** (..) Mi ŋnɔ ji kɛ abi, kɛ **aorder** ni (.) obaakɛɛ mɔ akɛ **sorry, its too tight, I can't do it**. (.) **Because if you want to commit-ɛ** lɛ-ɛ, **eeexpect (.)** ee …, tamɔ bɔni ewieɔɔ **"we ordered long ago" as if** …. (.) Kɛ ŋmɛnɛ ni ɛ, **eeexpect** akɛ gbɔmɔ'ɔ ta shia?

(It can't be today that you will say long ago; (..) My take is that, when it is asked, when it is ordered and (.) you will tell the person that, sorry, it's too tight, I can't do it. (.) Because if you want to commit then, she is expecting (.) she … like she is saying, "We ordered it long ago" as if … (.) if it's today, is she expecting that the person will be at home?)

104. W.3: Hmm

105. H.4: **It's a weekend; the person also has his life** (..) Obaakɛɛ lɛ akɛ **sorry,** shi (.)**no** (.)

I can't deliver. (..) ŋyɛ **sure** akɛ, **if it was anybody else-ɛ, she would have**

insisted

akɛ **edeliver**.

(… (..) You will tell her that sorry, but … (..) I'm sure that if it was anybody else, she would have insisted that he delivers (it).

Conversation 9 (1:40 minutes) Same participants as **5**

106. H.1: Ni egbeeshi yɛ gbɛ-ɛ nɔ ni **edrive** ***car-a*** kɛba?

107. W.1: Mary kɛɛ ***ephone*** eya gbee shi ee

(Mary says her phone dropped)

108. H.2: **US-ɛ**? (In US?)

109. W.2: Hmm

(Yes)

110. H.3: Ehe ehee mɔ; bɛ = heni eyɔɔ'ɔ…
(He should buy a new one because =where she is…)

111. W.3: KWƐƐ:!!!
(LOOK: !!!)

112. H.4: Kɛɛmɔ lɛ akɛ ehe ehee (.) **because** (.) heni eyɔɔ'ɔ, ***phone*** ebu yɛ jɛmɛ

(Tell her to buy a new one (.) because (.) where he is, phones are in abundance.)

113. W.4: EEEII!!! ***Unbudgeted expense***

114. H.5: Hɛɛɛ

(Yes)

115. W.5: MƐNI WIEMɔ OWIEɔ-ɔ?

(WHAT ARE YOU SAYING?)

116. H.6: **Lawyer wife**

117. W.6 *SHWƐ*, ***unbudgeted expense***. Oona akɛ shi, ehaoo kɛ nii'ɛ ni ***e-phone-ɛ*** ..**because** nɛkɛ ***sum san g … big tim e on es*** *nɛɛ eko*. Ekɛɛ *ehiɛ fɛɛ* ejwa. ŋmɛnɛ-ɛ, **esend** mi akɛ ***enumber*** nɛ. Hewɔɔ ni ŋkɛɛ oo maaba? **So I thought** akɛ **maybe-ɛ *eMTN units*** eta nohewɔ'ɔ m'bi lɛ akɛ ŋhe ***MTN units*** ŋwo ***eunits*** nɔ lo? ….

(See! You can see that he's disturbed

(…)

118. H.6: Daabi, **the way you were going close to *the place-ɛ***

asking akɛ -. Ofainɛ, **I'll need the keys.**

Conversation 10

At home. Present are participants A, B and C. They are siblings.

119. A.1: Agbe ***light***?

(Is light off?)

120. B.1: Hmmm

121. A.2: Teeshi ni ogbe ***fridge-ɛ*** mɔ (…) Noko bɛ jɛmɛ ni ayeɔ?

(Get up and turn off the fridge then …Is there nothing there to eat?)

122. B.2: Hmm. Daabi

kraaa. (Not at all)

123. A.3: Noko hu bɛ jɛmɛ ni anuɔ?

(Is there also nothing to drink?)

124. B.3: Mbɛ **sure**.

(I'm not sure)

125. A.4: ***Drink*** *ko kraaa* bɛ ***fridge-ɛ*** *mii*? (…) B, ta'ɔmɔ ***polythene bag fine*** *ko* ohami.

(There's no drink at all in the fridge? B, find a nice polythene bag for me.)

126. B.4: **Ok**. (…) Bɛ enɛ yɛ **fine**?

(I hope this is nice)

127. A.5: **Ok, thank you**.

(…)

128. A.6: Nkɛɛ ***earpiece-ɛ*** yɛ biɛ. Baahe.

I said the earpiece is here. Come for it.

129. C.1: Yoo, miiba

Alright, I'm coming

130. A.7: B, obɛ eko ni **ouseiii**?

(B, You don't have one that you don't use?)

131. B.5: O daabi kraa. Mbɛ eko kraa (…)

(O not at all. I don't have any at all (…)

132. A.8: Hewɔ'ɔ ni oya fee ***exams-ɛ*** **,** ***results-ɛ*** eba?

(So, the exams you went to take, are the results out?)

133. B.6: Ebaaba ***this month***

(it will come this month)

134. A.9: Hewɔ'ɔ ohe ***forms*** omo, aloo ***this year-ɛ*** ahaaa ni nyɛ he ***forms-ɛ*** ?

(So you have bought forms already, or this year (they) did not allow you to buy the forms)

135. B.7: Er:m, ***next year*** ni ebaaba. (It will come next year.)

Conversation 11

A telephone conversation between an aunt and a niece, L)

136. L.1: **Hello**

137. Aut.1: L!!!

138. L.2: **Good morning**!

139. Aut.2: **Good morning**. Te oyɔɔ tɛɛ

(How are you?)

140. L.3: Ofain**ɛ** ŋy**ɛ** jogbaŋŋ. Bohu te oyɔɔ tɛɛ?

(Please I'm fine. How are you also?)

141. Aut.3: Hmmm, ŋnane – ŋnane ko ŋwa ŋhe

(Hmmm, my leg – a leg is paining me)

142. L.4: Onane ŋwa ohe!

(Your leg is paining you!)

143. Aut.4: Hmm, *nɛkɛ ŋ* ***waist joint-ɛ***

(Yes, this my waist joint)

144. L.5: ***Owaist joint*** **(.) o sorry**

(Your waist joint (.) o sorry)

145. Aut.5: Eewa ŋhe. ŋtee ***hospital***. Afee ***x-ray*** *kɛ nii fɛɛ* **.** Nokonoko b**ɛ** mli.

(It's paining me. I've gone to hospital. They've done x-ray and things all.There's nothing inside it)

146. L.6: Ni **still** - ***owaist***!

(And still - your waist!)

147. Aut.6: Hɛɛ ***ŋw aist join t***, kɛŋya **inside-ɛ**

(Yes, my waist joint, into the inside)

148. L.7: Hɛɛ. Hewɔ'ɔ ahaaa bo *tsofa ko* ni okɛ kpa nɔ?

(Yes. So they didn't give you any medicine to apply?)

149. Aut.7: Daabi daabi ahaaa mi tsofa. Ahami ***pain killer***; ŋkɔ ŋta.

(No, no, they didn't give me medicine. They gave me pain killer. I've finished taking it.)

150. L.8: Aha, **ok** … oyɛ *shia*?

(I see, ok … are you at home?)

151. Aut.8: Daabi, ooba jɛŋ?

(No, are you coming there?)

152. L.9: Hɛɛ

(Yes)

153. Aut.9: Ooo ŋyɛ maamii gbɛ. Ooba nɔɔ?

(Ooo I'm somewhere in town. Are u coming right now?)

154. L.9: *Mɛɛ* ***time*** obaa shɛ shia?

(What time will you get home?)

155. Aut.10: Ooo ekolɛ'ɛ **by *one-ɛ*** ŋshɛ.

(Ooo maybe by one, I'd have arrived)

(…)

156. Aut. 11: Oooo nomii'ɛ wɔ **ŋ -expect** lɛ yɛ jɛmɛ

(Oooo at the time we were expecting her there)

Conversation 12
(22.20m)

Four participants, all cousins, are conversing in the house of A, who is about sixty years old.

157. A: O biɛnɛɛ diɛntsɛ'ɛ agbe etsɛ

(O, even here, its not been off for a while now)

158. B: Hɛɛ, **for *about three months*** nɛ agbe ko

(Yes, for about three months now it's not been off)

159. A: >Nohewɔɔ ŋle akɛ = mi'ɛ ŋle akɛ akpa<

(Therefore I thought that= as for me I thought they have stopped)

160. B: Daabi akpako gbee eei

(No, they haven't stopped switching it off)

…

161. B: Pipei-ɛ diɛntsɛ-ɛ akɛɛ ***improvement*** eba mli

(Even the pipe, they say there is an improvement)

162. A: O, *ŋgbɛ* ***improvement***?

(O, where improvement?)

…

163. A: Ebaa **improve** moŋ ….

(It will certainly improve)

164. B: … Shi (.)amɛ **for** ninɛɛ (.) no - miikɛɛ ***Christmas**'ɛ* ekɛɛ agbele ***pipe**' ɛ* tamɔ ninɛɛ. Ekaiii ***the last time*** ni nu tsɔ *amɛ* ***pipeline*** *mli*.

(But (.) they **for** … (.) that - I'm saying, the **Christmas**, she says the **pipe** has been opened like …. She doesn't remember **the last time** that water passed through their **pipeline**.)

…

165. C: O bɛ ni **e-retire-**a …

(O ? when he **retired** …)

166. A: O Berry egbo. ŋna yɛ ***newspaper*** *mli*. Shi ***ebrother*** *bibioo Z*, Z po gbo mra

(O Berry is dead. I saw it in the **newspaper**. But his little **brother** Z, Z even died earlier.)

167. A: Nomii'ɛ ona akɛ ***e-brother*** *bibioo-ɛ* yɛ *wɔ* ***road-ɛ*** hewɔ, lɛ-ɛ egbo mra po. *nɔ*

(At that time, you see that, his little brother lived on our road, but he died earlier.)

168. D: oooo

169. A: O Berry'ɛ, etee ***Cape Coast***. Eba ***papers*** *mli*. Tamɔ **two years ago** jio **three**

years ago.

(O Berry, he went to **Cape Coast**. It came in the **papers**. About **two years ago** or **three years ago**.)

170. B: Ewɔ'ɔ te ***contract-ɛ*** mli noni oyahe'ɛ?

(So, what kind of contract have you gone to buy?)

171. E: Bɛ jeee ***contract*** ni; ***ŋwork***

(It's not **contract**; my **work**)

172. A: Aaa ekɛŋfee ***ework*** hewɔɔ ha ni ekɛfee ni egbe naa. **This year**, sani egbe naa.

(Aaa, he's using it for his work so let him do it and finish it. **This year** he has to finish it)

173. C: Nomii'ɛ *amɛ* ***lodge-ɛ*** wɔ yahaa amɛ niyenii ni ….

(We used to give them food at their **lodge** at that time)

174. C: Bianɛ-lɛ kɛ oba'a, ***campus*** etsake. Ei ***campus*** efee **fine** kpakpa. ***Campus*** efee **fine**

(Now, when you come, **campus** has changed. It's looking very attractive)

175. D: Nakai. Hewɔɔ ***bungalows*** *hu-ɛ* amɛ**renovate** kɛ nii?

(That is it. So the **bungalows** also, have they been **renovated**?)

176. C: Amɛ-ii-**renovate**. ***Apple Road-ɛ*** amɛ ŋfee ekomei **cement**. Amɛ fee ekomei **fine**

(They are **renovating**. The **Apple Road**, they are making some **cement**. They have made some of them nice (**fine**))

…

177. C: Ekomɛi yɛ ni **a-renovate** lɛ **fine** waa dientsɛ.

(There are some that have been very **nice**ly **renovated**.)

…

178. A: Nakai sani ehi ni gbɛ yɛ he - ***space***, jeee,- no'ɛ lɛ **its good**.

(That is how it should be with **space**, not- as for that, **it's good**.)

179. Ei bɛ-ɛ bianɛ-ɛ lɛ ji ***landlord*** yɛ ***Apple Road***. Etsɛ waa.

(So now he is **landlord** at **Apple Road**. He's been there for long.)

180. C: *Nakai **road' ɛ*** lɛ'ɛ mɔfeemɔ; **almost (.)** mɔfeemɔ. Mei ni yɔɔ jei'ɛ lɛ'ɛ ***new*** *mɛnɛmɛi*

(As for that **road**,everybody; **almost** (.) everybody. As for those there, they are **new** (these people))

181. A: Bɛ nomii kraa ***Indians*** *komɛi* bahi jɛmɛ ee

(Even at that time some Indians came to live there.)

182. **Dr**. S-ɛ lɛ *ebiiyei-ɛ* ***doctors*** hewɔ-ɔ kɛfee-ɛ ŋnaa amɛ yɛ ***college-ɛ***

(As for **Dr**. S, his daughters are **doctors** so sometimes I see them at the **college**.)

183. ***Indians-ɛ*** **first**-ɛ amɛ fa ei, **first**-ɛ amɛ fa; **Dr**. K mɛ

184. A: Wɔbaafee ***assembly*** **every week** ni ona noko ni owie. kɛ wɔ **hold** ***assembl y'ɛ*** obaana noko ni owie.

(We will conduct **assembly every week** so that you will get something to say. when we **hold the assembly**, you will get something to say)

185. B: *Gbɔmɔ -ɔ* ni eyeɔ **first** yɛ *Ga 'a?*

(The person who **tops** in Ga?)

186. A: *Amɛ* ***teacher*** baa kane eha lɛ fiofio

(Their **teacher** will read for her)

187. E: Hee, ***last'ɛ*** ŋya tsɔ jɛmɛ

(Yes, the **last** time I went there.)

188. E: Kɛ ŋ'ŋma enɛ ŋta ni **still** miŋ**need more'**ɔ

(When I finish writing this one and I **still need more**)

…

189. C: ŋmɛnɛ ni ŋtee Makola nɛɛ he ni ŋ-tsɔɔ m-bɔɔmɔdɛŋ kɛ ŋ-tee lɛ nɛkɛ, kɛkɛ-ɛ Ɔ-kusɛɛ nakai aahu kɛkɛ-ɛ m-ba ni ŋ-kabatsɔ he ko ni ŋna amane.

(Today when I went to Makola, I was careful of the places pass so that I will return on the same road and not get lost)

(General laughter)

190. B: Shi oya na nɔni otaɔ-ɔ?

(But did you get what you were looking for?)

191. C: Hɛɛ (.) ŋna nɔni ŋtaɔ-ɔ ni ŋhe.

(Yes (.) I got what I was looking for and I bought it)

…

192. C: ŋmɛnɛ'ɛ lɛ jɛmɛ yɛ **cool** waa diɛntsɛ

(As for today the place is very **cool** indeed)

193. B: Eei shi ***Christmas*** , **just before**- ei!

(Eei, but the **Christmas**, **just before**- ei!)

…

194. A: Agbɛnɛ ofee agbo, omusu eda agbo; agbɛnɛ obaafee ***bicycle riding***. Makwɛ omusu, omusu eda agbo tsɔ -herh!

(Now you have become big, your stomach has grown big; now you will do **bicycle-riding**. Let me see your stomach; your stomach has become too big – herh!)

195. B: ***New y ear's day*** *diɛntsɛ-ɛ* ŋ-tswa ***ophone***-ɛ, ogbe.

(On the New Year's Day itself, I called your phone, you had switched it off)

…

196. A: **Just** akɛ, **beginning-ɛ** nomii-ɛ, **they should eat**. Ebaa shɛ heko-ɛ ebaa **control.**

(**Just** that, at the **beginning**, **they should eat**. It will get to a point she will **control** (it))

197. B: ŋmɛnɛ'ɛ OT kɛɛ ee-, ee-, **she's on a diet**, ni ŋkwɛ lɛ aahu.

(Today, OT said erm, erm, **she's on a diet**, and I looked at her for a long time.)

198. ***Christmas*** *nɛ-ɛ po*, ŋnaaa Mama.

(This Christmas even, I didn't see Mama)

199. B: ***Christmas day***-ɛ beni ŋ-tswa bo-ɛ, nomii-ɛ a-kɛɛ ***fellowship***, wɔya *Nsawam* ***prison***. Beni ŋ-jɛ biɛ ni ŋ-yaa-a nomii-ɛ ŋ-mii ni efu-ɛ. Shi ni ŋyashɛ jɛi-ɛ, ***next year*** kɛ -

(On **Christmas day** when I called you, at that time they say **fellowship**, we should go to Nsawam **Prison**. When I left here and I was going, I was very angry. But when I got there, **next year** if -)

200. E: O-mii efu akɛ mɛni?

(You were angry that what?)

201. B: Akɛɛ wɔ akɛ aashi **seven**, hewɔɔ beni atswaa **quarter to seven'ɛ** ŋ-yɛ *sɔɔmɔ ts u' ɛ naa*; ni ashi biɛ **nine, after nine.**

(They told us that (they) are leaving at **seven**, so by **quarter to seven** I was at the church, and (they) left here **nine, after nine**.)

202. E: Haa. ok

(I see. Ok)

203. B: Nomii bɛ afee ***joint service*** yɛ ***Ebenezer,*** hewɔɔ afee sɔɔmɔ akpa. Shi agbɛnɛ beni ŋ-ya shɛ ***prison-ɛ***

… Ni miikwɛ mɛi ni akɛɛ mɛnɛmɛi-ɛ ***condemn****bii* … Ni miikwɛ mɛi ahiɛ kraa ni a-a-kɛɛ mi akɛ mɛnɛmɛi-ɛ ***condemn prisoners*** ni - ei! … Kɛ ofee **ready**- ei, kɛ *blɔ fom ɛi ni futu kɛ nibii*. Shi amɛ hu amɛyɛ amɛ- nɔni ŋta shi-ɛ,ayɛ osɔfo, ***prison*** *osɔ fo* , amɛyɛ, amɛyɛ er: ***choristers*** (.) akɛɛ er ***Pentecost*** *nokonoko*

(At that time, there was **joint service** at **Ebenezer**, so church service had ended. But now when I got to the **prison**, …. And I was looking at people and they say these people are **condemn**? …. And I was looking at people's faces and I was being told that these people are **condemn prisoners** and - ei! … When you are **ready** - ei, and Europeans also. But they too they have, as I'm sitting down, they have pastor, **prison** pastor, they have, they have erm, choristers (.) they say erm **Pentecost** something something)

204. E: Nyɛtee **inside**?

(Did you go inside?)

205. B: Wɔtee **inside**. ***Every Christmas day-ɛ*** -

(We went **inside**. **Every Christmas Day**, -)

206. E: Nyɛtee **inside** *amɛ* ***cells***-*ɛ diɛntsɛ*?

(Did you go **inside** their **cells** themselves?)

207. B: Daabi, daabi. Enɛ-ɛ aha amɛ ba **outside** ni amɛ bafee ***canopy***. Amɛ ***choristers***-*ɛ* ***united choir***; ayɛ borborbor … Ayɛ ***prisoner*** *osɔ fo* kraa, ni edamɔ shi ni **eepreach.** …Hewɔ-ɔ bɛ mi-ɛ ŋle, hewɔ-ɔ miibi. Kɛ m-bi-ɛ akɛɛ mɔ ni damɔ shi-ɛ ***prisoner*** ni; bɔni mɔ-ɔ **ŋpreach**-ɛ akɛɛ ***prisoner*** ni. Ni kɛ awie blɔfo-ɛ kɛkɛ-ɛ moko kɛba Twi mli, lɛ hu akɛɛ ***prisoner*** ni. Ni bɔni amɛ nyiɛ-ɛ - … Ei ni amɛ na (nɛkɛ), akɛɛ ***prison officer, Eastern region, officer in charge, commander in charge*** - bɔni amɛmii shɛ amɛhe ni amɛ-ŋ-blɔ 'hiiiiii', ei!

(No, no. this one, they were made to come **outside** and they made a **conopy**. Their **choristers**, **united choir**; they have Borborbor … They have a **prisoner** pastor really, who was standing and **preaching**. … So as for me I didn't know, so I was asking. When I ask, they say the one standing is **prisoner**; the way he was **preaching** and they say he is **prisoner**. And when they speak English then someone translates into Twi, he too is **prisoner**. And the way they were walking about. … Ei, when they saw (this), they say **prison officer, Eastern region, officer in charge, commander incharge** - the way they were happy and were screaming 'hiiiii', ei!)

208. A: ***Prison***-*ɛ kraa* mɛnɛ yɛ jɛi eei, Amartey Kofi

(the prison itself this person is there, Amartey Kofi)

…

209. B: O ŋkɔ ***napkin***-*ɛ ni w ɔhe-ɛ ni ebaje ŋde-ɛ* ŋtoonɔ po

(O I took the **napkin** that we bought and it was with me; I have even ironed it.)

210. E: Efeee noko. Bɛ eyɛ shia?

(It doesn't matter. It's at home, isn't it?)

211. B: Hɛɛ. **Anyway**, ŋle akɛ miiba biɛ

(Yes. **Anyway**, I didn't know I was coming here)

…

212. C: Ooo **first'ɛ** mi hu kɛ Christmas time'ɛ ŋfeɔ eko

(O, me too at **first** when it's **Christmas time** I do some)

213. A: Hɛɛ. Ejaakɛ *ŋkrow a -a*, **this year**-ɛ, ***ŋboy-ɛ*** - *N akai ŋ **boy**-ɛ, Kwesi*, ekɛɛ ebaafee; **this year**-ɛ, ebaafee *wuɔwurɔ*; hewɔ-ɔ wɔ hiɛ edɔ. (…)

(Yes. Because my village, **this year**, my **boy**, that my **boy**, Kwesi, he says he will do; **this year** he will hatch eggs; so we are serious.)

214. B: - ejaakɛ midiɛntsɛ'ɛ miiya **back to** *nakai nii-ɛ*, niinɛ'ɛ -

(Because I myself, I am going **back to** that thing, erm -)

215. C: Wuɔwurɔ lɛ-ɛ aheɔ ee. ***This Christmas-ɛ*** wuɔwurɔ'ɔ ejra wa pi. ***Fourteen*** *kɛ* ***fifteen*** *kɛ nii.*

(As for eggs, they sell. **This Christmas** the eggs are very expensive. **Fourteen** and **fifteen** and things)

216. A: **this year**, Kwesi, ekɛɛ ebaafee- Wɔbaabɔi yɛ ***farm***-*ɛ nɔ*. Bo kraa ŋkɛ bo etee ***farm***-*ɛ nɔ yɛ Aburi* daŋ?

(**This year**, Kwesi says he will make- We will start at the **farm**. Have I taken

you to the **farm** at Aburi before)

…

217. B: Hewɔɔ ŋyahe er: ***packing cases-ɛ***

Ɔna akɛ no yɛ hejɔlɛ, hewɔ-ɔ-

(So I have bought the **packing cases**. I have seen that that is peaceful, so-)

218. B: Kɛ ŋ**start with hundred birds** kraa (.) hewɔɔ kɛ ona ***improvement-ɛ*** kɛkɛ-ɛ

- (If I even **start with hundred birds** (.) So when you see **improvement**, then-)

219. C: - ***this time*** *nɛkɛ*' ɛ ŋhe wuɔ yɛ *Akate* ***farms***; shi *maamii 'ɛ* nomii'ɛ *wuɔ jra* wa pi. ***Twenty-five*** -

(**This time** like this, I bought chicken at Akate **Farms**; but in the town it was expensive. **Twenty-five**-)

220. B: ***Twenty five***? Ɔhe eko ***forty-five***. Agbɛnɛ nɔni amɛkɛba *nɛkɛ* ***state farms*** *nɛɛ*

- (**Twenty five**? I bought some at **forty-five**. Now those they brought to these **state farms**-)

221. C: **Red ones**-ɛ?

(The **red ones**?)

222. B: ***Red ones-ɛ twenty five*** (.) Shi kɛ(.) er:m, ***broilers-ɛ*** amɛ hɔɔ lɛ ***forty-five***. Shi agbɛnɛ amɛ tse nɔ; amɛ tse nɔ ***thirty*** *kɛ* ***twenty-five*** yɛ ***state farms*** *jɛmɛ-ɛ* (.) ejaakɛ ebuashi ni aheee –

(The **red ones** were **twenty five** (.) But if (.) er:m, the **broilers** they sold them **forty five**. But later they reduced it; they reduced it to **thirty** and **twenty-five** at the **state farms**.)

223. C: Aheee. Kwɛ jɛmɛ-ɛ, ***farm-ɛ*** kɛ otee-ɛ kɛkɛ-ɛ oya he.

(They were not bought. See, there, the **farm** if you go, then you go and buy.)

…

224. C: … **Because *Christmas*** *nɛɛ* kɛ ŋheee *w uɔ w urɔ* kraa-a, **almost** *tamɔ* ***ten crates***; *w uɔ w urɔ* ni ŋhe-ɛ ***almost ten crates***. … ŋkɛɛ wuɔwurɔ sɔŋŋ ni ŋhe ***Christmas***-*ɛ* ***almost*** *tamɔ* ***ten crates.***

(**Because** this **Christmas**, if I didn't buy eggs at all, I bought **almost** about **ten crates.)**

Conversation 13

In the house of **A**, a trader of about fifty years old. Present are two participants, **B** and **F**, and a few other people.

225. A: Miŋ**feel** akɛ no baahi ehami fe (.) ninɛɛ, - nɔni ŋtsɔɔ onu mi –

(I am **feel**ing that, that will be better for me than (.) er:m- what I'm saying, do you understand?)

226. B: fe ***shop***-*ɛ*

(Than the **shop**?)

227. A: ehee! Hewɔ-ɔ no ji ***ŋplan*** ni ŋkɛ fee kɛtee *jɛmɛ ɛ*

(Exactly! So that is my **plan** that got me there.)

228. B: mmm **ok**

229. A: No-ɛ lɛ-ɛ kɛ *leebi* ni **ŋfeed** amɛ - bɛ *jee leebi mra* - kɛ **at least by six o clock** **ŋfeed** amɛ ɛ, kɛ ŋyɛ heko yaa a, maya (.) kɛ ŋtee mba a, *gbɛkɛ tamɔ* ***five, six*** *miŋ*-*ɛ* kɛkɛ-ɛ mba**feed** amɛ ekoŋŋ.

(As for that if I **feed** them in the morning- not really early morning- if **at least by six o clock** I have **fed** them, if I need to go out I go (.) When I come back, in the evening around **five** or **six**, I **feed** them again.)

230. B: Aa a**feed**ɔɔ amɛ shii enyɔ?

(Are they **fed** two times?)

231. A: mmm nitsumɔ kraa ni. *Leebi mra-a* esani oteshi oha amɛ (nitsumɔ) … *oha* amɛ er:, tsofa kɛ nibii.

(Yes. It is a tedious job. Early morning, you need to give them medicine and things.)

232. B: Bɛ obaanyɛ ni okɛ- (.) o-**operate** ***shop-ɛ*** **at the same time**?

(You can …(.) **operate** the **shop at the same time**?)

233. A: ***Shop-ɛ*** ŋtaaa naa. Onu mi 'ishi? Ni kɛ oba ni moko ehɔɔ noko, onyɛɛɛ obi mɔɔ akɛ ŋgbɛ ŋnii ɛ yɔ? Onu m 'ishi? (..) ***Abigail*** ŋya ***school***. ***Abigail*** yɛ ku-ɛ ebaa ta naa. Shi moko ŋkwɛ nɔ eeha bo. Kɛ oba ni ekɛɛ bo akɛ nɔni ŋhɔɔ nɛɛ, onyɛɛ … onu mi 'ishi?

(I don't sit in the **shop**. Do you understand me? And when you come and someone has sold something, you can't ask the person 'where is it?' **Abigai**l is attending **school**. If not she would sit there. But someone is attending to it for you. If the person says 'this is what I have sold', you have to accept it)

234. B: Onyɛɛɛ obi mɔɔ?

(You can't ask the person?)

….

235. B: aaa oshiɔ kɛ ooya heko?

(O do you live it open when you are going out?)

236. A: Nakai ji nii ɛ. **Initially-**ɛ ŋ-ŋaa shi ekɛɛ ababiɔ *nibii-a-shi*. Onu mi 'ishi?

Eheee, hewɔ-ɔ nakai ji nii-ɛ. Ni efeɔ tamɔ nɔni bɛ-ɛ **everytime-ɛ** tamɔ (.)

Everyday-ɛ ŋshiɔ ŋyaa *sɔ ɔ mɔ t su -ɛ naa* …. Bɛ-ɛ **Friday** kɛ *yala* bɛ-ɛ bɛ-ɛ

ŋ-yaaa *sɔ ɔ mɔ t su -ɛ naa*. **Fridays** kɛ **Saturdays**. Onu, *nɛkɛ nibi i e nyɔ n ɛɛ* . shi kɛ *yala* yɛ-ɛ bɛ-ɛ **Friday-ɛ** esani m-a-ya *sɔ ɔ mɔ t su -ɛ naa*. Ona, ona nii-ɛ. Ehɛɛ.

(..) Nohewɔ ni **ŋ d ecid e** akɛ-

(That is the thing. **Initially**, I was closing it but he said customers come around. Do you understand me? Yes, so that is it. And it is like **every time** (.) **Everyday**, I leave and go to the church. Unless, **Friday** when there is no funeral. **Fridays** and **Saturdays**. Do you hear; these two things. But if there is a funeral, then **Friday** I have to go to the church. Do you get it? Yes. So when I **decid**ed that-)

237. B: (laughing) Aaaa ni ***shop-ɛ*** *mɛni nibii* yɛ-ɔ mli?

(And what kind of things are in the **shop**?)

…

238. A: O**use**ɔɔ ***mouse*** kɛ feɔ *o-yitwɛi*? *Mɛni mu okɛ* **retouch**ɔɔ *oyitwɛi*?

(Do you **use mouse** for your hair? What cream do you **retouch** your hair with?)

…

239. A: Bɛja awo ***basket-ɛ*** kɛba

(Unless they bring the **basket**.)

240. B: Hewɔɔ *Kweku* kɛɛ ewɔ.

(So Kweku says he is asleep)

241. A: *Kweku* ewɔ.

(Kweku is asleep.)

242. B: Mɛɛbe eba?

(When did he come?)

243. A: Eba ***Christmas day-ɛ***

(He came on **Christmas Day**)

244. B: o ok. Eyɛ ***final year*** agbɛnɛ?

(O, ok. Is he in **final year** now?)

…

245. B: Ni mɛni hewɔ eba ***Christmas day***?

(And why did he come on **Christmas Day**?)

246. A: Ekɛɛ eefee ***lectures*** egbekonaa. (.) Egbeko naa hu po hewɔɔ sani **by on the sixth-**ɛ, etee **back to school**

… (He said he was having **lectures**; he hasn't finished. (.) He has still not finished even, so **by on the sixth**, he has to go **back to school**.)

247. A: **OT**, ŋmɛnɛ-ɛ obaa na *tsal ew ɔ te* onu? (.)*Tsalewɔte-ɛ mɛni* ***size*** owoɔ? (to D)

Shit ɔ -ɔ ni ohiɛ-ɛ efa-ei (.) Mi-ɛ *shit ɔ* ***green-****ɛ* ŋsumɔɔɔ, enaa wa tsɔ.

(**OT**, today you will get tsalewɔte ok? (.) The tsalewɔte, what size do you wear? (To D) The pepper you are holding is a lot (.) Me, I don't like the **green** pepper; it's too hot.)

…

248. A: Ni ŋ**decide** akɛŋfeedɔŋŋ-ɔ, hewɔɔ- (knock on the door) **hello,** (..) oo, **welcome**!

(When I **decide**d that I won't do it again, so- (knock on the door) **hello**, (.1) oo, **welcome**!

249. E: [**Thank you-**

250. A: [*Bo diɛntsɛ* okɛ ba?-] [Te *Samira* yɔɔ tɛŋŋ eei?]

([Did you bring it yourself?] [How is Samira?]

251. E: (laughing) [Hɛɛ ŋkɛ, ŋkɛ moko nyiɛ.Ŋkɛ ***mbra***.] **Good afternoon**. ooo efee **fine**

([Yes. I'm with, I'm with somebody (.) I and my **brother**.] **Good afternoon**. O, she is **fine**.)

…

252. E: Yoo, wɔŋjo foi. ***Traffic*** – ŋfee **late**. Miiya heko. Miiya *Haatso* dani maba

(Alright, we are running away. **Traffic** – I am **late**. I am going somewhere. I am going to Haatso before I come.)

253. A: **Ok**, yoo. Hewɔ-ɔ kɛ otee-ɛ bɛ-ɛ **safe journey** …

(**Ok**, alright. So, if you go then **safe journey** …)

254. E: **Ok. Thank you** …

255. A: … ***Queen Elizabeth*** tamɔ enyɔ jio etɛ yɛ ŋtsu-ɛ mli. … hewɔ-ɔ ŋ**advise**iii moko akɛ ekpa. ***Perming cream-ɛ po*** ni yɔɔ jɛi-ɛ ***gbekɛbii-a-perming cream*** ni. (There are about two or three **queen Elizabeth** in the room. …So I don't **advise** anybody to apply it. The **perming cream** that is there even a

children's **perming cream**.

256. B: Shi *gbekɛbii-a-**perming creams**-ɛ* no moŋ feɔ *ŋ-yitswɛi-ɛ* **fine** eei.

(But the children's **perming creams** are the ones that make my hair **fine.**)

257. A: *ŋ**fine boy**-ɛ* naalɛ.

(Here is my **fine boy**.)

…

258. A: Enɛ-ɛ *gbekɛbii-a-**socks.*** *Onukpai anɔ* -ɔ eko yɛ biɛ.

(This one is children's **socks**. Some of the older ones are here.)

…

259. B: Shi **anyway**, m-a-wo -

(But **anyway**, I will take it)

260. A: **Anyway** mɛni?

(**Anyway** what?)

261. B: ***Olive oil***, eshaamɔ

(**Olive oil**, it burns)

262. A: **For *Girls***-ɛ? *Gbekɛbii* anɔ ni ee.

(The '**For Girls**'? It is for children.)

263. D: …*Kweku **case**-ɛ **prosecution claims**-ɛ* no akɛ ŋmɛ shi-ɛ. Ona ***girl**-ɛ ni ekɛ lɛ damɔ s hi -ɛ* ekɛ amɛ kpe yɛ ***gate**-ɛ naa* ni ekɛɛ oo *gbekɛ -ɛ he* ŋfee lɛ fɛo …

nohewɔ-ɔ ekɛ amɛ tee *tsu-ɛ mii*

(The **prosecution claims** of Kweku's **case** is what has been (laid out). Do you

See the **girl** he is standing with? He met them at the **gate** and said o the child

is beautiful, so they went into the room.)

264. A: … ***container white*** *kɔ* yɛ jɛmɛ; miikwɛ nɔni ji … Enɛ-ɛ lɛ L, oba ***shopping***.

(There's a certain **white container** there, let me see what it is … As for this one, L, you have come for shopping)

265. B: Hmmm hewɔ-ɔ miiŋ**shop** fɛɛ nyɔŋlo

(Yes. So I'm **shop**ping all right away.)

266. A: … Nomii-ɛ oba ko ***shop***-*ɛ mli* daŋ

ona? (Didn't you come to the **shop**

then?)

…

267. A: Daabi ni ŋ**decide** akɛ **this is what I'm going to do**-ɛ hewɔ-ɔ ŋkpa *nibii-ɛ*

hemɔ.

(No. When I **decided** that **this is what I'm going to do**, so I stopped buying the Things.)

268. B: Aaaa **ok**.

269. A: Mhmm. – **then I'll get enough enough time**, (.) **because** -

(Yes. ,,)

270. B: - Oo ***socks***-*ɛ ekomei*-ɛ amɛ jekpo yɛ ***rubber*** *mli*

(O, some of the **socks** are out of the **rubber**.)

271. A: ŋle *gbekɛbii* - *mɛɛ* ***babies*** ole?

(I don't know children- which **babies** do you know?)

272. B: aaa ***babies-a-socks***

(O, **babies**' **socks**)

273. A: Enɛ-ɛ gbekɛbii

(These (are) children('s))

…

274. B: Oo ŋle *gbekɛbii pii*

(O, I know many children)

275. A: Yɛ ***ɔ-ch il dren's servi ce -ɛ***?

(At your **children's service**?)

…

276. A: Klɔmɔ eko ni okɛ yaha amɛ mɔ. Okɛbaa ye amɛ ***Christmas***. **God will bless us**.

…Hɛɛ **because** ŋle nɔni ŋkɛbaafee. … Okɛ noko - **ɔsend** mi noko?

(Pick some and go and give to them then. It will be their **Christmas** presents.

God will bless us. …Yes **because** I don't know what I'll do with them.

…Have you **sent** me something)

277. D: Ooo **ŋsend** bo etsɛ ei

(O, I sent it to you long ago.)

…

278. B: Enɛ-ɛ tamɔ **how many years, five years**?

(This (one), like **how many years, five years**?)

279. A: Miiŋ**doubt** akɛ shi **five years**. **Three, four, anyway** shi (.) obaana akɛ moko shi enane edaaa

(I am **doubt**ing that it's **five years. Three, four** years **anyway** but (.) you will see that there's someone with small feet.)

…

280. A: Ewɔ-ɔ, **that is that**. Ewɔ-ɔ bo-ɛ ***socks-ɛ*** loomɔ, ni kɛ otee *sɔ ɔ mɔ* -ɔ jaa. Ni kɛ okwɛ *mɔ -ɔ nane* ni ebaaya mɔ-ɔ kɛkɛ-ɛ okɛ ha mɔ-ɔ. **That is all**. Ni mɛni hu, *mɛni* ***white*** ka jɛɛ. … ŋyɛ ***particular handkerchiefs*** *kǫ*, esaani - ***pure cotton handkerchiefs*** *kǫ*. Kɛha mi. Aloo oosumɔ ***white-ɛ***?

(So, **that is it**. So you collect the **socks** and share at church. Check the person's leg and see if it will fit. **That is all**. And what **white** is there? …. I have certain **particular handkerchiefs**,- certain **pure cotton handkerchiefs**. Give it to me. Or you like **white**?)

…

281. A: Aaa shi bo-ɛ obaanyɛoya**try** **roll-on**-ɛ … *Mɛni* ***bag*** *mii* okɛbaawo kɛya? … L, ***shower cup-ɛ*** kɛfee-ɛ ŋ**use**-ɔɔ eko hewɔ-ɔ kaa loo fɛɛ. … Naa, ***shopping-ɛ*** bɔni ofee-ɛ, efa. Moko hu baaba ebafee ***shopping-ɛ*** *eko*.

(But, you can go and **try** the **roll-on**. …What **bag** will you put them in? …L, I **use** some of the **shower-cup** so don't collect all. …Naa, the **shopping** is enough, someone else will come and **shop** some.)

…

282. F: Tsale maa, miiya ***school*** ***Monday*** ee

(Hey mum, I'm going to **school** on **Monday**)

283. A: Ofee **ready**?

(Are you **ready**?)

…

284. F: … Bɛ ***last semester***, bɛ wɔyɛ ***final project*** *ni w ɔ feɔ*

(**Last semester**, (you know,) we have (a) **final project** that we do.)