

**A STUDY OF THE VERBAL GROUP IN THE  
STUDENT PIDGIN (SP) OF THE EVANGELICAL  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MAWUKO GIRLS'  
SHS, HO**

**BY**

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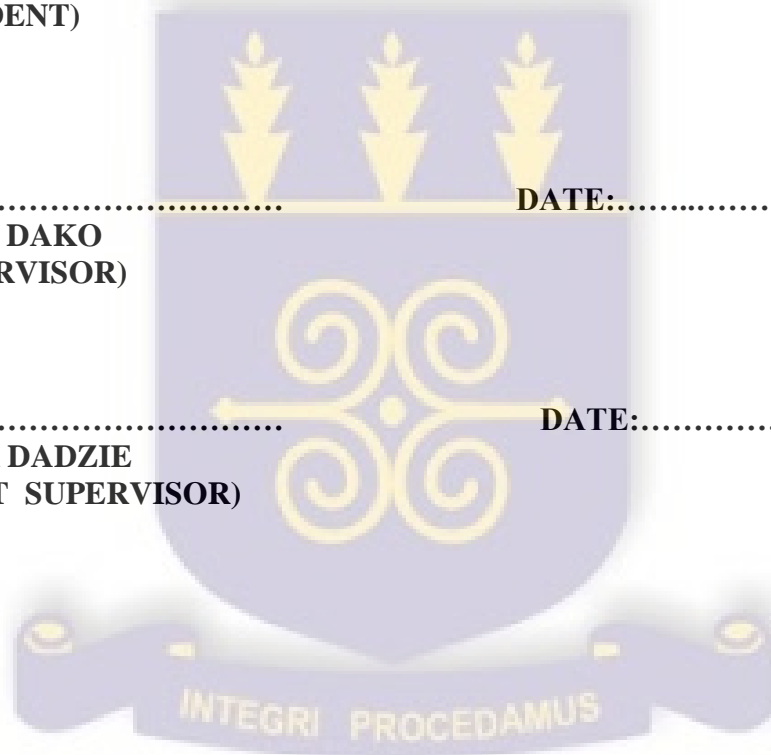
## DECLARATION

I, William Adjei-Tuadzra, hereby declare that this thesis is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Prof Kari Dako and Prof ABK Dadzie, and that no part of it has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose. Also, all works and sources consulted for the purpose have been duly acknowledged.

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the following:

- i. Evangelist Harry Kwame Foli, the man who taught me the difference between knowledge and wisdom;
- ii. Chief Bilson Adjei-Tuadzra, the little boy who questioned everything;
- iii. Prof. Kari Dako, the giant who offered her shoulders for my sake.



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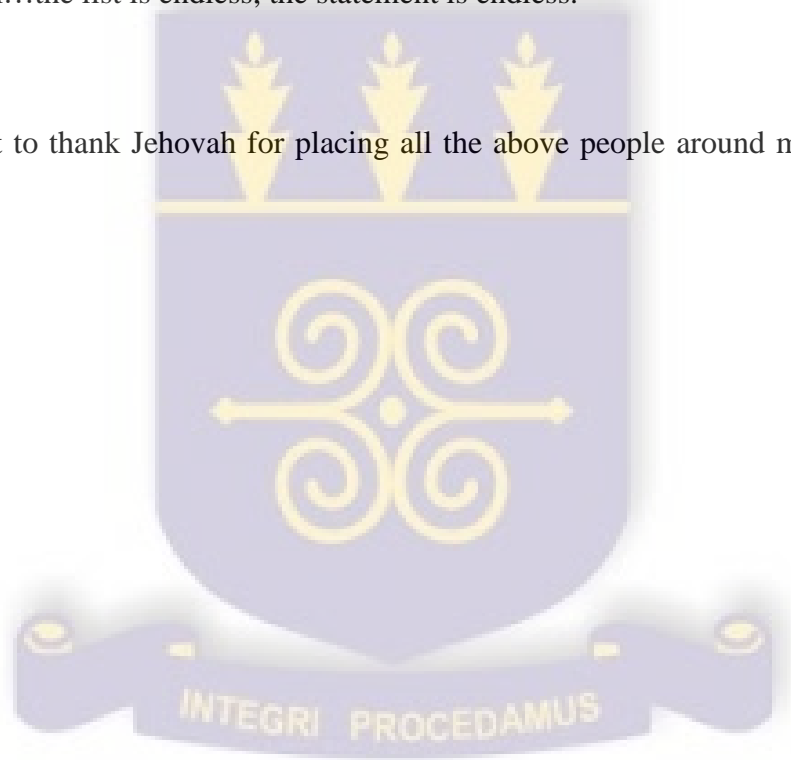
I cannot thank enough those SP girls of EPC Mawuko Girls' Senior High School, Ho who led me into their little secrets. I shall forever remain grateful. Yet let me thank the Headmistress at the time, Miss Janet Akosua Kwasi (Mrs Attey) who allowed me access to her "dear children". Her able assistant, Mad Ernestina Peniana (Assistant Headmistress –Administration), whose office and home became my coffee haven, deserves my appreciation, I say "Thank you". I am also grateful to Mr Delight Dodzi Nyamaume (Assistant Headmaster, Academic Affairs) for perusing my methodology and finding out how it could fit into the academic calendar of my study population.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL.....	Ability
ANT.....	Anterior
AUX.....	Auxiliary
CAU.....	Causative
CAUS.....	Causative
CLP.....	Complementizer
COM.....	Completive
COP.....	Copula
COMP.....	Comparative
CONJ.....	Conjunction
DEO.....	Deontic
DET.....	Determiner
EMP.....	Emphatic
EQ.....	Equalizer
FOC.....	Focuser
INT.....	Intentionalis
INTE.....	Intensifier
IRR.....	Irrealis
LOC.....	Locative
NEG.....	Negator
NPU.....	Non-Punctual
OBJ.....	Object/Objective Case
PD.....	Possessive Determiner
PLU.....	Plural

- PL.....Plural
- SE.....British Standard English
- SG.....Singular
- SP.....Student Pidgin
- SUB.....Subject/Subjective Case
- SVC.....Serial Verb Construction
- L1.....First Language/Mother Tongue
- 1.....First Person
- 2.....Second Person
- 3.....Third Person



***Table of Contents***

DECLARATION .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VIII
ABSTRACT.....	1
CHAPTER ONE .....	2
Introduction.....	2
1.2 Background to the Study .....	2
1.3 The Linguistic Landscape of Ghana.....	8
1.4 Pidgin in Ghana .....	13
1.5 Student Pidgin (SP) in its Ghanaian Sociolinguistic Context .....	16
1.6 The Study Area.....	19
1.7 Statement of the Problem .....	20
1.8 Research Questions .....	20
1.9 Aims and Objectives of the Study.....	22
1.11 Theoretical Framework .....	23
1.12 Relevance/Justification of the Study .....	23
1.13 Delimitation of the Study .....	24
1.14 Organization of the Study.....	25
CHAPTER TWO .....	27
2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	27
2.2.0 METHODOLOGY .....	42
2.2.1 The Research Area.....	42
2.2.3 The Data: Sampling, Data Collection and Transcription.....	43
2.2.4 Theoretical Framework/Analysis.....	45
2.2.5 Presentation of Data.....	46
CHAPTER THREE: SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF VERBS IN ENGLISH .....	47
3.0 Introduction .....	47

3.1	Verb Forms.....	47
3.2.0	Verb Complementation .....	50
3.2.1	Copula Verbs .....	50
3.3.0	Transitive Verbs.....	53
3.3.5	Intransitive Verbs.....	53
3.4.0	Tense, Aspect, Mood and Modality.....	58
3.4.1	Tense and Aspect.....	59
3.4.2	Tense.....	59
	Mood .....	69
3.6.0	Modality.....	84
3.6.1	Epistemic Modality.....	85
3.6.2	Deontic Modality .....	86
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF DATA.....		89
4.1.0	The Verbal Group in SP .....	89
4.2.0	Order in the Verbal Group.....	90
4.2.1	Order of Verbs in Declaratives.....	90
4.2.3	Negation.....	93
4.3.0	Lexical Verbal Elements .....	94
4.3.1	Single Orthographic Word Verb Elements .....	94
4.3.2	The Multi-Word Verbs .....	95
4.4.0	Serial Verb Construction .....	99
4.5.0	The Auxiliary Verbs: Primary and Modal .....	99
4.5.1	Primary Auxiliary Verbs.....	100
4.5.2	Modal Auxiliary Verbs .....	103
4.6.0	Lexical Verbs.....	104
4.7.0	Complementation of the Verb Group in SP.....	104
4.7.1	Transitive Verbs.....	104
4.7.5.0	Intransitive Verbs .....	109
	Copulas in SP .....	111

4.9.0	Unusual Verbs in SP.....	118
4.9.1	Verbs of Kwa Origin.....	119
	Grammaticalization/Semantic Shift.....	119
4.10.0	Tense, Mood and Aspect in SP.....	121
4.10.1.0	Tense .....	121
4.10.1.3	The Imperfective (Nonpunctual) Aspect.....	124
4.10.1.4	The Past before Past (Anterior)/Perfective .....	125
4.10.1.4	The Completive Aspect .....	126
4.11.0	Mood/Modality.....	130
4.11.1	Irrealis Mood.....	131
4.11.2	Ability.....	135
4.11.3	Intentionalis .....	127
4.11.4.0	Imperatives .....	137
4.11.5	Deontic Modality .....	141
4.12.0	Conclusion.....	142
CHAPTER_ FIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....		143
	Introduction.....	143
5.1	Findings.....	144
5.2	Recommendations .....	147
5.3	Conclusion.....	147
REFERENCES .....		148
Appendix A: Transcript of Recordings .....		158
APPENDIX B (PROFILE SP GIRLS) .....		188

## ABSTRACT

This research set out to study the *Verbal Group* in the Student Pidgin (SP) of a female Senior High School in Ho. SP is the type of Pidgin English, variously described as “educated,” “institutionalised” or “student” pidgin, and is believed to have started in a few prestigious boys’ secondary schools in the late 1950s and 60s in the southern part of Ghana. It [SP] has since spread fast among secondary school students and graduates in the country, and has taken a firm foothold. Recent findings have found that women and girls are suddenly using the code that was initially the preserve of the young male elite. This thesis tests the use of SP among female Senior High School (SHS) students in EPC Mawuko Girls’ Senior High School, Ho in the Volta Region by carrying out a syntactic study of the verbal group of the pidgin spoken by the female SHS students. Data for the research came from taped conversations on a variety of topics of interest to teenage female students. Nine (9) student girls aged between 15 and 25 in SHS 2 & 3 were taped for the purpose. In all, the study has proved that contrary to earlier positions that female SP speakers used the code only to be accepted in male company, female students have developed their own mechanisms and intricacies of the code. In this way, such syntactic structures as *Tense, Mood & Aspect (TMA)*, *Complementation of Verbs* and *Modality* found in pidgins and creoles are present in the female SP. Though the literature available shows that the code began with male secondary school students only, it has now become a code for both genders. This research argues, therefore, that the SP of female speakers shares whatever meaning mechanisms and syntactic intricacies found in the adult male code.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### **Introduction**

Though linguists cannot account for how exactly languages originated, they [linguists] delight themselves in studying the properties and aspects of language in relation to society (Yule 1996). Linguists are therefore able to differentiate between natural languages and auxiliary languages based on a set of criteria. Whatever it is, natural or artificial, a language has the property of signaling meaning to those who use it. It therefore does not matter, in some contexts, to the users of a language, what attitude is held about what they speak and enjoy. Student Pidgin, a Ghanaian variety of an African Youth Language has been gaining popularity among young Ghanaian male speakers for over fifty years. Following Dako and Bonnie (2013), one can argue that SP is structurally a pidgin but sociolinguistically not, based on its function in the Ghanaian sociolinguistic context. Recent findings have shown that female speakers are beginning to use and even mold this code in their own way. The linguistic landscape of Ghana has seen a new wave of change: a documented open use and well developed SP among female senior high school girls. Perhaps, this is the beginning of an end to SP's status as a male-dominated language.

### **1.2 Background to the Study**

Pidgins and creoles serve a lot of human communication needs wherever they are used, yet linguists are not able to define them accurately. There are, therefore, as many definitions of what pidgins and creoles are as the pidgins and creoles themselves, yet because of their [pidgins and

creoles] nature, none of such definitions can fully account for the phenomenon (Romaine, 1988; DeCamp, 1977; Todd, 1990). For instance both DeCamp (1977) and Romaine (1998), agree that the biggest problem with pidgin and creole studies is how the languages can be defined. DeCamp (1977) as quoted in Romaine (1988) says:

There is...no agreement on the definition of the group of languages called pidgins and creoles. Linguists all agree that there is such a group, and that pidgin-creole studies have now become an important field within linguistics...Some definitions are based on functions, the role these languages (pidgins and creoles) play in the community: eg. A pidgin *is* an auxiliary trade language. Some are based on historical origins and development: eg., a pidgin may be spontaneously generated: A creole is a language that has evolved from a pidgin. Some definitions include formal characteristics: absence of gender, two tenses, inflectional morphology, or relative clauses, etc. Some linguists combine these different kinds of criteria and include additional restrictions in their definitions (p.24)

The import of this position is, therefore, that since not all pidgins and creoles have evolved in the same social milieu or through the same medium, or for the same purpose of communication, composing a watertight frame of definition into which all pidgins and creoles can fit will be extremely difficult. Corroborating this position, Todd (1990) says:

...while scholars have increasingly come to recognize the importance of pidgin and creole languages, there has been considerable debate, and disagreement, among them as to the precise meaning to be attached to the terms [that is, pidgin and creole languages] (p.1)

All the same, some linguists attempt defining pidgins and creoles, based upon what they know

about them. While some definitions are based on the functions of the codes, others define them from a structural viewpoint, and some combine both attributes and even go further. DeCamp (1971) as quoted in Romaine (1988), for instance, defines pidgin based on its sociolinguistic use and structure. Decamp says pidgin is a

Contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers... it is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features (p.23.)

Both Hudson (2003) and Naro (1978) recognize a pidgin as a fusion of two or more languages. Hudson (2003) argues that pidgin is one of the products of language mix, a process that ends up synthesizing more than one language into one. He compares a pidgin language with codeswitching and borrowing in this process. Hudson posits that a language synthesis may take different forms, citing Artificial Auxiliary Languages like Zamenhoff's Esperanto and Ogden's Basic English as examples. However, one important feature of the pidgin, Hudson notes, is that it is a variety created for "very practical and immediate purposes of communication," when people have no mutual language to communicate in. This definition may not fit all languages and codes called pidgin since some of them are evolved, not because of the want of a common language (p.59). In Naro's (1978) view, when languages mix to form a pidgin, one of the constituent languages is recognised as the lexifier. He writes:

The term pidgin may be defined as referring to a rule-governed system of verbal communication, used by two or more groups, which neither is nor portends to be the native

linguistic competence of any speaker or group. In most systems of this type, it is possible to identify one natural language as the source of the great majority of lexical items used; this is the base language (p.314).

Holm (2010) also sees a pidgin language, among other things, as a contact or trade language. He states:

A *pidgin* is a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact. (p.5)

A pidgin, therefore, in the opinion of Naro (1978), DeCamp (1971), Holm (2010) and Hudson (2003) develops when its speakers have no common language to fall back on and are thus forced to evolve a language for a practical and immediate use. Again, we can argue that a pidgin develops in a multilingual environment where the languages already available cannot help interlocutors to communicate. The community, in this case, therefore, must evolve and perhaps improvise a language to serve their immediate communication needs (Wardhaugh, 2010). Pidgin, thus far, is a language developed to fill a void among people who have no common language (DeCamp, 1971). In this situation, a pidgin can be described as a lingua franca in a given situation. By lingua franca, reference here is made to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s definition adopted in France in 1955: "a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different, in order to facilitate communication between them" (cited in Wardhaugh, 2010, p.55). A lingua franca of this nature can serve the purpose of a contact language, trade language or auxiliary language (Samarin, 1968; Firth, 1996, cited in Wardhaugh, 2010).

A pidgin, therefore, in its strict sense is limited to very restricted domains such as “trade and it is no one’s native language” (Hymes, 1971 p.15.). However when a pidgin grows to acquire native speakers, we sometimes call it a creole (Hudson 2003).

On the genesis of pidgin languages, Whinnon (1971) argues that pidgins must have developed out of colonization and colonial administration. However, this might not be the case in Ghana and several other places where there used to be some extensive contact between Europeans and Africans, long before colonization began. It is common knowledge in Ghana that the first contacts between the Gold Coasters and Europeans were for the purposes of trade or evangelism, or both (Owu-Ewie, 2006).

It can be observed, that pidgin languages in use today are based on what Singler (1988) calls the “linguistic universal” of the European traders, evangelists and administrators. More evidently, many pidgins today are based on and named after English, French, Portuguese and Dutch. The process of pidginization, Whinnon argues, requires at least three languages out of which two minor languages revolt against the third dominant one.

On the composition of pidgins, Bickerton (1976) observes they [pidgins] draw much of their lexicon from an Indo-European parent language, while the syntax is based on a non-Indo-European language. Corroborating this position, Singler (1988) says a pidgin must have two major components: a superstrate and a substrate. The superstrate is the dominant language, mostly the newly arrived language that tries to supplant an existing one. In our local pidgins, we shall refer to the European language [British English in this case] as the superstrate and our local languages as the substrates. According to Singler, the lexifier is responsible for the “linguistic

universal” elements like “semantic and pragmatic elements that shape a creole” (p. 29). Following Singler, therefore, we reason that British English in SP is the superstrate while the substrate elements are mainly from Akan, Ga, Ewe, and sometimes Hausa.

Indeed, Holm (2010) and Hall (1968) believe that African substrates have a considerable effect on Atlantic pidgins and creoles. Holm, for instance, states that Yoruba has a considerable effect on Nigerian Pidgin [hereafter NP]. In a related development, Akan, Ga and Ewe [*Kwa languages*] have considerable influence on SP (see *Chapter Four*). Forson (2006), and findings in this study as well, prove that passive sentence types, for example, are not found in SP. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the grammar of SP is based on the structure of Kwa languages, which Westermann and Bryan (1952), cited in Hyman (2004) observe, does not make room for a passive voice. Forson (2006) explains that SP does not allow room for overt transposition of agentive-affective roles as exists in a passive voice.

Another influence of the West African substrate elements on Atlantic Pidgins is a trend variously named “serial verb construction”, “parallel serial verb construction” and “multi-verb construction,” much associated with many West African languages like Yoruba, Twi and Ewe (Holm, 2010, Holm 2004; Faraclas 1996; Ameka, 2005; Patrick, 2004). This trend is recorded in the SP of my study population (see *Section 4.3.2*).

As explained in Chapter Two, not much work has been done on the semantics, syntax and pragmatics of pidgin in Ghana. This lack of interest as far as research into the linguistic characteristics of pidgins, and SP in this case, is not hard to explain. Attitudes towards pidgins

and creoles worldwide are uniform. Wardhaugh (2010, p.53) explains that before the 1930s, pidgins and creoles were noticeably ignored by linguists and researchers who considered these languages as ‘marginal’, ‘haphazard’, and so on (Todd, 1990 p.1; Holm, 2010 p.1).

It is, however, expected that this analysis which provides an insight into the TMA system of the verbal group in SP will draw the attention of more linguists and sociolinguists to research further the linguistic characteristics of the code under discussion here.

### **1.3 The Linguistic Landscape of Ghana**

Ghana, from a linguist’s point of view, can be described as “a highly multilingual developing nation” (Adams, Anderson & Dzahene-Quarshie, 2009, p. 357). Ghana Statistical Service, the statutory authority mandated for national censuses, is unable to account for the number of languages spoken in Ghana. Their census figures on languages and language use should have helped put this description in perspective. Some linguists have, however, documented the number of languages and dialects spoken in Ghana by recording varying figures. Following Dakubu (1996), Adika (2012) puts the number of languages spoken in Ghana at 50. Both Ofulue (2012) and Adams et al. (2009) believe the languages and dialects spoken in Ghana amount to 80. In all these back and forth arguments about the number of languages and dialects spoken in Ghana, one must be quick to point out that who is actually counting, and for what purpose, will determine the number of languages and dialects to be recognized and counted (Adams et al., 2009, p. 373).

Assessing the linguistic landscape in Ghana, Agyekum (2009) observes that the high level of

language maintenance by the use of the local languages to perform the various “socio-cultural and socioeconomic” functions ensures that language death is not prevalent in Ghana (p. 400). Both Agyekum (2009) and Adams et al (2009) recognize religion, marriage, education and the media as some of the sociocultural and socioeconomic mediums through which languages are maintained in Ghana. The two works, however, acknowledge a major trend of language shift in Ghana. The shift mainly occurs towards the English language and can be accounted for by the role English plays in our national and international engagements. It is common knowledge that English is the official language of government, commerce and education, and is therefore the most prestigious code in use. English is available everywhere as the official language of the media, official public announcements and road signs among many others.

Meanwhile, since the English language was brought to the Gold Coast in the 16th century, policies regarding its use in the educational system have been inexact (Owu-Ewie 2006; Adika 2012). From 1529 to 2002, the country witnessed not less than five changes in language policy regarding when a child going to school in Ghana should be introduced to the English language (ibid). As it stands now, schoolchildren in Ghana are expected to be instructed in English from primary one through to university.

Out of the local languages spoken in Ghana, there are government-sponsored languages that enjoy airtime, namely: Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Nzema and Hausa (Adika, 2012). Among the six languages, Akan is the most widely used on radio [private and state-managed] (Adams et al 2009) Apart from these, the rest can be counted as minority languages. Minority languages include the languages of migrant workers and foreign mission households, which may never have been accounted for. This is an indication of inter-ethnic interactions among the Ghanaian

people and their languages.

#### **1.4 Pidgin in Ghana**

Ghanaian Pidgin English is a sprout of the West African Pidgin English (WAPE), and WAPE is considered in the literature as a variety of related pidgins “that range from rudimentary to highly expanded creole like varieties spoken in the coastal communities where English is an official language” (Ofulue, 2012, p.2; Holm, 1988, p.426; Sebba 1997, p.126). The literature recognises the WAPE as an English based family of pidgins that developed on the West African coast during the Afro-European trades in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. WAPE is spoken in Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon. (Peter & Wolf, 2007; Ofulue, 2012).

Following Huber (1999), Dako (2002), Osei-Tutu (2008), Ofulue (2012), Baiden (2013), and Wiredu (2013), among others, recognize two distinct varieties of pidgin in Ghana, on a cline.

Huber asserts:

Just as there are different types of Ghanaian English that may be arranged on a cline from highly educated to completely uneducated...there are also two distinct varieties of GhaPE that could be described as forming a continuum, with basilectal varieties that are associated with the less educated sections of society, to more acrolectal forms that are usually spoken by speakers who have at least progressed to the upper forms of secondary school. (p. 139-140)

The literature differentiates between the two varieties based upon their social functions. Huber (p. 141), for instance, calls them “institutionalised” and “non-institutionalised”, based upon who

use them and where. The former is used by students and alumni of higher educational institutions in Ghana and is mainly used as an in-group language of solidarity. Forson 1996, for instance, calls it an “argot” while Dako (2000) refers to this variety as student pidgin or simply SP. Again, Forson (1996, 2006) calls it “School Pidgin”. The rest of the literature refers to it as SP.

The other variety is labelled either as “non-institutionalised” or as “GhaPE” (Huber, 1999). This variety, the literature says is spoken in the densely populated multi-ethnic cities that team with illiterates and is thus used as a lingua franca. What this means is that GhaPE fills a linguistic void by coming in as a language to bridge the communication gap among the different ethnic groups within its domain. In this sense, GhaPE can be counted as a pidgin in the true sense of the word “pidgin”, whilst SP cannot.

There are two theories on how a pidgin came to be spoken in Ghana: one school of thought believes that pidgins did develop in Ghana, while another school posits that foreign workers and other migrants brought a pidgin language to Ghana. In this argument, SP must be excluded because the literature is clear on its origin. Following Dadzie (1985), Huber (1999) and Dako (2002) believe SP was evolved in some southern prestigious secondary schools in the 60s and 70s in Ghana. Dadzie (cited in Huber) writes:

In the 1950s and 1960s, the influence of the ‘sea men’, as they were called, was considerable around the port cities, especially Takoradi and later Tema. Because these seamen came back with the latest in fashion and swaggered in the characteristic sailor gait, schoolchildren, at the impressionable age of 15 or over, began to want to look like the sea men, and if they looked like them, it was no wonder that they started also talking like them (p149).

From the foregoing, Dadzie's (1985) view on the genesis of SP is clear that it was evolved in Ghana. However, the obvious question remains: what is the origin of the seamen's pidgin? That answer helps us to know what pidgin SP is based on. Was GhaPE evolved in Ghana or was it imported?

Dadzie explains that "Kroo Brofo" [a synonym for GhaPE] was named after the Liberian labourers and deck hands on ships, who were of the Kroo tribe of Liberia, because they spoke Pidgin English. Another possible source through which Pidgin English came to be spoken in Ghana was through migrant workers from Nigeria, especially the lower rank military troops who had earlier populated the Ghanaian army (Dako, 2002a). Dako therefore argues that no wonder Pidgin English was at a point in Ghana referred to as *Abongo Brofo* [English of the army] (p.55). Dako (2013a) also asserts that before Ghana's independence there was "a red lantern district in down town Accra", where many of the sex workers originated from Riverine/Niger Delta areas of Nigeria, and that they conducted their business in pidgin. Dako's (2002a, 2013b) argument seeks to explain that Ghana did not have a need for a pidgin language since over 60% of Ghanaian could speak Twi, a local language (Dako, 2002, p.53). This position asserts that a pidgin language could not have developed in Ghana.

The other side of the argument has it that a pidgin did develop in Ghana. Following Spencer (1971), Huber (1999) argues that there could have been a Ghanaian pidgin resulting out of the Portuguese' long contact with the West African people. Huber then reasons that the said pidgin might have been relexified by the English when they took over the Gold Coast. The argument is supported by Huber (1999), who says the presence of some Portuguese lexical items in GhaPE and SP is proof enough. These words include: *Pikin*-child, *Dash*-gratuity, to present, *Sabi*-know,

*Palaver*-speech, contention, trouble, *Fetish*-protective charm (p.25). It is therefore not surprising some of these words have worked their way into Ghanaian English. One can mention words like *palaver* and *dash*, for instance, which are found in Ghanaian literary works, advertisements, and the media.

On the genesis of pidgin in Ghana, one may conclude that the paucity of research in this area continues to fuel the controversy. Looking at the research findings available, however, one can say that the two theories are possible in the Ghanaian context. Whichever theory is a more authentic one will be established by subsequent findings.

### **1.5 Student Pidgin (SP) in its Ghanaian Sociolinguistic Context**

In the Ghanaian sociolinguistic context, SP does not fit squarely into the frame of a pidgin. Reasons to support this claim are numerous. In the first place, SP has not evolved to fill a linguistic void as stated by DeCamp (1971) concerning pidgins (Dako, 2013; Dako & Bonnie, 2013; p.152). The common knowledge that SP is spoken among the youth of the same ethnic group is confirmed by many studies. On the university campuses and in the dormitories, the speakers of SP are multi-linguals who have at least one language in common as asserted by Dako and Bonnie (2013): “SP cannot be classified as a contact language...for Ghanaian students have English in common, and the majority also speak Akan, an indigenous lingua franca of Ghana” (p.117). The situation described by Dako and Bonnie is not any different from that in this study area, where most of the SP girls have Ewe as L1, but still speak SP among themselves (*see Appendix B*).

Again, scholars agree that a pidgin has a reduced grammatical structure as claimed by Hymes (1971), DeCamp, (1971) and Crystal (1991). However, studies by Wiredu (2013), Baiden (2013), Osei-Tutu (2006), Forson (2006) and this current study, prove the contrary about SP. The code under consideration here has full-fledged syntactic, morphological and semantic mechanisms for the expression of meaning. Baiden (2013), for instance, declares that “speakers of Student Pidgin employ various word-formation processes to satisfy their communicative needs” (p.1). Baiden’s position is this is contrary to Thomason’s (2001) assertion that “most pidgins and creoles either lack morphology entirely or have very limited morphological resources compared with those of the lexifier and other input languages” (p.168). SP therefore does not fit into Thomason’s (2001) description of pidgins because the assertion of lack of morphology in pidgins is not entirely true about SP.

Taken from another perspective, we examine SP against DeCamp’s (1971) position that a pidgin ‘...is characterized by **a limited vocabulary**, an absence of many grammatical devices, such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features (p.51) [emphasis is mine]. This position on pidgins cannot be true of SP. Studies by Osei-Tutu, Baiden, Dako and Bonnie as well as this study show that speakers of SP use strategies like coinages, grammaticalization and relexification to create new words in SP. It is also observed that because speakers of SP have access to SE, they easily borrow from the lexifier. Dako (2002a), for instance, observes that speakers of SP switch between SE and SP, thereby baptizing many lexemes into SP. This assertion is supported by Osei-Tutu (2008) who observes that SP has numerous synonyms for various reasons. DeCamp’s (1971) assertion about pidgins cannot in anyway apply to SP

because the code does not suffer poverty of vocabulary. Valued against these observations, one can say that SP cannot be counted as a pidgin in the strict sense of the terminology.

However, based on the above knowledge about SP, the literature variously describes SP as an ‘*argot*’, ‘sociolect’, a ‘Ghanaian Youth Language’, ‘Male Youth Language’ and so on (Forson, 1996; Dako & Bonnie, 2013; Dako 2013; Baiden, 2013 and Rupp 2013). All these scholars agree that the speakers of SP have among other languages Standard English (SE) in common, hence those descriptions.

The tag ‘argot’ was used by Forson (1996) to describe SP when his study found that the code was an in-group language used to foster solidarity among male speakers who sometimes would coin their own vocabulary to describe their peculiar experiences. By so doing, the speakers of SP are able to differentiate themselves from the uninitiated. They do this to have fun. This attribute of SP, therefore qualifies it to be called a Youth Language. Characteristic of a Youth Language SP exudes the power of “identity construction” (Eckert, 2000, p. 41).

Examining SP as an African Youth Language, the code conforms to the one essential trait of African Youth Languages, in that, we agree with Kiessling and Mous (2004) that the code has been evolved by urban youth who were found in prestigious secondary schools in southern Ghana. In recent times, the code has developed beyond what it has originally been. Studies show that speakers of SP like those of any other African Youth Language are “continuously creating their own languages in order to set themselves apart from the older generation” (p. 303). This attribute is confirmed by many findings including this study (see *Section 4.5.4.0*).

Many studies also have found many similarities between SP and other African languages like

Nouchi (Abidjan, Côte D'Ivoire), Shona Street Lingo (Zimbabwe), Camfranglais (Yaounde-Douala, Cameroon), Indoubil (Brazaville, Congo), Sheng (Nairobi, Kenya), Iscamto (Johannesburg, South Africa) and many others. Dako and Bonnie (2013) are of the opinion that SP is an African Youth Language based on the argument that 'Urban youth languages tend to have their basis in another language that is also spoken in the city by the same youth' (Kiessling and Mous 2004, p.304). Speakers of SP in this context speak SE, which is the lexifier of SP, as well as the local *Kwa* languages that form the substrates of SP.

However, SP differs from a typical African Youth Language in some respects. As observed by Dako (2013) and many others, SP is restricted to students of higher institutions and their alumni and not a code used as a contact language.

Assessing SP in its Ghanaian sociolinguist context, it will be a bit out of place to still refer to it as a male youth language as per the findings in this study. SP is a code begun by urban secondary school boys but has now found roots everywhere, even among semi-urban senior high school girls. Going by Dako and Bonnie (2013), one can best and neutrally refer to SP as a sociolect, a social in-group language that is embraced by a social class [in this case students of higher institutions and their alumni] irrespective of gender.

## **1.6 The Study Area**

Ho is the capital town of the Volta Region, one of the ten national administrative divisions in Ghana. Lying between Mount Adaklu and Mount Galenukui (Togo Atakora Range) Ho is also the capital of Ho Municipality, and the capital of former British Togoland. The town has

a settlement population of 96,213 people [based on 2012 estimates]. Ho is home to some tertiary institutions such as the University of Health and Allied Sciences, Ho Polytechnic, Evangelical Presbyterian University College, Nurses' Training Schools (Community Health & RGN) and so on. There are about twelve senior high schools, three of which (including EPC Mawuko Girls' Senior High School) are public/mission schools.

Of all the languages spoken in Ho English, Ewe and Akan (encompassing dialects like Akwapim Twi, Asante Twi, Fante) are the languages of radio broadcasting in the region. Volta Star Radio, a subsidiary of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (the national broadcaster) broadcasts programmes in indigenous Ewe and Akan and as well as relays programmes from its mother station (Radio Ghana) in Accra. There were at the time of this research seven-radio stations in Ho, five of them being private enterprises.

Ho has three public boarding schools and several private second cycle schools with boarding facilities, which house students from all ten regions of Ghana and beyond. There is therefore an indication of inter-ethnic interactions among the Ghanaian people and their languages.

## **1.7 Statement of the Problem**

Pidgins in Ghana have not received the necessary research attention, accounting for the number of unresolved controversies about its true origin and other linguistic factors. Even the few researchers that have looked at pidgin mainly focused on the sociolinguistic aspects of the code (Dadzie, 1985; Dako, 2000, 2002b; Pipkins, 2004). Few of them however looked at the linguistic aspects of the code. Osei-Tutu (2008) for instance has looked at the semantic dimensions of the

code, while Baiden (2013) and Wiredu (2013) have studied the morphological processes of word formation and a syntactic structure of the nominal group respectively. Even these three linguistic studies looked at the SP of male speakers only.

Studies over the years have shown that women always aspire towards the standard and most prestigious code available (Eckert, 1989 p.2.5; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992 p.5-4). This is true per findings in Ghana, where some female students of University of Ghana claim they do not want to corrupt their SE by speaking SP. The other aspect of the problem is contained in Bloomfield's (1933) observation that a pidgin is a language variety with reduced grammar and vocabulary. DeCamp (19971, p.15) as quoted in Romaine (1988) supports Bloomfield's position with the observation that a pidgin "...is characterised by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features." Looking at the two positions, it therefore came as a surprise when some girls on the Evangelical Presbyterian Mawuko Church Mawuko Girls' SHS football team were heard fluently speaking SP among themselves.

However, following Eckert's (2003) observation that "girls lead their cohorts overall more than boys in the use of advanced variants in urban, suburban and mixed variable" (p.137), the researcher decided to investigate the topic under discussion. We cannot but agree with Eckert's assertion that the use of variant and deviant forms could be linked more to the "aspects of social practice that permeate the school," and not necessarily with gender (p.137-138). The researcher believes that the use of SP, a phenomenon believed to be a daring attempt at deviancy by boys, and a phenomenon that developed into a code for the male youth from GhPE, could be investigated in an all-female

educational institution. Taken into consideration the fact that pidgins are supposed to have a less developed grammar, the topic is worth researching.

Literature available indicates that there has so far been no study , solely, on the use of SP among female speakers at the senior high school level, neither has any study yet been conducted on the syntactic characteristics of the verbal group in SP. The poverty of research in these two areas has necessitated this study.

This study therefore hopes to add to the journal of academic discourse by contributing knowledge on the study of the verbal group in the SP of female senior high school speakers.

## **1.8 Research Questions**

The research project will be seeking answers to the following questions:

- i. What is the syntactic composition of the verbal group in female SP?
- ii. What are the syntactic functions of the verbal group in female SP?
- iii. Is the verbal group in female SP able to express TMA?

## **1.9 Aims and Objectives of the Study**

The following are the general aims and objectives of the study.

- i. To find out the veracity of the report of SP being spoken among female senior high school students.
- ii. To find out if the SP spoken among female SHS is a complete system of communication.

### **1.10 Hypothesis of the Study**

The hypothesis of this research work is that the SP spoken by EPC Mawuko Girls' SHS has a verbal group well composed and developed to express those syntactic and grammatical functions of a verbal group in the code. We hypothesize that the verbal group of female SP expresses tense, mood and aspect (TMA) as well as being variously complemented.

### **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

The researcher has adopted Traditional Grammar as the main theoretical framework for this study. For justification of this choice and a full discussion on the framework, see *Section 2.2* and *Chapter Three*.

### **1.11 Relevance/Justification of the Study**

Many of the earlier findings indicate that SP a preserve of the males who use it as a solidarity language. Forson (1996) calls it an *argot*. Works on the University of Ghana campus Dako (2002 a&b, 2013), Frimpong (2008), Dzameshie (2011) have indicated that some female students of the university admitted to speaking it but the speakers are in the

minority. However, no research has yet confirmed senior high school girls using the code among themselves. Literature available indicates that girls speak SP to their brothers, male friends and boyfriends to be able to fit into “male company” (Dako 2002 a & b).

This study therefore fills a research gap by finding out the veracity of the existence of SP among senior high school girls. The study also finds out if the code as used among the girls is just some auxiliary language formed, used and discarded on the go or whether it is a stabilized pidgin like SP.

### **1.12 Delimitation of the Study**

The most noticeable limitation of this study is that it was conducted using only samples of SP as spoken and used by some selected female students of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church Girls’ Senior High School in Ho. The inference of this is that the results of the study cannot be rigidly applied to other secondary and post-secondary institutions in the country. This is worth noting because, as stated earlier in the study, there is a high degree of variability in the lexicon of the SP spoken in the various tertiary institutions in the country although the syntactic base is virtually the same. (Huber, 1999; Taiwiah, 2008).

The study was on a Ghanaian pidgin but the focus was on the institutionalized/student variety, the type spoken among the alumni and students of high institutions. Consequently, one cannot rigidly apply the results and findings in this study to the variety of pidgin Huber (1999, p.141) calls ‘non-institutionalised’.

Again, because the focus was the syntactic study of the verbal group in the SP of female

speakers, the concentration of the analysis focuses on this aspect of linguistics, leaving such other branches as morphology, phonology, semantics, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. For this reason, factors responsible for the adoption of a male code among young female senior high school students are ignored in this study. In gleaning the data however, references are made to other aspects of linguistics when necessary.

### **1.13 Organization of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters and segmented as follows.

#### **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

- i. Introduction
- ii. Background to the Study
- iii. Linguistic Landscape of Ghana
- iv. Pidgin in Ghana
- v. Student Pidgin in its Ghanaian Sociolinguistic Context
- vi. A Description of the Study Area: EPC Mawuko Girls' Senior High School, Ho
- vii. Statement of the Problem
- viii. Research Questions
- ix. Hypothesis of the Study
- x. Delimitations of the study

- xi. Significance/Justification of the Study
- xii. Organization of the study

## **CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

- i. Introduction
- ii. Related Literature
- iii. Methodology

## **CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

- i. Theoretical Framework

## **CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF DATA**

- i. Syntactic Analysis of Data

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

- i. Introduction
- ii. Findings
- iii. Recommendations
- iv. Conclusion

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW & METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW**

The earliest mention of a Ghanaian pidgin in an intellectual research dates to the 1970s when Boadi (1971) and Sey (1973) drew attention to the injection of the argot into the social network of Ghana. The seeming neglect of this study area in Ghana can be attributed to two reasons: a) that pidgin use is an alien phenomenon in Ghana (Huber 1999; Dako, 2002b); b) pidgins and creoles worldwide have not received any research attention until somewhere in the second half of the last century for various sociolinguistic reasons (Hudson, 2003, p. 62; Holm, 2004, p. 2; Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 53; Hymes, 1971, p. 3; Todd, 1990, p. 1). These combinations of factors, supported by the circumstances under which pidgins evolved in Ghana, have made the code in Ghana less attractive, compared to other varieties of WAPE in neighbouring Anglophone West African countries (Huber, 1999; Ofulue, 2012;). This notwithstanding, there have been some ground-breaking works on pidgins in Ghana, conducted to test sociolinguistic variables (Dadzie, 1985; Forson, 1996; Taiwiah, 1998, Dako, 2000, 2002, 2013; Dzameshie, 2001; Pipkins, 2004; Rupp, 2013; Dako & Yitah, 2012 , Dako & Bonnie, 2013,etc). There have, however, been few works that looked at pidgin in Ghana with some attention to its linguistic features, including Huber, (1999), Dako (2002), Osei-Tutu, (2008), Henaku (2011), Wiredu (2013) and Baiden (2013).

The seemingly universal negative attitude to pidgins is a reflection of what was thought to be its origin. It is an issue that stems from language attitudes worldwide. Many scholars say pidgins

and creoles, for the most part, have not enjoyed much publicity and academic attention till lately (Wardhaugh, 2010). This position was earlier stated by Hymes (1971), cited in Wardhaugh (2010, p.53) who explains that before the 1930s, pidgins and creoles were noticeably ignored by linguists and researchers who considered these languages as “marginal”, “haphazard”, and so on (Todd, 1990, p. 1; Holm, 2004, p. 1). Other words such as “degeneration”, “deviation” and many more were used to describe pidgins and creoles. Some linguists, Wardhaugh maintains, were afraid of being associated with these codes. The reasons underlining this attitude are explained by Hudson (2003:62) who believes that because pidgins were associated with slaves and the slave trade, they [pidgins] ipso facto acquired low reputations from the outset. Pidgins, scholars say, came to be associated with people considered stupid, and who could not speak the “proper language” of their masters, corroborating the theory that a language is judged by the “status and prestige” of its speakers (Edwards, 1982; Schmied, 1991, cited in Dzameshie, 2001, p. 4). Holm (2010) describes this attitude as one stemming out of “contempt”.

In Ghana, as indicated in *Chapter One*, there are two main varieties of Pidgin English: the basilectal and the acrolectal. The difference between the two types of the same code can be attributed to the springing up of second-cycle institutions in Ghana over the years. The type spoken by the elite or the acrolectal is what is called SP. The documented negative attitudes towards SP are much more than we see in the case of GhPE because in recent times, the attention of researchers has mainly been on SP because it [SP] is now “gaining acceptability as a sociolect”, particularly among school leavers (Dako, 2001, p. 144).

Outside Ghana, the other two varieties of WAPE, namely Nigerian Pidgin (NP) and

Cameroonian Pidgin (CamP) are not as safe from stigmatization and threat as one might imagine. Even in Nigeria, where pidgin shows signs of creolization, negative attitudes towards the Nigerian Pidgin cannot pass without comment (Dadzie, 1985). Dzameshie (2001, p. 6) quoting Barbag-Stoll claims “educated Nigerians” take offense to being addressed in NP. Also, Ekpeyong (2008) cited in Wiredu (20013) says “most pidgin expressions used in Nigerian literature written in English are spoken by characters of “low social standing” (162).

The problem of stigmatization is not any different in Cameroon when we look critically at CamP. Barely two years after Sala (2009) extolled the virtues of CamP, describing it as an important language filling a void, and a language of the media and the Bible in Cameroon, Atechi (2011) has come in looking at a dying CamP, which educational authorities there threatened to ban. The Cameroonian educational authorities thought CamP was a kind of “bad English” responsible for the abysmal performance of students in Standard English (Atechi, 2011, p .1).

Focusing on Ghana, the stigmatization of both GhaPE and SP is not any different from that of both NP and CamP, if not worse. Many writers on Ghanaian pidgins acknowledge that there is some stigma attached to the codes (Wiredu, 2013, p. 183). This stigmatization is easy to explain, looking at the sociolinguistic and the historical factors that gave birth to pidgins in Ghana.

Even in the case of the basilectal variety called GhaPE, those who spoke the code were people of low repute. As Dako (2002a) and Huber (1999) assert, these [speakers] were labourers and illiterate workers coming from outside the borders of Ghana. Following Ekpeyong (2008), Dako and Yitah (2012) assert that in some Ghanaian literary works, literary characters of low

education and prestige speak Broken English/ “Kru Brofo,” a code that many a non-linguist associates with a pidgin. This stems from the misinformation that both Pidgin English and “Kru Brofo” are the same code.

Beyond the literary pages, stigmatization against pidgins in Ghana is evident. Judging by how pidgins came to be spoken in Ghana, many are those who link the language with the lower uneducated sections of society. It therefore has a low status in Ghana (Frimpong, 2012). Corroborating this, Dako (2013) recounts the experience of advertisers using Pidgin English to run a television commercial for *Ariel*, a washing powder. The criticisms that dogged the advertisement, she recounts, necessitated its [advertisement’s] immediate withdrawal. Dako recounts how the targeted clientele of the advertisement tried to equate the washing powder with illiterates.

Literature available on pidgin in Ghana suggests a lot more work has been done on SP than on GhaPE, and many of these studies have actually looked more at the attitude of the public towards the code. Apart from Boadi (1994) cited in Adika 2012:16) who called for the institutionalization of the code to be used as lingua franca, several people have condemned it. In recent times, Mr. J .H. Mensah, a former minister of state as well as Prof Kwadwo Asenso-Okyere (a former Vice Chancellor, University of Ghana) are among the prominent persons advocating for the code’s condemnation (Adika, 2012; Rupp, 2013). The condemnation of the code and the call for its ban, in some sectors of society, is yet to achieve any effect. As one can see, SP now permeates almost every aspect of high school and tertiary students as well as school leavers’ informal conversation.

Some researchers have disproved the claim that pidgin is absent from formal engagements in Ghana (Frimpong, 2013, p. 117). However, the role of pidgin in the context of the claim is not any more than a few Nigerian pidgin gospel songs sang in select charismatic churches in the Ghanaian capital (Accra). Even some of the churches sampled for the survey did not have a single pidgin song in their music repertoire. Frimpong's (2013) assertion must have been a bit hasty, since he even documented that some of the respondents in his survey expressed reservations about the choice of pidgin songs in church.

Yet it is interesting to hear pidgin songs in Ghana, enjoyed outside the domain of the church, though sung by the same people who could have disproved of their [the songs'] use in church. This suggests that Ghanaians do not think Pidgin English and religion can mix, however, the same code can be used in songs outside the church. This goes to confirm Huber's (1999) assertion that Pidgin English is used for entertainment in Ghana. In agreeing with Huber, one can recount how "Things We Do for Love" [a popular Ghanaian television series] caught up with Ghanaian youth, obviously, because the main character (Pusher) and his street friends always speak SP.

In fact, the only gathering that allows SP to be used (even though informally) is the meeting of the Commonwealth Hall<sup>1</sup> Junior Common Room (JCR), as asserted by Benjamin Taiwiah, in a newspaper article (*The Daily Graphic* of 13<sup>th</sup> August, 2013). He

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<sup>1</sup> An all-male hall in the University of Ghana known for its sporadic display of male exuberance and the use of unconventional language, and SP

recounts how the unofficial businesses are conducted in SP in that hall. It is also common knowledge that during JCR elections, candidates who show no sign of speaking SP in that hall have a slim chance of becoming JCR executives. Beyond the JCR elections and the unofficial JCR meetings are the Old Vandals Association (OVA) gatherings nationwide. This is an association of all Commonwealth Hall alumni. Such meetings are conducted mostly in SP, yet serious businesses both within and outside the hall, are conducted in SE. Apart from these meetings and such like, there is hardly any known public use of SP acceptable in Ghana.

So far, Frimpong (2012) is the only work that has researched the relationship between SP and religion. Many other researchers have look at SP from the perspective of its gender dominance, trying to either corroborate or debunk earlier findings.

In recent years, the attention of researchers has mainly been on SP (the acrolectal GhaPE) and not the basilectal (Dako, 2001, p. 139). This, research for instance, looks at the verbal group in female high school students speaking SP because the code is fast gaining acceptability as a sociolect among female speakers. Contrary to earlier views, female high school students speak the lect even if many deny it.

Out of the few works on pidgins in Ghana, a majority have looked at attitudes towards them [pidgins]. Apart from Osei-Tutu (2008), Dako (2002b), Henaku (2011), Baiden (2013), Forson (2006) and Wiredu (2013), the rest of the studies have been predominantly sociolinguistic. Huber (1999), for one, is so far the most comprehensive

work on the code, having explored the phenomenon from historical, socio-cultural, linguistic and sociolinguistic angles.

It is common knowledge in Ghana that women and pidgins do not mix. Since the “*mone na han*

*bak na graun*<sup>2</sup>” days when pidgin-speaking women were associated with prostitution in the Gold Coast<sup>3</sup>, until recently, no woman would like to be heard speaking SP openly. We can even attest that there were some female lecturers in the Department of English<sup>4</sup>, University of Ghana (during this research), who were well versed in SP or some form of the WAPes but did not speak it openly. For one thing, “the contemporary educated woman in Ghana” does not see any social or financial gain in speaking SP (Dako, 2013, p. 222-223). This position is a support for stronger voice in Taiwiah (1998) whose survey on the University of Ghana, Legon campus has only 8% of his study female population saying they speak SP. Based on his findings, Taiwiah (1998) therefore proclaimed that SP was unlikely to achieve any importance in “female communicative functions” in Legon. This position has, however, been debunked by subsequent findings a decade later.

Worthy of note, however, are the responses given by the 92% of the female population in Taiwiah’s (1998) study on the University of Ghana campus. Their reasons for not speaking the code are mostly sociolinguistic, bordering on their prestige value. Findings

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<sup>2</sup> An expression used by Dako (2013), meaning, “If you give me money, I will lie down for you” a statement attributed to prostitutes.

<sup>3</sup> Ghana, before independence in 1957 was called The Gold Coast.

<sup>4</sup> The lecturers referred to here published and presented conference papers on WAPes

corroborate this finding by stating that girls would rather not speak Pidgin English in Ghana, but might in exceptional cases speak it among themselves. (Huber, 1999, p. 147; Dako, 2013, p. 225).

A decade after Taiwiah's (1998) proclamation, Frimpong (2008) finds on the same University of Ghana campus that 41% of the female respondents admitted speaking SP.

The 51% who did

not speak it gave various reasons for their position, one of which was being that as ladies<sup>5</sup> who aspired to the best form of proficiency in SE, speaking SP was, thus, detrimental to their goal. This is no surprise since this notion applies to many languages, dialects and sociolects worldwide. Our main concern is that throughout sociolinguistic history, women are found to be the preservers and speakers of the highest standard code available (Huber, 1999; Hudson, 2001; Eckert, 1989; Bakker & Mous, 1994). Scholars argue, that because of gender relegation, women in many cultural settings are not allowed to compete for the top spot with men. As a consolation therefore, they heavily depend on such symbolic resources, such as "language, appearance," and so on, and by so doing, women always aspire towards the standard and most prestigious code available (Eckert, 1989, p. 25; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, p. 5-4). These explain why ladies are not in any way enthused by getting caught up in the wave of SP in Ghana; and even if a lady<sup>5</sup> must speak SP at all, she does it only to fit into male company (Taiwiah, 2008; Dako & Bonnie, 2013; Dako, 2013a; Rupp, 2013).

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<sup>5</sup> In Ghanaian English, a "lady" is an educated woman who is respected by all and sundry.

On the contrary, for the young male SP speaker in Ghana, the ability to speak the code is a rite of passage and initiation; it is like the freedom to own and wear one's own type and style of clothing. It is more like being identified with the big guys<sup>6</sup> in town- it is not only a code that signals linguistic meaning; it is an identity marker (Dako & Bonnie, 2013, p. 118; Dako, 2013 p.156; Forson, 1996). Both Dako and Bonnie (2013) and Dako (2013) argue that the code is

Associated with the male youth in Ghana who have attained the age of independence. The code's association with the male youth is indicated by how the various works refer to it. Dako (2000, 2002a, 2002b,) calls it a "gender specific language," obviously referring to the male gender; Forson 1996 calls it an "argot" that is used for in-group discussion and communication among the male youth. In Ghana, therefore, the code is a preserve of the male youth who have had some secondary or tertiary education (Rupp, 2013; Dako & Bonnie, 2013). As indicated earlier and as per my own findings, SP may be called a youth language. SP in Ghana corresponds to Halliday's (1994) model of antilanguages (cited in Kiessling & Mous 2004) which, among other things, are used to create identities among the speakers. In reality, SP speakers, like other urban youth, try to exclude "outsiders" from their conversions by creating a language which they alone understand, and the purpose is to have fun (Kiessling & Mous, 1994, p. 303). Commenting on SP, Osei-Tutu (2008) believes each SP speech community normally uses a "set of lexical items" that are peculiar to the milieu of the speakers (p.12). Given

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<sup>6</sup> In Ghanaian English, "guy" means an independent young male old enough to take personal responsibility.

that SP has its own “phonological, morphological, and semantic” system like any other language would (ibid), Forson (1996) calls it an “argot”.

Looking at the parameters, the composition and function of the code, SP is a “pidgin-sound alike” language, because it has some syntactic and stylistic features of a typical WAPE, but by function is a youth language (Dako, 2013b; Baiden, 2013; Dako & Bonnie, 2013). Typical of a youth language, SP uses “far-fetched extension or change of the meaning of words with the function of insult, ridicule, exaggeration or simple enjoyment and play” (Kiessling & Mous, 2004, p. 324). This is exactly what SP does, as Baiden (2013) has found in the morphological processes of SP. His findings indicate that the study population (the University of Ghana students) summoned morphological processes and word-formation processes like “reduplication, borrowing, coinages, clipping, compounding” to contort meaning, a feature characteristic of youth languages (p. 86). Most of the coinages, Baiden has found, come from Akan and Ga, are mainly vocabulary associated with youthful discourse.

Whilst the male speakers of SP may be happy naming themselves as identity creators, there is different view about the phenomenon. Following Dako (2000), both Pipkins (2004) and Rupp (2013) believe SP speakers do so because of the “performance pressure” associated with SE which they [speakers of SP] try to avoid. Their argument is built around the view that SP speakers agree the code is not so strict with grammatical and syntactic rules (ibid). Yet, pushing the argument further, Rupp (2013) draws a parallel between SP and Fuller’s (2009) analytic study of 10 German boys aged five years who spoke “Mock English” (substandard variety) to reinforce their position as

creating a face-saving attitude in challenging linguistic situations (Fuller, 2009, cited in Rupp, 2013). The boys, it is said, crafted their art in such a way that if they made a mistake, it would be accepted as a joke. Rupp therefore sought to equate the substandard “Mock English” of the 5 German 10 year olds in that study with SP of Ghana. This comparison and its basis contradict what we already know of SP. Frimpong (2008), for instance, documents the views of some male SP speakers who believe female speakers were bastardizing the code (p.12). The male speakers’ argument was that SP has its own mechanism and systems for signaling meaning. Frimpong’s (2008) position is supported by Osei-Tutu (2008), who says SP has phonological, morphological and semantic elements just as any other language (p.9). These observations point to the fact that SP is a language on its own and not a bastardised form of SE. Dako (2002a) for instance describes SP a stabilized code with lexical and structural possibilities that have gone far. If this is so then it cannot be described as a code without rules in which mistakes are not easily noticeable. Based on these, therefore, one can say that Rupp’s (2013) comparison should have rather been with *Broken English* and not with SP.

On the process of obscuring meaning in SP there are so many ways by which this is achieved. Osei-Tutu (2008) has made some observations on the semantic analysis of the code. The study found the following processes used to obscure meaning: “semantic shift, semantic extension, semantic weakening, and semantic amelioration.” Evidence in the data at hand shows that the SP spoken by girls shows the same predilection as evidenced in coinages, borrowings as well as grammaticalization of certain items, thereby baptizing them into the verbal group. There is of interest the borrowing of the

French word “*finir*,” for instance, which functions in the data as a lexical verb and as a completive, used as a synonym for the existing SP word “finish” (See *Section 4.5.4.2.1*). The data has found so many other new words that many a male SP speaker who encounters my study population for the first time cannot comprehend. We have such words as “*coma*”<sup>7</sup>, “*apapa*” “*Mampɔ*” and the rest, which the analysis did not cover because they [the words] are not verbs. This practice supports Osei-Tutu (2008), who suggests that so many synonyms exist in SP because each group of speakers [student group] brings in their own “slang items” (p.98). In EPC Mawuko Girls’ Senior High School, for instance, such items are leisurely referred to as “Mawuko Lexicon”. The addition of peculiar items and “lexicon” gives SP different lexical item that later constitute dialects of the same code. This shows that SP is growing and is becoming stabilized.

We must, however, be quick to add that those characteristics of a youth language under discussion here are mostly associated with the male youth as the literature available suggests. Kiessling and Mous (2004), for instance, observe that the role played by boys in the formation and use of youth languages is more dominant than that of girls (p.317). While this may not be entirely true in some circumstances, we can for now accept this with caution in the case of SP. It is true that SP was initiated by boys but that young women are encroaching on the code, if not taking it over. My study population [all girls] speaks a variety of SP whose vocabulary items are peculiar to their milieu. As indicated by the data and its analysis, SP spoken by the study population in this study has

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<sup>7</sup> *Coma*”: banku [a local heavy carbohydrate meal made of maize and cassava flour served in the school canteen. Students doze off in class after taking this meal]. “*Apapa*”: toilet. “*Mampɔ*”: BIHECO

developed to the extent that it is has benefitted fully from a TMA analysis of its verbal group based on features identified by creolists worldwide. Though the study is not quantitative enough to measure the extent of SP's spread among teenage female speakers, there is enough evidence that SP, in this case, is beginning to lose its feature as a code for only the male youth. This is corroborated in the study of SP by Pipkins (2004), Rupp (2013) and Dako (2013b).

Pipkin (2004), for one, has conducted a research in Cape Coast. She worked with 60 student respondents from 3 schools: one mixed school, one boys' school and one girls' school in that municipality. In Wesley Girls' High School [a girls' school], she found that, 12 out of 20 respondents [all girls] accounting for 60% admitted to speaking SP (p. 24). In Ghana National College, (a mixed school), 7 out of 10 female respondents, representing 70% said they spoke SP. This was about the first time such high numbers of female speakers in an SP survey were recorded.

Considering bilingualism and its measurement as tricky, there are a few questions to be asked. Pipkins' (2004) female respondents could be "productive bilinguals", "passive bilinguals", "emerging bilinguals"; or even "infant bilinguals" but are all lumped together as bilingual SP girls (Baker & Collin, 2011, p.3). The high figures used in referring to SP girls could have been broken down.

Though the survey is silent on how the respondents were selected for the survey [as

regards the sampling methods of that quantitative survey, and the high figures notwithstanding], some findings of Pipkins' in a way corroborate earlier positions when she states that the girls did not speak SP among themselves. The SP girls in that survey said they spoke it in order to fit into male company, and this is not different from what Dako (2014) and Taiwiah (2008) have earlier discovered.

Rupp (2013), also surveying three groups of students on the University of Cape Coast campus in 2012, posits that female students were speaking the code. The survey was, however, silent on whether the female speakers spoke the code among themselves or not. But for one thing it confirmed that many a female SP speaker uses the code to fit into male company, by speaking with mostly a boyfriend, with brothers or with male mates. In the case of Rupp the SP girls used the code to communicate with "illiterates/illiterate people" (p.17-18). Rupp's study population included three groups:

- i. 65 first year Arts students [35 males and 30 females]
- ii. 50 second/third year students Arts students [14 males and 35 females]
- iii. 76 biology students of different year groups [57 males and 17 females]

In all, she dealt with 191 students, [106 males and 85 females] the three groups had the following percentages representing females who were SP girls: 15%, 64% and 8% respectively (p.18). We shall therefore have a weighted average of 29% of her female study population as SP girls. Based on this outcome, Rupp (2013) asserts that SP was spreading among female speakers in an "increasing number of contexts" (p.13).

Dako (2013) is the major turning point as far as sociolinguistic research on SP is concerned. For the first time, a research work has openly acknowledged that young women were encroaching on the code once reserved for the masculine fraternity. The paper argues that the young women involved “speak the code in part to create identities for themselves” (p.217). Following Fairclough (1992), Dako, (2013a) argues that the new trend could be described as “democratization of discourse” (p.223). Other reasons cited are age, globalization, lack of competition with the male counterparts in SE, and many more. For one thing, since SP’s componential analysis of identity includes high school/tertiary education, it should not be too surprising that female university students are beginning to “encroach” on the use of SP because they live in the university community within which it is spoken. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995) describe this trend as a “habitual choice”, citing the instance of a typical suburban American high school girl’s decision to “become a popular Jock or rebellious Burnout” as a personal choice. Nortier (2001), cited in Kiessling and Mous (2004, p. 317-318) states: “when girls do show youth language features in their speech, they do so in *greater quantity*” [emphasis is mine]. This may not be exactly the case with Dako (2013a) who says “Only exceptionally did any respondent report the code in conversation with other females” (p. 225).

There is therefore the need for sociolinguistic research that establishes the evidence of intra girls’ group conversations conducted in SP. A quantitative methodology is most necessary to access the extent of spread this time at the senior high school level. The

explanation underlying such findings will be to find out what the girls do with SP at the pre-tertiary level. Since the emergence of SP in prestigious senior high schools some decades ago, much effort has been concentrated on how boys are using the language at that level. Since women come across as the custodians of the purest form of any code, it is expedient that a researcher look at SP among the female SHS students from grammatical, phonological, semantic and sociolinguistic angles. In part, this is the gap this research seeks to fill by looking at SP from a syntactic point of view by examining the verbal group in the SP of female Senior High school.

As indicated in the methodology, analysis in Chapter *Four and* the 30 pages of data are intra SP girls' conversation (See *APPENDIX A*).

## **1.11 METHODOLOGY**

### **OVERVIEW**

The purpose of this survey is to make a linguistic statement about a sociolinguistic phenomenon considered rare: the verbal group in the SP spoken among SHS girls. The approach to this study is purely scientific. This section is a discussion of the approach(es) and methods used in carrying out this study, and with reasons explaining why one method is paradigmatically preferred to another.

### **1.12 The Research Area**

The Evangelical Presbyterian Mawuko Girls' Senior High School, Ho is chosen for this

study for a number of reasons. In the first place, the school offers an ideal location for testing the existence of SP among girls since it is a girls' school. Knowing that SP is an Urban African Youth Language, Ho can be considered appropriate. Secondly, Dako's (2002a) assertion that the start of SP in Ghanaian boarding schools was more or less a daring attempt at deviancy was to be tested to find out if such deviancy could be found in a mission school. The third reason for choosing this school is its strict language policy that insists on the use of SE all the time.

At the time of the survey, the school had a population of 1,764. Out of this, 354 were day students while 1,410 were in the boarding house. At the same time, the school had about a hundred teachers of whom twenty taught at least one of the languages in the curriculum (English, Ewe & French). Five teachers in the Languages Department had post-graduate qualifications, whilst five more were studying for post-graduate qualifications in French or English. Mawuko students are noted for their taste for an impeccable rendition of Standard English, making them the Ho municipal debating champions over the years. In addition, the best municipal French students are always found in Mawuko, making the school the centre of attraction in the capital.

### **2.2.3 The Data: Sampling, Data Collection and Transcription**

Having taught for five years in EPC Mawuko Girls' Senior High School, the researcher has over the years many times heard the girls speak SP among themselves, especially during sports events. It was mainly girls on the football team who spoke the code

among themselves.

For the study, nine (9) girls aged between 15 and 25 were chosen from second and third year groups. The mode of selecting the girls for the survey was mainly by snowballing, based on a kind of “close-knit” type of “social network” (Milroy & Milroy, 2010, p.112). There were eight girls from the second year group and one from the third year group (see *Appendix B* for detailed information on participants). The girl from form three was able to invite eight girls from the second year group; obviously, all of them were friends. The imbalance was because the third year group was preparing feverishly for their external examination at the time of the survey.

The SP girls were asked to converse in SP, discussing topics that were of interest to the contemporary female teenage Senior High School student. The oldest girl in the group was captain; she manned the recording device since the researcher was not present during the conversations. The conversations were recorded on a *Samsung Galaxy Pocket* (android) mobile phone. They [conversations] were later transcribed, using quasi-Standard English spelling. The transcribed conversations were broken down into about one thousand and sixty (1,060) “gleanable” sentences and segments for analysis of the verbal group therein.

There are two transcription methods used. Pidgin data in the appendix of this document follow a quasi-Standard English spelling while examples in the analyses are phonemically transcribed. Other models of transcription like those of Gumperz, Jefferson and DuBois were not followed because the goal of the research was not sociolinguistic.

The interest was rather grammatical, so the focus was on the verbal group and the quasi-standard English model was thought adequate for the purpose.

#### **2.2.4 Theoretical Framework/Analysis**

Traditional grammar was adopted as the main theoretical framework, though others were referred to when and where necessary. The unique characteristics of traditional grammar informed this choice. In the first place, traditional grammar is a word-based grammar that begins its analysis from the word level and thus classifies words as categories and starts its analysis from the word level through to the sentence (LaPalombara, 1976, cited in Alduais, 2013, p.39).

Again, the choice of traditional grammar was based on its mode of grammatical unit naming method. In this case, mention is made of such terms as *subject*, *object* [direct/indirect], *complement* and so on, so that anybody with some education up to the basic level can identify with such terms (ibid). Since this research is purposed to benefit all researchers: linguists and non-linguists alike, the choice of school grammar with its universally familiar terminology was thought the most appropriate.

In gleaning the data, all the transcribed passages were broken down into about one thousand and sixty clauses and “gleanable” constituents, using the Microsoft Word software, 2010 edition. The “gleanable” constituents, however, did not follow any special order; the process was only meant to make verbal group identification and analyses easier. Thereafter, verbs were identified and described. Interpretation of the occurrence of verbal groups in the data was not a comparison with similar structures in

SE. Instead, the structures were described in their own rights as pertains in pidgins and creoles. The analysis, however, describes syntactically the occurrence of the verbal groups identifying them and showing their affinity to SE, some other pidgin or any of the *Kwa* languages spoken in Ghana.

SP data in the appendix is arranged in multiples of five lines (to the left) and the translations in SE to the right. Turns in conversation are marked by 'X', since the focus is a syntactic study of the verbal group and not pragmatics. The number of interlocutors in each segment of the data has been stated. Care has been taken to align the transcribed conversation and its translation as accurately as possible.

#### **2.2.5 Presentation of Data**

Each example of an SP sentence/segment in **Chapter Four** has four levels. The first level is the phonemic transcription of the pidgin data as found in *Appendix A*. There is a footnote attached to each first line, [in the analysis] indicating where that particular example can be located in the data.

The second line is a grammatical/syntactic description of the structures present in the example, followed by a literal translation of the pidgin statement, being the third line. The last line is the idiomatic translation of how the sentence can best be rendered in SE. If, however, the third line is logical in SE enough, no fourth line/idiomatic translation is provided. To a large extent, the sentences and segments are translated according to context.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF VERBS IN ENGLISH

#### Introduction

In this chapter, we take a look at the verb from a syntactic point of view. We examine the structure of the verb phrase: the order in which elements occur in the verb phrase, some of its functions and its complementation, as well as how it can be called upon to express tense, mood and modality.

#### 3.0 Verb Forms

Since this research is about verbs, it is important to list the forms a verb assumes and the function(s) of those forms in grammar. The regular English verb has five forms whilst an irregular one can have as many as eight or as few as three. These forms are looked at in this section.

- i. V (base)
- ii. V-s (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present)
- iii. V-ed1 (the simple past form)
- iv. V-ing (the present participle)
- v. V-ed2 (the past participle)

**i. V (base : *vote*)**

The **V** form of the verb is used variously as the following:

- a) all the present tense except 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular: I/you/we/they *vote*
- b) imperative: *Vote* early!
- c) subjunctive: We demand that the minister *vote* some money for that project.
- d) the infinitive: i. bare infinitive He cannot *vote* here.

ii. *to-infinitive*: She failed *to vote* them out.

**ii. V-s (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present: *votes*)**

This form of the verb functions as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense.

❖ He/She/It *pays*.

**iii. V-ed1 (the simple past form)**

This form of the verb has the following uses: the past simple form of the verb. In regular verbs, it is formed by adding *-d/ed* to the base form of the verb. E.g.

❖ We **voted** for him last year.

**iv. V-ing (The present participle)**

The V-ing form of the verb has the following functions:

a) progressive aspect (**be + V-ing**)

E.g. Indonesia **was voting** in a crucial election.

b) used in *-ing* participle clauses

E.g. **Voting** earlier than his opponents, the incumbent was able to steal the show.

**v. V-ed2 (past participle)**

The V-ed2 form is seen in the following functions:

a) The perfective aspect (**have + V-ed2**) E.g.

❖ Indonesians **have voted** their first female president into office.

b) **passive voice (be + V-ed2)**

E.g. He **was voted** the BBC African Footballer of the Year by his fans.

c) **used in -ed participle clauses**

E.g. **Traumatized by the war**, the Jewish entrepreneur sought asylum in Alexandria.

### 3.2.0 Verb Complementation

Not all verbs perform the same function. Quirk & Greenbaum (2000), for instance, differentiate between auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs, the lexical verbs being verbs of the open class system. Some of these verbs have the property of complementation, yet, not all these lexical verbs are complemented in the same way. Some take complements; others take one or more objects whilst some combine both attributes of object and complement. On the other hand, some lexical verbs do not require any form of complementation at all.

The type and number of complementation present in a given clause is determined by the “potential” of the verb phrase in that clause (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.37). Based on the type of complementation a verb accepts, we shall in this chapter discuss lexical verbs under the following categories: *copula*, *transitive* and *intransitive*. For the purpose of this study, we shall in this chapter limit ourselves to simple verbs and not multi-word and idiomatic verbs. In addition, our verb phrase/ verbal group here is the finite one.

#### 3.2.1 Copula Verbs

Copulas, variously named as *linking*, *equative* and *copulative* are those categories of lexical verbs that operate the Subject + Verb + Complement (SVC) structure in English (Eastwood, 2002; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1999; Thakur, 2011, Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000; Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 37). The complement referred here is the

subject complement which, occurring after the copula, refers back to the subject by describing, identifying or characterizing it (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 85; Kolln, 1994, p. 33). This is distinct from the object complement (See 3.3.4).

The subject complement is realized by three categories of grammatical units coming either in the form of

- i. *an adjective/adjectival group,*
- ii. *a noun/nominal group*
- iii. *an adjunct*

(Eastwood, 2002; Quirk et al 1999).

#### **i. Adjectival Complementation**

The adjectival complementation may be a single adjective or an adjective phrase as we have in the following examples.

- ❖ The stools *are* dirty.
- ❖ The baby *waxed* great and mighty.

In adjectival complementation, the adjective/adjectival phrase is said to be in a predicative position (Aarts, 2001, p. 33).

#### **ii. Nominal Complementation**

The nominal elements complementing a copula range from a simple noun/noun phrase to

a noun clause. They perform same roles as outlined in *Section 3.2.1*.

Eg.

- ❖ His name *is* Jude. (A simple noun complementation)
- ❖ Karen *is* a respected sculptor. (A noun phrase complementation)
- ❖ Billson *became* the lawyer whom everyone respected. (A noun clause complementation)

### iii. The Adjunctive Complementation

The adjunctive complementation occurs with space adjuncts (Quirk et al 1999, p.55). In this case, the complementing space adjunct becomes an obligatory element of the clause. We state here that the adjunct's complementing role is towards the subject of the clause, and not a modification of the verb phrase (Quirk et al 1999, p. 1171).

- ❖ I *am* in my final semester.
- ❖ The money *was* nowhere to be found.

## 3.2.2 Types of Copula Verbs

Of the copulas, a distinction is made between the current/stative copulas and the resulting/dynamic copulas (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 353, Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 88; Quirk et al 1999, p. 1172).

### i. Current/Stative Copula Verbs

Current/stative copula verbs describe a particular state of being that is attributable to the

subject of the clause. They, in this way, describe the current state of the subject. The following copula verbs are employed to express the subject's state of being: *be, appear, look, seem, smell, sound, taste, remain, keep* (ibid). E.g.

- ❖ Bernice is a spinster. (be)
- ❖ His name remained Jovinian. (remain)

## ii. Resulting/Dynamic Copula Verbs

This subcategory of copula verbs link the subject to the outcome of a process, or the result of a transformation. The implication of the choice of this type of copula is that the subject has undergone some change or still is in the process of transformation. Some of the verbs in this category are: *become, prove, turn, go, grow, run, wax, spring* (ibid).

- ❖ The river turned gold in the sunset. (turn)
- ❖ The meat surprisingly went bad. (go)

### 3.3.0 Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb admits a direct object or two, which may or may not come with a complement (Quirk, & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 358). The direct object may refer to a person, place, event, or a thing, and this can syntactically be realized mainly by a noun phrase, a finite clause or a non- finite clause (Downing & Locke, 2006, p .95; Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 358). Transitive verbs are those that when they appear in the active voice can be changed into the passive. We shall in this section discuss transitive verbs according to the following sub-classifications: **monotransitive**, **ditransitive** and **complex-transitive**.

### 3.3.1 Monotransitive Verbs

A monotransitive verb carries two arguments: one being the subject and the other its direct object upon which the action in the verb falls. The direct object thus performs the affective role in the sentence (Greenbaum, 1996). As the name suggests, the monotransitive takes only one object (Thakur, 2011, p. 55). As indicated earlier, the direct object can be a person, an object, a place etc.

### 3.3.2 Complementation of the Monotransitive Verb

The monotransitive verb may have any of the following types of complementation and clause structure.

#### i. Nominal Complementation (V+ NG)

In this structure, a nominal group (noun, pronoun, noun phrase, etc) complements the verbal group. Eg

- ❖ **Did** he **eat** his meal already?
- ❖ Foli **will be appointed** a new deputy.

#### ii. That- Finite Clause Complementation (V+ *finite that-clause*)

This type of direct object is a finite clause which comes after the verb phrase to complement it. The following types of complementation are possible. E.g.

- ❖ He did not believe (**that**) **we were wrong**.
- ❖ I suspected (**that**) **he was a gangster**.

**iii. Wh- Finite Clause Complementation (V+ finite wh-clause)**

In this case, our direct object is a finite **wh-clause** that comes after the verb phrase to play the affective role therein. E.g.

- ❖ He **taught** what we needed to know.
- ❖ I **confessed** why I did wrong.

**iv. Non-Finite Clause Complementation (V+non-finite to-infinitive)**

A non-finite clause like a *to- infinitive* clause is also capable of complementing a monotransitive verb. E.g.

- ❖ She **wants** to sing.
- ❖ **Do you want** to smoke?

**v. Non-Finite Clause Complementation (V + non-finite V-ing)**

In some given cases, the V-ing non-finite clause acts as a direct object.

- ❖ We **did not enjoy** skiing.
- ❖ I **prefer** going for a walk.

### 3.3.3 Ditransitive Verbs

A ditransitive verb is a three-place verb, or it carries three arguments. One of the arguments is the subject of the verb and the other two being the objects. Between the two objects, one is a direct object and the other being the indirect object. Each object in the clause is a nominal. The indirect object comes before the direct object in the clause. The direct object receives the direct action of the verb whilst the indirect object is the one

to which/whom or for whom/what the action in the verb is performed, and is seen performing the recipient or beneficiary role (Greenbaum, 1996, p .73). These are few examples of ditransitive verbs: *write, tell, cook, send, buy, find, spare, make etc.* E.g.

- ❖ The DJ **played** the children/ *the latest song*.
- ❖ Your father **asked** me */numerous questions*.

### 3.3.4 The Complex-Transitive

The complex transitive verb accepts one direct object that is complemented. The object complement can be a nominal or an adjectival. The direct object represents a person, an object or some other entity and its complement only qualifies, describes or adds some additional information in the form of an attribute(s) (Thakur 2011, p .56).

#### i. Adjectival Objective Complementation

The adjectival objective complementation is not any different from the subject complement in its syntactic form. It is an adjective or adjective phrase, but not a clause.

- ❖ He **made** our nation/ great and strong.
- ❖ **She painted** her face /green.

#### ii. Nominal Objective Complementation

Being a nominal objective complement, the nominal group ranges from a simple noun phrase to a complex noun clause, coming after a complex-transitive verb. The following examples illustrate this. E.g.

They **made** Ralph/ chief.

They **made** Ralph/ their leader.

They **rendered** Ralph/ a chief whose authority carried no weight.

### 3.3.5 Intransitive Verbs

When a verb occurs without complementation yet is able to bring out meaning as in Subject + Predicator (+Adjunct), we have as intransitive the verb in that clause (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p .14, Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 85; Quirk et al 1999, p. 1169). In this case, an intransitive verb occurs without an object or complement, but may have an optional adjunct to modify its verb (phrase) as may occur in the following examples.

- ❖ Brad Paisley and his new friend **danced**.
- ❖ All the trees in the garden **fell**.

Yet Thakur (2011), Quirk et al (1999) and Downing and Locke (2006) agree that there are different types of intransitive verbs depending on their semantic implications in given sentences. These sources refer to some intransitive verb as “genuine” or “pure” intransitive verbs. These pure/genuine intransitive verbs do not in any case take any complementation. These are verbs like *arrive, appear, die, digress, fall, happen, rise, matter, come, go, lie* and *wait*.

We therefore see such examples as

- ❖ We **waited**.
- ❖ The train **will arrive** soon.
- ❖ **Did** his opinion **not matter**?

These verbs cannot in any given sense be passivized because they are referred to as “genuinely” or “purely” passive.

On the other divide are verbs that can be used either transitively or intransitively in some given conditions. These verbs can occur with a direct object but will not undergo any change in meaning even if the direct object is elided (Quirk et al 1999, p. 1169). The following examples explain.

- ❖ He **smokes** (cigarettes).
- ❖ She **was reading** (a novel) then.

In intransitive use, we assume that these verbs above have understood objects.

The other kind of intransitive verbs, when they occur, have a different semantic meaning between the subject and its object. In some cases, the subject is rather an affective participant in the clause, yet when it occurs as transitive, the subject is indeed agentive. We consider the following examples.

- ❖ The application closed / Mary closed the application
- ❖ The screen-saver has changed twice / Mariam changed the screen-saver twice.

Other verbs in this category include: *begin, drop, move, close, unite, work, increase, turn*.

### **3.4.0 Tense, Aspect, Mood and Modality**

This section takes a look at how the verbal group is summoned to express such features as tense, aspect, mood and modality in English. Though there are many grammatical units for expressing some of these, our discussion will be limited to only the verbal group. Again, our discussion will be limited to only finite verbal groups.

### 3.4.1 Tense and Aspect

Tense in grammar marks the time of the action/state expressed by the verb phrase. Time in itself is a universal non-linguistic concept which has three distinctions: past, present and future (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 40). All three concepts are products of the verb phrase and are realized in grammar through tense and aspects.

By tense, we refer to the correlation between the form of the verb phrase and the concept of time, or the location of a situation within a time frame (Quirk & Greenbaum 2000, p. 40; Greenbaum, 1996, p. 253). Going by the inflected form of the verb, English has only two tenses: past

(**looked**) and present (**look**), since the English verb has no inflection for marking the future (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 353; Greenbaum, 1996, p. 253). Because of this limitation of the English verb, auxiliary verbs (primary and modal) and sometimes time adjuncts are used to express future time in English. However, since our discussion focuses on the form of the verb in expressing tense and aspect, we shall focus on the verbal group only, leaving out time adjuncts and other peripherals. We shall also avoid discussing the uses of the various tenses and aspects in this thesis.

### 3.4.2 Tense

We can say that tense as a “grammatical term” describes the form of the verb phrase in connection with the meaning of the sentence (DeCarrico, 1986, p. 667). We shall then say that there are two tenses: the present and past, in addition to the future time. In addition to the aspects which refer to the way the verbal action is experienced and

expressed rather than its location in time, we shall also identify the following aspects: the perfect(ive) and the progressive

/continuous (Quirk & Greenbaum 2000, p. 40; Greenbaum, 1996, p. 226).

<u>THE PRESENT TENSE</u>	<u>THE PAST TENSE</u>	THE FUTURE TIME
Simple Present	Simple Past	Simple Future
Present Continuous	Past Continuous	Future Continuous
Present Perfect	Past Perfect	Future Perfect
Present Perfect Continuous	Past Perfect Continuous	Future Perfect Continuous

**Table 3.1**

We therefore have the above tenses and aspect typified in table 3.1.

### 3.4.3 The Structure of the Verb Phrase in Tense and Aspect

#### i. The Present Tense

##### a) *Present Simple*

The verb phrase in the present simple tense comes in two forms: the base form (V) when the subject is anything but the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and V-s when the subject is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (Eastwood, 2002).

The following are examples:

- ❖ I **smile** at him always.
- ❖ You **smile** at him always.

❖ He/She/It **smiles** at us always.

❖ They **smile** at us always.

In some cases, the verb phrase assumes a [dummy] *do* support where the auxiliary “**do**” acts as operator in the present simple verb phrase. In this case, the operator expresses concord and tense other than the main verb which now is an infinitive form (V) occurring after the operator. E.g.

❖ I **do smile** at him always.

❖ You **do smile** at him always

❖ He/She/It **does smile** at us always.

❖ They **do smile** at us always.

b) *Present Continuous Aspect*

The present continuous may be realized by **be (present) + V-ing**

❖ I **am smiling**.

❖ You **are smiling**.

❖ He/She/It **is smiling**.

❖ We **are smiling**.

❖ They **are smiling**.

c) *Present Perfect Aspect*

We can express the present perfect by the following combination: **have (present) + V-ed2**

- ❖ I **have smiled** at him.
- ❖ You **have smiled** at him.
- ❖ He/She/It **has smiled** at us.
- ❖ They **have smiled** at us always.

d) *Present Perfect Continuous Aspect*

The structure of the verb phrase in the *present perfect continuous* may have the following string:

**have (present) + been + V-ing.**

- ❖ I **have been smiling** at him.
- ❖ You **have been smiling** at him.
- ❖ He/She/It **has been smiling** at us.
- ❖ They **have been smiling** at us always.

ii. **The Past Tense**

a) *Simple Past*

This is realized by the **V-ed1** form of the verb. In regular verbs, **-d/-ed** is added to the base form of the verb. The form of **V-ed1** among irregular verbs varies from verb to verb. In the verb **be** for instance, there are two forms for the past tense: **was** and **were**.

- ❖ I **smiled/was/ate**
- ❖ You **smiled/were/ate**
- ❖ He/She/It **smiled/were/ate**
- ❖ We **smiled/were/ate**
- ❖ They **smiled/were/ate**

b) *Past Continuous Aspect*

The past continuous aspect is realized by the following: **be (past) + V-ing**

- ❖ I **was reading**
- ❖ You **were reading.**
- ❖ He/She/It **was reading.**
- ❖ We **were reading.**
- ❖ They **were reading.**

c) *Past Perfective Aspect*

The past perfect is realized through the following verb phrase structure: **have (past) + V-ed2**

- ❖ I **had eaten**.
- ❖ You **had eaten**.
- ❖ He/She/It **had eaten**.
- ❖ We **had eaten**.
  
- ❖ They **had eaten**.

d) *Past Perfect Continuous*

We express the past perfect continuous in a verb phrase structure as seen in the following:

*have (past) + been + V-ing*

- ❖ I had been resting.
- ❖ You had been resting.
- ❖ He/She/It had been resting.
- ❖ We had been resting.
- ❖ They had been resting.

iii. *The Future Time*

Because of the inflectional handicap of the English verb as discussed above, there are alternative ways of expressing the future time other than an inflection on the verb phrase.

We shall explore this from two perspectives: the auxiliary factor and non- auxiliary factor in the expression of future time.

a) **Simple Future**

*Auxiliary Verbs in Expressing Future Time*

The two commonest auxiliaries used in expressing future time in English are the modal auxiliaries: **will** and **shall**. The modal **will** may be used with all three persons:

- ❖ I **will see** about that.
  
- ❖ You **will see** about that.
  
- ❖ He/She/It **will see** about that.
  
- ❖ We **will see** about that.
  
- ❖ They **will see** about that.

The case of **shall** is a bit different. This modal is under many domains used with only the first person (singular and plural). E.g.

- ❖ I/we **shall see** about that.

However, in legal settings and some other domains, the modal **shall** is used with the other two persons but with a technical meaning. E.g.

- ❖ You **shall bear** the consequences.
  
- ❖ He/She/It **shall bear** the consequences
  
- ❖ They **shall bear** the consequences

Aside of these, DeCarrico (1986) observes that both deontic and epistemic modal verbs: **should, ought to, be able to, may, might could** and **must** can be used in expressing future time.

*Deontic Modals*

**should +V** : Supper **should be** ready by then.

**ought to+ V**: He **ought to arrive** by 8pm.

**be+ able to+ V**: We hope our national team **is able to make** it to the top.

*Epistemic Modals*

**may +V**: Meals **may be** ready by noon.

**might +V**: The mails **might arrive** late.

**could +V**: He **could well be** the next Olympic champion.

**must +V**: Their report **must reach** me tomorrow.

Another way the future time is realized is through the use of some marginal auxiliary verbs listed below. (Quirk et al, 1999, p. 236, 137).

**be about to + V**: He **is about to retire**.

**be going to + V**: I **am going to telephone** your parents

**be due to + V** : The Pope **is due to celebrate** his first Mass.

**be supposed to + V**: He **is supposed to correct** his children.

**be destined to + V**: Paintsil **is destined to start** the programme.

**be to+ V**: He **is to call** here first.

**be going to + V:** That scandal **is going to dent** his political

image etc

### **Non-Modal Future**

In this case, the present simple form of the verb (**V**) can connote the future time. In

some instances, the verb phrase is **do+ V**.

- ❖ Titanic **sets** sail in five minutes.
- ❖ When **does** he **arrive** here?

Sometimes, the present continuous form with a time adjunct can be used to express future time. Though the structure of the verb phrase is the present continuous (be+V-ing), the meaning is future time. The following examples explain.

- ❖ Parliament **is going** on recess next week.
- ❖ New sales **outlets are** opening soon.

### **b) Future Continuous**

The future continuous time is expressed with some of this verb phrase

structures: will/shall+ be+ V-ing.

- ❖ I **shall be listening** to music.
- ❖ You **will be listening** to music.
- ❖ He/She/It **will be listening** to music.

❖ We **shall be listening** to music.

❖ They **will be listening** to music.

**be + V-ing (the non-modal future time)**

The seminar **is lasting** for three

hours.

The band **is playing** all night long.

**c) Future Perfect**

The future perfect is realized by : will + have

+V-ed2 The president **will have seen** his

deputy then.

School **will have been on** vacation by next July.

**d) Future Perfect Continuous**

We may realize the future perfect continuous by the following verb phrase structure:

**would/should + have +been +V-ing**

❖ We **should have been vacating** tomorrow.

❖ Kenyon **should have been working** now.

### **1.13 3.5.0 Mood**

“Mood” is a grammatical system which is a feature and expression of the verbal group. Greenbaum (1996) distinguishes three moods for English as follows: *indicative*, *imperative* and *subjunctive*. These three moods patterns will be examined into some detail in this chapter since they form the parameters for our analysis of the verbal group of female Student Pidgin (SP) in Chapter Four.

#### **3.5.1 The Indicative Mood**

The indicative mood covers the usage of verbs in the *declarative*, *interrogative* and the *exclamations*. All three aspects of the indicative mood are discussed into some detail in this chapter with emphasis on the pattern of their verbal groups.

##### **a) The Declarative**

The declarative basically declares a condition or state in nature either in the active voice or passive voice. The verb phrase in the passive voice, however, is more complex than one in the active.

In the declarative, the subject is always present and is placed before the verb/verb phrase (Quirk 2000, p. 191). In some cases, informal usage sees the elision of the subject but such cannot be confused with the imperative because the utterance does not issue a command as an imperative does (Quirk 2000, p. 253).

Grammarians distinguish seven basic models of the declarative sentence as

follows. SVA, SVC, SVO, SVOA, SVOC, SVOOA & SV

The A(adjunct) is the most mobile element in the sentence structure but at the same time happens to be an optional element in some cases while S and V are the most obligatory elements.

### **The Verbal Group in the Declarative Sentence**

Our discussion here will consider the verb phrase as either a single finite verb or a head verb (main verb) occurring with one or more auxiliaries. The auxiliaries precede the main verb which is the obligatory element in it. This section discusses into some detail the order of elements in the verb phrase. Again, we restrict the discussion to finite verbal groups only.

The auxiliaries (primary and modal) accompanying the main verb in the verb phrase are the dependents of the main verb (Huddleston, 1984, p. 128). In some cases, there can be a lineup of up to four auxiliaries accompanying the main verb. The following verb phrase types are possible:

MV	(He <i>taught</i> us)
aux + MV	(He <i>has taught</i> us)
aux+aux+MV	(He <i>has been teaching</i> us)
aux+aux+aux+MV	(He <i>could have been teaching</i> us)

aux+aux+aux+aux+MV (We *could have been being taught* by him)

Auxiliary verbs in a verb phrase are made to follow a relatively “rigid order” as we find in Table 3.2 (Huddleston, 1984, p. 130).

	Modal Aux	Perfect Aux	Progressive Aux	Passive Aux	Main verb
1					takes
2				is	taken
3			is	-	taking
4			is	being	taken
5		has			taken
6		has		been	taken
7		has	been	-	taken
8		has	been	being	taken
9	could	-	-	-	take
10	could			be	taken
11	could		be		taken
12	could		be	being	taken
13	could	have			taken
14	could	have		been	taken
15	could	have	been		taking
16	could	have	been	being	taken

**Table 3.2**

There is also a prescribed form of inflection a main verb takes when it comes after some auxiliary verbs. These are indicated in the table below. The form of the verb in the verb phrase is discussed under tense and aspects. This is shown in *Table 3.3*.

	Auxiliary type	Inflectional form of the following verb coming after auxiliary
1	modal	Base form
2	perfect	<i>-en</i> form
3	progressive	<i>-ing</i> form
4	passive	<i>-en</i> form

**Table 3.3**

#### **b) Interrogatives**

Interrogatives to a large extent are used to illicit information, make requests, suggestions, offers etc (Eastwood, 2002, p. 25). In orthography, one distinguishing feature about the interrogative is its end marker: the question mark. Quirk & Greenbaum (2000) on their part categorize interrogatives into three major groups, based on the type of answer they demand. These include:

1. those that expect only an affirmation or rejection ( YES/NO question);
2. those that expect a reply supplying an item of information (WH-question);
3. those that expect as the reply one of two or more options presented in the question (Alternative questions).

### 1. YES/NO Questions

These questions are usually realized according to a fixed syntactic order in which the operator is fronted; that is the operator is placed before the subject (subject-operator inversion) thereby giving the sentence a rising tone. E.g.

- ❖ **Has she seen** your parents yet?
- ❖ **Could she have been detained** by the police?

In modern English grammar, if the declarative form of the interrogative has no auxiliary item in the verb phrase to function as operator, the auxiliary “do” may be used and even in negative constructions.

- ❖ She works here/ Does she not work here?
- ❖ She worked here/Didn't she work here?

### Declarative Questions

An exceptional type of the YES/NO interrogative is the declarative interrogative. As the

name suggests, this type of interrogative is identical in form to a declarative yet has a question mark as its end stop marker which gives the sentence a rising tone. As characteristic of this type of question, they are casual in tone, expecting a yes/no answer as a forgone conclusion (Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000, p. 195).

The verbal group in this type of interrogative is nucleated, following the Subject + Verb (SV) order. E.g.

- ❖ You **have won** at the poker/ You **have won** at the poker?
- ❖ I **look** like my father/I **look** like my father?

## 2. WH-questions

These are interrogatives formed with the following wh- words that are variously referred to as

*Q-words* or interrogatives (Huddleston, 1984, p. 366; Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000, p. 196-197).

*who, whom, whose, what, which, when, where, how, why*

The WH-question in some cases observes the subject-operator inversion rule as can be seen in the following examples.

- ❖ What **does** he want?
- ❖ Who **could** she **have been tracking**?

There are also some instances where the wh-element follows a Subject + Verb (SV) order, where the wh- element acts as subject of a clause.

- ❖ Who **stole** my wristwatch?
  
- ❖ Who **has been worrying** the kittens?

There are instances where the wh- element and a final preposition in the clause form a question, eliding the rest of the elements in that case. This clause is what Quirk & Greenbaum (2000) call an abbreviated question. E.g.

- ❖ What about?
  
- ❖ Where to?
  
- ❖ Who by?

### 3. Alternative Questions

Alternative questions can again be looked at from two angles, judging by their composition. The first category resembles a YES/NO question and the other a WH-question.

- ❖ Who is coming for supper? Francis or Francisca?
  
- ❖ Will he marry Esenam or Kafui?

### 4. Exclamatory Questions

This question type is a question in form but an exclamation in function. Our interest here is in the form of the sentence, and more specifically the nature of the verbal group. The

verb phrase in the exclamatory interrogative as Quirk and Greenbaum (2000) describes it aligns itself with the *subject- operator inversion* module. It is used in inviting a listener's opinion on something the speaker has some positive opinion or feelings about (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 199).

The commonest type of exclamatory questions have the subject operator inversion with both operator and subject usually receiving emphatic stress. The exclamatory question is marked by an exclamation mark. E.g.

❖ **Are** we not independent!

❖ **Hasn't** she **watched** out for a signal!

#### **b. The Exclamative**

Exclamative sentences are marked by the wh- words, especially *how* and *what*, how being more characteristic of formal exclamatives (Aarts, 200, p. 61 Huddleston, 1984, p. 373). The end marker of an exclamative is the exclamative mark. Quirk and Greenbaum (2000) observe that in the exclamative there is no subject-operator inversion, consequently, the sentence follows the Subject-Verb (SV) order. E.g.

❖ What slender fingers she has!

❖ How splendid she looks!

We intentionally leave out the rhetorical question because its verbal group does not follow a prescribed rule relevant to this study.

### 3.5.2 The Imperative Mood

Kolln (1994) sees the imperative as a sentence and/or a verb in the form of a command. It therefore stands to reason to view each of the following units: “**Leave**” or “**Eat your meal**” as an imperative sentence where in both cases the subject is the understood “You”. The verb in the imperative mood is the base (V) form of the verb, conjugated according to a second person subject (Eastwood, 2002, p. 21). The imperative form can be used to give orders, warnings, reminders, good wishes, etc. In most cases, the imperative form appears without a subject, because it has an understood second person (singular or plural) as its subject. However the phenomenon does not apply to all imperatives: some do have subjects.

In this section, we shall discuss the imperative mood under the following categories:

1. imperative without subject
2. imperative with subject
3. “let” imperatives
4. “do”/persuasive imperatives
5. negative imperatives

## 1. The Imperative without Subject

This is the commonest form of the imperative/command. Its distinguishing features are that it has no subject and it has the imperative finite verb form (the base form of the verb {V }, without marking for number or tense(Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 200). The following are examples.

(S)V: Sing. (V)

(S)VC: Be attentive. (VC)

(S)VOA: Pound it in a bigger mortar. (VOA)

(S)VOOA: Give me my money now. (VOOA)

(S)VOC: Wipe your mustache clean. (VOC)

The verb in the imperative, Quirk and Greenbaum (2000) note, is largely restricted as regards tense, aspect, voice, and modality. Grammarians say there is no indication of the perfective aspect, in the imperative. However, the imperative rarely occurs in both the progressive and the passive. In the progressive for instance, there is a verb phrase with **be** in its base form acting as the operator (be + V-ing) as can be seen in the following example (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 200).

- ❖ Be blending the fruits.
- ❖ Be getting prepared for another showdown.

One can also see a **V-ing** declarative occurring with the structure: **get +V-ing**.

- ❖ Get going.
- ❖ Get moving.

In the passive imperative, the *get passive* occurs with a structure occurring as follows

**get +V -ed2.**

- ❖ Get lost.
- ❖ Get prepared

## 2. Imperative with Subject

We shall again make a distinction between imperatives which record the presence of the understood/implied subject (the 2<sup>nd</sup> person: you) and those that have the 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject (Greenbaum 1996, p. 50 ; Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 201).

Imperatives with a 2nd person subject can have the subject occurring either before the verb

phrase or after it. In this case, the reflexive form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pronoun (yourself/yourselves) is placed after the verb as we have in the following sentences.

- ❖ **Be** yourself
- ❖ **Help** yourselves

The other type of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject in the imperative occurs with the subject coming before the verb as in the following examples.

- ❖ You come here.

- ❖ You mind you own business.

When the 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject occurs in the imperative, it comes before the verb, a feature that distinguishes it from the vocatives (ibid). E.g.

- ❖ Somebody help me.
- ❖ Everybody sit down.
- ❖ Dela and Esenam stand at ease.

### 3. Imperatives with “let”

When an imperative is formed with *let*, it has either the 1<sup>st</sup> person or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person as its subject (Greenbaum 1996, p. 50; Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000, p. 202). In this case both subject and verb are preposed by the introductory imperative marker “*let*” E.g.

- ❖ Let them answer for the loss.
- ❖ Let Chichi begin the job early.

The observation is that the designated subject here (as in pronoun) is the objective form of the given pronoun.

### 5. “Do”/Persuasive Imperatives

There is a type of the imperative that seems to tone down the harshness of the message in the command by preposing the introductory imperative marker “*do*” before the verb (Greenbaum 1996, p. 50; Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000, p. 202). This kind of imperative

is rather persuasive and insistent in tone. Here are examples

- ❖ Do have another beer.
- ❖ Do let us meet again.

## 6. Negative Imperatives

There do exist negative imperatives as well. In forming the negative of an imperative, **do not**, **don't** or **not** is added to the positive form of the statement. We have in the following negative imperative examples.

- ❖ Come in/ do not come in
- ❖ Let us debate this/ let us not debate this.

### 3.5.3 The Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood is a formal language that expresses a kind of formality, necessity, a demand or such like (Eastwood, 2002, p. 322). Both Eastwood and Quirk & Greenbaum (2000) concur that subjective moods can be differentiated according to the present and the past. The distinction borders on the tense of the verbal groups in the clause. By this, the present subjunctive has the base form of the verb (**V**) which is not conjugated according to person, tense or number. The past subjunctive on the other hand has the past form of **be** (*were*) as the obligatory element in the subjunctive.

#### a) The Present Subjunctive

The present subjunctive exists in two kinds: (1) the mandative subjunctive and (2) the

formulaic subjunctive. As indicated above the form of the verb in these two subjunctives is the base form.

### 1. The Mandative Subjunctive

This type of subjunctive occurs in a *that- clause* and has only one form of the verb (**V**) for all persons, even if the verb occurs with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular subject. In this usage, the verb occurs in a subordinate *that- clause* when the main clause has an element of recommendation, resolution, demand etc expressed with the following verbs (*demand, require, move, suggest, insist, ask, propose, etc +that...*). The meaning of the mandative subjunctive is “formal and rather legalistic in style” (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000). The following are examples.

- ❖ We demand that both ministers **be summoned** before parliament.
- ❖ I suggest that Kofi **leave** the hacienda with immediate effect.
- ❖ We recommend that the commission **apologize** to the electorate.

In less formal contexts, however, the mandative subjunctive is expressed with either “*to infinitive*” or *should + infinitive* (ibid). Examples follow.

- ❖ It has become important that he stay on the bench. (formal)
- ❖ It has become important that he should stay on the bench. (informal)
- ❖ It has become important for him to stay on the bench. (informal)

## 2. The Formulaic Subjunctive

This type of subjunctive is so named because it is a fixed expression that must be learnt and used in a certain way without altering the form of the verb phrase, irrespective of the subject (Quirk & Greenbaum, 2000, p. 51; Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 196)

Such idiomatic expressions abound in English, some of which are the following.

*Come what may....*

*God save the queen,*

*Heaven have mercy on you both*

*Suffice it to say...*

*Heaven forbid..*

*Far be it from me..*

*So be it....*

## B. The Past Subjunctive

The past subjunctive is also referred to as “‘were’ subjunctive” (ibid). Again, because of its use, it is described as “hypothetical” because it occurs in conditional and concessional clauses.

Here, the past form of the verb “**be**” (*were*) is used with 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and third person singular subjects to express a hypothetical condition. By so doing, the concord rule of the past form of **be** conjugated for the first person singular and third person

singular subjects is broken for the subjunctive “were”. The following sentences illustrate its hypothetical use.

- ❖ She spoke as if she **were** the first lady. / She acts as if she were the queen.
- ❖ I worked as though I **were** her secretary. / I work as though I **were** her secretary

Also, the “were subjunctive” occurs in subordinate clauses coming after the putative verb “*wish*”.

- ❖ She wished the phone **were** hers.
- ❖ I wish I **were** married.

### 3.6.0 Modality

Modality is a “broad term” seen as a semantic category concerned with two types of judgments:

- (a) those typifying the factuality of a proposition called epistemic modality and
- (b) those with overtones of human control over the situation called deontic modality

(Quirk et al, 1999; Huddleston, 1989, Greenbaum, 1996.)

To a large extent, modality is expressed through the verb phrase; as Huddleston (1989) puts it, modality is a “kind of meaning characteristically expressed by modals”. There are, however, several ways other than through the verb phrase, by which modality is expressed in English. These other ways of expressing modality are through nouns, adjectives, and so on. Though these other ways exist by which modality is expressed,

our discussion in this thesis will be restricted to modality within the verb phrase. This restriction is mainly because of our focus in this thesis: the verbal group.

Besides, we shall be focusing on two forms of modality only: epistemic and deontic. We shall not include in this discussion modalities and subtypes as dynamic modality, alethic modality, boulemic modality, evidential modality etc.

### 3.6.1 Epistemic Modality

Epistemic modality is variously referred to as extrinsic modality (Crystal, 2004; Quirk et al, 1999) or modalization (Halliday, 1994). The use of epistemic modality evokes the sense of *possibility, necessity, prediction and certainty* (Palmer, 1990; Quirk et al, 1999). This type of modality as can be observed makes assertions about the probability of the truth-value of a proposition; we can therefore say that it deals more with a person's commitment to the truth- value.

Some grammarians have observed that the modality functions of English modals do overlap, making some modals perform both epistemic and deontic functions in given contexts. However, the following auxiliaries have been categorized as those mainly used to express epistemic modality:

*can/could, should, will/would, may/might, must and ought to*

- ❖ A child *should be fed* on a balanced diet. (necessity)
- ❖ Mr. Aido *must be* a wealthy politician (certainty)
- ❖ The minority in parliament *will block* the passage of the bill (possibility)

- ❖ Children *must be fed* on a balanced diet. (necessity)

### 3.6.2 Deontic Modality

With deontic modality, we are looking at what the root word of deontic in Greek postulates: “the science of duty” (Fintel, 2006). Consequently, the use of the deontic modality brings to mind the sense of duty and obligation. It is the same kind of modality variously labeled as *evaluative*, *intrinsic* and *subjective* (Givon, 2004; Crystal, 2004; Quirk et al, 1999).

The use of the deontic modality typifies the following: *permission*, *prohibition*, *obligation and volition*. E.g.

- ❖ School management *must do* something about the problem. (obligation)
- ❖ You *may turn on* your phones now. (permission)
- ❖ She says she *will phone* after the conference. (volition)
- ❖ The security men *must not be checking* our luggage. (prohibition)

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the Verbal Group (VG) in Student Pidgin (SP) in Mawuko Girls' SHS from a syntactic point of view. The composition and function of the verbal group per the data will be examined. The chapter does not make a comparison between the verbal group in SP and that in Standard English (SE). It simply describes the former in its own right.

#### 4.1.0 The Verbal Group in SP

Scholars like Egbe (1980) distinguish between two elements in the pidgin/creole verbal group:

(a) the preverbal marker and (b) the verb. Holm (2004) refers to the preverbal markers as words having “the outer form of auxiliary verbs” and are “related syntactically and semantically” to auxiliaries in the lexifying languages of the pidgins. In the literature, these markers are variously referred to as “preverbal markers” or “auxiliary verbs” (Holm, 2004; Romaine, 1988; Egbe, 1980; Dadzie & Omekwe, 1992).

The verb in pidgins and creoles corresponds to what Quirk and Greenbaum (2000) call “lexical verbs” in SE. Others refer to it as the main verb, the obligatory element or the headword of the verbal group (see *Table 3.2*).

For the rest of this discussion, all preverbal markers, except the negator “not,” are seen functioning as auxiliary verbs.

## 4.2.0 Order in the Verbal Group

Grammarians have prescribed a certain order in which verbal and preverbal elements need to be ordered in a verbal group. Even among auxiliary verbs, there is a “rigid order” followed by the elements in SE, for instance (Huddleston 1984, p. 130).

### 4.2.1 Order of Verbs in Declaratives

The situation is not any different in the verbal group of pidgins and creoles. Holm (1998), cited in Holm (2004, p. 176), prescribes the order of “tense and aspect markers in various creole and African languages.” Bickerton (1980) cited in Huber (1999) has also observed that “all markers are in preverbal position”. This, to some extent, is true as seen in the data being analyzed. Eg<sup>8</sup>

1. *ju go de spai jɔ ti:tfes*<sup>9</sup> (“go” and “dey” as auxiliary verbs)

2SGSUB IRR NPU spy DET

teachers “you will be spying your

teachers” “you will be watching

your teachers”

2. *dem no fit do am*<sup>10</sup> (“fit” as an auxiliary verb)

3SGSUB NEG ABL do 3SGOBJ

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<sup>8</sup> Pidgin data in the appendix of this document follow a quasi-Standard English spelling. Examples in the analyses are, however, phonemically transcribed.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, lines 074-075

<sup>10</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 303

“they not able do it”

“they are not able to do it”

3. *ju mən de: fɔ*<sup>11</sup> (“*mən*” as an auxiliary verb)

2SGSUB DEO COP sure

“you must be sure”

“you must be sure”

4. *ju fɔ tell jɔ ti:tfa*<sup>12</sup> (“*fɔ*” as an auxiliary verb)

2SGSUB DEO tell DET teacher

“you should tell your teacher”

“you should tell your teacher”

#### 4.2.2 Verb Order in Questions

In addition, the claim by Holm (2004) and Faraclas (1999) that there is the absence of subject- operator inversion in a pidgin/creole clause holds in my data. The same claim finds support in Eklund (1996) who observes that “all creoles have the same syntactic structure in questions as in statements”. As Holm (2004) puts it, the structure of pidgin questions are modelled on Yoruba and on (some) other Kwa languages, an assertion both Hyman (2000) and Ameka (2003) confirm about the structure of Kwa languages. Consequently, many of the interrogative sentences in SP follow what we shall call “declarative question” types (Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000, p. 195). [*See Declarative Questions*]

<sup>11</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 009

<sup>12</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 133

1. *dem no spai de gai?*<sup>13</sup>

3SGSUB NEG spy+past

DETguy “they not spy the guy?”

“did they not see the guy?”

2. *ju go pe: mai skul fi:s giv mi?*<sup>14</sup>

2SGSUB IRR pay 1SGPD school fees give 1SGOBJ

“you will pay my school fees give me?”

“will you pay my school fees for me?”

Even if a *wh*-question occurs, there is no subject operator inversion. The *wh*-element is simply placed before the declarative form of the sentence Eklund (1996).

3. *hav ju spai am?*<sup>15</sup>

how 2SGSUB spy+PAST 3SGOBJ

“how you spy it?”

“how did you see it?”

4. *wene ko:tf dem de tok ebaut?*<sup>16</sup>

wene-coach 3SGSUB NPU talk about

“which coach they are talking about?”

“which coach are they talking about?”

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<sup>13</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 284

<sup>14</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 022

<sup>15</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 001

<sup>16</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 282

5. *hwai ju tɔk so?*<sup>17</sup>  
 why 2SGSUB talk+ present so  
 “why you talk so?”  
 “why do you say that?”

### 4.2.3 Negation

When negating, the preverbal negator “no” comes before the first verb element of the verbal group as Huber (1999) has observed. However, Amoako’s (1992) and Dako’s (2002) assertion of the negator “*never*” occurring in SP does not hold in the data. With over one thousand and sixty (1,060) clauses analyzed, the negator “never” does not appear even once in the corpus.

1. *rɔ:liŋs diɛ i no fɔ:s-oo*<sup>18</sup>  
 Rawlings EMP 2SGSUB NEG force EMP  
 “Rawlings for him did not force-oo”  
 “Rawlings in particular did not do his best at all”
2. *dɛm no get ɛni dam*<sup>19</sup>  
 3PLSUB NEG get any dam  
 “they not get any dam”  
 “they do not have any am”

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<sup>17</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 094

<sup>18</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 111

<sup>19</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 114

3. *ju no go tʃɔp*<sup>20</sup> *sɔm?*<sup>21</sup>  
 2SGSUB NEG IRR chop some”  
  
 “you will not spend some?”  
  
 “won’t you spend some?”

### 4.3.0 Lexical Verbal Elements

The lexical verbal elements per the data come in two forms. There are the single orthographic word verb elements and the multi-word lexical verb elements, a pattern that resembles what pertains in Standard English as phrasal verbs (Eastwood, 2002; Downing & Locke, 2006; Quirk et al., 1999).

#### 4.3.1 Single Orthographic Word Verb Elements

Single orthographic word verb elements form the bulk of the verbal groups in the data. The following are examples.

1. *ju biz mi?*<sup>22</sup>  
 2SGSUB biz+PRESENT 1SGOBJ

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<sup>20</sup> “Chop” in the context does not refer to “eat.” The informants were talking about money.

<sup>21</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3 , lines 145-146

<sup>22</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2 , line 112

“you ask me?”

“do you ask me?”

2. *ju get de fɔ:mila ɔlrait*<sup>23</sup>

2SGSUB get+PRESENT DET formula alright

“you get the formula alright”

“you get/know the formula alright”

3. *de tins drɔp?*<sup>24</sup>

DET tin+PLU drop+PAST

“the things dropped?”

“did the things come?”

### 4.3.2 The Multi-Word Verbs

The multi-word verbs in the data are either phrasal verbs, which behave like single strand verbs or serial verbs. Serial verbs are thoroughly dealt with in *Section 4.4.0*. The data has the following examples of phrasal verbs.

*carry give, close down, comb tru, come out, cook give*<sup>25</sup>, *cry give, end up, go out, jay give, pay give, report give, sell give, stand against, talk about, tin up, tink about, vote give, work give,*

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<sup>23</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2 , line 085

<sup>24</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2 , line 012

<sup>25</sup> The Holm (2004) assertion that “give” assumes the meaning of the preposition “to” or “for” holds in SP.

*sor give, etc*

1. *enitaim dem tin ɔp-aa*<sup>26</sup>

anytime 3PLSUB tin up INT

“anytime they tin up at all”

“anytime they get up/stand up at all”

2. *ai no no: de mɔni we: dem go kari giv am*<sup>27</sup>

1SGSUB NEG know DET money 3PLSUB IRR carry give 3SGOBJ

“I do not know the money they will carry give him”

“I do not know how much they will give him”

3. *menes go vot giv am rɔf*<sup>28</sup>

menner+PLU IRR vote give 3SGSUB rough

“mengers will vote give him rough”

“people will vote for him massively”

#### 1.14 4.4.0 Serial Verb Construction

Serial Verb Construction is common in the data. It is the phenomenon referred to variously as

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<sup>26</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 003

<sup>27</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 170

<sup>28</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 158

“serialized verb construction”, “serial verb construction”, “parallel serial verb construction” and “multi-verb construction” (Holm 2004; Faraclas 1996; Ameka, 2005; Hyman, 2000; Eklund, 1996). Faraclas (1996) describes the phenomenon as a “construction sharing the same sentential subject preceding the first VP and not repeated thereafter”. This construction allows each VP to take on its obligatory or optional object(s), adjunct(s) or idiophones(s). For the rest of the discussion, the phenomenon will simply be referred to as Serial Verb Construction (SVC).

Patrick (2004) and Holm (2004) point out that Atlantic Creoles exhibit Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) as a result of the influence of their substrates which come from West African languages. The substrates which influence the West African Pidgins English (WAPE) varieties are of a large family of languages mostly of Niger-Congo origin. Many scholars point to Yoruba as one substrate that has had so much influence in NPE. About SP, scholars believe that the structure has been “calqued from Akan and Ga” (Dako, 2002a, p. 59).

In Ghanaian pidgins, one can point to Akan, Ga and Ewe and as having some influence on SP in this direction. In the illustrations by Ameka (2003) which feature Ewe and Akan as languages with “intricate SVC, it is made clear that the SVC occurs without any “overt connector” between the series of verbs. Ameka (2003) notes the following about the phenomenon, calling it a “string” of two or more verbal groups (occurring together with their complements and adjuncts):

- a) without any marker of syntactic independency;

- b) the VPs within the sequence are construed as occurring within the same temporal frame;
- c) the VPs share the same mood;
- d) the VPs can be formally marked for different aspect and modality categories;
- e) all VPs in the series share the same syntactic subject.

1. *ai go go bai niu fon rada*<sup>29</sup>

1SGSUB IRR go buy new phone rather

“I will go buy new phone rather”

“I will rather go and buy a new phone”

2. *ju no go go hos go rest?*<sup>30</sup>

2SGSUB NEG IRR go hos go rest

“you will not go home go rest?”

“will you not go home and rest?”

3. *hav ai fit kari am kam skol?*<sup>31</sup>

*hav* 1SGSUB ABL carry 3SGOBJ come school

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<sup>30</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, lines 324-325

<sup>31</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 019

“how I can carry it come school?”

“how can I bring it to school”

4. *hav ju fit dze: sisti gana kam bai wan bag?*<sup>32</sup>

how 2SGSUB ABL jey 60 Ghana come buy one bag

“how you can remove 60 Ghana come buy one bag?”

“how can you spend 60 Ghana cedis on one bag?”

#### 4.5.0 The Auxiliary Verbs: Primary and Modal

Indeed the two types of verbs (a) auxiliary and (b) lexical verbs are represented in the data. Following Egbe (1980) we can assert that there are two types of auxiliary verbs represented in the data: (a) primary and (b) modal auxiliary verbs. These [modal auxiliary verbs] combine with main verbs to express tense, mood and aspect (TMA), which are largely regarded as verbal functions (Romaine, 1988).

Egbe’s (1980) distinction between primary auxiliary and modal auxiliary verbs is based on their syntactic function. The distinction between primary and modal auxiliary verbs is based on the traditional grammarians’ notion of modals as simply functional words and the primary auxiliaries as lexical words, which, apart from their auxiliary function, can be seen as lexical verbs. This behaviour of auxiliary verbs can be attested in SP (see *Sections 4.1.2 & 4.1.3*).

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<sup>32</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 145

#### 4.5.1 Primary Auxiliary Verbs

The data reveals the dual role of the following verbs where they occur as both main verbs and auxiliary verbs: *go*<sup>33</sup>, *dey*, *figure*, *carry* and *take*. They occur in the following constructions as such. In the case of *carry* and *take*, they act as “dummy” auxiliaries in SVCs, where their presence adds no practical verbal meaning to the sentence. Their function resembles the [dummy] “do-support” role played by the auxiliary verb *do* (Quirk et al, 1999, p. 80).

“go”

1. *ju no go get eniwan*<sup>34</sup> (auxiliary)

2SGSUB NEG IRR get anyone

“you not will get anyone”

“you will not get anyone”

2. *mawuko gɛ:ls de go de zonals-oo*<sup>35</sup> (main verb)

Mawuko girls NPU go DET zonals EMP

“Mawuko girls are going to the zonals”

“Mawuko girls are indeed going for the zonal competition”

“dey”

1. *dɛm de go avt*<sup>36</sup> (auxiliary)

3PLSUB NPU go out

<sup>33</sup> Huber (1999) and Forson (2006) differentiate between *go* as a preverbal element and *go* as a lexical verb. They argue “*go*” as a preverbal has a short vowel sound and carries a low tone. Besides, it occurs in a preverbal position.

<sup>34</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, lines 214-215

<sup>35</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 122

<sup>36</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 035

“they are go out”

“they are going out”

2. *ju mɔn de: fɔ:*<sup>37</sup> (main verb: copula)

2SGSUB DEO COP sure

“you must be sure”

3. *no frɛf bɔi de: dɛ:*<sup>38</sup> (main verb: locative)

NEG fresh boy LOC de

“no fresh boy is there”

“there is no handsome boy there”

“figure”

1. *ju no figa bɛd sɛf*<sup>39</sup> (auxiliary)

2SGSUB NEG AUX bed self

“you not can bed even”

“you cannot sleep even”

2. *ai figa se: akra: go beta*<sup>40</sup> (main verb)

1SGSUB figure+PAST CPL Accra IRR better

“I figured that Accra would better”

“I thought I Accra would be a better place”

---

<sup>37</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 009

<sup>38</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 130

<sup>39</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 202

<sup>40</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 028

“carry”

1. *ju no no: hav ju go kari solv am*<sup>41</sup> (auxiliary)

2SGSUB NEG know CPL 2SGSUB IRR AUX solve 3SGOBJ

“you not know how you will carry solve it”

“you do not know what you are going to do to solve it”

2. *ai kari de tesbuk*<sup>42</sup> (main verb)

1SGSUB carry+PAST DET

textbook “I carry the textbook”

“I carried the textbook”

“take”

1. *hav ju te:k si: am?*<sup>43</sup> (auxiliary)

how 2SGSUB AUX see 3SGOBJ

“how you take see it?”

“how do you see it?”

2. *te:k am i:zi-oo*<sup>44</sup> (main verb)

take 3SGOBJ easy EMP

“take it easy-oo”

“take it easy-oo”

---

<sup>41</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 085

<sup>42</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 021

<sup>43</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 001

<sup>44</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 110

## 4.5.2 Modal Auxiliary Verbs

The data has identified the following lexemes as modal auxiliary verbs. Aside not having a dual function [auxiliary and lexical], they occur as preverbal markers that help to express modality (Patrick 2004; Faraclas, 1996). These words are *fit*, *mon*, *for*, which have been attested in earlier works (Huber, 1999, Forson, 2006; Osei-Tutu, 2008; Taiwiah, 2006)

1. *dem fit ripɔ:t dem fɔ dzi: i: ɛs*<sup>45</sup>

3PLSUB ABL report 3PLOBJ for GES<sup>46</sup>

“they can report dem for GES”

“they can report them to GES”

2. *ju fɔ pripe: veri wel*<sup>47</sup>

2PLSUB DEO prepare very well

“you should prepare very well”

“you should prepare very well”

3. *ju mɔn fiɛ dis skul gɛls*<sup>48</sup>

2PLSUB DEO fear DET school girl+PLU

“you must fear these school girls”

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<sup>45</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 255

<sup>46</sup> GES: Ghana Education Service

<sup>47</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 008

<sup>48</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 107

### **1.15 4.6.0 Lexical Verbs**

Among the main verbs in pidgins and creoles, the literature has differentiated them according to various categories. Our interest in this section shall be the transitive, intransitive and the copular verbs (Egbe, 1980 ; Huber, 1999; Hyman, 2000; Holm, 2004). As Egbe puts it these functions are characteristic of both the superstrates and the substrates. This section examines the types of verbs found in the data according to complementation.

### **4.7.0 Complementation of the Verb Group in SP**

Not all verbal groups in pidgin and creoles are complemented in the same way. A verbal group's peculiar complementation, or the lack of it, determines whether we should call it transitive, intransitive or copulative in pidgins and creoles (Holm, 2004; Faraclas, 1996; Egbe, 1980; Dadzie & Omekwe, 1992 ; Huber, 1999). The existence of transitive, intransitive and copula verbs in the SP of EPC Mawuko Girls' Senior High School, Ho is discussed in the following sections.

#### **4.7.1 Transitive Verbs**

The instances of verbs occurring as transitive in the data are copious. Some of the monotransitive verbs have complementation ranging from simple noun phrases to noun clauses (both finite and non-finite). This section examines complementation according to monotransitive, ditransitive and complex transitive representations. This is based on the traditional grammarians' concept of

complementation in verbal groups (see *Section 3.2.0*).

#### 4.7.2 Mono-transitive Verbs

##### 4.7.2.1 Nominal Complementation (V+ NG)

1. *ai spai am*<sup>49</sup> (pronoun as direct object)

1SGSUB spy+past 3SGOBJ

“I spied it”

“I saw it”

2. *ai de fi:l de skul bag*<sup>50</sup> (simple noun phrase as direct object)

1SGSUB NPU feel DET school bag.

“I am feeling the school bag”

“I like the school bag”

3. *wi no no: de mɔni we: dem go kari giv am*<sup>51</sup> (noun clause as direct object)

1PLSUB NEG know DET money 3PLSUB IRR carry give 3SGOBJ

“we do not know the money they will carry give him”

“we do not know how much money they will give him”

##### 4.7.2.2 That- Finite Clause Complementation (V+ finite that-clause)

1. *ai hie se: dem faya de i: si: dʒi: bɔs*<sup>52</sup>

1SGSUB hear+past CPL 3PLSUB fire+past DET ECG<sup>53</sup> boss “I

<sup>49</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 107

<sup>50</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 133

<sup>51</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 176

<sup>52</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 189

heard that they fired the ECG boss”

“I heard (that) they fired the ECG boss”

2. *ai saspɛt se: afta dɛ last pɛ:pa dɛm go dipɔŋk*<sup>54</sup>

1SGSUB suspect CPL after DET last paper 3PLSUB IRR deponk “I suspect that after the last paper they will deponk”

“I suspect they will forcibly crop our hair for us after the last paper”

#### 4.7.2.3 *Wh- Finite Clause Complementation (V+ finite wh-clause)*

1. *ai no no: hwai ola go kam win mawuko*<sup>55</sup>

1SGSUB NEG know CPL OLA IRR come win Mawuko “I not know why OLA will come win Mawuko”

“I do not know why OLA will come and beat Mawuko”

2. *ju no know hav ju go carry solve am*<sup>56</sup>

2PLSUB NEG know CPL 2PSG IRR carry solve 3SGOBJ

“you not know how you go carry solve it” “you do not know how you will solve it”

3. *ai no no: wetin de wɔn go du dɛ*<sup>57</sup>

1SGSUB NEG know CPL 3PLSUB want go do der “I not know what they want go do der”

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<sup>53</sup> Electricity Company of Ghana

<sup>54</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, lines 301-302

<sup>55</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 011

<sup>56</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 085

<sup>57</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 6, lines 066-067

“I do not know what they want to go and do there”

4.7.2.4 *Non-Finite Clause Complementation (V+non-finite : infinitive)*

1. *ai no wɔn hiɛ*:<sup>58</sup>

1SGSUB NEG want hear “I do

not want hear”

“I do not want to hear(that)”

2. *dem wɔn tʃɔp*<sup>59</sup>

3PLSUB want chop

“they want to chop (your money)”

“they want to cheat you”

**4.7.3. Ditransitive Verbs**

1. *dem ti:tʃ dʒemaima skul pe: haʊ i fɔ opret am*<sup>55</sup>

3PLSUB teach+past Jemimah school prefect how 3SGSUB should operate 3SGOBJ

“they taught Jemimah school prefect how she should operate it”

“they taught Jemimah the school prefect how to operate it”

2. *dem wɔn ti:tʃ ju pi:pɔl beta tins*<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 074

<sup>59</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 126

3PLSUB *wɔn* teach 2PLOBJ people better thing

“they want teach you people better things” “they

want to teach you people good things”

#### 4.7.4 The Complex-Transitive

1. *mɛnɛs mɛk dɛ bɛ:fde best paa*<sup>61</sup>

menner + PLU make+past DET berfday best EMP

“menners made the berfday best paa”

“people made the birthday the best”

2. *dɛm dɛ bɛl dɛ pɛsɔŋ tʃu:wɪŋ gam*<sup>62</sup>

3PLSUB NPU bell DET person chewing gum

“they are belling the person chewing gum” “they

are calling the person chewing gum”

3. *dɛm no dɛ kɔl am gã ʃit*<sup>63</sup>

3PLSUB no NEG NPU call 3SGOBJ ga shit

“they are not calling it ‘ga-shit<sup>64</sup>”

“They do not call it ‘gari and shitor mix”

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<sup>60</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 026

<sup>61</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 051

<sup>62</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, lines 177-178

<sup>63</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 011

<sup>64</sup> *Gari* is a popular West African food made from cassava tubers. *Shito* is gravy. *Ga shit* therefore is a ,mixture of *gari* and gravy, a “fast food” meal for many a secondary school student.

#### 4.7.5.0 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive deployment of verbs is part of pidgins and creoles (Huber 1995, 1999; Faraclas 1996; Holm, 2004; Egbe, 1980). There is the extent to which some verbs are found to be “pure transitive” verbs and some found to be both transitive and intransitive depending upon where and when they occur as pertains in SE (Thakur, 2011; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1999; Downing & Locke, 2006).

##### 4.7.5.1 Transitive/Intransitive Occurrences

We present in the following examples the verbs: *mow*, *buy*, *win*, *play*, *spy*, *get* etc. These are verbs that can be used transitively and intransitively.

1. *ai de mo*: -aa<sup>65</sup> (intransitive)

1SGSUB NPU mow EMP

“I was mowing –as”

“as I was learning”

2. *ai de mo*: *rul of lɔ*:<sup>66</sup> (transitive)

1SGSUB NPU mow rule of law

“I was mowing RULE OF LAW”

“I was learning THE RULE OF LAW”

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<sup>65</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 021

<sup>66</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 024

3. *wi no go bai*<sup>67</sup> (intransitive)

1PLSUB NEG IRR buy “we no go buy”

“we are not going to buy”

4. *me:k wi bai de pamflet*<sup>68</sup> (transitive)

CAU 1PLSUB buy DET pamphlet

“make we buy the pamphlet”

“we should buy the pamphlet”

#### 4.7.2.2 Pure Intransitives

The issue of what a *pure intransitive* verb is or is not in SP cannot be determined by the passivation test. This is largely because as Forson (2006) has observed, overt transposition of agentive-affective roles does not exist in SP. This position can be explained by the fact the grammar of SP is based on the structure of Kwa languages, which Westermann & Bryan (1952), cited in Hyman (2004, p. 1), indicate [the structure] does not observe passivation. Our only criterion for citing the

following verbs as purely intransitive is based on their occurrence in the data as not accepting a direct object in any given case. The verbs are: *bed, come, force, tiasie, hia, suffocate, come, grow, sweat, happen, go, wassap, chalk*.

1. *ai no de tiasie-oo*<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, lines 127-128

<sup>68</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 129

<sup>69</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 196

1SGSUB NEG NPU tiasie EMP

“I am not understanding at all”

“I do not understand at all”

2. *i no de hĩa*<sup>70</sup>

3SGSUB NEG NPU hia

“it is not needing”

“it is not needed”

3. *ai bed*<sup>71</sup>

1SGSUB bed+past

“I bed”

“I slept”

## 1.16 Copulas in SP

There is a large representation of copula use in the data. In order to do a comprehensive analysis, copulas in the data are discussed under the following headings:

1. Copula Verbs
2. Copula Adjectives

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<sup>70</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 199

<sup>71</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 076

### 3. The Equative Copula “na”

#### 4.8.1 Copula Verbs

Apart from the two main copula verbs identified in the pidgins spoken in Ghana (i.e. *be* and *dey*), as noted in Huber (1995, 1999), my data reveals the use of the verb “make” as a copula verb. This is contrary to the assertion by Eklund (1996), which states that since creole adjectives are “surface verbs”, copulas are not needed.

We can therefore list *be*, *dey* and *make* as the three copula verbs in the data. Out of these, *dey* has a varied use. It can be complemented as a copular by an adjectival or a locative adjunct; even in some cases, it has no complementation, giving it an existential meaning as found in earlier works (Forson, 2006; Huber 1999; Dadzie & Omekwe, 1992).

#### a) “dey” as a copula verb

##### 1. *ho: de jɔm*<sup>72</sup> (adjectival complementation)

Ho COP jom

“Ho be joming”

“Ho is interesting”

##### 2. *ai de hos*<sup>73</sup> (adjunctive complementation)

1SGSUB COP+ PAST hos

<sup>72</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 3 line 032

<sup>73</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 3 line 036

“I be house”

“I was home”

3. *dɛm de*:<sup>74</sup> (existential meaning)

3PLSUB COP

“they be”

“they are there/they exist”

**b) “be” as a copula verb.**

Occurring as a copular verb in SP, *be* is followed either by a nominal or adjectival.

1. *wi bi hadwekiŋ ɛn intelidzɛŋ*<sup>75</sup> (adjectival complementation)

1PLSUB COP+ present hardworking CONJ intelligent

“we be hardworking and intelligent”

“we are hardworking and intelligent”

2. *i bi sam sɛgzi matf bi*<sup>76</sup>

3SGSUB COP+PAST DET sexy match TOP

“it was some sexy match”

“it was a very impressive/beautiful match”

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<sup>74</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 3 line 079

<sup>75</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 6 line 092

<sup>76</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 064

c) “make” occurring as a copular verb

By the corpus, anytime “make” occurs as a copula verb, it attracts adjectival complementation only.

1. *ɛvritin me:k ku:l*<sup>77</sup>

everytin COP+PRESENT cool

“everything make cool”

“everything is alright”

2. *i me:k beta*<sup>78</sup>

3SGSUB COP+PAST better

“it made better”

“it was better”

3. *i me:k soft kraa*<sup>79</sup>

3SGSUB COP+PAST soft EMP

“it made soft kraa”

“it was very easy”

4. *dɛm me:k agre-oo*<sup>80</sup>

3SGSUB COP+ PRESENT agre EMP

“they make agre oo”

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<sup>77</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 032

<sup>78</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 032

<sup>79</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2 line 099

<sup>80</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5 line 240

“they are very aggressive”

Following Huber (1999) and Faraclas (1996) there is evidence of the notion of equation of subject and its complement in the girls’ SP. In this case, they express the similarity and equation by adding the preposition “like” to the verbal group, thereby forming a copulative prepositional group complemented by a nominal.

1. *i me:k laik de fɔmiles dem de:*<sup>81</sup>

3SGSUB COP+ present like DET formula+PLU 3PLOBJ COP

“it make like the formulas they are there”

“it is as if the formulas exist”

2. *i no me:k laik las tem ã o:n*<sup>82</sup>

3SGSUB NEG COP+ present like last term 3SGPD own

“it is not like last term its own”

“it is not like last term’s”

#### 4.8.2 Copula Adjectives

The SP girls also use certain predicative adjectives placed directly after a subject without any overt use of a copula. These adjectives are sometimes referred to as “copula adjectives” or “adjectival verbs” (Eklund 1996; Huber, 1999; Holm, 2004). This is what Faraclas (1996)

<sup>81</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, lines 231-232

<sup>82</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, lines 096-097

describes as “copula sentences without overt copula.” Gilman (1986), cited in Forson (2006, p. 153) says the adjectival verbs, a common feature of Afro-European languages, are “verb-like items which translate English adjectival ideas”. We can cite such examples as *ɔware* [it is long/far off] and *ɔye tenten* [it is tall] from Twi as well as *edidi* [it is long/far off] and *ekɔkɔ* [it is tall] from Ewe<sup>83</sup>.

The following examples are sampled from the data.

1. *i beta pas las tem ɪ o:n*<sup>84</sup>

3SGSUB be (present) +better COMP last term 3SGPD own

“it is better than last term its own”

“it is better than last term’s”

2. *i gud*<sup>85</sup>

3SGSUB be (present) +good

“it be good”

“it is good”

3. *ju fɔ strɔŋ fɔ kraɪs*<sup>86</sup>

2SGSUB DEO be+strong for Christ

“you should be strong for Christ”

“you should be strong in Christ”

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<sup>83</sup> Twi examples are from Forson (2006, p.153) whilst the Ewe examples are the researcher’s own discretion. Both translations are also the researcher’s discretion.

<sup>84</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, lines 030-31

<sup>85</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 038

<sup>86</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 016

4.. *i nais waa*<sup>87</sup>

3SGSUB be (past)+nice...EMP

“it nice waa”

“it was so nice”

#### 4.8.3 The Equative Copula “na”<sup>88</sup>

There is a popular claim that the equative copula “na” (of Krio, NigPE and CamPE) does not exist in GhaPE (Amoako, 1992, p. 74; Huber, 1999 p. 235; Dako, 2002a, p. 53). This, however, is not exactly the case per the corpus. The following examples illustrate this.

1. *na so ju de?*<sup>89</sup>

EQ so 2PLSUB COP+present

“that is so you be?”

“is that how you are?”

2. *tfale: na lɛ-oo*<sup>90</sup>

Charlie, EQ loy EMP

“Charlie, it is lie oo”

“Charlie, that is surely a lie”

There is also in the data an instance of fronting, using “na” as Amoako (1992) has observed. This is illustrated in the example below.

<sup>87</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 5 line 138

<sup>88</sup> The lexeme “na” has three different uses. Apart from its use as an equative copula, it can also be used as a focus marker (Amoako, 1992) as well as a completive.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 148

<sup>90</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 103

*na tru i de tɔk-oo*<sup>91</sup>

FOC true 3SGSUB NPU talk EMP

“it is truth she is talking oo”

“she is surely telling the truth”

#### 4.9.0 Unusual Verbs in SP

It is common knowledge that the English language is the main lexifier of SP. However, there appear to be many verbs in the data that entered SP, either borrowed from the substrates like Twi or Ga; there are some other words which have functions other than verbs in SE but which function as verbs of English origin in SP. Moreover, there appears the French word *finir*<sup>92</sup> occurring as a completive and as a main verb. This phenomenon is what Githiora (2002) describes as a “conscious effort of the users of a youth language to obscure meaning and cut out non-members.”

These verbs are categorized and presented in relevant examples according to the following order:

- a) verbs of *Kwa* origin
- b) English words that function as verbs in only SP
- c) the French word “*finir*”

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<sup>91</sup> Appendix A, Transcript, 3 line 099

<sup>92</sup> “Finir” means to finish

### 4.9.1 Verbs of Kwa Origin

The following words are found to be of *Kwa* origin

Word	Language Source	Meaning in SP
1. “jey”	Ga	take out/remove
2. “pae”	Akan	break out/emerge
3. “hia”	Akan/Ewe/Ga	need
4. “tiasie”	Akan	understand
5. “sor”	Akan	turn on
6. “shegey”	Ga	shake up
7. “cho”	GHaPE	eat
8. “kae”	Akan	remember

### 4.9.2 Grammaticalization/Semantic Shift

There are some verbs in my data, which originally belong to a different word class in the lexifier English language; then there are those others, which, though counted as verbs in the lexifier, have undergone semantic shift. The meaning assumed by these words in SP is each different from what that word means in SE.

Verb	Process	Meaning in SP
1. “shark”	semantic shift	learn/study
2. “dog”	semantic shift	leave/abandon
3. “mow”	semantic shift	learn/study
4. “bash”	semantic shift	hurt (emotionally)
5. “off”	grammaticalization	turn off
6. “on”	grammaticalization	turn on
7. “tin up”	coinage	stand up/get up
8. “rep”	coinage	write
9. “deponk”	coinage	to have someone’s hair cropped forcefully
10. “chook”	coinage	betray

#### 4.9.3 The French Verb “finir”

The verb “finir”, as indicated, has made inroads into SP in Mawuko Girls’ Senior High school. It could be sourced from some girls of Francophone<sup>93</sup> origin in the school. The second and a more probable reason is that French is a compulsory subject in the school. Even those girls who do not study French as an elective are made to study the subject for two academic years and are graded accordingly.

<sup>93</sup> Ho, the Volta Regional Capital is less than 90 kilometres from the Togolese capital, Lome. Ewe is a cross-border mother tongue for both people of the Volta Region and Togo. Mawuko Girls’ SHS has its fair share of students from Togo on annual basis.

The following are examples of its occurrence.

1. *wi prep fini*<sup>94</sup> (completive “finir”)

1PLSUB prep COM

“we had finished prep”

“we had finished prepping”

2. *ai fini pa:kiŋ-oo*<sup>90</sup> (lexical verb “finir”)

1SGSUB finish+past parking EMP

“I finished parking oo”

“I have even finished parking”

## 1.17 4.10.0 Tense, Mood and Aspect in SP

We shall in this section look at how tense, mood and aspect are marked in the SP of my school girls at Mawuko Girls’ Senior High School in Ho. The discussion does not compare SP with any other language but only tries to describe the occurrence and patterns of the structures found.

### 4.10.1.0 Tense

By tense, reference is here made to the expression of time as in Standard English (see *Chapter 3, Section 3.4.0*). In this section, the past and the present tenses will be discussed in terms of how the verb phrase is structured in each case in my data.

Bickerton (1980), based upon analyses of Sranan, Guyanese, Haitian and Hawaiian creoles

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<sup>94</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 141

observes the following about the creole TMA system. Bickerton posits that this system is universal for the study of pidgin and creoles. The theory cited in Huber (1999, p. 218), is said to have worked in many pidgins and creoles worldwide.

- a) The zero form marks simple past for action verbs and non-past for stative verbs;
- b) A marker of anterior aspect [sic] indicates past-before-past for action verbs and simple past for state verbs;
- c) A marker of irrealis [sic] indicates “unreal time” (=futures, conditionals, subjunctives, etc) for all verbs;
- d) A marker of non-punctual aspect indicates durative or iterative aspect for action verbs; and is different non-past/past distinction; this marker cannot normally co-occur with state verbs;
- e) All markers are in preverbal position.

#### **4.10.1.1.1 The Past Tense in SP**

The past form of the verb in SP is indicated by the unmarked form of the verb as it obtains in earlier findings (Osei-Tutu, 2008; Forson, 2006; Huber, 1999). In this section, we distinguish among the various forms of the past tense as follows.

- a) The simple past
- b) The past progressive
- c) The past before past (anterior)/ the past perfect

#### 4.10.1.2 The Simple Past

This is realized by the unmarked or base form of the verb as obtains in many pidgins and creoles. To a large extent, the past meaning of the verb is deduced from the context, or at best, the verbal group is modified by a time adjunct that points to the past.

1. *dε vɔle:bɔl tu: wi tʃɔp sɛkɛn*<sup>95</sup>

DET volleyball too 1PLSUB chop+PAST second

“the volleyball too we chopped second”

“we placed second in volleyball too”

2. *ai kam jɔ klas yɛsti:*<sup>96</sup>

1PLSUB come+PAST DET class yestee

“I came your class yesterday”

“I came to your class yesterday”

3. *ai no tro: dzavlin dat de: -oo*<sup>97</sup>

1SGSUB NEG trow javelin DET day EMP

“I not throw javelin that day at all”

“I did not throw the javelin at all that day”

In some cases, the simple past in stative verbs is marked by pre-posing the main verb with the

<sup>95</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 344

<sup>96</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 003

<sup>97</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 160

primary auxiliary “dey”. The meaning however, does not suggest the progressive aspect.

1. *ai no de si: nɔtin tɔp*<sup>98</sup>

1SGSUB NEG NPU (PAST) see nothing top

“I was not seeing anything top”

“I did not understand anything”

2. *miste agra tu: de fɔ:s*<sup>99</sup>

Mr Agra too NPU force

“Mr Agra too was forcing”

“Mr Agra too did his best”

#### 4.10.1.3 The Imperfective (Nonpunctual) Aspect

The imperfect (nonpunctual) aspect is expressed in the data by placing the primary auxiliary “dey” [as the nonpunctual marker] before the main verb. Again, because both present and past progressive forms of the verbal group have the same structure and outlook [dey+V], the context is key. In some given situations, time adjuncts make the distinction clearer.

1. *ai de tai de belt fɔ mai bak*<sup>100</sup>

1SGSUB NPU+PAST tie DET belt for DET back

“I was tying the belt for my back”

“I was tying the belt behind”

<sup>98</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 079

<sup>99</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 169

<sup>100</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 198

2. *ai get samwhe:-aa, de tin no de kam*<sup>101</sup>

1SGSUB get+PAST somewhere EMP, DET tin NEG NPU+PAST come

“I got some-aa, the thing was not coming”

“as I got along, the thing was no longer forthcoming”

3. *ai de mo: -aa*<sup>102</sup>

1SGSUB NPU mow EMP

“I was mowing -as”

“as a I was learning”

#### 4.10.1.4 The Past before Past (Anterior)/Perfective

Many Atlantic creoles employ a verbal marker to indicate the anteriority, which [anteriority] is the equivalent of the past/past perfect form in Indo-European languages (Holm, 2004, p. 178). Holm argues that the anterior is relative to the time in focus in the preceding discourse rather than to the time of the utterance.

Some scholars claim GhaPE lacks an anterior marker and that the anterior aspect can only be inferred from context (Huber, 1999, p. 218). In my data, however, the Akan completive “na”<sup>103</sup> appears in a preverbal position to point to anteriority. The role of “na” as anterior marker becomes clearer when it occurs in a non-simple sentence.

<sup>101</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 064

<sup>102</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 021

<sup>103</sup> As has been observed above, context plays a major role in SP. Consequently, not every occurrence of “na” might be an anterior marker

1. *sek ɔf gavment-eh, na ai bɛ:n dɛ nait.*<sup>104</sup>

sake of gavment-EMP, ANT 1SGSUB burn DET night

“because of government eh, I burnt the night”

“I had actually burnt the night because of government”

2. *na de no ɔn dɛ dʒɛnɛrɛta bat wi prep fini.*<sup>105</sup>

ANT 3PLSUB NEG on+PAST DET generator CONJ 1PLSUB prep+ PAST COM

“they not on the generator but we prepped finish”

“they had not turned on the generator but we prepped successfully”

3. *ai wɔn ple: futbɔl bifo bat na mai ni: no de alao mi.*<sup>106</sup>

1SGSUB INL+PAST play football before ANT CONJ DET knee NEG NPU allow

1SGOBJ

“I wanted to play football before but had my knee not allowing me”

“I “I had wanted to play football but my knee did not allow me”

#### 4.10.1.4 The Completive Aspect

In the literature, the verb “finish” is noted as a completive marker in SP (Huber, 1999, p. 226; Osei-Tutu, 2008, p. 82). In addition, to “finish”, my students use the French verb “finir” as a completive marker (See *Section 4.5.4.2.1*). We thus place “finish/finir” after the verb carrying the notion of completion. However, it is worth noting that the position of this marker is post-verbal, contrary to Bickerton (1980, p. 6) cited in Holm (2004, p. 218) who says that “all markers

<sup>104</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 020

<sup>105</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 240

<sup>106</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 153

are in preverbal position”.

1. *i prep fini*:<sup>107</sup>

1PLSUB prep+PAST COM

“we had finished prepping”

2. *dɛm du am finif*<sup>108</sup>

3PLSUB do+PAST 3SGOBJ COM “they did it finished”

“they had finished doing it”

#### 4.10.1.5.0 The Present Tense

In many pidgin and creole languages, and in SP, the simple present tense is expressed through the base form of the verb (Osei-Tutu, 2008; Huber, 1999; Faraclas, 1999; Patrick, 2004; Bakir, 2010; Holm, 2004). In SP, there is the occurrence of the primary auxiliary verb “dey” before the main verb to express the simple present. Though the same form and structure [dey+V] is used to express the non-punctual, some contexts with the same structure point to the simple present tense. The discussion under this section is segmented into two:

a) The simple present (V)

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<sup>107</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 241

<sup>108</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 189

b) The simple present (dey+V)

#### 4.10.1.5.1 The Simple Present (V)

The following examples exist in the data.

1. *ai se: dɛm bi animals*<sup>109</sup>

1SGBUB say+PRESENT 3PLSUB COP animal+PLU

“I say they are animals”

“I say (that) they are animals”

2. *hwail adisko dems de?*<sup>110</sup>

while ADISCO<sup>111</sup> 3PLSUB+PLU dey+PRESENT

“while ADISCO them are?”

“while ADISCO and the like are there?”

3. *fɪ no get bɔɛ fɔ mampi*<sup>112</sup>

3SGSUB NEG get +PRESENT boy for Mampi<sup>113</sup>

“she no get boy for Mampi”

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<sup>109</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 018

<sup>110</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 121

<sup>111</sup> ADISCO is Adisadel College, a prestigious boys’ senior high school

<sup>112</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 124

<sup>113</sup> Bishop Herman College, a prestigious boys’ senior high school

“she does not have a boyfriend at Mampi”

4. *kra: wɛ:s pas ho kraa-oo*<sup>114</sup>

Accra BE(+PRESENT) +worse COP Ho EMP

“Accra is worse than Ho much”

“Accra is much worse than Ho”

#### 4.10.5.2. The Simple Present (dey+V)

The data has recorded the following examples in this regard. This is consistent with findings in Osei-Tutu (2008).

1. *ai de rispet am paa*<sup>115</sup>

1SGBUB AUX respect 3SGSUB EMP

“I am respecting her a lot”

“I respect her so much”

2. *i de baf mi*<sup>116</sup>

3SGSUB AUX *bash* 1SGOBJ

“it is bashing me”

“it hurts me at heart”

3. *ai de fi:l de skol bag.*<sup>117</sup>

1SGBUB AUX feel DET school bag

<sup>114</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 039

<sup>115</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 222

<sup>116</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 045

<sup>117</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 270

“I am feeling the school bag”

“I like the school bag”

4. *ĩ mɔmi de lɔv am*<sup>118</sup>

3SGPD mommy AUX love 3SGOBJ

“her mommy is loving her”

“her mother loves her”

#### **4.11.0 Mood/Modality**

Following Huber (1999), Osei-Tutu (2008) and Forson (2006), we establish that mood and modality can be expressed in SP. Though mood/modality can be expressed through means other than the verbal group, we shall restrict our evidence of mood/modality to the instances expressed by the verbal group only, as this is in line with the objective of the research.

We shall discuss mood/modality in the data according to the following elements.

1. Irrealis
2. Ability
3. Intentionalis

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<sup>118</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 270

4. Imperative
5. Deontic

#### 4.11.1 Irrealis Mood

Irrealis mood refers to the activities that are yet to occur or to become real. In some respects, it will be termed as the future aspect as obtains in SE (see Section 3.4.2). The main means by expressing the irrealis mood in SP is by placing the primary auxiliary verb “go” before its main verb in the verbal group (Huber, 1999; Forson, 2006; Osei-Tutu, 2008)

The following examples exist.

1. *laits go go ɔf*<sup>119</sup>

“lights IRR go off”

“(the) lights will go off”

2. *most ɔf dɛ tins go drɔp*<sup>120</sup>

most of DET tins IRR drop

“most of the things will drop”

“most of the things will come”

3. *dis taim dem go go biɛ:ko*<sup>121</sup>

DET time 3PLSUB IRR go BIHECO<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 005

<sup>120</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 010

<sup>121</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 135

<sup>122</sup> Bishop Herman College

“this time they will go BIHECO”

“this time they will go to BIHECO”

Future in the past, which can be deduced only from the context, is found in the following sentences in the data.

1. *so i go kari giv as kredit-aa, wi go bai*<sup>123</sup>

CONJ 3SGSUB IRR carry give 1PLOBJ credit EMP 1PLSUB IRR buy

“so he would carry give us credit-aa we would buy”

“if he sold them to us on credit, we will buy it”

2. *ju no go si: am*<sup>124</sup>

2SGSUB NEG IRR see 3SGOBJ

“you will not see it”

3. *de we dem kari de kwɛsfins kam nu, ju no go tiasie*<sup>125</sup>

DET way 3SGSUB carry DET question+PLU EMP 2SGSUB NEG IRR tiasie

“the way they carried the questions come, you would not understand”

“by the way the questions were structured, you could not easily understand them”

#### 4.11.2 Ability

In SP, ability is marked by the modal auxiliary verb “fit” (Huber, 1996; Osei-Tutu, 2008; Forson, 2006). The verb “fit” corresponds to “can/be able to” in SE (Forson, 2006, p. 144). In addition,

<sup>123</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 128

<sup>124</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 121

<sup>125</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 181

my data has recorded the gramaticalization of the word “figure” acting as an auxiliary to point to ability.

“*fit*”

1. *laik dem giv as bɔntɔ taim laik mi ai fit rep evritin*<sup>126</sup>

CONJ 3SGSUB give 1PLOBJ bunch time 1SGSUB ABL rep everytin

“like they gave us bunch time I could rep everything”

“I could have answered every question had they given us more time”

2. *ju no fit slap dem?*<sup>127</sup>

2SGSUB NEG ABL slap 3SGSUB

“you no can slap them?”

“could you not slap them?”

3. *wi fit kaunt de namba ɔf presidents we kam pas*<sup>128</sup>

1PLSUB ABL count DET number of presidents CPL come+ PAST pass

“we can count the number of presidents who came past”

“we can count the number of presidents who came and passed”

“*figure*”

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<sup>126</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 284

<sup>127</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 096

<sup>128</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 109

1. *ju no figa bed self*.<sup>129</sup>

2SGSUB NEG ABL bed self

“you no able bed self”

“you cannot sleep at all”

2. *ju no figa tɔk-oo*<sup>130</sup>

2SGSUB NEG ABL talk-oo

“you no can talk at all”

“you cannot comment/complain at all”

#### 4.11.3 Intentionalis

The intentionalis in SP is marked by the verb “wan” which has obviously come from the English verb “want”. (Huber, 1999; Osei-Tutu, 2008; Forson, 2006). It is used to express the speakers’ intention. In my data “dey go” as well as “dey come” can also be used to express intention.

“want”

1. *dɛm wɔn dipɔŋk ɛgen ɔ: wetin?*<sup>131</sup>

3PLSUB INT deponk again CONJ wetin

“they want deponk again or wetin?”

“do they want to forcefully cut our hair or what?”

2. *dɛm wɔn go hos ɛ:li*<sup>132</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 202

<sup>130</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 190

<sup>131</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 235

<sup>132</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 333

3PLSUB INT go hos early

“they want to go hos early”

“they want to go home early”

“*dey go*”

1. *tʃao menɛs we plan se dɛm de go aot*<sup>133</sup>

chao menners CPL plan+PAST CLP 3PLSUB NPU go out

“chao menners who planned that they were going out”

“many people planned going out”

2. *wi de go du bof*<sup>134</sup>

1PLSUB NPU go do both

“we are going to do both”

3. *wi: we wi bi holi ko, wi de go pre:*<sup>135</sup>

1PLSUB CPL 1PLSUB COP holy-co 1PLSUB NPU go pray “we

who we are religious we are going to pray”

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<sup>133</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 035

<sup>134</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 087

<sup>135</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 056

“those of us who are religious are going to pray”

*“dey come”*

1. *nao ai de kam drɔp dɛ ai wai ɛf tu.*<sup>136</sup>

*now ISGSUB NPU come drop DET IYF*<sup>137</sup> *too*

*“now I am coming to drop the IYF too”*

*“now I am coming to drop the IYF programme as well”*

2. *si: dɛ tins we ju de kam du*<sup>138</sup>

*see DET tins CPL 2SGSUB come do*

*“see the tins (that) you are coming to do”*

*“look at what you want to do”*

#### 4.11.4.0 Imperatives

The imperative in SP comes in two forms: one that involves the causative “make” and the other one that comes without it (Huber, 1999; Forson, 2006). This section thus discusses imperatives under the topics:

1. imperatives without “make”
2. “make” imperative

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<sup>136</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 077

<sup>137</sup> International youth fellowship

<sup>138</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 258

#### 4.11.4.1 Imperative without “make”

This type of imperative is formed without the SP causative marker “make”.

1. *go spai yɔ pɔpi ɔ mɔmi ɪ pe: slip*<sup>139</sup>

go+PRESENT spy DET poppy or mommy 3SGPD pay slip

“go+PRESENT spy your poppy or mommy their pay slip”

“go look at your father or mother’s pay slip”

2. *si: ɪ ne:m dʒolo*<sup>140</sup>

see + PRESENT 3SGPD Dzolo

“see its name: Dzolo”

“look at the name: Dzolo”

#### 4.11.4.2 “Make” Imperatives

We agree with Amoako (1992, p. 78) that negative imperatives are preferably formed by fronting the causative maker “make,” but there is more to this. The following are examples of “make” imperatives, which are of the negative types.

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<sup>139</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 184

<sup>140</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 135

1. *me:k i no baf ju*<sup>141</sup>

CAUS 3SGSUB NEG bash 2SGSUB

“make it not bash you”

“do not let it hurt you at heart”

2. *mek ju no tɔk.*<sup>142</sup>

CAUS 2SGSUB NEG talk

“make you no talk”

“do not talk”

3. *mek wi no tɔk ebaut am kraa*<sup>143</sup>

CAUS 1PLSUB NEG talk about 3SGOBJ EMP

“make us not talk about it at all”

“do not let us talk about it at all”

In addition, the data reveals that fronting the causative marker does not always lead to negative imperatives. There is a trend in the data that looks like the “let” imperative in SE. In this case, the SP causative markers “make” functions like the equivalent of “let” in SE.

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<sup>141</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 046

<sup>142</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 062

<sup>143</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 090

In SE, when an imperative is formed with *let*, it has either the 1<sup>st</sup> person or the 3rd person as its subject (Greenbaum 1996:50 & Quirk and Greenbaum, 2000:202). In this case both subject and verb are pre-posed by the introductory imperative marker “*let*”. In SP, however, the causative marker “*make*” seems to be doing what “*let*” does in SE. However, unlike SE which does not accept the second person subject in this kind of construction, SP does.

1. *mek ju ran wel*<sup>144</sup>

CAUS 2SGSUB run well

“make you run well”

“run well”

2. *mek ju west dis wan fɔ skul insaid*<sup>145</sup>

CAUS 2SGSUB waste DET one for school inside

“make you waste this one in school”

“waste this one in school”

3. *mek ju no tɔk*.<sup>146</sup>

CAUS 2SGSUB NEG talk

“make you not talk”

“do not talk”

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<sup>144</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 1, line 176

<sup>145</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 031

<sup>146</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 062

Examples containing the first and the third person subjects are below.

1. *mek ai tɔk*<sup>147</sup>

CAUS 1SGSUB talk

“make I talk”

“let me talk”

2. *mek ai spai*<sup>148</sup>

CAUS 1SGSUB spy

“make I spy” “let

me see”

3. *mek ai biz sam mata*<sup>149</sup>

CAUS 1SGSUB biz DET matter

“make I biz some matter”

“let me ask a question”

4. *mek dem wi:d*<sup>150</sup>

CAUS 3PLSUB weed

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<sup>147</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 059

<sup>148</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 038

<sup>149</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 107

<sup>150</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 229

“make them weed”

“let them weed”

#### 4.11.5 Deontic Modality

By deontic modality, we shall here limit ourselves to only the element of obligation as a social phenomenal (Saeed, 2003 p 136). This type of modality abounds in SP (Huber, 1999, p. 223; Forson, 2006, p. 146). Deontic modality in SP is expressed by the two modal auxiliaries “for” and “mon.”

“for”

1. *hwai se: dɛm fɔ distɛ:b am*<sup>151</sup>

why CPL 3PLSUB DEO disturb 3SGOBJ

“why that they must disturb her?”

“why must they disturb her?”

2. *i fɔ las tʃɛ:*<sup>152</sup>

3SGSUB DEO last cher

“it must last cher”

“it must last for a long time”

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<sup>151</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 5, line 217

<sup>152</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 3, line 209

“*mon*”

1. *ju mɔn de: fɔ*<sup>153</sup>

2SGSUB DEO COP sure

“you must be sure”

“you must be sure”

1. *ju mɔn fiɛ dis skul gɛls*<sup>154</sup>

2PLSUB DEO fear DET school girl+PLU

“you must fear these school girls”

“you must fear these school girls”

## 1.18 4.12.0 Conclusion

The above discussion has shown that SP is a researchable code even as these syntactic features of the verbal group have indicated. For one thing, SP has become a stabilized code with lexical and structural possibilities that have gone far (Dako, 2002). In the 1980s, one could hardly have identified half of the features of SP discussed above. This new development can be attributed to the fact that every language or code is a living thing and as such, it grows continuously. Consequently, SP must now be considered as a language in its own rights capable of benefitting from research efforts (Wiredu, 2013).

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<sup>153</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 2, line 009

<sup>154</sup> Appendix A, Transcript 4, line 107

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **1.19 Introduction**

This chapter concludes the task of analyzing the verbal group in the SP of young female speakers, from a syntactic viewpoint. The chapter summarizes the processes followed in the study as well as proffers the findings. The chapter concludes with recommendations and suggested areas for further study.

This thesis sought to investigate the nature of the verbal group in the SP of young female speakers from The Evangelical Presbyterian Church Mawuko Girls' Senior High School in Ho, from a syntactic point of view. The study worked on the SP of nine (9) girls in all: eight (8) in the second year and one in the final year. Sampling informants was by snowballing, where each girl identified the one she spoke the code with in the school. This method conforms to Milroy and Milroy's (2010) model of "social networking" (p.112). The only informant from the third year group facilitated access to the eight (8) girls in the second year, some of whom were her friends, and with whom she spoke SP. Obviously, they had been speaking the language in the dormitory.

The girls were asked by the researcher to converse on given topics that were thought to be of interest to the contemporary female Senior High School girl in her teens. The method of topic selection was to make informants use verbs to refer to events in the past, present and the future,

to talk about topical issues requiring the use of verb in various contexts. The conversations were recorded on a *Samsung Galaxy Pocket* (android) mobile phone. They [conversations] were later transcribed, using quasi-Standard English spelling. The transcribed conversations were broken down into about one thousand and sixty (1,060) “gleanable” sentences and segments for analysis of the verbal group therein.

### **5.1 Findings**

The conversations transcribed and the audio recordings have established that indeed the girls spoke SP among themselves as friends in the dormitory (see *Appendixes A & C*). This is contrary to earlier beliefs, that the female SP speaker did so only to fit into male company, and that SP did not play any part in conversations among female interlocutors (see *Section 2.1*). Again looking at the fluency of their renditions, it would appear that they could never have learnt the code during a year’s stay in the boarding house. This gives cause to believe that the girls had been speaking the code even in their Junior High School days.

At the syntactic level, it has been established that the verbal group in the SP of girls is so structured as to be able to express tense, mood and aspect (TMA). Of interest are some of the verbal groups, which included multi-word verbs that conform to phrasal and prepositional verbs, and which follow SE patterns (see *Section 4.3.2*).

Besides, all forms of verbal complementation were documented, except for the non-finite “to infinite” coming after a verb. This exception is because the “to infinitive” structure does not exist in SP, and perhaps not in other West African pidgins either. There has not been any evidence of

this complementation in SP yet.

In addition, SP has its own set of auxiliaries: primary and modal. Apart from the primary auxiliary verbs “*go*” (irrealis maker) and “*dey*” (non-punctual) found in earlier works, there is the occurrence of “*figure*”, “*carry*” and “*take*” in my data. These primary auxiliary verbs function like the dummy auxiliary “*do*” in SE. We concord with earlier findings that “*fit*”, “*mon*” and “*for*” are modal auxiliary verbs as the data shows (see *Section 4.5.2*). These findings need further investigation in subsequent syntactic work on SP.

There is also something interesting about copula use. Apart from the verbs “*be*” and “*dey*” noted in earlier works as copula verbs, the corpus reveals the use of “*make*” as a copular verb in SP. “*Make*” as a copula attracts adjectival complementation only.

Then, again, is the occurrence of the “copulative *na*” in the corpus, contrary to an earlier claim of its absence in SP. Another instance of “*na*” is the Akan completive marker, which points to anteriority in SP.

The corpus, with over 1,060 clauses and segments analyzed, does not show the occurrence of the negator “*never*” even once.

In addition, there is the presence of some verbs labelled “*Unusual Verbs*” in the data (see *Section 4.5.4.0*). Under the borrowed verbs, we have those that are of both Kwa and French origin. Borrowings from the local language include “*sor*”, “*hia*,” “*shegey*,” “*tiasie*,” etc. the French verb “*finir*” finds a place in the corpus both as a lexical verb and a completive marker (see

*Section 4.5.4.2.1*). There is also the coinage of the verb “*deponk*” which the girls use to mean, “to forcefully crop someone’s hair”. The borrowings and the coinages are what Githora (2002, p, 176) refers to as a “conscious effort of the users of a youth language to obscure meaning and cut off non-members.”

As consistent with the structure of a WAPE pidgin, the corpus has revealed a profuse use of serial verbs. Following Forson (2006), we agree that SP is rich in the deployment of serial verbs.

We also agree with earlier findings that SP is a sociolect in the process of being stabilized and is capable of benefitting from research efforts (Dako, 2002a; Wiredu, 2013). This assertion is accentuated by the different mechanisms employed by the SP girls to enrich the code within their domain, and to contort meaning as discussed in Chapter Four. This position gives us reasons to disagree with Taiwiah’s (1998) proclamation that SP is unlikely to achieve any importance in “female communicative functions” among female speakers.

Finally, based on what Pipkins (2004), Forson (2006), Osei-Tutu (2008), Rupp (2013), Baiden (2013), Wiredu (2013), and Dako (2013a) have found so far, [and based on the findings in this research] one should not be surprised to see a massive and public display of SP among female speakers of any age group or class. Secondly, considering the anecdotal evidence that some female chat groups on social media are beginning to record SP as the code for “hard girls,” one should not be surprised to see SP rise to prominence as a language used by the educated mainstream and not a language only for the “deviant group”.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

This research looked at only the *Verbal Group* in SP, which is just one aspect of the syntax of the code. It will be important for a more detailed linguistic study to be carried out on SP, paying attention to other aspects of its syntax as well as its unbalanced orthography, its phonology and its semantic structure.

In the short term, however, a study with a sociolinguistic methodology is more pressing. There is a plethora of anecdotal evidences about the spread of the code among female speakers. What the linguistic and creolist research community needs now is a scientific validation or otherwise of the existence and spread of the code among female speakers, accounting for the scientific and sociolinguistic reasons for the adoption of SP among female speakers, even at the Senior High School level.

## **5.3 Conclusion**

Chapter Five has summarized the aims, methodology and findings in the thesis, ending with recommendations for further study. In all, this thesis argues that SP has become a code for both sexes in that, whatever meaning mechanisms and syntactic intricacies found in the adult male use of the code is shared by the SP of females.

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**INTERNET RESOURCE(S)**

<http://english6.net/p/pidgin!-make-we-hear-your-speak,-make-we-know-why-chaw-students-w12901.html> (Retrieved: 15<sup>th</sup> August 2014)

## Appendix A: Transcript of Recordings

### Transcript 1: Sports Unlimited

(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participant: 3)

005	<p><b>X:</b> How be Mawuko girls den dema inter-schools?  <b>X:</b> E jom, e jom. De inter-schools, e jom. Mawuko girls, dem force, dem force. Dem carry trophies come hos so me,... I hear say de basketball <i>kraa</i> dem chop first. De volleyball too we chop second. Dem force, dem force.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> How did Mawuko girls perform at the inter school sports contest?  <b>X:</b> It was interesting. It was rather interesting. The inter school sports contest was interesting. Mawuko girls did their best. They brought home trophies so, me...I heard they even placed first in basketball. We even placed second in volleyball as well. They did their best. They did they very best.</p>
010	<p><b>X:</b> But like e jom? The inter-schools, e jom?  <b>X:</b> Mmm. E jom. E jom <i>paa dear</i>, but e jom. Sake of the schools wey come no, dem no be like big schools so dat be why.  <b>X:</b> But de tin be say-erh, Mawuko wey OLA<sup>155</sup> win Mawuko,</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But was it very interesting? Was the inter-school contest interesting?  <b>X:</b> Mmm. It was interesting. It was quite interesting, but quite interesting. It was because of the schools that participated; they were not really big schools and that's why?  <b>X:</b> But the thing is that the way OLA thrashed Mawuko</p>
015	<p>e be im wey dey bore me. I no know why OLA go come win Mawuko. De time wey Côte d'Ivoire win Ghana, OLA win Mawuko. Charli<sup>156</sup>e, e good?  <b>X:</b> Oh, e no good-oo. Me I spy am say e no good but Mawuko players dem force, but Abi, dem come play</p>	<p>really hurts me at heart. I do not know why OLA could come and beat Mawuko here? The issue is that La Côte d'Ivoire beat Ghana and OLA beat Mawuko. Charlie, is it good?  <b>X:</b> It's not good at all. I think it's not good but Mawuko players did their best, yet they played</p>
020	<p>again wey dem den AWUSCO play wey dem score AWUSCO. So Mawuko chop first. You no know say for football Mawuko chop first? so OLA score us <i>kraa</i> e no be anytin-erh.  <b>X:</b> Tank you very much. OLA score us self-ah, next year</p>	<p>again ...AWUSCO and they did beat AWUSCO. So Mawuko placed first then. Don't you know that Mawuko placed first in football? So even if we are beaten by OLA that is nothing at all.  <b>X:</b> Thank you very much. Even if OLA beat us, we are</p>
025	<p>we get hope. Next year too, we go play more. But dis one dear e check like Mawuko be Ghana den OLA be like Côte d'Ivoire...  <b>X:</b> ...Côte d'Ivoire. E be exchange.  <b>X:</b> Mmm. But e chill, e chill.</p>	<p>hopeful for next year. Next year, we'll play better. But as for this one, it looks like Mawuko is Ghana and OLA is la Côte d'Ivoire...  <b>X:</b> ...Côte d'Ivoire. It is exchange.  <b>X:</b> Mmmm. But it is okay. It is alright.</p>
030	<p><b>X:</b> But me Mawuko girls I see say dem comport demself.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, yeah.  <b>X:</b> Wey wanna discipline level too be high.  <b>X:</b> Wey Mawuko girls, de form triis wey dey too dem dey cool.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> On my part, I think Mawuko girls have comported themselves.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, yeah.  <b>X:</b> And our level of discipline was high as well.  <b>X:</b> And talking about the current form three students, they are mannered.</p>
035	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm.  <b>X:</b> So everytin make cool.  <b>X:</b> I want make dem lef self <i>kraa</i>, I don't wan see dem for campus top..  <b>X:</b> Dem no get players for dema batches; e be form two  Wey get better players for wanna batch.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm.  <b>X:</b> So everything was in order.  <b>X:</b> I even want them to leave this very minute. I don't want to see them on the school compound.  <b>X:</b> They do not have players in their batch; it is we the form twos who have dedicated players in our batch.</p>
040	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>

<sup>155</sup> Nouns in BLOCK LETTERS are names (acronyms) of senior high schools

<sup>156</sup> In Ghanaian parlance, Charlie is a vocative you use to address a close pal.

	<p><b>X:</b> But dem go talk say dem be WASSCE<sup>157</sup> minded, but we, we be WASSCE-WASSCE minded.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But me de inter school no jom give me.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But they will say they are examination conscious, yet we are more examination conscious than they.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I for one did not enjoy the inter-school sports festival.</p>
045	<p><b>X:</b> E no jom but sake of de chalkings <i>nu</i> me...</p> <p><b>X:</b> E jom give me sake of say... Mawuko. Mawuko, we dey force.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, we dey force. We dey force. Yes.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Herh, I spy some AWUSCO boy <i>paa</i> wey e dey play-erh</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It was not that enjoyable but for the male-female interactions...</p> <p><b>X:</b> I enjoyed it because...Mawuko, Mawuko, we did our best.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.yeah, we did our best. We did our very best. Yes.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Herh, I saw a boy form AWUSCO playing, the way he was playing...</p>
050	<p>, Charlie, the boy...the boy...</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey you dey....feel erh?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. E dey feel am . Charlie.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey you dey feel am?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Naa. <i>Na</i> I no dey feel am. Naa I no dey feel am.</p>	<p>Charlie, the boy...the boy...</p> <p><b>X:</b> And you were...fantasizing about him erh?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. She was fantasizing about him. Charlie.</p> <p><b>X:</b> And you were fantasizing about him?</p> <p><b>X:</b> No. I was not daydreaming about him. No, I did not fall for him.</p>
055	<p><b>X:</b> Ah, e be him alone wey you spy? E be him alone you spy say e dey play?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh, Abi<sup>158</sup> de way e dey play <i>nu</i>, e jom give me.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Why? E be your role model?</p> <p><b>X:</b> E no be my role model. E no be my role model.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>(Pause)</b></p>	<p><b>X:</b> Ah, was he the only boy you saw? Was he the only boy you saw playing?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh, Abi, the way he was playing was really a delight to watch.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Why? Is he your role model?</p> <p><b>X:</b> He is not my role model. He is not my role model.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>(Pause)</b></p>
060	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, so de AFCON wey Ghana go final <i>nu</i>, how you spy am?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ghana menners force-oo</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wanna players force <i>paa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Me I no spy de match-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, the AFCON that Ghana participated in, how did you see it?</p> <p><b>X:</b> The Ghanaian players did their best.</p> <p><b>X:</b> The Ghanaian players did their very best.</p> <p><b>X:</b> For me, I did not watch the match at all.</p>
065	<p><b>X:</b> So you no spy de match?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Me I spy. E be some sexy<sup>159</sup> match bi.</p> <p><b>(Laughter)</b></p> <p><b>X:</b> De match jom <i>waa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E jom, e jom.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E be de time wey dem dey play de... Ghana chop second.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Did you not watch the match then?</p> <p><b>X:</b> For me I watched it. It was an impressive match.</p> <p><b>(Laughter)</b></p> <p><b>X:</b> The match was very entertaining.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It was interesting. It was interesting.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It was the time they were playing the...Ghana placed second.</p>
070	<p><b>X:</b> Ghana chop second. Côte d' Ivoire score us.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So what dem get? Dem get gold?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Na dem get gold?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Naa. E be dis tin dem get....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dem get silver.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Ghana placed second. La Côte d' Ivoire beat us.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So what trophy did they win? Did they win gold?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did they not win gold?</p> <p><b>X:</b> No. It was this thing they won...</p> <p><b>X:</b> They won silver.</p>
075	<p><b>X:</b> E be silver rada?</p> <p><b>X:</b> E be dis tin...dat team wey chop first <i>nu</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Cote d' Ivoire.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I no know. Me I no know. Dat one I no wan hear.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey team wey chop tird?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Was it silver rather?</p> <p><b>X:</b> It was this thing... that team that placed first.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Côte d' Ivoire.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I don't know. For me I don't know. I don't want to hear that one.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Which team placed third?</p>

<sup>157</sup> West African Senior School Certificate Examination

<sup>158</sup> *Abi*, is a vocative in SP.

<sup>159</sup> In Mawuko parlance, *sexy* has such synonyms as 'impressive', 'handsome', 'beautiful', 'colorful', 'palatable' and so on; we could d even have a sexy punishment or meal.

080	<p>X: I no know. I no watch. E be Ghana im own wey I watch.  X: Like dis tin, de World Cup <i>nu</i>,....  X: De World Cup? me I no watch. Sake of say dem dey bore me-oo.  X: You watch?</p>	<p>X: I don't know. I did not watch. It's only Ghana's match that I watched.  X: Like this one, the world cup match...  X: The World Cup match? I did not watch it. It was because of how they keep disappointing me.  X: Did you watch it?</p>
085	<p>X: Me I no watch-oo. I no watch.  X: Na me, I tire <i>paa</i>.  X: Every day, na e be like we dey school before dey play or sometin.  X: Eeeh</p>	<p>X: For me, I did not watch at all.  X: For me I was very tired.  X: It looks like we are always in school before they play those matches or something else.  X: Yes.</p>
090	<p>X: If we dey house self de tin be say anytime Ghana go play, dem go score Ghana so de tin make wey...  X: You no tink like say we change de players?  X: De tin be say dey grow-oo dem grow.  X: Dem grow.</p>	<p>X: Even if we are in the house, the fact remains that anytime Ghana plays, they beat us that is why.....  X: Don't you think we should change the players?  X: The fact is that they are old,... they are old.  X: They are old.</p>
095	<p>X: But you spy dis player, ..Essien?. E <i>kraa</i>, e be like e no dey play.  X: E no dey play.  X: Eh! Muntari...e grow, but e still dey play.  X: Sake of de money dey come.</p>	<p>X: But did you watch this player...Essien? It looks he's not playing either.  X: He's not playing.  X: Eh! Muntari... he's old but he's still paying.  X: Because the money is always coming.</p>
100	<p>X: Eerh.  X: No, but de tin be say dem dey play well; sake of dat dem dey der. You spy Agogo wey e play before?  X: Yeah.  X: When was de last time Agogo play?</p>	<p>X: Eerh.  X: But the fact is that they play well; that is why they are still there. Have you ever watched Agogo at play?  X: Yeah.  X: When was the last time Agogo played?</p>
105	<p>X: But de boy e force-oo, e force <i>kraa</i> before dem come jey am.  X: Where e dey?  X: I no spy am-oo, I no know.  X: I hear say dem change dema coach-oo.</p>	<p>X: But he did his best, he played well before they pulled him out.  X: Where is he?  X: I did not see him. I don't know.  X: I am told their coach has been replaced.</p>
110	<p>X: E be dat wey dey make wey we no dey win.  X: We get black men wey go coach Ghana team...  X: Eee...  X: ...wey you,... de whites, wey dem go come chop your money go.</p>	<p>X: That is the reason they have not been winning.  X: We have Ghanaians that will coach the Ghana team...  X: Eee...  X: And you,... the whites, they will just cheat you out of your own money and leave you.</p>
115	<p>X: Wey dem go trow your money for der.  X: Abi wanna money norr wey dem go chow-<i>erh</i>.  X: Na I dey talk say wanna coach no, e dey chow money-oo.  X: E dey chow money. E be money wey dem dey chow.</p>	<p>X: And you just waste your money on them.  X: Abi, it is only our money they are interested in. I was saying that our coach was earning too high.  X: He earns too high. It is only our money they are spending.</p>
120	<p>X: Hmm. But Kwesi Appaiah e good. De man good.  X: De man, e good. Me I dey feel am.  X: De man good.  X: But e be like everytin happen for some tins to go on.  X: Hmmm.</p>	<p>X: Hmmm. But Kwesi Appiah is good. The man is good.  X: The man is good. I just like him.  X: The man is good.  X: But it looks like everything happens for a reason.  X: Hmmm.</p>
	<p>X: So e too e lef, make somebody come.  X: But Mawuko dey go de zonals-oo.  X: Yeah,  X: Mawuko dey go-oo, <i>hwe</i> Mawuko dey go.</p>	<p>X: He has also left for someone to take over.  X: Mawuko girls are indeed going for the zonal competition .  X: Yeah.</p>

125	X: Wene teams wey...	X: Mawuko is indeed going; look, Mawuko is going. X: Which teams are....
130	X: I no know.. X: Football menners dey go, volleyball menners dey go. Athlete menners dey go. E be handball plus dis tin wey we chop tird... table tennis too, we dey go. E be handball wey we chop tird.	X: I don't know... X: The football team is going; the volleyball team is going, athletes are going. It's in hand ball and this other discipline that we placed third... table tennis is going as well. It's in handball that we placed third.
135	X: So wene village wey dem dey go play? X: I hear say.... X: My village. (Laughter) X: Oh, Kpando. X: E be SPACO we dem go... so dis time dem go go	X: What village is hosting them? X: I heard that... X: My village. (Laughter) X: Oh, Kpando. X: Its SPACO they went to.... So this time they will go
140	BIHECO. X: Kpando. X: Kpando. X: Ah! Dat school dear. X: KPANTECH?	X: Kpando. X: Kpando. X: Ah! As for that school. X: KPANTECH?
145	X: But e go chill. X: Mmm. E go chill. X: E go jom waa because of... KPANSEC dear,... X: But sisters, please....you spy say de players wey dem pick give Mawuko-aa dem good?	X: But it's okay. X: Mmm. It will be nice. X: It will be very interesting because of ... as for KPANSEC... X: But sisters, did you check whether the players selected for Mawuko were good enough?
150	X: Dem good, dem good X: If dis kind menners no good-a, make dem change dem before zonals-oo. X: Oh, dis girl... you spy dis girl? Akpetor plus Kimberly, you spy dem?	X: They are good. X: If those people are not good, let them change them before the zonal completion begins. X: Oh, this girl... did you see this girl? Akpetor and Kimberly, did you see them?
155	X: Dem good, dem good. X: Dem dey force, dem dey play waa. X: Me self I wan play football before but na my knee no dey allow me. So I no fit play. E be javelin wey I dey trow but...	X: They are good. X: They do their best. They play beautifully. X: Even me, I had wanted to play football but my knee did not allow me. I've been throwing the javelin but...
160	X: Hmm, na you.... (laughter) You say you dey trow. what...? X: ... trow javelin. X: But me na I no spy... X: I no trow javelin dat day-oo; e be Precious wey trow so... it's like... dat time too I go hos.	X: Hmm, you...(laughter) you say you throw what...? X: ...throw the javelin. X: For me I did not see you. X: I did not throw the javelin that day at all; it was Precious who threw so....
165	X: Wene Precious dat? X: Kendey X: Aaah. I no spy am. I no know am kraa. X: She chop tird.	I went home that time. X: Precious what? X: Kendey X: Aaah. I did not see her. I do not even know her. X: She placed third..
170	X: Abi, e force. (Pause) X: Wanna coaches too dem force. X: Yeah, dem dey coach well. X: Abi Mr Agrah too dey force-eh; wanna... X: E dey force...	X: Abi, she tried her best possible. (Pause) X: Our coaches too did their best possible. X: Yeah. They coached us very well. X: Abi, Mr Agrah too did his best. Our... X: He tried his best possible.
175	X: De man e dey force. Madam,... Madam Bissi too dey force. X: De time wey we dey do de inter-house wey dem dey cook give us we dey chop. X: Dat alone go tell you say make you play well. Make you	X: The man does his best possible. Madam...Madam Bissi too does her best. X: They time were having the inter-house competition, they were cooking for us to eat. X: That alone will tell you to play well. You must

170	<p>trow well; make you run well.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You spy... you spy dis woman? Madam Delight! E come, ...e come last year... e come last year; e be National Service personnel. E come last year, e come..., e come coach dem menners... wanna players bi, wanna</p>	<p>throw well; you must run well.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did you see... did you see this woman? Madam Delight! She came... she came last year... she came last year; she is a national service person. She came last year, she came...she came to coach those people...some of our players, our</p>
185	<p>handball players, e come coach dem.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So at de end, wene position Mawuko chop?</p> <p><b>X:</b> I no know-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But e be like Mawuko chop second-oo.</p>	<p>handball players, she came to coach them.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So in the end, what was Mawuko's position?</p> <p><b>X:</b> I don't know at all.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But it looks like Mawuko placed second.</p>
190	<p><b>X:</b> So wene menners run for Mawuko?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Menners run chao. Menners run.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Menners run.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You spy dis girl? Wendy. Hmmm?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Eeh.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So which people ran for Mawuko?</p> <p><b>X:</b> A lot of people ran. People ran.</p> <p><b>X:</b> People ran.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did you see this girl? Wendy. Hmmm?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Eeh.</p>
195	<p><b>X:</b> E run. I spy am. Wey I spy Quincy.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Bible Quran. Wendy run. Raspopo, some form one girl bi, she run. Some menners run cross-country dems</p> <p><b>X:</b> Cross country too I hear say we chop tird-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E good.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> She ran. I saw her. And I saw Quincy</p> <p><b>X:</b> Bible Quran. Wendy ran. Raspopo, a certain form one girl, she ran. Some people ran the cross-country and other races.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I'm told we placed third in the cross country race too.</p> <p><b>X:</b> That's good.</p>
197	<p><b>X:</b> E chill, e chill. Menners wey dem dey put dem for car dey come, KPESCO dem menners. (Exclamation)</p>	<p><b>X:</b> That's okay, it's okay. There are some people like KPESCO students who are transported here in a car every day. (Exclamation)</p>

## Transcript 2: Termly Examinations

(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participants: 5)

005	<p><b>X:</b> So Charlie, dis exam we write, how you take see am?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, me I see am say e be cool. Like everytin wey I mow nu, de tin drop so...</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ei, de tin drop?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah, de tin wey I mow, e drop. De gavment like dis, de</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So Charlie, how did you see the exam we have just written?</p> <p><b>X:</b> For me I see it to be alright. It looks like questions came from the topics I had learnt.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ei, the questions came?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah, the things I leant came. Take Government for instance, the</p>
010	<p>tin I mow, e drop so me....</p> <p><b>X:</b> E check like say you be soothsayer-oo. (Laughter)</p> <p><b>X:</b> De tin be say, for exams dear, you for prepare very well. As you dey go de hall inside, you mon dey sure say most of de tins go drop. So dis one wey me I</p>	<p>topics I learnt came, so me.....</p> <p><b>X:</b> It looks like you are a soothsayer. (Laughter)</p> <p><b>X:</b> The thing is as for exams, you must prepare very well. Even as you go into the exams hall, you must be sure that most of the things will come. So for this</p>
015	<p>write-aa, oh, I manage am.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E mean de tins drop?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Mmm. Some.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ehe? Dat be e be only some wey drop?</p> <p><b>X:</b> But one tin I know be say e no be everytin wey you</p>	<p>one that I wrote, I managed it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did it mean the thing came?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Mmm. Some of them.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ehe? Did it mean it's only some of them that came?</p>

		<b>X:</b> For one thing I know, it's not everything you learn that will come in the exams.
020	learn wey go drop. <b>X:</b> De tin, some go come, some no go come. Some,... <b>X:</b> Some <i>nu</i> , e no go come at all. <b>X:</b> E be true. <b>X:</b> But me naa, I shock-oo. Sake of Gavment-eh, na I burn	<b>X:</b> As for the questions, some will come, some will not come. Some.... <b>X:</b> Some will even not come at all. <b>X:</b> That is true. <b>X:</b> But as for me, I was shocked. Because of Government, I had burnt the midnight oil,
025	de night wey I dey mow-aa, I carry de textbook. I dey mow,..... <b>X:</b> So wey kind part surprise you? <b>X:</b> I dey mow 'Rule of Law', 'Political Parties', ah,...! <b>X:</b> Ah, e come <i>Section A</i> ....	and as I was learning, I carried the textbook. I was learning,..... <b>X:</b> So which part surprised you? <b>X:</b> I was learning "Rule of Law", "Political Parties", ah! <b>X:</b> Ah, it came in the <i>Section A</i> ....
030	<b>X:</b> ...I dey mow say e go come <i>Section B</i> make I...me make I... <b>X:</b> E good say e come <i>Section A</i> . <b>X:</b> Ooooooh. But me... <b>X:</b> But me I see am say dis term paper e better pass last	<b>X:</b> ...I was learning it, expecting it to come in <i>Section B</i> so that I ...so that I could.... <b>X:</b> It's even good it came in <i>Section A</i> . <b>X:</b> Ooooooooh. As for me..... <b>X:</b> On my part, I see that this term's paper is better
035	term im own. <b>X:</b> E make better pas last term in own? <b>X:</b> Eih Charlie! <b>X:</b> And dis term too you know one tin wey dey surprise me? Hmmmm.	than last term's. <b>X:</b> Is it better than last term's? <b>X:</b> Eih. Charlie! <b>X:</b> And do you know the one thing that surprised me? Hmmmm
040	De invigilators wey dem ask make dem come supervise we <i>nu</i> , e be one invigilator.... <b>X:</b> Yes one invigilator! <b>X:</b> But me I shock-oo. <b>X:</b> But me e jom me because wanna invigilator e be cool	It is only one invigilator they brought to invigilate us throughout... <b>X:</b> Yes, one invigilator! <b>X:</b> But for me, I was shocked. <b>X:</b> On my part, I was happy because our invigilator
045	person-oo, but like you fool-aa wey e go make harsh-hash. But de man, e make himself like make we fear am so say we no go practice malpractice <i>bia</i> . <b>X:</b> Ah, wene man be dat?	was a nice person, but if you misbehaved, he would put some fear into you. The man made himself to be feared so we would not engage in any exam malpractice. <b>X:</b> Ah, which man was that?
050	<b>X:</b> Some teacher bi, me I know am before for Mawuko campus <i>kraa</i> . E be new teacher wey e come. <b>X:</b> Ahh, e be dat... okay. I spy am. <b>X:</b> I hear say e dey teach Chemistry. But me I no know am.	<b>X:</b> A certain teacher that I have never met before in Mawuko. He is one of the new teachers that have come. <b>X:</b> Ahh, that one...okay. I saw him. <b>X:</b> I am told he teaches Chemistry. Yet I do not know him.
060	<b>X:</b> Oh, dat one, I spy am. <b>X:</b> Reggie <sup>160</sup> , dis one wey pass, how you take spy de Maas <sup>161</sup> ? <b>X:</b> Yeeeh! <b>X:</b> Eeei!	<b>X:</b> Oh, that one, I saw him. <b>X:</b> Reggie, how do you see the just ended Mathematics paper? <b>X:</b> Yeeeh! <b>X:</b> Eeei!
065	<b>X:</b> Mhmmmm! <b>X:</b> Make you no talk-oo <b>X:</b> Hei! Maas? <b>X:</b> I get somewhere-aa, de tin no dey come. <b>X:</b> Ehh.	<b>X:</b> Mhmmmm! <b>X:</b> Don't talk about it at all. <b>X:</b> Hei! Maths? <b>X:</b> I got to I point where I run out of ideas. <b>X:</b> Ehh

<sup>160</sup> Reggie, Shaker and the like are pseudonyms.

<sup>161</sup> Mathematics

070	<p><b>X:</b> Oh.  <b>X:</b> I get confused <i>kraa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Hmm?  <b>X:</b> I no know. I no know.  <b>X:</b> But everytin dey for God im hand.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Oh.  <b>X:</b> I was the more confused.  <b>X:</b> Hmm?  <b>X:</b> I don't know. I don't know.  <b>X:</b> But everything is in the hands of God.</p>
075	<p><b>X:</b> Dat Maas dear...  <b>X:</b> But abi you do sometin.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, I do sometin.  <b>X:</b> Me I spy de paper, I take de calculator, I calculate de tin wey de anza no dey de paper top-<i>aa</i>, wey I put my</p>	<p><b>X:</b> As for that Maths paper,...  <b>X:</b> But Abi, you were able to do something.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, I did something.  <b>X:</b> When I saw the paper, I took my calculator, I calculated the thing but as the answer was not on the paper,</p>
080	<p>head for de table wey I bed.  <b>(Laughter)</b>  <b>X:</b> E make like de tin wey you mow <i>naa</i>, e come make like you mow notin.  <b>X:</b> I no dey see notin top.  <b>X:</b> E no be such-<i>oo</i>. E make like de formulas dem dey but</p>	<p>I put my head on the table and I slept off.  <b>(Laughter)</b>  <b>X:</b> I looked as if you learnt nothing.  <b>X:</b> I did not understand a thing.  <b>X:</b> It's not like that at all. It looks like the formula was there alright but</p>
085	<p>you spy de questions, de way dem carry de questions come <i>nu</i>, you no go <i>tiasie</i>.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, dat be de tin. E no be say you no know am-<i>oo</i>, you.... <b>(Laughter)</b>...you get de formula alright but you no know how you go carry solve am.</p>	<p>when you looked at the questions and the way they were structured, you would not understand anything.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, that's the thing. It's not like you do not know it... <b>(Laughter)</b>...you have the formula alright but do not know how to solve the question.</p>
090	<p><b>X:</b> Dat be de tin.  <b>X:</b> Dat be de tin  <b>X:</b> Shaker, Abi you know say Maas dear, e shake us <i>paa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Me I spy de tin, I dog am-<i>oo</i>. Serious-<i>oo</i>. De Maas. I beg, make we no talk about am <i>kraa</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> That is the thing.  <b>X:</b> That is the thing.  <b>X:</b> Shaker, you know that the Maths paper has really shaken you.  <b>X:</b> When I saw the thing, I just abandoned the idea of solving the questions. It's a serious matter. The Mathematics paper. Please, I prefer we do not talk about it at all.</p>
095	<p><b>X:</b> But me, de Maas, I feel say e good-<i>oo</i>.  <b>X:</b> E good?  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  <b>X:</b> Why you talk so?  <b>X:</b> De kind-<i>a</i> questions wey drop-<i>erh</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But I feel the Maths paper was alright.  <b>X:</b> Was it good?  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  <b>X:</b> Why did you say that?  <b>X:</b> Judging by the kind of questions that were asked.</p>
100	<p><b>X:</b> Dat be why I dey talk say dis term exams, e no make like last term im own.  <b>X:</b> E no make like last time dat one dear,...  <b>X:</b> Dis time e make soft <i>kraa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Like de kind tins wey our teacher come teach us <i>nu</i>, e</p>	<p><b>X:</b> This is why I am saying that this term's exam is not like last term's.  <b>X:</b> It is true it's not like last term's.  <b>X:</b> It was very easy this time round.  <b>X:</b> It looks like the kind of things our teachers came to teach us</p>
105	<p>no be im come. E no be all of dem wey come.  <b>X:</b> Hmmm...  <b>X:</b> But de one wey come <i>nu</i>, e good, e good.  <b>X:</b> So me I fit talk say e good, e good. Even last time im own like dis you people dey sweat, dey suffocate inside</p>	<p>are not the things they brought.  <b>X:</b> Hmmm.  <b>X:</b> But the ones that came are better. They are good, quite good.  <b>X:</b> On my part, I can say that it's good, it's good. Looking at last term's exams, you were sweating and suffocating</p>
	<p>de room.  <b>X:</b> You make I biz some matter-<i>oo</i>. How you carry see de</p>	<p>inside the room.  <b>X:</b> Can I ask a question? How did you see the PE</p>

110	<p>PE<sup>162</sup>? (<i>Laughter</i>) X: Make you no talk. X: De PE, I feel, I feel am.</p>	<p>paper? (<i>Laughter</i>) X: Don't talk about it. X: I just like the paper.</p>
115	<p>X: Abi you biz me. I feel am. X: Last minute-<i>aa</i> e carry some pamphlet come class say make we buy am. X: Den e come carry questions bunch come wanna table say make we do am.</p>	<p>X: As you ask me, I will say I like it. X: At the very last minute, he brought a pamphlet to our class and asked us to buy copies. X: Then he wrote a lot of questions on the board in our class and asked us to solve them.</p>
120	<p>X: Eeh, you for just do am-<i>erh</i>. X: Charlie, de tin be say, de pamphlet inside <i>kraa</i> you dey search answer for questions <i>kraa</i>, you no go find am. X: Dat be de tin. Sake of some questions-bi dem dey de pamphlet inside but if you comb truu de pamphlet-<i>aa</i>,</p>	<p>X: Yes, you should just solve them. X: Charlie, the thing is that when you search through the pamphlet, you will not find answers that are supposed to be there. X: That is the thing. There are some questions in the pamphlet but when you comb through the pamphlet,</p>
125	<p>you no go see am. X: You no go see am. X: E come wanna class wey e carry some book-<i>bi</i>, if you spy de book, de book be like dis. Abi you spy <i>Native Son</i><sup>163</sup>? Dat one <i>kraa</i> e big pas <i>Native Son</i>. Some book-<i>bi</i>,</p>	<p>you will not find answers. X: You will not see it. X: He came to our class, carrying a book. If you saw the book, it was like this. Abi, have you ever seen <i>Native Son</i>? That one is even bigger than <i>Native Son</i> is. A certain book</p>
130	<p>e dey like dis one wey e carry come say make we buy, wey we talk am say-<i>oo</i> we no get money wey we no go buy. So e go carry give us credit-<i>aa</i>, we go buy. Wey e talk us say make we buy de pamphlet wey we talk am say de pamphlet self we no get money, wey e carry de</p>	<p>It was like this, and he brought it to our class, asking us to buy copies. He asked if we would buy if he sold them to us on credit. He also asked us to buy the pamphlet but we told him that we did not even have money for the pamphlet. So when he</p>
135	<p>question come-<i>aa</i>, we talk am say we no go answer. But we shade sometin give am. X: But why you for tell your teacher say you no go answer im question? X: Ah! But e no teach us.</p>	<p>brought the questions we told him we would not answer. But we shaded something for him. X: But why should you tell your teacher you would not answer his questions. X: Ah! But he did not teach us.</p>
140	<p>X: E be you wey go come class. X: But de tin, some of dem e be try your luck-<i>oo</i>. X: Dis one be promotion exam-<i>oo</i>. E no be say you dey form one wey make dey favour you. Dis one be promotion exam.</p>	<p>X: You rather did not go to class. X: As for the questions, some of them work on "try your luck" basis. X: This one is a promotion exam. It's not like you are in form one and may be favoured. This one is a promotion exam.</p>
145	<p>X: But one tin I see say dis one e no go make strict like next term. X: Eeeh! X: Next term im own dear you fail-<i>aa</i>, Charlie, dat be all- [<i>oo</i>. X&amp; X: Dat be all, dat be all.</p>	<p>X: One thing I observe is that this term's conditions will not be as strict as those of next term. X: Eeeh! X: As for next term's exams, as soon as you fail, that is the end of you. X&amp; X: That is all, that is all.</p>
150	<p>X: But dis one I hear say dem go add dis one and next term, wanna exams go promote us. E mean say dis term exam if you no do well wey next term you force-<i>aa</i>, you go go.</p>	<p>X: As for this one, I am told that they will add marks for this one and that of next term and our total score will guarantee our promotion. It means that if you do not do well in this term's exams and you do not perform any better in next term's as well, you will be repeated.</p>

**Transcript 3: 'DUMSOR'**<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Physical Education

<sup>163</sup> A voluminous novel by the Black American novelist, Richard Wright.

**(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participant: 3)**

005	<p>X: Oh, Charlie. So de <i>dumsor</i> no, how you spy am?  X: Charlie, e no good at all. Nowadays, you go schedule programme dey do naa, you go hear say <i>dumsor</i>.  X: Dis Mahama im gavment, sometimes you go schedule programme dey do naa, lights go go off.</p>	<p>X: Oh, Charlie. So how do you see the energy crisis?  X: Charlie, it is not good at all. Nowadays, when you schedule a programme, all you will all see is the lights going off.  X: As for this Mahama government, sometimes you will schedule a programme but will see the power go off.</p>
010	<p>X: Abi de budget <i>kraa</i> wey e read for parliament dat be what e talk us. So <i>na</i> I no know why de <i>dumsor</i>.  X: Charlie, de river self dey dry; we dey cut trees as if we no get head. The river self dey dry.  X: Abi you know say de form 3 students dem too dey come</p>	<p>X: Even in the budget presented before parliament, he told us. So I don't know why the power crisis still exists.  X: Charlie, even the lake is drying up; we cut trees as if we are headless. Even the river is drying up.  X: You know the form three students too are coming</p>
015	<p>write dema WASSCE wey de <i>dumsor-dumsor</i>, how dem for learn? How dem for mow?  X: Dem for talk gavment make e do sometin.  X: Hmm, me my mommy e get cold store wey e get fish for de fridge inside, wey every day, <i>dumsor</i>.</p>	<p>to write their WASSCE while the power crisis persists. How can They learn? How can they learn?  X: They should ask government to do something about it.  X: For me, my mother has a cold store and she has a stock of fish in the fridge before power goes off every day.</p>
020	<p>X: Abi dis one dea de fish go spoil-erh!  X: Eeh.  X: Carry come make we chill-erh!  X: Ah! How I fit carry am come school?  X: Abi you go talk am say make e carry de fish come make</p>	<p>X: As for this one, the fish will go bad.  X: Eeh.  X: Bring it for us to enjoy ourselves with.  X: How can I bring it to school?  X: You will tell her to bring it for us</p>
025	<p>we chew-eh.  X: You go pay my school fees give me?  <i>(Laughter)</i>  X: What you dey tink? E no be de same money e dey carry pay my school fees?  X: Abi make e sell give us... e sell give us, abi we go buy.</p>	<p>to eat.  X: Will you pay my school fees for me?  <i>(Laughter)</i>  X: What do you think? Is it not the same money she uses to pay my school fees?  X: She should sell some to us... we will buy some.</p>
030	<p>X: We go buy chow-erh.  X: But me dis vac wey I go hos wey I figure say Accra go better.... I dey der <i>naa, mui, mui</i>.  X: Dat place <i>kraa</i> e worse pass every place.  X: Accra worse pass every place.</p>	<p>X: We will buy and eat.  X: For me, when I was going home, I had thought Accra would be better. I was there when <i>mui, mui</i>.  X: That place is worse than every other place.</p>
035	<p>X: Accra worse pass Ho <i>kraa-oo</i>.  X: Ho, Ho dey jom <i>kraa</i>, de dumso for Ho <i>kraa</i> e better. E better for here.  X: Accra sometimes you dey der <i>naa</i>...  X: Accra, sometimes, 3 days.</p>	<p>X: Accra is worse than every other place.  X: Accra is much worse than Ho. As for Ho, it is good, the power crisis in Ho is better. It is better here.  X: As for Accra, you will sometimes be there and...  X: Accra, sometimes, for three days.</p>

<sup>164</sup> 'Dumsor' refers to the energy crisis in Ghana, a prevalent situation at the time of the research. It is a compound made up of two Akan words 'dum' [turn off] and 'sor' [turn on].

040	<p><b>X:</b> Me I dey hos wey I dey chat, like I dey WhatsApp small wey I dey tink say I get low battery but make I wassap small den I go charge am <i>ryders naa</i>. Make I spy-<i>aa</i>, <i>mui</i>, light off.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi you no get generator, you go tap cool.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> When I was in the house, I was chatting on WhatsApp I had a low battery but I thought I should still chat awhile thinking would I charge the battery very soon. Before I realised what was going on, <i>mui</i>, the lights went off.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi, as you do not own a generator, you will wait patiently.</p>
045	<p><b>X:</b> You go bed; you go bed.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you den some bro get some business chat <i>bi</i> wey go carry money come hos-<i>aa</i>...?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! So you for wegde for morrow.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> You will go to bed; you will go and sleep.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What if you are on a business chat which will bring monetary benefits?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! You will have to wait till the next day.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh!</p>
050	<p><b>X:</b> Den you for get two batteries. You charge dis one small <i>naa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But me where I go get dat kind money buy anoda battery?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie. But dat be de question wey you go biz-<i>oo</i>. I</p>	<p><b>X:</b> You should own two batteries then. You should charge one on standby.</p> <p><b>X:</b> For a person like me, where can I raise the money to buy a spare battery?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, that is the question we should be asking. I</p>
055	<p>shock self.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey me I no fit get money den buy anoda battery. What you dey talk? De generator wey we dey take charge phone <i>kraa</i> e dey spoil de dis tin give us-<i>oo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Erh</p>	<p>am shocked.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I cannot raise the money to buy another battery. What are you talking about? Even the generator we use in charging our phones spoils the gadgets for us.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yes.</p>
060	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Abi e go spoil de battery give you-<i>eh</i>. Battery too dis days e dey cos. But me if I go go buy battery den I go go buy new phone rada.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Battery dear, e dey cos.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You sure?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yes. It will damage your battery. Even batteries are expensive these days. For me, instead of buying a spare battery, I should rather buy a new phone.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. As for batteries, they are expensive.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Are you sure?</p>
065	<p><b>X:</b> But you spy dis tins too? Dis meners dem wicked-<i>oo</i>. You go buy de phone-<i>aa</i>, you figure say two batteries dey de phone, but dem go jey one. Den dem go carry one give you, so say you want-<i>aa</i>, den you go go buy anoda one.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But have you seen this one too? These people are very wicked. When you buy a phone you will think there are two batteries in the pack, yet they have taken out one. Then They will hand the pack to you so that when you need another battery, you can come and buy from them.</p>
070	<p><b>X:</b> Abi, dat one e be business.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, e be business strategy.</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> Mahama gavment e for shon de <i>dumsor</i>. Dem for talk to ECG<sup>165</sup>-<i>erh</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you figure say you carry dis electricity company</p>	<p><b>X:</b> That is business for you.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, that is a business strategy.</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> The Mahama government must put an end to the power crisis. They should advise ECG.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But don't you think if they hand ECG over</p>
075	<p>give some private dis tin, e no go better pass?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dem go job well. Dem go job well.</p> <p><b>X:</b> De only tin be say-<i>erh</i> dem carry give dem-<i>aa</i>, monopoly. Wey we meners wey we no get money, how we fit buy credit dems?</p>	<p>to a private “this thing” it would work better?</p> <p><b>X:</b> They will perform better.</p> <p><b>X:</b> The only thing is that when they hand over to them, there will be monopoly. And then those of us who are not rich, how can we buy prepaid power credit?</p>

<sup>165</sup> The Electricity Company of Ghana

080	<p><b>X:</b> You know some company-<i>bi</i> dey Tema? As for dema place dem no fit off light-<i>oo</i>. Every day dem get light. Dat <i>dumsor -dumsor</i> no dey affect dem.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi dem be some private company-<i>bi</i>, dem dey pay ECG wey dem no off dem light <i>kraa</i>. But we wey we no</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Do you know this company in Tema? As for our place they cannot ration power. They have electricity power every day. The nationwide power crisis does not affect them.</p> <p><b>X:</b> They are a certain private company; they pay some special money to ECG so that (ECG) does not deny them power at all. But for those of us who have no</p>
085	<p>get money <i>dear; enaa</i> dat.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I hear say some big men dey Ho Winners. im der, dem no fit off light, unless e lef go before dem go off light. But if e dey around dear,.....</p> <p><b>X:</b> How dem no go off am?</p>	<p>money, our fate is clear.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I am told some prominent men in Ho Winners' Chapel. In their area, they (ECG) cannot switch off power. But if he is round, for sure....</p> <p><b>X:</b> How can they (ECG) turn it off?</p>
090	<p><b>X:</b> Abi e get cash; e get money.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E go carry some ten Ghana- <i>bi</i> give dem.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What you dey talk? Ten Ghana?</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> But Charlie, I hear say dem fire de ECG boss <i>kraa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh! what's up? What e do?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Surely he is rich; he is wealthy.</p> <p><b>X:</b> He will offer them (ECG) some ten Ghana cedis.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What are you saying? Ten Ghana cedis?</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I hear they have even fired the ECG boss.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh! what's going on? What has he done?</p>
095	<p><b>X:</b> Me I no hear-<i>ooo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dis <i>dumsor</i> matter-<i>eh</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What e do? E no be im fault-<i>erh</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E be im wey dey control affairs self?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi dem for consider. Dem for consider am-<i>eh</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> As for me I have heard about it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It must be this power crisis issue.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What has he done? It is not his fault.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Is he the one controlling affairs there at all?</p> <p><b>X:</b> They should consider him. They should consider him.</p>
100	<p><b>X:</b> Consider am say wetin-<i>aa</i>?</p> <p><b>X:</b> De lake self dey dry, e no be im wey cause am.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh, Charlie, what you dey talk?</p> <p><b>X:</b> <i>Naa</i> true e dey talk-<i>oo</i>, de Volta lake e dry <i>ankasa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> What Mahama dey do dear, ....me,...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Consider him? What for?</p> <p><b>X:</b> The lake itself is drying up; he is not the cause.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh, Charlie, what are you saying?</p> <p><b>X:</b> She is telling the truth; the Volta lake is indeed drying up.</p> <p><b>X:</b> For what Mahama is doing,....me,...</p>
105	<p><b>X:</b> But you figure say...? But e be say we no get visionary leaders wey dem go lead...</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, na loy-<i>oo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> We get; we get.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! we no get.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But do you think...? It is because we do not have visionary leaders to lead ....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, it is a lie.</p> <p><b>X:</b> We have some; we have some.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! we do not have some.</p>
110	<p><b>X:</b> Even Mawuko self, we get.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! me, I no dey talk about Mawuko, I dey talk about Ghana.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You figure say de time wey Nkrumah build dis Akosombo dam, we fit count de number of presidents wey come [ pass?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Even in Mawuko here, we have some.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ah! I am not talking about Mawuko; I'm talking about Ghana.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Counting from the time Nkrumah built the Akosombo dam, can we count the number of presidents who have come and gone?</p>
115	<p><b>X:</b> But Rawlings dear e no force-<i>oo</i>. What e come do plus Ghana menners? E no force <i>kraa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So after dat Akosombo dam we no get any dam again wey e go generate electricity for Ghana? Abi dem no get any dam. Dat be our only hope so we for manage am</p>	<p><b>X:</b> As for Rawlings he did not do his best at all. What did he come to do with Ghanaians? He did not do his best.</p> <p><b>X:</b> So apart from Akosombo, do we not have any other dam that will generate electricity for Ghana? They do not have any dam. That is our only hope</p>
	<p>small small so.</p> <p><b>X:</b> <i>Erh</i>, dat be why I dey talk say we no get visionary</p>	<p>so we must manage it little by little.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Eh, that is why I am saying we do not have</p>

120	<p>leaders.  <b>X:</b> Erh.  <b>X:</b> Because we get visionary leaders-<i>aa</i> dem go plan all dis [tins.</p>	<p>visionary leaders.  <b>X:</b> Erh.  <b>X:</b> Because if had visionary leaders, they would have planned all this.</p>
125	<p><b>X:</b> Nkrumah, e start good work-<i>oo</i>.  <b>X:</b> E start good work.  <b>X:</b> But de man self no good. De man self no good.  <b>X:</b> But e start good work give Ghana.  <b>X:</b> Abi de leaders wey dem come <i>nu</i>, dem no get good</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Nkrumah had started some good work.  <b>X:</b> He started good work.  <b>X:</b> But the man himself was not a good man. He was not.  <b>X:</b> But he had started good work for Ghana.</p>
130	<p>vision. Wanna money wey dem want chop.  <b>X:</b> Yes wanna money dem want chop den <i>commot</i>.  <b>X:</b> De only tin dem know be say dem dey chop money like dem no get brain. If you go dema house-<i>eh</i>, you go open your mouf wey fly go enter wey...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But all the leaders who are coming do not have any good vision. It is our money they want to spend.  <b>X:</b> Yes it is our money they want to spend and leave.  <b>X:</b> The only thing they know is that they want to spend our money as if they do not think about it. If you go to their houses, you will open your mouth and a fly will enter and....</p>
135	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie you go chew am plus de tongue all.  <b>X:</b> If you spy dema house-<i>eh</i>, and de cars wey dey dema house,...  <b>X:</b> You go bow.  <b>X:</b> De kind choda wey dem chow for dema house-<i>erh</i>, you</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, you will chew it together with your tongue.  <b>X:</b> If you ever see their houses and their vehicles and their houses,...  <b>X:</b> You will surrender to them.</p>
140	<p>go biz dem say, "Why? You dey pay dem make dem come chop your money or make dem come do work give you?" Abi sake of dat...e be tax payers money wey dey take pay dem wey dem no dey do anytin self.  <b>X:</b> But dey talk say where you dey job-<i>erh</i>, dat be where</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Looking at the kind of food that they eat in their houses, you will ask them, if we were paying them to eat or to work. Because of that... it is actually the tax payers' money they use in paying them, yet they do no work at all.  <b>X:</b> But it is said that you eat at where you work.</p>
145	<p>you go eat.  <b>X:</b> So...so dey for chop. Dey for chop.  <b>X:</b> But dey for chop de money small den lef-<i>eh</i>, you too you go der-<i>aa</i> den you too you chop some...  <b>X:</b> Abi you want talk say if e be you wey dey der-<i>aa</i> you no</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So...so they should enjoy themselves.  <b>X:</b> But they must enjoy themselves responsibly so that when they leave office and you too happen to go, you can get some resources to enjoy.  <b>X:</b> Do you really want to say that if it were you up</p>
150	<p>go chop some?  <b>X:</b> Na, na, na, na. . Every gavment wey come-<i>aa</i> "Oh, I no go chop"... but dem come-<i>aa</i> dem go chop. Abi Mahama come, e say e no go chop, <i>dumsor-dumsor</i> all e go reduce am.</p>	<p>there you wouldn't spend some of the money?  <b>X:</b> No, no, no, no. Every new government that comes to power says: "Oh, we will not embezzle state funds"...but when they enter government, they embezzle funds. When Mahama came, he promised he would not embezzle funds, and he would end the energy crisis.</p>
155	<p><b>X:</b> Enaa dat. Im, e talk us make we vote give am. We vote give am too-<i>aa</i>...  <b>X:</b> But me I no dey sure say e go win dis election again.  <b>X:</b> E go win, Charlie. E go win!  <b>X:</b> For where?   <b>X:</b> But dem come-<i>aa</i> dem go chop. Abi Mahama come, e say e no...  <b>X:</b> E go win. Menners go vote give am rough.  <b>X:</b> Abi me I see am, I go talk am face to face-<i>aa</i>, I go talk am...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Exactly so. For him, he promised us and we voted for him. After voting him...  <b>X:</b> But me, I am not sure he will win the next election.  <b>X:</b> He will win, Charlie. He will win!  <b>X:</b> Where?  <b>X:</b> Yet, when they come, they will embezzle funds. When Mahama came, he said he would not...  <b>X:</b> He will win. People will vote for him convincingly.  <b>X:</b> When I see him, I will tell him to the face. I will</p>

		tell him...
160	<p><b>X:</b> Why? E be irony you dey talk or wetin?  <b>X:</b> No Charlie, e be true matter wey I dey talk. De man go win.  <b>X:</b> E no go win anytin.  <b>X:</b> Me I see say you dey support am <i>paa</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Why? Are you using irony or what?  <b>X:</b> No, Charlie, it is the truth I am saying. The man will win.  <b>X:</b> He will not win at all.  <b>X:</b> I see you support him ardently.</p>
165	<p><b>X:</b> No, e be Nana wey...  <b>X:</b> Wey you go vote give am or wetin? Nana dear e pass...Nana pass 75.  <b>X:</b> E be dis <i>dumsor kraa</i> wey menners go stand against am.  <b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> No, is it Nana that...?  <b>X:</b> ...that you will vote for him or what? As for Nana, he has passed the.. Nana is over 70 years.  <b>X:</b> It is this power crisis the people will use against him.  <b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>
170	<p><b>X:</b> You loy. Dem just dey talk. Every day....  <b>X:</b> E dey talk us say <i>dumsor-dumsor</i>, e go stop am. Right now de well dry, everytin.  <b>X:</b> But e no be im fault.  <b>X:</b> Dat Bui dam, dat long tee wey dem talk say dem dey...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> You lie. They are just saying it. Every day....  <b>X:</b> He is telling us that he will stop the power crisis. Right now the lake has dried up, everything.  <b>X:</b> But it is not his fault.  <b>X:</b> It is a long time now since they said they were...</p>
175	<p>dat... Bui dam, I no know de tin dem dey do <i>kraa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Oh! Long tee-oo. Since Kufour time wey dem talk say dem....  <b>X:</b> De money wey dem dey chop chop like dem use am spread de Bui dam like e no correct? Like you go get</p>	<p>that Bui dam, I do not even know what they are doing at all.  <b>X:</b> Oh! for a long time. It was since Kufour regime that they said that they...  <b>X:</b> If they had used the money they are misusing, to expand the Bui dam, wouldn't it have been better? You would have had</p>
180	<p>light for your house. Me I tire for de <i>dumsor-dumsor</i>.  <b>X:</b> Sometimes you want mow <i>kraa</i> wey...  <b>X:</b> Who talk you say money no dey?  <b>X:</b> Abi <i>enaa</i> dat-<i>erh</i>. Abi money dey like dem go do all dos tins.</p>	<p>electricity power in your house. For me, I am fed up with the power crisis.  <b>X:</b> Sometimes, you would have loved to learn when...  <b>X:</b> Who says there's no money?  <b>X:</b> Exactly so. They would have done all those things if they had money.</p>
185	<p><b>X:</b> You know de tax wey dem dey charge for wanna parents dema salary top?  <b>X:</b> I no know-oo. Charlie, make you talk me-<i>eh</i>.  <b>X:</b> Go spy your poppy or your mommy im payslip....  <b>X:</b> ....im payslip. You go spy am.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Do you know the tax is levied on our parents' salaries?  <b>X:</b> I don't know. Charlie, tell me.  <b>X:</b> Go check on your father's or mother's payslip.  <b>X:</b> .....on her payslip. You go and check.</p>
190	<p><b>X:</b> You go spy de tax wey dem dey pay.  <b>X:</b> De tins wey we dey buy... de food, ...de school fees <i>kraa</i> we dey pay tax.  <b>X:</b> How for do? How for do? Dem do am too, dem do am finish.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> You go and see the tax they are paying.  <b>X:</b> We are levied taxes on the things we buy...food,... we even pay tax on school fees.  <b>X:</b> What can one do? What can we do? The harm has already been done.</p>

195	<p>X: But dem try-<i>oo</i>. De plant e fine <i>paa-oo</i>.  X: E no dey job. E no dey job.  X: E dey job-<i>oo</i> but I no know what dem dey use generate am whether e be de gas or some fuel dem buy, I no know.</p>	<p>X: But they have done their best. The power plant is really fabulous.  X: It is not functional. It is not functional.  X: It is functional but I do not know what fuel they will use to run it, whether it is gas or some other fuel, I don't know.</p>
200	<p>X: Me, me I no dey <i>tiasie</i> give dem-<i>oo</i>. Light out day time dem no go sor generator give us. Night time wey light come-a...  X: Abi e be evening tee wey e dey hia. <i>E be</i> evening wey we go go prep-<i>eh</i>.</p>	<p>X: For me, I don't understand them at all. When we have light out during the day, they will not turn on the generator for us. During the night when we power is restored rather that ....  X: But it in the evening that we need it. It is in the evening that we go to prep.</p>
205	<p>X: Sometimes you go dey dormitory we you go sweat-<i>aa</i>.  X: You no figure bed self.Ah!  X: Come out come take fresh air.  X: You go carry your bed come out?  X: You figure say e be evening tee <i>pe</i> wey you fit go prep go</p>	<p>X: Sometimes you will be in the dormitory sweating the whole time.  X: You will not be able to sleep.  X: Ah! Just you come out for fresh air.  X: Will you carry your bed out?  X: Do you think it is only in the evening that you go out to prep to</p>
210	<p>shark? So dem on generator give you daytime wey evening tee, light no come, how you go fit prep? Wey....e for last.  X: E for last <i>cher</i>.  X: No teacher dey campus wey go on de light; Abi you no go</p>	<p>learn? So if they (school electricians) turn on the generator for you during the day and national grid is not restored at night, how can you prep? And....it must last.  X: It must last for long.  X: There is no teacher resident on the school compound to turn on the plant; you won't</p>
215	<p>get anyone.  X: Dem teach Jemimah school <i>pey</i> how e for operate am, so <i>dumsor</i> come-<i>aa</i>, im go.. im plus Mitchell.  X: E go better small.  X: But Charlie, but me I no dey love dis tin <i>kraa-oo</i>.</p>	<p>get anyone.  X: They taught Jemimah, the school prefect, how to operate it so when there is power outage, she will... she and Mitchell.  X: That will be a little better.  X: But Charlie, I do not in any way like this thing.</p>
220	<p>X: You menners you hear say some <i>dumsor</i> come <i>paa</i> wey sometin happen for some school-eh?  X: Wetin dat? Wetin dat?  X: I shock.  X: Some girl bi-<i>oo</i>. Some girl bi.</p>	<p>X: But you people, did you hear that during some power outage something strange happened in a certain school?  X: What was that? What was that?  X: I am shocked.  X: It is about some girl. Some girl.</p>
225	<p>X: Me too I hear dat matter.  X: That sister e no try <i>kraa</i>, de way I dey respect am <i>paa</i> wey e go do dat tin. De wey I dey respect am <i>paa</i> wey e go do dat tin.  X: Yeah I hear dat matter wey dem talk say....</p>	<p>X: I have also heard that matter.  X: This sister did not do well at all, judging by the way I respected her before she went and did that thing. Judging by the way I respected her before she went and did that thing.  X: Yeah. I heard the matter and they said....</p>
230	<p>X: Ei! so me too I dey dis school inside? I no hear-<i>oo</i>.  X: I hear say around 12 wey e gada some guy <i>bi</i> we de guy jump de wall...  X: E com inside <i>kraa</i> wey dem dey do sometin <i>kraa</i>.  X: Charlie, for where?</p>	<p>X: Ei! So am I also in this school? I did not heart it at all.  X: I heard it was around 12 midnight when she brought in a guy who jumped the wall...  X: He even came inside and they were doing their own thing.  X: Charlie, where?</p>

235	<p><b>X:</b> For dem school campus la, wey gatee go grap dem.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, for dema school campus, wey gatee go grab dem.  <b>X:</b> I hear de tin <i>kraa</i> wey I shock. De sister, me den im...oh  <b>X:</b> Me dat time, me I no hear anytin-oo. Abi dat time too na</p>	<p><b>X:</b> On their very school compound, and the security man went and grabbed them.  <b>X:</b> On their school compound, and the security man went and grabbed them.  <b>X:</b> I heard it and I was shocked. The sister, she and I ...oh.  <b>X:</b> At the time, I did not hear anything at all. By</p>
240	<p>me I get ma mock wey I dey rep. So na me I dey de dorm, wey light out. I talk say I tire; de torch <i>kraa</i>...if I carry.... abi dem no on de generator give us dat day.  <b>X:</b> Dat day <i>kraa</i> na e be light out-oo, na e be light out. Dem no on de generator. No... na dey on de generator but we</p>	<p>then, I had a mock examination, which I was writing. So me, I was in the dormitory when the lights went out. I said I was tired; even the torch light...if I carried it... by then they had not turn on the generator for us that day.  <b>X:</b> Even for that day it was a power cut, we had light out. They did not turn on the generator. No...they turned on the generator but we</p>
245	<p>prep <i>finir</i>, ...wey prep <i>finir</i> wey we bed naa wey dem <i>off</i> de generator.  <b>X:</b> So na dem no on de generator give dema school?  <b>X:</b> Dem on am. Dey on am dat day. Dem on am wey dem prep.</p>	<p>finished our prep,... we finished our prep when we went to bed and they immediately turned off the generator.  <b>X:</b> So did they not turn on the generator in their school?  <b>X:</b> Yeah. They turned it on. They turned it on that day. They turned it on and they even prepped.</p>
250	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah dem on am.  <b>X:</b> Wey we go bed-aa, wey de tin happen. 12 midnight <i>kraa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Lights out <i>kraa</i> wey de tin happen.  <b>X:</b> I shock. I shock. I no dey this school.  <b>X:</b> Na me too I no hear am-oo; but like I get paper wey I dey</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, they turned it on.  <b>X:</b> And as soon as we went to bed, the thing happened. It was at midnight.  <b>X:</b> The thing happened at lights out.  <b>X:</b> I am shocked. I am shocked. I am not in this school.  <b>X:</b> I did not hear it either; it was like I had a paper</p>
255	<p>de exam hall wey some bro ...wey I biz am say what dey happen. But like I pass here-aa, menners group wey dem dey talk. Wey me I be dis I don't care type so na I no want biz...  <b>X:</b> Abi you come school-aa, e be cry your own cry; e no be</p>	<p>and I was in the exam hall and some people... and I asked them what was happening. But It was like there were people grouped and talking anywhere I passed. And I am the "I don't care type" so I did not want to ask...  <b>X:</b> Abi, when you come to school, you are to solve your own problems, you are not here to poke your</p>
260	<p>somebody im cry wey you go come cry give am so... Im too, e no force, e no force. Your poppy carry you come school say come learn-aa, see de tins wey you dey come do.  <b>X:</b> I hear for some place self say im matter e be single</p>	<p>nose into somebody's matter so... She too has not done her best, she has not. As your father has enrolled you at school, look at what you are doing.  <b>X:</b> I am told her guardian is even a single parent.</p>
265	<p>parenthood-oo.  <b>X:</b> Oh, Charlie.  <b>X:</b> So im mommy or im poppy wey dey look am?  <b>X:</b> Im mommy la.  <b>X:</b> <i>Tsoo</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Oh, Charlie.  <b>X:</b> Who's looking after her: her father or mother?  <b>X:</b> Her mother.  <b>X:</b> <i>Tsoo</i>.</p>
270	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, broken heart dat-oo.  <b>X:</b> Charlie.  <b>X:</b> Me e be my mommy like she go kill you <i>kraa</i>, ei!.  <b>X:</b> Why say she for kill you?  <b>X:</b> Abi, im mommy dey love am so e no fit kill am.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, that should be a source of broken heart.  <b>X:</b> Charlie.  <b>X:</b> If it were my mother, she would have killed her at once, ei!  <b>X:</b> Why should she kill her?</p>

		X: Abi, her mother likes her so she can't her.
275	X: Your mommy dey love you so e mean say go carry boy come school? X: But me I no dey <i>tiasie-oo</i> . X: So where the men... de guy pass wey e come make....? X: I shock self.	X: Does it mean that you should bring a boy to the school because your mother loves you. X: For me, I do not reason with her at all. X: Where did the man...the guy pass to come and do....? X: Am really shocked.
280	X: I shock. X: I no know whether de gate inside wey e pass-oo, e jump-oo, e fly-oo. Me I no know give am. X: But me I hear say dem dey talk say e be trainer. X: Trainer for de where? I no know de tin wey e dey train?	X: I am shocked. X: I do not know whether he passed through the gate, whether he jumped or flew. I didn't witness it for her. X: I heard people saying that the man is a trainer. X: A trainer where? I do not know what he trains people in?
285	Cos me I dey here, all de coaches wey we get, dem grow. Still dem dey come de campus still. Wene coach dem dey talk about? X: So dem no spy de guy? X: Dem no spy am. E lef. E lef before gate-ee...I hear say	X: Because as I can see all the coaches we have are advanced in age. They still come around. Which coach then are they talking about? X: So didn't they see the guy? X: They did not see him. He left. He left before the security man.... I am told that the security man
290	gate-ee come catch dem wey de guy lef. X: I hear say e jump de wall. E go break im leg-eh. X: April fool! Dem fool you people. (Laughter)	came and caught them but the guy left. I'm told he jumped the wall. Then he's likely to have broken his leg. (Laughter)

#### Transcript 4: Mampi<sup>166</sup>

(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participant: 5)

005	X: Charlie, I see you <i>cher-o</i> X: Me serf. Abi you no dey search us. You get guy serf. X: Me, I no dey search you? I come your class yestee. Ask Ruth serf. X: You know wey...see you-ooo.	X: I have seen you in a very long while. X: I too. You have not been looking for us. You even have a boyfriend. X: Me, not been looking for you? I even came to your classroom yesterday. You can even ask Ruth. X: Do you know that...look at you.
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<sup>166</sup> *Mampi Lolo* is the title of a film that became very popular among Senior High School Students at the time. In some cases, Mampi is synonymous with BH, the variant of BIHECO Bishop Herman College.

010	<p>X: Ehh! Charlie, I hear some matter <i>bi pae</i> for Mawuko. E be tru?  X: E be true-oo  X: This matter, we no dey talk-oo.  X: Ah! You no hear?</p>	<p>X: Ehh! Charlie, I am told some news has broken out in Mawuko. Is it true?  X: It is really true.  X: This matter, we do not make mention of it at all.  X: Ah! Didn't you hear?</p>
015	<p>X: I no hear-oo, Charlie. Talk me something.  X: De tin funny me serf.  X: Na night-oo. Nighti-ee. Oh! Charlie.  X: Oh, Charlie.  X: Oh! Dis school girls too them force-oo. Eih!</p>	<p>X: I did not hear at all, Charlie. Tell me something.  X: The whole issue is so funny to me.  X: It was in the night. At night. Oh! Charlie.  X: Oh! Charlie.  X: Oh! These schoolgirls too they have done a lot. Eih!</p>
020	<p>X: <i>Whye!</i> No be dis school. You for strong for Christ.  X: Dat one dear e be true matter you dey talk.  X: Charlie I hear anada matter too. E be true? Say dis school girls dem go... hmmm  X: <i>E-e-la.</i></p>	<p>X: Look! It is not this school. You should be strong in Christ.  X: As for that, it is the truth you are saying.  X: Charlie, I hear another one too. Is true that these girls went to...hmmm  X: Of course yes.</p>
025	<p>X: Ei!  X: Mampi-ooo Mampi!  X: Wene, wene one dat? <i>Mampi Lolo.</i>  X: Some film-<i>bi</i> wey <i>pae</i> for BH<sup>167</sup> im der. You no hear?  X: <i>Ee?</i></p>	<p>X: Ei!  X: <i>Mampi-ooo Mampi!</i>  X: What, which one is that? <i>Mampi Lolo.</i>  X: It is about a film that was shown at BH. Did you not hear?  X: What?</p>
030	<p>X: Wey manners go <i>sei ho saa?</i>  X: Charlie.  X: Dem pass Madam Lilian gate der nɔɔ  X: <i>Ee?</i>  X: <i>Whye.</i> Hmmm.</p>	<p>X: And people/students went and displayed their skills there like that?  X: Charlie.  X: They passed through Madam Lilian's' gate.  X: What?  X: Look. Hmm.</p>
035	<p>X: Dem wild. Dem wild.  X: <i>Hwe!</i> dem force-oo  X: <i>Whye!</i>  X: How dem go plan?  X: Chao manners wey plan say dem dey go out.</p>	<p>X: They are wild. They are wild.  X: Hey! They have tried their best.  X: Look!  X: How will they plan?  X: A lot of people/students planned going out.</p>
040	<p>X: Hmmm?  X: You no hear say some porté <i>pae bi</i> for Tema inners?  X: <i>Whye!</i>  X: Hmmm?  X: Dem go spoil der.</p>	<p>X: Hmmm?  X: Didn't you hear that a get-together party is taking place in Tema?  X: Look!  X: Hmmm?</p>
045	<p>X: I dey feel. I dey feel.  X: I say wey you see dem-ε....  X: Dis girls dem de force-oo.  X: <i>Hwe!</i>  X: E no be small-oo.</p>	<p>X: I am enthused. I am enthused.  X: I bet you should have seen them.  X: These girls are trying their best.  X: Look!  X: It was no joke at all.</p>
050	<p>X: You, you just dey dis school den notin.  X: Charlie, I no dey hear notin-<i>la.</i>  X: Ei! Na so you dey?</p>	<p>X: As for you, you are in this school for nothing.  X: Charlie, I do not get to hear anything at all.  X: Ei! Is that how you are?</p>

<sup>167</sup> BH is Bishop Herman College also known as BIHECO, a boys' Senior High school in the Volta Region of Ghana.

	<p><b>X:</b> E no be so.  <b>X:</b> Ei!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It is not like that.  <b>X:</b> Ei!</p>
055	<p><b>X:</b> Some say dem go don trousers den tins...ei.  <b>X:</b> Dem force.  <b>X:</b> Some say dem go spoil der.  <b>X:</b> Charlie.  <b>X:</b> Until mama calls.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Some say they will wear pairs of trousers and stuff...ei.  <b>X:</b> That's good.  <b>X:</b> Some say they will display their best skills ever.  <b>X:</b> Charlie.  <b>X:</b> Until mama calls.</p>
060	<p><b>X:</b> Maybe we wey we be holy co, we dey go pray. 31<sup>st</sup> night self, dem tell we say....  <b>X:</b> Maasa shun, shun, shun, shun....  <b>X:</b> Ei! Make I talk. Why? Dem talk me say make I no go church-aa make I come join de...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Perhaps those of us who are religious, we are going to pray on 31<sup>st</sup> night. They told us that....  <b>X:</b> My friend, leave that one out, leave it out.....  <b>X:</b> Ei! Let me talk. Why? They told me not to go to church. I should rather come and join the...</p>
065	<p><b>X:</b> Eee come, come, come join us.  <b>X:</b> Eish!  <b>X:</b> Make I come join who? Hmm? You tink say me I be like you?  <b>X:</b> But Charlie, you for go pray 31<sup>st</sup> -oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Eee! Come, come, come join us.  <b>X:</b> Eish!  <b>X:</b> Whom should I come and join? Hmmm? Do you think I am like you?  <b>X:</b> But my friend, you must go and pray on 31<sup>st</sup> night.</p>
070	<p><b>X:</b> Eeeee. Some half night-bi-oo. You no see?  <b>X:</b> You dey go pray wey you chalk for the whole night, wey e no good too.  <b>X:</b> So, so dos people too go go church?  <b>X:</b> Ah!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yes. A half night prayer session. Don't you see?  <b>X:</b> If you say you are going to pray but you end up having a chat with a boy, don't you see that's not too good?  <b>X:</b> So, so those people too, will they go to church?  <b>X:</b> Ah?</p>
075	<p><b>X:</b> Me I shock serf-oo.  <b>X:</b> Wey dem go church-aa...?  <b>X:</b> I shiver...  <b>X:</b> Dem go pray or dem go do wat?  <b>X:</b> I wonder.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> For me, I am so shocked.  <b>X:</b> And if they go to church...?  <b>X:</b> I shiver ....  <b>X:</b> Will they pray or what?  <b>X:</b> I wonder.</p>
080	<p><b>X:</b> I swear.  <b>X:</b> Me dear, me dis vac dear <i>ho</i>, more movements. Now I dey come drop de IYF too. Me I no go go.  <b>X:</b> Dat one dear e be <i>holycy-holycy</i> tin-oo.  <b>X:</b> You no see?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> I swear.  <b>X:</b> As for me, during this vacation, I have a lot of plans. Now I will be dropping the IYF programme. Me, I will not go.  <b>X:</b> As for that one it is a religious programme.  <b>X:</b> Don't you see?</p>
085	<p><b>X:</b> E no be <i>holycy-ooo</i>...  <b>X:</b> Wey Bible tins dear...  <b>X:</b> Charlie  <b>X:</b> But sometimes you for chalk small. Sometimes...ah!  <b>X:</b> You, you dey go IYF dey go chalk or you dey go church?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> This one is not about religious issues....  <b>X:</b> And as for religious issues...  <b>X:</b> Charlie.  <b>X:</b> But sometimes you need to have a little chat with boys. Sometimes,...ah!  <b>X:</b> You, are you going to church at IYF or you are going to have a chat with boys or you are going to church.</p>
090	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm.  <b>X:</b> We dey go do both. Socialization dey..  <b>X:</b> E dey.  <b>X:</b> Abi you no know? E be im top....  <b>X:</b> Charlie, you dey show level-ooo</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm.  <b>X:</b> We are going to do both. There is socialization...  <b>X:</b> It exists.  <b>X:</b> Don't you know? That is why.....  <b>X:</b> Charlie, you are displaying your social class.</p>
095	<p><b>X:</b> Wene levels?  <b>X:</b> I dey go some porté <i>bi</i>, tight-oo, Dark Clouds, Sweetie's Lounge, Accra.  <b>X:</b> Charlie.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> What kind of class?  <b>X:</b> I am going to some party, for close-knitted members only at Dark Clouds, Sweetie's Lounge in Accra.</p>

	<p><b>X:</b> Dem go off light-oo. Off light. Wey dem go use phone [lights.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie. <b>X:</b> They will switch of light there. Switch off lights. And they will be using emergency lights on their mobile phones.</p>
100 105	<p><b>X:</b> So dis school girls dem go go der? <b>X:</b> Chaw. Hey, chao. <b>X:</b> Dem plan sey dem go do dema drink-drink stuff-bi. <b>X:</b> Eish! <b>X:</b> Dos wey dey Geography class, CRS class dey der!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So will these school girls be going there? <b>X:</b> Just a lot. In their numbers. <b>X:</b> They planned to do drink up and stuff. <b>X:</b> Eish! <b>X:</b> Those in geography class will be there, CRS class will be there.</p>
110	<p><b>X:</b> Hmm. <b>X:</b> You mon fear dis school girls-oo. <b>X:</b> Pressure-ooo, pressure. <b>X:</b> Dem dey spread me rough. <b>X:</b> Charlie, take am easy-ooo. Smooth.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm. <b>X:</b> You must really fear these school girls. <b>X:</b> Pressure upon pressure. <b>X:</b> They are gingering me up. <b>X:</b> Take it easy on yourself. Be patient</p>
115	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm. <b>X:</b> You get boy? <b>X:</b> Boys. I get boys. <b>X:</b> But you dey play dem or you dey with all of dem? <b>X:</b> I no dey play dem-ooo. I no be player. I dey wit all of dem.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Hmmm. <b>X:</b> Do you have a boyfriend? <b>X:</b> Boyfriends. I have boyfriends. <b>X:</b> Do you trick them or you have a relationship with all of them? <b>X:</b> I do not trick them. I am no trickster. I am with all of them.</p>
120	<p><b>X:</b> So you divide your heart into how many? Thousand or...? <b>X:</b> Heart? Heart... no heart-ooo. You put your heart aside. <b>X:</b> E be your stomach wey you take go? <b>X:</b> You? <b>X:</b> How sure, how sure say you no go Mampi?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So how many parts have you divided your heart into? A thousand or...? <b>X:</b> Heart? Heart... there is no heart involved. You put your heart aside. <b>X:</b> Are you in the relationship with your stomach? <b>X:</b> You? <b>X:</b> How sure, how sure are you that you did not go to Mampi?</p>
125	<p><b>X:</b> Me, I no go Mampi -ooo. <b>X:</b> Sure? <b>X:</b> Yes. <b>X:</b> She no get boy for Mampi. Or..? <b>X:</b> Mampi, BH? Whilst Adisco dems dey...Botwe, PRESEC, [KSTS....</p>	<p><b>X:</b> For me, I did not go to Mampi at all. <b>X:</b> Are you sure? <b>X:</b> Yes. <b>X:</b> She does not have a boyfriend at Mambi. Or....? <b>X:</b> Mampi, BH ? Whilst Adisco and the others are there ? Botwe, PRESEC, .KSTS...</p>
130	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, you dey launch levels-ooo <b>X:</b> We dear.... <b>X:</b> Some dey Legon...University. <b>X:</b> Why? You no get some for Dzolo Gbogame? <b>X:</b> You too, wene school dat? No fresh boy dey der-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charley you are displaying your class. <b>X:</b> For us.... <b>X:</b> Some are in Legon.....University. <b>X:</b>Why? Don't you have some in Dzolo Gbogame? <b>X:</b> You too, what school is that? There is no handsome boy there at all.</p>
135	<p><b>X:</b> No see? <b>X:</b> You go spy der? <b>X:</b> <i>E be Chaka Zulu</i><sup>168</sup>. <b>X:</b> Chaka Zulu e fresh-oo <b>X:</b> See im name: Dzolo!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Don't you see? <b>X:</b> Did you so check there? <b>X:</b> It is only Chaka Zulu boys <b>X:</b> Chaka Zulu boys are handsome <b>X:</b> Look at its (the school's) name: Dzolo!</p>
140	<p><b>X:</b> I hear say one too jump wall go Ho Poly go meet im boyfriend. <b>X:</b> I shock serf. <b>X:</b> Abi boys, dem go give dem money. Wey dem go do dema own tin.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> I heard one girl jumped the wall to meet the boyfriend at Ho Poly. <b>X:</b> I am indeed shocked. <b>X:</b> As for boys, they will give them money and they will do their own thing too.</p>

<sup>168</sup>Chaka Zulu is a hit song by the Ghanaian hip-life group 4X4. In that context, 'Chaka Zulu' refers to any ugly youth.

145	<p><b>X:</b> Wanna girls, dem dey exaggerate too much.  <b>X:</b> But you know, dis school? Dema maf dey worry dem...  <b>X:</b> If dem see say you den somebody make close <i>norr</i>...  <b>X:</b> But <i>e be</i> too much.  <b>X:</b> Dat life make chao for dis school too much <i>la</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But our girls are so too fond of exaggerating issues.  <b>X:</b> But don't you know this school? Their mouth worries them too much.  <b>X:</b> If they see you are close to someone, then....  <b>X:</b> That is too much.  <b>X:</b> That lifestyle is too much is this school.</p>
150	<p><b>X:</b> E make chaw for campus top <i>paaaa</i>.  <b>X:</b> You no know de tin self you go do. If you pass here, dem talk.  <b>X:</b> Everywhere you go, e dey.  <b>X:</b> Dat be why we for hang for de sky top.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It is too much on campus.  <b>X:</b> You don't know what to do again; if you pass here, they'll talk.  <b>X:</b> Everywhere you go, they are there.  <b>X:</b> That is why we should go hang in the sky.</p>
153	<p><b>X:</b> Sky top. Why?  <b>X:</b> We go use hanger hang for der.  <b>X:</b> Wow.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> In the sky? Why  <b>X:</b> We all will go and hang there.  <b>X:</b> Wow.</p>

### Transcript 5: Mawuko Lexicon

(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participant: 2)

005	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, Mawuko girls too dem force-oo  <b>X:</b> Hmm, dem force <i>papa</i>.  <b>X:</b> Anytime dem tin up-<i>aa</i>, dem just go formulate dema own words den dey use am.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, you no know where serf dem get am. Some be</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Mawuko girls too are very creative.  <b>X:</b> Hmm, they are indeed creative.  <b>X:</b> Any time they get up, they formulate their own words and start using them.  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  <b>X:</b> You do not even know where they get they get the words from. Some are</p>
010	<p><i>apapa</i>, some be I dey go <i>chow comma</i>.  <b>X:</b> Eh, Charlie, <i>choda</i> too wey dem name am...dem find name give de <i>choda</i>, as if <i>e be</i> some....  <b>X:</b> <i>Gari</i> and <i>shito</i> too <i>e be</i> ga shit.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, dat one dear <i>e be</i> so for everywhere.</p>	<p><i>apapa</i><sup>169</sup>, some are I'm am going to eat <i>coma</i><sup>170</sup>.  <b>X:</b> Eh, Charlie, food too, they named it ... the food as if it were some...  <b>X:</b> <i>Gari</i> and <i>shito</i> too is called 'ga shit'.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, Yea that is like that everywhere.</p>
015	<p><b>X:</b> But some schools dem no dey call am <i>ga-shit-oo</i>, dem use some other words.  <b>X:</b> Eh. I no know; I no know. You know de word wey Mawuko girls dey call <i>Shakonzy</i>? You know am?  <b>X:</b> Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. Dem talk say people who shark,</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But in some schools, they don't call it <i>ga shit</i>, they use other words for it.  <b>X:</b> Eh. I don't know, I don't know. Do you know what Mawuko girls call <i>Sharkonzy</i>? Do you know it?  <b>X:</b> Yeah, Yeah, Yeah. They say people who learn,</p>
020	<p>like manners wey dem dey learn every day every time.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, dem no dey get tire serf.  <b>X:</b> I say dem be animals. <i>Sharkoe-koe</i>.  <b>X:</b> Sometin like you <i>jie</i>. Wetin you dey <i>jie</i>? Dem dey mix de English den Ga den Twi den everytin den</p>	<p>like those who learn every day, every time.  <b>X:</b> They never get tired at all.  <b>X:</b> I say they are animals. <i>Sharkoe-koe</i>  <b>X:</b> There is a word like you '<i>jie</i>'. What do you '<i>jie</i>' They just mix English, Ga, Twi and everything and</p>
025	<p>formulate dema own words.  <b>X:</b> E naa dat. E naa dat  <b>X:</b> Charlie how we fit spend Christmas holidays like two weeks den come back school- <i>la</i>?  <b>X:</b> Yeah, e be your own good-oo, e be your own good.</p>	<p>formulate their own words.  <b>X:</b> That's it, That's it.  <b>X:</b> Charlie how can we spend Christmas holidays in only two weeks and come back to school?  <b>X:</b> Yeah, it is your own, it is your own.</p>
030	<p>Dem want teach you people better tins.  <b>X:</b> But you, you figure say after first December-<i>aa</i>, dat be when programmes go come on like programmes dey</p>	<p><b>X:</b> They want to teach you people better things.  <b>X:</b> But you should remember that its after first December... that is when programmes come off; there</p>

<sup>169</sup> Washroom/toilet

<sup>170</sup> Banku

	<p>for de Christmas inside and de new year den dems.  <b>X:</b> Yeah. Dat one you go meet am more times so make</p>	<p>are programmes slated for the Christmas and new year season.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, For that, you will meet more of such so you</p>
035	<p>you waste this one for school inside. Even self you go come school menners go come afterwards.  <b>X:</b> But e no dey ma inside-oo; I no dey feel am <i>kraa</i>.  <b>X:</b> You for manage, you for manage.  <b>X:</b> How I fit come spend one week for school, oh,                      [Charlie?]</p>	<p>should spend this one in the school. Even when you many others will come, later. Yet is not part of me; I don't want it.  <b>X:</b> You have to manage with it.  <b>X:</b> How can I spend a whole week in school, oh,                      [Charlie.]</p>
040	<p><b>X:</b> You for manage.  <b>X:</b> Wey we for pay too.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, I hear say you for pay two terms fees.  <b>X:</b> Êee. How I fit pays two terms fees? We me I no go dey his campus top for two terms.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> You have to manage.  <b>X:</b> And we are supposed to pay as well.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, I hear you must pay two terms' fees.  <b>X:</b> Eee, how can I pay two terms' fees? I will not even stay on this school compound for the two terms.</p>
045	<p><b>X:</b> Êee. Wetin dem go cook for you self?  <b>X:</b> I shock self. But one tin wey dey bash me paa be say wanna own mada la, wana own mada, <i>Headee</i>.  <b>X:</b> E tire, e tire make ego rest. E tire.  <b>X:</b> Charlie, e dey bash me-oo</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Eee, what kind of food will they cook for you?  <b>X:</b> I am even shocked. But one painful thing, to me, is our own mother, our own mother, the headmistress.  <b>X:</b> She is tired; she is tired; she should go and rest. She is tired.  <b>X:</b> Charlie, it is painful to me.</p>
050	<p><b>X:</b> Make e no bash you.  <b>X:</b> De advice wey she dey give us <i>la</i>.  <b>X:</b> Yeah. Yea. E be so but e tire, how for do? For 60 years, she tire.  <b>X:</b> But de berfday too e make nice-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Don't let it pain you.  <b>X:</b> It's about the pieces of advice she has been giving us.  <b>X:</b> Yeah. Yeah. It is so but she is tired. What can we do? For 60 years, she is tired.  <b>X:</b> Yet the birthday was so nice.</p>
055	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, menners make de berfday best <i>paa</i>. Ejorm, ejorm.  <b>X:</b> You get de toffee some?  <b>X:</b> Oh, for where? I dey back.  <b>X:</b> Dat time, me I dey tap de front wey dem trow-aa, I get like trii.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, people made the birthday enjoyable. It was enjoyable, really enjoyable.  <b>X:</b> Did you get some of the toffee?  <b>X:</b> Oh, from where? I was behind.  <b>X:</b> By then, I was waiting at the front when they threw the toffees and I got three.</p>
060	<p><b>X:</b> Den yours better.  <b>X:</b> I catch trii <i>kraa</i>, wey I put for ma pocket inside.  <b>X:</b> Ei, yours better; yours better.  <b>X:</b> De reception too, Charlie, I hear say varieties of <i>choda-oo</i>. Charlei, teachers dance, e no be small tin-                      [oo.]</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Then yours is better.  <b>X:</b> I caught three pieces and put them in my pocket.  <b>X:</b> Ei, yours is better, yours is better.  <b>X:</b> And the reception too Charlie, I heard there were varieties of food. Charlie, teachers dances, it was not a little display.</p>
065	<p>If you see dema dance, you for know sey dey get some energy inside.  <b>X:</b> (<i>Laughter</i>) I hear say e be like some crazy dance be dem dey do for de place.  <b>X:</b> After dat dey come play some <i>Borborbor</i> for here.</p>	<p>If you saw their dance, you would know that there was some energy within them.  <b>X:</b> (<i>Laughter</i>) I heard it was like a crazy dance they were doing there.  <b>X:</b> After that, they played <i>Borborbor</i> there.</p>
070	<p>Dey shegey de campus.  <b>X:</b> Na I dey de hall inside for dat time all. Na I dey hear de song but I no know say dat be de dance wey dem dey do for ...  <b>X:</b> Yeah. You miss tins.</p>	<p>They shook up the school compound.  <b>X:</b> For as at that time, I was in the hall, I could hear the song but I did not know that was the dance they were...  <b>X:</b> Yeah, you missed a lot.</p>
075	<p><b>X:</b> But I come der self-aa, you go spy say e be some jong tins be.  <b>X:</b> E jom, even-dough e jong but e....  <b>X:</b> But like you go tap der we you go dey spy your teachers say dem dey dance, oh!</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yet if I had come there, it would have been some useless venture.  <b>X:</b> It was funny but interesting.  <b>X:</b> But for you to stand there and watch your teachers dance, oh!</p>

080	<p><b>X:</b> Dat one dem do am for dema kiddie time, so dat one it's normal.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But your juniors dem go biz say dis senior too wetin e dey search... as if like you dey come beg for de food.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Mock dem. E no be dat. But we self, we <i>chow</i> choda,</p>	<p><b>X:</b> As for that, they too did it in their childhood, so that's quite normal.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But your junior would be asking what that senior was looking for ... as if you were coming to beg for food.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Leave them. That's not it. Even for us, we ate a</p>
085	<p>like better choda.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Yeah, our diet better. Yeah.</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> I hear say dem carry some book give us.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh Charlie, dem carry come my class, senior class.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you people you be <i>boorssu</i> for your class so...</p>	<p>special meal.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, Yeah, our meal was better (than before). Yeah</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> I am told they gave you some books.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh Charlie, they brought some to our class, seniors' class.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yet you are your own authorities in your class.</p>
090	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, crazy menners dey my class inside-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. I pop dat.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Class secretary go carry de book come-aa,...Charlie, crazy menners dey my class inside-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I pop dat <i>la</i>.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, there are crazy students in my class indeed.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah I see that.</p> <p><b>X:</b> When the class secretary went and brought the booklets....Charlie, there are lots of crazy people in my class.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I could see that long ago.</p>
095	<p><b>X:</b> Ah! Class Secretary go carry de book come-aa, wey she talk say make we come take de book wey we talk am say we talk am say we no go take.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Correct. Enaa dat. Enaa dat.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Na some fierros dey wanna class-aa we dem go take...</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Ah! When the Class Secretary went in for the booklets, she said we should come for the book and we asked her if we did not tell her that we were not taking the booklets.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Correct. That's it. That's it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yet there are some cowards in the class who went in and took...</p>
100	<p><b>X:</b> You no fit slap dem?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Like two bro, dem go take-aa, wey she stand der wey she talk say ah, de menners wey want take de book make dem come take. Wey we talk am say we no go take, say make she carry de book go give academic</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Could you not slap them?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Some two students went for the booklets, and she [class secretary] stood there and was saying those who wanted to take the booklet should come for them. Yet we told her we would not take them and that she should return them to academic affairs office</p>
105	<p>say we no go take de book. Wey she talk say she go send am-oo. Wey we talk say make she send am-erh. She send de book go give academics-aa, wey e talk say make e come bell we make we come. We go-aa wey e biz we say <i>e be</i> we wey we talk say we no go take</p>	<p>and tell them we said we won't take them. So she told us she was returning the books. We in turn told her to return them, and we cared less. At academic unit, they asked her to summon us. When we went, he asked us if we were the ones saying we won't take the booklets,</p>
110	<p>de book-aa, wey we talk am say we no go take any book because e be useless; we no know wetin we go rep for de book inside wey e go catch de time wey we go lef wey dem go bill us <i>kraa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You menners <i>kraa</i> some small months <i>kraa</i> you go</p>	<p>because they were useless and that we did not know what we are using to write inside the booklets because we had just a little time to spend in the school and they might bill us.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You students just have a few months to leave the</p>
115	<p>commot de school. So....</p> <p><b>X:</b> I no....I no know de few mants<sup>171</sup> we e lef me make I leave dis place-aa, wene book I go order again <i>la</i>. I no know <i>kraa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dat book <i>kraa</i> e be foolish book-oo.</p>	<p>school. So...</p> <p><b>X:</b> I don't....I don't know what other booklet I will order again, considering the few more months I have to before leaving this place.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Even that book is a 'foolish' book.</p>
120	<p><b>X:</b> Any useless tin <i>bia</i>....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dem go carry come <i>la</i>, just write de price....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Dem want bill us. Dat <i>Higher Education</i> book wey dem carry de first one give us wey dem talk say... Dis one be de second volume or what? What? What?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> <b>X:</b> For any useless thing at all...</p> <p><b>X:</b> They will just bring them, and write the price...</p> <p><b>X:</b> They want to bill us. That <i>Higher Education</i> book they supplied us earlier and said.... Is this one the second volume or what, what, what?</p>

125	<p><b>X:</b> So what we go take do? E no be de same tins wey dey inside?</p> <p><b>X:</b> E differ small.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But e be de same tins.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I go jey give my bro.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> So what are we doing with it. Do they not have the same contents?</p> <p><b>X:</b> It is a bit different.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yet it is the same thing.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I will give it to my brother</p>
130	<p><b>X:</b> E be de same tins wey dey de books inside.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> De only tin dem know be say like dem go take money from students.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Dem want get money from us.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It is the same contents that he two books have</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> The only thing they know is to take money from students</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. They want to make money of us.</p>
135	<p><b>X:</b> But Charlie, you spy de school bag?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, e dey be; e dey be rough!</p> <p><b>X:</b> I dey feel; I dey feel. I dey feel de school bag.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I sure say e be Welfare<sup>172</sup> wey carry dat tin come-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah-ooo. She go make de school better-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But Charlie, did you see the school bag?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, it is beautiful, it is beautiful.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I like it; I like; like, I like the school bag.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I am sure it is Welfare who brought that idea.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. She will make the school a better place.</p>
140	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, sake of she be past student so she want bring development den tins.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, yeah, yeah, e nice give me waa.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I no know if dem go bill us or we go come buy am wanna self.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, because she is a past student she, wants to bring development and other stuff to the school.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, yeah, yeah it really attractive to me.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I don't know if they will bill us or we'll come and a buy it ourselves.</p>
145	<p><b>X:</b> Dat be ma headache-ooo, I no want dat.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But if we go carry money come buy am e go make expensive waa.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. You go buy two bags for dat inside.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, how you fit jie 60 Ghana come buy one bag?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> That is my headache; I don't want that.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But if we shall come and buy it in cash, it will be very expensive.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, You'll buy two bags from that money.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie how can you buy one bag at GHC 60.</p>
150	<p>One bag wey e no go catch like..</p> <p><b>X:</b> 30 Ghana self.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Like two mont<sup>173</sup> naa, e go spoil.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But Charlie, e dey bore. E dey bash me. But de vest dear, I go buy am la.</p>	<p>One bag that will not even go for....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Even 30 Ghana cedis.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It will spoil in two months.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But Charlie it is very boring. It hurts me. As for the vest, I shall surely buy it.</p>
155	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, e dey be. You dear you dey go hos so you go carry go hos. Any tin you get you go don am for top.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you menners too you get-oo. Dem go do de vest but I no sure say you menners your own go be long sleeve like wanna own.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, it is beautiful. As for you, you are going home so you'll take it along. You'll wear it to match anything at all.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you girls too will get some. They will do the vest but I'm not sure (that) yours will have long sleeves like ours.</p>
160	<p><b>X:</b> E go be vest...ego be vest.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey dem go do...erh... dem go jey coat den tie give you.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But dem go bill you too. But you menners, you go [enjoy-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It will be a vest... It will be a vest.</p> <p><b>X:</b> And they will make ... They will provide a coat and tie for you.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yet they will bill you accordingly. But you will enjoy yourselves indeed.</p>
165	<p><b>X:</b> But dis term, de fees wey we go carry go hos, I dey tink about dat one self.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, wene work wey wanna parents dey do wey dem go pay all dem kind school fees?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey my fada self e dey go pension self nest year wey</p>	<p><b>X:</b> I'm really worried about the school fee bills we shall be taking home at the end of this term.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charlie, what work at all are our parents doing to be able to pay all those kinds of fees?</p> <p><b>X:</b> My father for one is going into retirement next year,</p>

<sup>172</sup> The Assistant Headmistress in charge of staff and student welfare.

<sup>173</sup> months

170	<p>I no know de money wey dem go carry give am before....</p> <p><b>X:</b> De only tin wey we go pray for be say like you go finish before e go lef.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>	<p>and I don't know how much benefit they will give him before....</p> <p><b>X:</b> The only thing we should pray for is you finish before he goes [into retirement].</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>
175	<p><b>X:</b> Or e go pay your last school fees before e go go pension.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, just dey pray.</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charley, de mentees too, I hear one bi wey dem dey bell am 'Chewing Gum'.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Or he pays our last school fees before he goes on pension.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah I'm just praying.</p> <p>(Pause)</p> <p><b>X:</b> Charley, about the mentees too, I hear there is one whom they are calling 'Chewing Gum'</p>
180	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Mawuko girls, dem be sometin-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I no know where dem get de name before dem dey bell de person chewing gum.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I hear say every day, every day <i>naa</i>, e dey chew sometin.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah Mawuko girls are something else.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I don't know where they got the name before calling him 'Chewing Gum'</p> <p><b>X:</b> I am told he is found chewing something every day.</p>
185	<p><b>X:</b> Aah, e dey chew gum-<i>erh!</i></p> <p><b>X:</b> Every day, wey you go see am <i>naa</i>, sometin dey im morf inside.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Me, na I figure say de wey she dey walk dat be why menners dey bell so.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Aah, it just means he is chewing his gum.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Every day you meet him, there is something in his mouth.</p> <p><b>X:</b> I had thought they called so because of the way he walks. 1</p>
190	<p><b>X:</b> But me I dey feel de walkings-oo; I dey feel.</p> <p><b>X:</b> De flower girl.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You spy flower girl?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, Charlie. Sometimes, dressing. Hmmm. You no</p>	<p><b>X:</b> For me I like the way he walks; I like it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> De flower girl</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did you see the flower girl?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, Charlie. As for her dressing sometimes.</p>
195	<p>figure talk-oo.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Like flower girl.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Head-<i>ee</i> im berfday, you spy de shada wey e don?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, I spy am; I spy am. That Christmas, Christmas shada wey e go don.</p>	<p>Hmmm. You can't even talk about it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Like a flower girl.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Did you see the dress she wore on the headmistress' birthday?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah, I saw her; I saw her. That Christmas dress she wore.</p>
200	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. De time e go don dat shada wey me I <i>kae</i> de time wey I bi kiddie wey my mommy dey buy me Christmas shada wey I dey tie de belt...de belt for my back <i>la</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I hear say dem go lef very soon-oo.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. When she wore that dress, I was reminded of my infancy and when my mother used to buy me a dress and I used to tie the belt...the belt behind me.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But I'm told they would leave very soon.</p>
205	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Today, Nyamuzie come talk us say dem go lef so make we get some speech wey we go give dem.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi. We, dem no dey teach us. Me, I no feel say dem dey de campus top self.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You self if dem come teach you, dem go pollute your</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Today, Nyamuzie informed us that they would be leaving so we should prepare some speech to be delivered in their honor.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Abi for us, they are not teaching us. I don't even feel their presence in this school.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Even you, when they teach you, they pollute your</p>
210	<p>mind all...abi, dem dey practice so,.....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Aaaaah!</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Dem dey do practicals for schools inside.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ahhh. Okay. But de Mampi case too I hear say dem no take dema time-<i>aa</i>, dem go give dem</p>	<p>mind. They are practicing teacher trainees.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Aaaaah!</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. They are doing this teaching practice in the school.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Ahh. Okay. (Pause) But I heard that in the Mampi case too, they don't take their time, they (authorities)</p>

215	<p>suspension, or dem go deboardenize dem-oo.  <b>X:</b> Ah, wetin happen-aa?  <b>X:</b> Abi, dem sign go de Mampi, BH dema freak <i>nu</i> wey I no know de person wey e go chook dem wey dem rep all of dem dema name, de shada wey dem don. Ei! E</p>	<p>will either suspend them or debordenize<sup>174</sup> them.  <b>X:</b> What, what has happened at all?  <b>X:</b> Abi, they signed external exeats and went to Mampi, the BH freak, but I don't know the one who betrayed them by writing their names all and the dresses they</p>
220	<p>shock me self.  <b>X:</b> Why say dem for disturb am? Dem sign <i>erh</i>?  <b>X:</b> But, like-<i>erh</i> you spy say e dey de prospectus inside say leaving school under false pretense. Or you lef school wey like... you lef school wey maybe you talk</p>	<p>wore. Ei. I was really shocked.  <b>X:</b> Why at all, must they be disturbed? Have they not signed?  <b>X:</b> But if you watched critically, the prospectus forbids leaving school under false pretense. Or when you leave school... and perhaps you said you were going</p>
225	<p>say you dey go Accra..  <b>X:</b> I spy am.  <b>X:</b> Wey you no go, wey you end up for anoder place-aa, wey administration get to know-aa, like dem go suspend you den dems.</p>	<p>to Accra.  <b>X:</b> I saw it.  <b>X:</b> And if you did not go, but end up at another place, and school administration gets to know of it they will suspend you or something like that.</p>
230	<p><b>X:</b> Yes I spy am; I spy am.  <b>X:</b> But like dem bunch too-oo  <b>X:</b> But dem for do something give dem, not suspension.  <b>X:</b> Like wetin? Wetin make dem...  <b>X:</b> Make dem weed,...or carry some scrubbing work give [dem.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yes, I saw it; I saw it.  <b>X:</b> Yet they are really numerous.  <b>X:</b> But they should do something about their situation and not suspension.  <b>X:</b> Like what? What should they...  <b>X:</b> Make them weed,... or assign them with scrubbing.</p>
235	<p><b>X:</b> Oh! Maassa. Now administration de way dem make agre-<i>erh</i>, small tin wey you do <i>naa</i>.... Yestee <i>kraa</i> de time we dey rep wanna papers wey I spy say Welfare den Gaga dem dey go round, wey dem dey go classes.  <b>X:</b> Wetin dem dey do? Dem want <i>deponk</i> again or wetin?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Oh! Master. Now school administration is so aggressive to the extent that the least thing you do at all...Even yesterday by the time we were writing our papers, I saw Welfare and Gaga going round and they were going to classes.  <b>X:</b> What were they doing? Do they want to <i>deponk</i> again or what?</p>
240	<p><b>X:</b> I hear say like dem get some tall list <i>bi</i> wey like your name dey inside de list-aa, dem go come your class. Dem go call you say make you go bring your phone. You no carry de phone come-aa, you no go rep de paper.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> I'm told that they they have a tall list and if your name is on that list they will come to your class. They will then call out your name and say you should go and bring your phone. If you do not produce the phone, you will not write the paper.</p>
245	<p><b>X:</b> But how dem know say dem get phone?  <b>X:</b> Abi, e be menners wey chook dem. Like dem rep person..., bunch person dema name-oo. So, like dem come your class-aa, dem go mention your name say make you come out. You come out-aa wey dem go</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But how do they know those students have phones?  <b>X:</b> Abi, they were betrayed by people. It looks like they wrote people... they wrote a lot of names. Therefore, if they come to your class, they will mention your name and ask you to come out. It is when you come out that they will tell you that they heard you were</p>
250	<p>talk you say dem hear say you, you dey use phone wey you dey take disturb menners for de dorm inside. So make you carry de phone come. Den if you no carry de phone come-aa, you no go rep de exams again.  <b>X:</b> So why say menners day do dat? Why you for chook your colleague?  <b>X:</b> Some bro like yestee, she no dey use phone-oo but like menners chook am say she dey use phone.  <b>X:</b> Ah! <i>E be</i> Sisto?  <b>X:</b> Yeah.</p>	<p>using a mobile phone to disturb your mates in the dorm. So you should go and bring the phone. Then if you are not able to produce the phone, you will not continue with your exams.  <b>X:</b> Why are people doing that? So why are people doing that? why should you betray your mate?  <b>X:</b> Yesterday for instance, someone was not using a phone. But she was reported to have been using a phone.  <b>X:</b> Ah! Was is it Sisto?</p>

<sup>174</sup> Remove from the boarding house as a form of punishment.

		<b>X:</b> Yeah.
255	<p><b>X:</b> Why say dey for do dat tin give am?  <b>X:</b> So sake of dat yestee, she no rep one im paper.  <b>X:</b> Charlie, de girls dem be sometin-oo.  <b>X:</b> So dis one if im parents come-aa, dem go bore give administration-oo. Dem fit report dem for GES<sup>175</sup> kraa.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Why should they do that to her?  <b>X:</b> Therefore, because of that she did not write one of her papers yesterday.  <b>X:</b> Charlie, these girls are something else.  <b>X:</b> So in this case if her parents come, they will be really mad at school administration. They[parents] can even report them to GES.</p>
260	<p><b>X:</b> De first time wey dem report dem, e no dey top for dem.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, de <i>deponking</i> wey dem do wey menners carry dem go GES, dem no dey feel am?  <b>X:</b> Dis one dear, dem go sue de school.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> The first time they were reported, it didn't teach them a good lesson.  <b>X:</b> Yes the <i>deponking</i> they did for which people took them to GES, they didn't feel the requisite pinch.  <b>X:</b> As for this one, they will sue the school.</p>
265	<p><b>X:</b> But this girl <i>kraa</i>, she talk say she go sue de school-aa, she get chao tins wey e go take sue de school.  <b>X:</b> It's true-oo. (Pause) But dem carry de generator plant come-oo.  <b>X:</b> Yeah. E be today wey I dey go de canteen wey I spy</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Even in this girl's case, if she decides to sue the school, she will have a lot of charges against the school.  <b>X:</b> It is very true. (Pause) But they have brought the power generating plant.  <b>X:</b> Yeah,. I saw it today when I was going to the canteen.</p>
270	<p>am. Dis school go change-oo.  <b>X:</b> Yeah, we spy am but we dey biz say wetin, or wey medium dem go use generate power?  <b>X:</b> Abi dem biogas project dem do <i>nu</i>, ab dem talk say dem go take dat one too generate power. But I sure</p>	<p>This school will really be transformed.  <b>X:</b> We saw it but we were asking what or what medium they will use to power it.  <b>X:</b> Abi, they said they would use the biogas project they are constructing to generate power. Yet I am sure</p>
275	<p>say next term by de time we go come-aa, dem do am. Dem go fix de generator and de biogas plant <i>nu</i>.  <b>X:</b> But how dem for manage?  <b>X:</b> Abi, de <i>apapa</i>, e bunch-<i>erh</i>. Wetin you dey talk. Every day wey students dey go apapa. Wetin you dey talk?</p>	<p>that by the time we return next term, they would have done it. They would have fixed the power and the biogas plants.  <b>X:</b> But how will they manage?  <b>X:</b> Abi, de toilet is huge. What are you talking about? Every day, we students go to the toilet. What are you saying?</p>
280	<p><b>X:</b> Na so; even <i>kraa</i> I hear say dem go produce 25 <i>attaché</i>.  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  (Pause)  <b>X:</b> Charlie, but dis term exam e good small? E good.....?  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  <b>X:</b> How you dey see am?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> That's so; I'm even told that they will build 25 more units.  <b>X:</b> Yeah.  (Pause)  <b>X:</b> But Charlie, is this term's exam any better? Is it good...?  <b>X:</b> Yeah?  <b>X:</b> How did you see it?</p>
285	<p><b>X:</b> Me, e be only de E-Maas wey, Charlie... dem no give us bunch time-oo.  <b>X:</b> Erhh?  <b>X:</b> Eeerh. Like dem give us bunch time like me I fit rep everytin....</p>	<p><b>X:</b> For me it is only E-Maths that, Charlie... they did not give us enough time at all.  <b>X:</b> Erhh?  <b>X:</b> Eerh. I would have answered all questions if they had given us enough time....</p>
390	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, you sure? Like dem carry de whole day give you self-<i>aaa</i>....  <b>X:</b> If you shark-<i>aa</i>, you go see say de tin... de tin, e difficult-oo, but e be easy.  <b>X:</b> Erhh?</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Charlie, are you sure? Even if they had given you the whole day...  <b>X:</b> If you really studied, you'd have seen that he whole thing...the thing, it is difficult but is easy.  <b>X:</b> Errhh?</p>

<sup>175</sup> Ghana Education Service

300	<p>X: But den, dem no carry bunch time give us. Wey pressure too. De man, e dey put plenty pressure for wanna top. Wey like e just dey <i>pull-pull</i> wanna papers <i>la</i>. Wey wanna papers go mix <i>kraa</i>. X: Oh, I pity you guys.</p>	<p>X: But they did not allow us enough time. And there was pressure. The man was mounting pressure on us. And he was just pulling our papers. Our scripts would even get mixed up. X: Oh, I pity you guys.</p>
305	<p>X: But me I dey suspect say wanna last paper, dem go come <i>deponk</i> again-oo. X: Dat one dear, dem no fit do am. If dey do, de school go dey close down. X: Dem go do <i>la</i>.</p>	<p>X: But I seriously suspect they will come and <i>deponk</i> during our last paper. X: As for that one, they cannot do it. If they do it, the school would be closed down. X: They surely will do it.</p>
310	<p>X: Wey dem carry wanna elective go put de last paper <i>la</i>. X: You spy say last term too dat be wat dem do? X: Ehh. X: Wey wanna last paper, na me I dey rep E-Maas, but dis term-<i>aa</i>, me I dey rep Gavment.</p>	<p>X: They scheduled our elective for the very last slot on the timetable. X: Did you realize that's what they did last term too. X: Ehh. X: For our last paper. For me I was writing E-Mas, but for this term, I am writing Government.</p>
315	<p>X: Last term our own be Gavment but dis term my own be CRS. X: Last term wey me I dey rep E-Maas wey I no dey see top <i>dada</i>. X: Wey you get confused?</p>	<p>X: Last term, mine was Government, but this term, it is CRS. X: Last term I was writing E-Maths, I subject that almost always tortured me. X: And you were confused.</p>
320	<p>X: Me na dey no <i>deponk</i> me-oo. X: Yeah, but how dem do am? X: But me e dey surprise me say we go go house ryders-oo. X: Ryders menners come school <i>norr</i>, e make fast fast</p>	<p>X: As for me, they did not <i>deponk</i> me at all. X: Yeah, but how did they do it? X: But me, I am surprised we will be going home just now. X: We came not too long ago but things went really fast</p>
325	<p>give me-oo. X: Yeah. I pray, I pray dat next term e dey move fast fast. X: Next term go come, we go rep wanna mock.... X: You, you have time for de school self. You no go go hos go rest?</p>	<p>in my eyes. X: Yeah, I pray that next term, things do move very fast. X: Next term will come and we will write our mock examinations.... X: As for you, you even have time for the school. won't you go home and rest?</p>
330	<p>X: E no be say I get time for de school-oo but say I dey do am for myself. X: Yeah. X: But de way menners start dema packing, Charlie, e dey shock me self.</p>	<p>X: It is not the case that I have time for the school, but that I am doing it for myself. X: Yeah. X: Charlie, I am shocked at how people have started parking.</p>
335	<p>X: E be say we dey go celebrate Christmas-oo. X: Dem start de parking too early-<i>la</i>. X: Yeah, dem wan go hos early. X: Me wey I dey talk <i>kraa</i>, I finir parking-oo. X: Eih, Charlie!</p>	<p>X: The thing is that we are going to celebrate Christmas. X: They stated their parking rather early. X: Yeah, they want to go home early. X: I, the one talking, have even finished parking. X: Eih. Charlie!</p>
340	<p>X: I park my books <i>la</i>, de books wey I dey go shark for de house. I park am long tee-oo. X: You go go shark? X: Why I no go go shark? X: Programmes wey dey chao....</p>	<p>X: I have even parks my books, the books I shall be studying in the house. I parked them long ago. X: Are you going to learn? X: Why won't I go and learn? When there are a lot of programmes....</p>
345	<p>X: Frequency den Selfie dem.... X: Yeah. X: But you go go Selfie? X: I no know-oo. X: Make I reach hose first. Anoder one come <i>kraa</i>.</p>	<p>X: Frequency, Selfie and the others.... X: Yeah. X: Will you go to Selfie? X: I do not even know. X: Let me get home first. Another one has come.</p>
350	<p>X: Wene one? X: Some... me I no know self. Some jam be, e dey de</p>	<p>X: Which one? X: Some... I don't even know. It's a club near the</p>

	sports stadium, Accra Sports Stadium. <b>X:</b> But menners go go <i>paa-oo</i> . But e be evening. My mommy no make we go.	stadium, Accra Sports Stadium. <b>X:</b> But a lot of people will be going there. It's in the evening though. My mother will not allow us to go.
355	<b>X:</b> E no good self. <b>X:</b> E lef my dresses wey I go park. <b>X:</b> You dear you dey ready- <i>oo</i> . <b>X:</b> Me de gavement <i>kraa</i> I no make my mind say I dey come shark am self.	<b>X:</b> It's not good in any way. <b>X:</b> I am left with my dresses to park. <b>X:</b> As for you, you are battle ready. <b>X:</b> As for the Government paper, I did not make up my mind that I was coming to study towards it.
360	<b>X:</b> You shark long tee or wetin? <b>X:</b> No matter how you shark, no matter how you rep give dis man,.... <b>X:</b> De mark wey e go give you <i>e be im naa</i> . <b>X:</b> No bro go pass 80 <i>kraa</i> la.	<b>X:</b> Did you study in advance or what? <b>X:</b> No matter how you learn, n matter what you write for this man.... <b>X:</b> He's already decided on the mark to give you. <b>X:</b> Not even a candidate could clock anything above 80%.
369	<b>X:</b> Eih! <b>X:</b> One point- <i>oo</i> . Some bro e go explain like ten lines... <b>X:</b> Charlie, e go mark wey.... <b>X:</b> Make we no mind am. God go provide.	<b>X:</b> Eih! <b>X:</b> Just explaining for one point, someone will explain like ten lines.... <b>X:</b> Charlie, after his done marking,... lets not mind him. God will provide.

### Transcript 6: SRC Week

(X marks a turn in conversation. No. of Participant: 2)

005	<b>X:</b> So Charlie how you dey see... Charlie so how you dey see campus life? <b>X:</b> Oh, campus no dey bore <i>oo</i> .. But e be like say na nottin better dey go on. <b>X:</b> De scrubbing den dems ... Oh, every day, form ... form twos come and scrub form... Charlie. Dull movement <i>bi oo</i> .	<b>X:</b> So Charlie, how do you see campus life? <b>X:</b> Campus is not boring. But it is like there is nothing interesting going on either. <b>X:</b> The scrubbing chores and the others. Every day, they are asking form two students to come and scrub.
010	<b>X:</b> We, we... we, we start working after... after orientation <i>naa</i> , we dey job but... <b>X:</b> But dis form ones dem come <i>aa</i> de seniors no make...	It is rather irritating. <b>X:</b> We started work right after orientation, and we are still working but... <b>X:</b> Actually, when these form one students came, the
015	no make.... no make dem job <i>kraa</i> . <b>X:</b> Erh.. Na so. <b>X:</b> Dem just dey der wey de seniors dey work give dem. But how for do? De canteen food too... <b>X:</b> Mmm, you for manage.	seniors did not make them work at all. <b>X:</b> Yes. That's correct. <b>X:</b> They are just there and the senior are working for them. But how do we solve it? The canteen food too.. <b>X:</b> Mmm, you should just manage the situation.
020	<b>X:</b> Mmmm we for manage. De canteen food too e dey jom <i>paa</i> , especially de coma <i>nu</i> . <b>X:</b> Some dey bore; some dey bore. <b>X:</b> Yea.. Some e be salt wey e full inside. <b>X:</b> Plain rice dear you tink say e be ...e be salt wey dey	<b>X:</b> Mmm, we must manage it. The canteen food is very delicious, especially the coma <sup>176</sup> . <b>X:</b> Some are rather insipid. They are insipid. <b>X:</b> Yeah, some are rather too salty. Plain rice for instance tastes like it'd been boiled in salt solution.
	use cook am. ( <i>Laughter</i> ) <b>X:</b> I sure say dey go cook am for de ...de sea inside. ( <i>Laughter</i> ) <b>X:</b> Na so <i>oo</i> .	( <i>Laughter</i> ) <b>X:</b> I am sure it was boiled in the sea. ( <i>Laughter</i> ) <b>X:</b> It is so. <b>X:</b> But coma is so delicious

<sup>176</sup> 'Coma': banku [a local heavy carbohydrate meal made of maize and cassava flour served in the school canteen. Students doze off in class after taking this meal].

025	<p>X: But de coma e dey jom <i>waa</i>.  X: Yearh</p>	<p>X: Yearh.</p>
030	<p>X: E <i>naa</i> dat.  X: Dat one dear <i>na</i> so.  (Pause)  X: Oh, but admistration too dem no force <i>oo</i>.  X: Dem no force <i>kraa</i>.  X: Charlie.</p>	<p>X: That's it.  X: That's exactly it.  (Laughter)  X: Our administration have not done their best at all.  X: There have not  X: Charlie.</p>
035	<p>X: Last term de examination time <i>naa</i>...  X: Las day wey menners go go hos <i>aa</i> wey dem <i>deponk</i> menners, oh!  X: Dem dey <i>deponk</i>... De first girl wey dem <i>deponk kraa</i> e no espet am. Hmmm.</p>	<p>X: Last term it was during our examination, time when...  X: On the last day when people were going home, that was when they <i>deponked</i> them, oh!  X: They were <i>deponking</i>... the first girl they <i>deponked</i> did not expect it. Hmmm</p>
040	<p>X: I shock self.  X: Oh! De tin be <i>yawa</i>, e be <i>yawa</i>. Dey gave us <i>yawa</i> we carry go hos.  X: You dey go hos <i>kraa</i>: menners go spy you, dem go biz you say: 'Aah wey rituals dem take you do?'  (Laughter)</p>	<p>X: I was indeed shocked.  X: The situation was embarrassing, it was an embarrassment. They gave us an embarrassing look to take home.  X: Even on your way home, those who see you will be asking ah, "What ritual did they sue you for?"  (Laughter)</p>
045	<p>X: Oh! Dem go laf you <i>aa</i>. No....  X: Oh, but de SRC, Oh Charlie...  X: De SRC for jom <i>oo</i>, but SPACANS<sup>177</sup> spoil everytin... dem spoil everytin.  X: But e jom. Despite de fray <i>kraa</i> de tin jom jom.</p>	<p>X: Oh! They will keep laughing at you. No...  X: Oh, but the SRC, oh Charlie...  X: The SRC week should have been very interesting but the SPACANS ruined everything... they ruined everything.  X: But it was interesting. Despite the fray, it was interesting in its own right.</p>
050	<p>X: Mmm. E jom. E jom. But de time dey give us no chaw.  X: But de food bazaar... eih, de food bazaar dear,...  X: Dat one dear.  X: I dey feel de food bazar.  X: I check de first eater.</p>	<p>X: Mmmm. It was interesting, very interesting. But the time allowed for the programme was not enough.  X: But the food bazaar... eih, as for the food bazaar,...  X: As for that one.  X: I just liked the food bazaar.  X: I liked the first eater.</p>
055	<p>X: De girlie wey e chow de food e <i>naa</i> herhh...  X: E tink sey e be magic wey e do for de food top.  (Laughter)  X: Ok. But I no dey tink say dis form ones dem go do homo's night give dem <i>oo</i>.  X: Oh. Wanna own self <i>kraa</i> dem no do give us so dema own <i>kraa</i>, I no sure.</p>	<p>X: As for the girl who ate the food, heerh..  X: One would think she had done some magic on the food.  X: Ok. As for me, I do not think they will organize homo's night for these form one students at all.  X: Even for us, they did not do it for us, how much less they? I am not sure.</p>
060	<p>X: You no spy... you no spy say you de homo life e dey inside your blood like....  X: Dat one dear <i>na</i> k. E be k; e be k....  X: Like dem use cocaine inject you.</p>	<p>X: Do you not see... do you not see that the <i>homo</i> life was in your blood like...  X: That one was constant. It was constant.  X: As if they had used cocaine to inject you.</p>
065	<p>X: Yerh.  X: E dey your blood like samtin.  X: Na so.  (Pause)  X: Ah. But me I no know why students wan make we go Mawuli go do de inter house-oo.</p>	<p>X: Yerh.  X: It was in your blood like something.  X: It's so.  (Pause)  X: But for me, I do not know why sour students want us to go to Mawuli to do our inter-house sports.</p>
	<p>X: Tso. Wey dos guys <i>kraa</i> dey no dey friendly. I no know wetin dey wan go do der.</p>	<p>X: Tso. Those guys are not in the least friendly. I don't know what they want to go and do there.</p>

<sup>177</sup> Boys from St Paul's Secondary School, Denu in the Volta Region

070	<p><b>X:</b> Stadium go jom <i>oo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. We go see tings for road top before we even go get der.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Stadium would have been interesting.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yearh. We will see lots of things on the way, even before we get there.</p>
075	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah yeah e <i>naa</i> dat.</p> <p><b>X:</b> After dat we go...we go go de MELCOM inside den do some window shopping dems.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Wey de person wey e no spy der before go go know dat place.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yeah, yeah, that's' it.</p> <p><b>X:</b> After that we will go ...we will go to MELCOM for window shopping and others.</p> <p><b>X:</b> And the ones who never went there before will see it for the first time.</p>
080	<p><b>X:</b> Yerh. Na so. E go spy am for first time.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But me I dey tink say Dzobo ...Dzobo go win <i>oo</i>. Erh.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you know say evertin dear.. come..</p> <p><b>X:</b> Tsor.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Yerh. That's so. She will see it for the first time.</p> <p><b>X:</b> For me, I think Dzobo... Dzobo will win again. Erh.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Oh.</p> <p><b>X:</b> But you know that as for everything,....come....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Tsor.</p>
085	<p><b>X:</b> Evertin come <i>aa</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Now dear dey no dey see top <i>oo</i>. Anytin....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Who talk you?</p> <p><b>X:</b> De freak wey we do all,...</p> <p><b>X:</b> E be loy... dey claim,.... dey get dey get last position.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Everything that comes our way at all.</p> <p><b>X:</b> For now, they do not seem to understand anything at all. Anything....</p> <p><b>X:</b> Who told you?</p> <p><b>X:</b> Even in the freak we had.....</p> <p><b>X:</b> It is a lie... they claim,....they got the last position.</p>
090	<p><b>X:</b> E be loy. e be loy... everytin, every good tin we dey carry am.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Tso. Na lie ...na lie. Now dey no dey do anything <i>oo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Inspection we take am.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Na lie, na brag <i>e be</i> brag.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> It is a lie. It is a lie... everything we take... every good thing.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Tso. It is a lie...a lie. Now they do not do anything at all.</p> <p><b>X:</b> We won during the inspection.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It's a lie, it's just bragging, it is bragging.</p>
095	<p><b>X:</b> We no dey brag. Everyting dey show. All de teachers dem see say we be hardworking and intelligent.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Na lie, e be lie.</p> <p><b>X:</b> E <i>naa</i> dat. Good character self we get.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You no fit do natin.</p> <p>(Pause)</p>	<p><b>X:</b> We are not bragging. Everything shows it. All the teachers see that we are hardworking and intelligent.</p> <p><b>X:</b> It is a lie; it is a lie.</p> <p><b>X:</b> That's it. We even have good character.</p> <p><b>X:</b> You can't do anything.</p> <p>(Pause)</p>
100	<p><b>X:</b> But like dos form twos I no sure... I no dey sure say dem go allow dem do SRC week again <i>oo</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Aww. Me self <i>kraa</i>, I no sure. Sake of de SPACANS dema behavior. I no sure say SRC go commot came Mawuko again.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> But in the case of those form two students I'm not sure they will allow them to celebrate their SRC Week again.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Aww. I think so as well; I am not sure. It is because of the SPACANS' behavior. I am not sure any SRC Week celebration will take place in Mawuko again.</p>
105	<p><b>X:</b> Even if e go come on self <i>aa</i>, da Saturday wey be freak dem go take do some debate for you guys.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Some proper tin <i>bi</i>.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Some educational sometin. You no go get any freak.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. E <i>naa</i> dat.</p>	<p><b>X:</b> Even if they will allow it at all, the Saturday that is used for a freak will be used for a debate or something better for you people instead.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. Something more beneficial, I think.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Something very educative. You will not get any freak.</p> <p><b>X:</b> Yeah. That's it.</p>

## APPENDIX B (PROFILE SP GIRLS)

1. AGE: 15

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: BUSINESS

DOMICILE: TEMA

L1: EWE

2. AGE:16

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROGR OF STUDY: V<sup>171</sup>. ARTS

DOMICILE: JASIKAN

L1: GUAN

3. AGE: 18

CLASS: 3<sup>RD</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G<sup>172</sup>. ARTS

DOMICILE: NUNGUA

L1: GA

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<sup>171</sup> Visual Arts

<sup>172</sup> General Arts

4. AGE: 16

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G. ARTS

DOMICILE: VAKPO

L1: EWE

5. AGE: 15

CLASS: G. ARTS

PROG. OF STUDY: G.ARTS

DOMICILE: HOHOE

L1: EWE

6. AGE: 16

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G. ARTS

DOMICILE: LABONE ESTATE

L1 : TWI

7. AGE:17

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G.ARTS

DOMICILE: KPANDO

L1: EWE

8. AGE: 18

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G.ARTS

DOMICILE: BATOR

L1: EWE

9. AGE: 25

CLASS: 2<sup>ND</sup> YEAR

PROG. OF STUDY: G.ARTS

DOMICILE: HO

L1: EWE





