

**CODESWITCHING IN ACADEMIC DISCUSSIONS: A DISCOURSE  
STRATEGY BY STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION,  
WINNEBA**

BY



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### DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is the result of my original research, except for references to other works which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that no part has been published as part of the requirement for any degree in any university.

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## DEDICATION

To my mother ELIZABETH ABENA ADUUNA OFOSUA who said: ‘*Awuraba ye nton no sotɔɔ*’ (a lady is not bought from a shop) and so invested in my education.



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To God be the glory great things He has done (MHB113 vs. 1)

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Millicent Quarcoo



## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to investigate the use of codeswitching (CS) as a linguistic resource by students of the University of Education, Winneba (UEW). The study seeks to answer why students in the university conduct their academic discussions in CS contrary to what is expected of them; how the use of CS contributes to the overall meaning of the topics they discuss and how students use CS as a linguistic resource to negotiate their activities in the university community. The study focused on study groups at the South Campus of the University of Education, Winneba. The social network (Milroy 1980) and ethnographic research methods (Barton & Hamilton 1998) were employed for data collection and the Community of Practice concept of Wenger (1998) was used to describe the study groups. The Markedness model of Myers-Scotton (1993) and the Conversational Analysis of Auer (1984) were used to analyze the speech data. The study found that two types of CS operate on UEW campus. These are in-group CS and out-group CS. It found that Akan/English CS is the main language for many out-group interactions on campus and serves as a lingua franca in addition to English. It serves as a bridge language between Winneba town and the university. It is also used in many study groups to discuss academic work. Finally, it found that students do not have a positive attitude towards all the indigenous languages and non-Akan students protest the prevalence of Akan on campus. The study is significant because it will enable policy makers recognize that CS occurs at all levels of education and must be given the appropriate attention. It will also serve as a reference point for future research into language changes or shifts in Ghana. Finally, it will add to existing literature in the study of language use in education.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This study seeks to investigate how students at the University of Education, Winneba use Codeswitching (CS) as a discourse strategy during academic discussions. The study is prompted by the notion that CS mostly occurs in informal situations (Gumperz 1972; Forson 1979, 1988; Auer 1984; Myers-Scotton 1993; Wei 1995). CS in formal situations is said to be limited, as CS is often associated with speech events more than with written discourse. Some other works have, however, indicated that CS does occur in formal situations. Among them are Asilevi (1990), Setati et al (2002), Martin (2003), Arthur (1996), Amekor (2009), Chitera (2009), and Brew Daniels (2011).

Codeswitching has been defined variously as the use of two or more languages in the same speech event. It is as a result of intense language contact and its use in many contexts e.g. social interactions, political rallies (e.g. Ghana), churches, and the classroom is seen as a norm rather than an exception.

Many studies on CS in formal situations have been conducted in the classroom, but CS in formal contexts is not limited to only classroom situations. CS has been observed in many other formal contexts; e.g. former presidents Kuffour and Atta Mills of Ghana were noted for using CS in formal interactions with chiefs and elders (on television). They also used CS when addressing voters in the indigenous languages. The current president, President John Mahama, has also been observed using CS when he meets village elders and opinion leaders in rural communities. There are also numerous recordings of religious ministers preaching in CS (see Albakry & Ofori 2011, Asare-Nyarko 2012).

These scenarios are contrary to what was observed by Forson in 1988 when he argued that:

[A] speaker on a platform, in a pulpit or addressing the inhabitants of a community naturally speaks monolingually. If he can speak the first language of the people, he uses it without switching. ... Code-switching in such a situation is only an invitation to ridicule (Forson 1988: 183).

This study focuses on CS in academic discussions by students in study groups in a university. A study group is modeled alongside the lecture room for teaching and learning among peers. At meetings, specific topics from texts are selected for discussions; individuals teach or lead and learner participation is encouraged. Study group meetings however do not have the hierarchical structure typical of a conventional classroom. CS in the formal classroom context shows a hierarchical cline between the teacher and the learner with the teacher exercising more control over the learner (see Arthur 1996: 24 and Chitera 2009). Arthur (1996) in her study in Botswana classrooms, for example, observed that CS from 'English to Setswana as a self-facilitative strategy is used exclusively by teachers ... not available as a self-facilitative strategy to the learners' (Arthur 1996: 24).

Most of the studies on classroom CS are focused on the teacher and the contributions of the learner are not well described as they are often overshadowed by the attention on the teachers. Again, many of these works have concentrated at the basic and secondary levels and contributions from the tertiary levels are limited so far as can be ascertained. The lack of contribution from this sector may probably be attributed to the fact that (unless for a specific purpose) lectures at the tertiary level are conducted in the official language of education. The assumption is that learners at this level would have acquired enough competence in English to understand complex concepts in it. Thus it is expected that academic discussions by students at the tertiary level would be conducted in the formal

language of education. It can thus be speculated that should CS occur in academic discussions at the tertiary level, it might probably not be between the lecturer and the learner but among the learners themselves. This study therefore focuses on learners in a Ghanaian university seeking to unearth the reason(s) behind their CS.

## **1.2 Background**

English, a legacy of the colonial administration, is the main language of education in Ghana. The choice, from a sociolinguistics point of view, is more pragmatic than administrative. The importance of this choice stems from the fact that Ghana is a highly multilingual country with about 50 non-mutually intelligible languages spoken (Anyidoho & Kropp Dakubu 2008: 2). With such a high rate of multilingualism, it will be practically impossible to use each language as a medium of education. Secondly, the government would have had a colossal task in choosing from the numerous languages the one which would have been most appropriate for education. The choice of English also curtailed objections on why a particular Ghanaian language was chosen over other languages.

English, therefore, became the language of education at all levels except in the first three years of primary school (National Literacy Acceleration Programme (NALAP) documents 2010). It is not certain though whether the NALAP is strictly enforced as available information shows that some schools in the urban areas, especially the private basic schools do not adhere to it. There is no compromise in the use of English in education, especially at the higher levels. Any other language(s) above primary three

(whether indigenous<sup>1</sup> or foreign like French) is taught strictly as a subject. Some of the indigenous languages are Akan, Ga/Dangme, Ewe, Gonja, Dagbani, Guruni and Nzema, depending on the area where the school is located. CS is not a conventional language in academic discourse, most especially, from the upper primary. Yet it has been observed that CS is used as a language of pedagogy in some Ghanaian schools (Asilevi 1990; Ameko 2009; Brew Daniels 2011).

Studies on CS as the language of pedagogy indicate that CS encourages learner participation in academic discussions (Setati et al 2002; Setati 2005; Amekor 2009; Chitera 2009; Brew-Daniels 2011) though it is not an encouraged practice. Chitera (2009) in her study of CS among Mathematics teacher trainees in Namibia explains that:

Even though the mathematics teacher educators know the benefits of using home language, code-switching is not practised freely, more especially in the public domain. The reason is that in college every student teacher is expected to speak English (Chitera 2009:434).

Martin (2003) and Chitera (2009) notice that CS can be a hindrance when teachers and learners face the challenge of using a language(s) that is not their home language for teaching and learning. Secondly, the 'examination oriented curriculum' (Chitera 2009: 436) practised in many African educational systems can create anxiety among teachers and learners. It can also be argued that CS can undermine the learning of English and students' ability to perform in national examinations which are conducted in English, (the language) of education. Learners' decision to codeswitch in academic discussions must

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<sup>1</sup> Indigenous as used here refers to ethnic languages indigenous to Ghana

thus be guided by its effect on the learning of English, (the language) of education and the concomitant result of national examinations.

CS in the classroom can play different roles where English functions as the language of the 'stage' (Arthur 1996: 27) while the indigenous languages perform backstage functions (ibid). Therefore a switch from English to an indigenous language distinguishes 'between "doing lessons" and talking about them' (Arthur 1996: 27). Thus English is used for core academic work and the indigenous language(s) is used for peripheral discussions relating to pedagogy. It is therefore expected that since academic discussions among students are focused on core academic work, English will be the main language, and the indigenous language(s) will play peripheral functions.

CS as the language of teaching and learning at the secondary and tertiary levels in Ghana may be improbable since it is not encouraged even at the basic level. At the tertiary level, especially the university, it might be near impossible to perceive a lecturer delivering a lecture in CS. Every lecture is conducted in English because it is expected that students at this level have acquired enough competence in English and can understand what is being taught. Amuzu (2010) argues that a person who has completed Senior Secondary School or its equivalent 'should have been exposed long enough to English to speak it reasonably fluently' (Amuzu 2010: 10). Students are therefore expected to use English in their academic work, yet students in the university have been observed conducting some of their academic discussions in CS.

The question then is: 'why will students in the university conduct their academic discussions in CS contrary to what is expected of them?' Academic discussions by students in the university occur both in formal and informal settings in the absence of a lecturer. Here students do peer teaching and learning at their study group meetings. The present study examines the use of CS in these discussions and its importance in contributing to the overall meaning of the topics they discuss. It also examines how students use CS as a linguistic tool to negotiate their membership in the university community.

### **1.2.1 Code switching versus Borrowing**

There have been a lot of discussions among scholars as to when an item from language A found in language B has ceased to be a code switched item and has become a borrowing. The discussion of this is necessary to establish whether some of the English items used by the students in this study can be classified as codeswitching or borrowing.

Different criteria have been proposed to determine when a lexical item is a CS and when it becomes a borrowing. The most common argument has been the level of assimilation or integration into the syntactic, morphological, and phonological system of the recipient language (Swigart 1992:19). Other scholars are of the opinion that this criterion is not enough to determine an item's integration since some items can stay in a language for a considerable amount of time without being integrated (e.g. Myers- Scotton 1988).

In contrast, Quarcoo (2009) realized that almost all English verbs that participate in Twi/English CS are integrated both morphologically and phonologically into Twi clauses although they may not be considered borrowings. It is when nouns and other lexical items undergo such changes that they can be considered borrowings e.g. *sriba* 'silver' (saucepan), *srikye* 'silk', *bokiti* 'bucket', *ataade* 'attire', etc. Such items are now considered



indigenous to Akan (the biggest language in Ghana claiming almost 50% of the population as L1 speakers; 2000 population census) and are no longer perceived as part of the donor language(s). For example, my ninety - two - year old mother did not believe that '*sriba* 'saucepan' and *krachi* (clerk) were not originally Akan words. These words have undergone so much integration that it is difficult to associate them with their donor language.

Myers- Scotton (1988; 1990) proposes that frequency of use is a more reliable criterion of determining whether a word is borrowed or code switched because a borrowed word might be more consistently used than a switched word. She argues that a switched word will be used alongside the matrix language equivalent. Swigart (1992:20) agrees that a similar situation obtains in her study at Dakar. This present study argues to the contrary because frequency of use may not necessarily be an indication of borrowing. In Akan, for instance, many English items are used frequently alongside their Akan counterparts if not more frequently. These include kinship terms like boy, girl, man, sister, brother /braa, uncle, aunt, etc. as well as time indicators and numerals. These items, however, cannot be considered strictly as borrowings though they are now part of the lexicon of users.

Amuzu succinctly explains the reason behind such situations when he states that:

Since Ghanaians receive intellectual upbringing via the English language medium, it is hardly surprising that many of the concepts 'belong' to their English mental lexicon. Their choice of English to express meaning can be automatic, even when a mother tongue would have been more desirable. (Amuzu 2010:268).

Drawing on insight from Weinreich (1953), Amuzu (2010:268) notes that 'a bilingual's language of literacy is cognitively stronger than the language(s) in which he has only oral

skills'. This truly explains the situations in which most bilinguals find themselves. This is especially so with settings in the university, where students' cognitive orientations are tuned towards English. Students, by virtue of the institutional setup they find themselves in, use English on a daily basis instead of their L1. They are thus likely to conceptualize in English, which forms part of their daily discourse.

More and more bilinguals are therefore beginning to conceptualize in their language of literacy instead of in the languages in which they have oral skills. Furthermore, the choice of a word in discourse depends on the individual, as people decide whether to choose an English word over its indigenous counterpart; e.g. 'good' versus *yɛ*, 'rice' versus *ɛmo*, 'cloth' versus *ntoma*, 'door' versus *ɛpono*, etc. Students' choice in such situations will be orientated towards English over the indigenous languages through no fault of theirs.

In fact Swigart (1992: 23) states that some French words have become so widely used that it is their Wolof versions that are marked. The same situation applies to Akan where the Akan version of a word takes on special connotations: e.g. boy *abaamuwaa* and girl *abaayewa*. *Abaayewa* for example has ameliorated and connotes beauty, youth, innocence etc. hence one encounter's expressions like *abaayewa kamakama* (beautiful girl). On the other hand, *abaamuwa* has acquired negative connotations and connotes rascality with expressions like *abaamuwaa fiaa bi* (nasty boy).

I agree with Sridhar (1978:116) cited in Swigart (1992:22) that code switched items are 'additional lexical strata' that provide connotative alternatives to speakers. I also believe that code switched items expand the lexicon of the receiving language and creates opportunities for items to have more synonyms. It also makes it easier for taboo words (e.g. items related to the private parts) whose uses are restrained in the indigenous languages to be used. It creates an avenue for harsh indigenous words to be toned down

e.g. foolish versus '*kwasea*.' These notwithstanding, the purpose of CS is its communicative function and how students in this study are able to use it to achieve a communicative goal.

### **1.3 Research questions**

- Why do students in the university conduct their academic discussions in CS contrary to what is expected of them?
- How does the use of CS contribute to their overall understanding of the topics they discuss?
- How do students use CS as a linguistic resource to negotiate their activities in the university community?

### **1.4 Objectives**

The study has two main objectives which are:

- To show that CS is an important code in education because it enables students to assimilate English spoken and written texts
- To show that CS enables students in this study integrate easily in the university community.

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

The study is significant because it may enable policy makers recognize that CS occurs at all levels of education and should be given some attention. It will also serve as a reference point for research into language changes or shifts that might be observed in the Ghanaian context in the future. Finally, it will add to existing literature in the sociolinguistic study of language use in education.

## **1.6 Limitations**

The study uses Akan to represent the Twi<sup>2</sup> dialect, as that was the one that was predominantly used by the students and that also occurred in all the recordings. The study focuses on students at the University of Education, Winneba.

## **1.7 Organization of the rest of the study**

Chapter Two reviews some literature on CS and also the theoretical frameworks in which the work is grounded. Chapter Three examines the methodology used in collecting the data. This includes the instruments used, the participants, the sample size, and the transcription method. Chapter Four discusses the modalities that situate the study group and the university in the Community of Practice (CofP) frame. Chapter Five discusses the data in relation to the themes of language choices, identity and attitude. Chapter Six examines the role of CS in academic discussions at study group meetings and Chapter Seven discusses the findings, conclusion and recommends new research areas

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<sup>2</sup> One of the dialects of Akan, and the most widely spoken

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

#### 2.1 Introduction

CS as a linguistic phenomenon has been the subject of many scholarly works as researchers endeavor to discover the reasons behind participants' switches. Various scholars have proposed different theories on CS. This section examines some literature on codeswitching and the theoretical frameworks on which the study is grounded.

#### 2.2 Literature review

##### 2.2.1 *Scholarly works on CS*

Codeswitching has been defined variously as the use of two or more languages in the same speech. Gumperz (1982:59) defines it as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystem'. Myers-Scotton defines it as 'the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation (1993:4). This study defines CS as the employment by speakers of two languages in the same speech event. The students who participated in this project are from diverse linguistic backgrounds, and English is the main language on campus, but CS between English and their indigenous languages is a normal occurrence.

The term CS has always created a dispute among scholars about its appropriateness in describing mixed languages in speech. Some argue that intra-sentential (within sentences) should be seen as code mixing and inter-sentential (at clause boundaries) should be code switching (Annamalai 1989; Kachru 1978 Sridhar 1980; Pandit 1986). This work uses

the umbrella term ‘Codeswitching’ to include insertional, clause boundary and alternating CS.

Studies in CS have concentrated in two main dimensions, the grammatical dimension (e.g. Poplack 1979; Forson 1979; Myers-Scotton 1993a; Asilevi 1990; Amuzu 1996, 2005; Quarcoo 2009) and the sociolinguistics dimension (e.g. Gumperz 1982; Auer 1984; Swigart 1992; Myers Scotton 1993b; Wei & Milroy 1995; and Amuzu 2012). The subsequent sessions discuss a few of them.

### ***2.2.2 Grammatical dimension***

Scholars in this area agree that the selection of morphemes from two different grammars in the same sentence is not randomly done (e.g. Poplack 1979; Forson 1979; Myers Scotton 1993; Amuzu 1998, 2005). Rather, selection of items from the two or more languages participating in CS within a sentence is constrained by the languages involved. Quarcoo (2012), for example, observed that English verbs that participate in Twi/English CS must conform to the syntactic structure of Twi verb phrases before they are accepted. Furthermore, switch patterns differ from language pair to language pair. Thus the constraints noticed by Poplack (1980) in the Spanish/English CS of Puerto Ricans in New York that informed her Equivalence and Free morpheme constraints differ from that noticed by Nartey (1982), Myers Scotton (1993), Halmari (1997) and Amuzu (1998, 2005). In the same vein, the constraints that informed Belazi et al’s (1991, 1994) Functional Head Constraint did not apply to Quarcoo’s (2009) constraint on Twi Noun Phrases.

Again, Amuzu’s (2010) view on composite CS which shows that though Ewe/English bilinguals are competent in their L1, their CS is composite because English and Ewe share partnership in framing mixed constituents, a scenario which differs from those

described by Fuller (2000), Turker (2000) and Bolonyai (1998, 2000). These scholars' version of composite CS involves a loss or lack of fluency in the abstract grammar of speakers' L1. All these disparities are a result of studies being carried out in different linguistic environments. For instance, Amuzu's study involves participants in their home country while the others' were carried out among immigrants in a foreign country. The discussion of Grammatical Constraints is, however, not the objective of the current study.

### ***2.2.3 The sociolinguistics dimension of CS***

Batt and Bolonyai (2011:522) propose that CS in the sociolinguistic dimension can be placed in two categories: - the socio - functional model e.g. (Gumperz 1982, Heller 1992, Myers-Scotton 1993) and the conversational/discourse/analytic model (Auer 1984, 88, Li Wei 1994). The socio - functional model sees CS as influenced by speaker motivation and macro- social factors like group membership, identity, affiliation and the politics of bilingual language contact. Here the focus is trying to attach symbolic meanings (e.g. authority, solidarity, dominance, etc) to switches. To Gumperz and Myers-Scotton, the social values of languages in a given community play a vital role in interpreting data. The conversational/discourse/analytic model discusses CS as a contextualization cue i.e. how people signal their orientation to one another in situated bilingual interactions. Here CS is used as an 'orderly conversational resource in constructing interactional meaning' (Batt and Bolonyai 2011:523).

Blom and Gumperz (1972) argue that CS performs social functions and differentiate between 'metaphorical' and 'situational' CS. Metaphorical CS refers to the use of two language varieties in a single social setting, whereas situational CS refers to a situation where the change in the social setting requires a change in linguistic form. Many works on the social functions of CS subsequent to this work were modeled in terms of the

metaphorical and situational CS e.g. (Pandit 1986, Gal 1979, Baker 1980, Swigart 1992). Other scholars, however, hold divergent views, e.g. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, and Giles' Communication Accommodation theory, etc. Gumperz (1982) again argues that language alternation conveys meaning through contrast between codes where the switch signals a transition and listeners interpret the activity through these switches. He calls it contextualization cues stating that it is used as:

strategic activities of speakers in varying their communicative behaviour within a socially agreed matrix of conventions, which are used to alert participants in the course of ongoing interaction to the social and situational context of the conversation. (Gumperz 1982:132-135).

Thus speakers can use CS as a cue to draw other participants' attention to changes in conversation. This work will find out whether CS performs such contextualization cues. Forson (1988:185) believes that CS is used to discuss concepts that 'either originate from the outside world' or are acquired in school via the English language. This assertion cannot account for the excessive use of CS by students in this study as most of their CS involves ideas/topics that are not necessarily acquired in school or have their origin in the outside world. Students in this study consistently switched codes in many aspects of their interactions including study group discussions, which confirm Asilevi's (1990:2) assertion that '[...] this linguistic symbiosis has increasingly become a communicative praxis, socially accepted as a feature of daily conversational discourse in all aspects of [...] interactions'.

The students in this study use CS without any motivation, likening them to Gafaranga's and Torres' (2002: 3) study of Kinyarwanda/French CS in which they observed that bilinguals switched 'without any obvious motivation'. Citing Garfinkel (1963), Gafaranga and Torres state that community members see this kind of talk as a 'stable' practice and so are able to assign labels to them. Examples of such labels are Franglais,



Spanglish, Yanito, etc. To the speakers of these linguistic creations, once bilingual talk is orderly and poses no problem, (often, speakers do not notice this type of language alternation) it suggests that it is conceived as monolingual speech. They therefore account for the orderliness of this type of talk in terms of '*bilingual medium*' (italicized in original). In the Ghanaian context such labels as Twinglish and Akanglish in an editorial in one of the national dailies (Ghanaian Times 2008) are isolated individual coinages and not widely used by the populace. Such isolated coinages could probably be attributed to speakers' unawareness of using two languages simultaneously but think they are speaking monolingually.

Heller (1988) realized that in the 1980s CS was used as a neutral strategy to neutralize conflict and create neutrality among students in her Toronto study (Heller 1988: 82). She argues that students used CS as a 'refusal to commit <themselves> (oneself) to all the obligations of being French' while they at the same time maintained their right to be in an English school (Heller 1988: 92). She however maintains that conditions that create such meanings do not apply everywhere. While CS may perform a neutral role in that context, we should bear in mind that some speakers choose CS out of compulsion due to the situation they find themselves in. Moreover, conditions that create such meanings as Heller reiterates may not apply to every context as neutrality in context A may be interpreted differently by context B. Since CS performs different functions in different contexts, it can be assumed that CS by students in this study is not a matter of taking a neutral position but rather as a linguistic tool employed to perform specific functions.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) thinks CS can be used to show solidarity and neutralize otherwise ambiguous situations. She argues that '[...] speakers who must habitually interact in situations for which the norms seem inherently unclear or ambiguous may make CS their main way of speaking' (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 73). Much as CS can indicate solidarity,

its neutral role is not certain as most speakers who habitually interact have the option of selecting the language appropriate for such interactions. CS may therefore be a choice and not necessarily used to neutralize ambiguity.

Auer (1984), expanding on the contextualization cues of Gumperz argues that CS must be approached 'from the interactional perspective (1984: 2), i.e. the purpose of language alternation is to *'analyze members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation'* (ibid: 3) (italicized in original). That is 'verbal interaction between bilingual speakers is open to local processes of language negotiation and code selection' (Auer1999:3).

Based on this, Auer proposed the Conversational Analysis (CA) of language choice, a model which focuses on the sequential development of interaction and the implications that language choices have on conversations (Auer 1984: 5). This means that the language choices of participants in conversation have implications which can be interpreted within the local community. Participants therefore negotiate their code choices by considering the potential reward or cost that it will bring to them.

Again language alternation helps in the orderly organization of conversation thus serving as cues that speakers use to alert other participants of changes in the on-going conversation. It is the sequential development of conversation through language negotiation in study group discussions that has informed my choice of the CA model for this study. Secondly, it aims at determining whether the language choices the students make have implications. Finally, it aims at finding out whether CS alerts participants in changes in conversation thus performing contextualization cues.

Li Wei 1994 in his study of three generations in a Chinese community in Britain, realized that the first generation immigrants show Chinese dominance in Chinese/English CS while the British born Chinese show English dominance in their CS. Moreover the study found that language preference of the different generations differ i.e. grandparents tend to use Chinese while the grand children who are British born tend to use more English. This is because the younger generation has more and wider social interaction among people outside their community who use English, e.g. school and friends. The situation can be compared to students in this study who may be compelled to use more English because they interact with other students/friends who tend to use English frequently.

The study also adopts the Markedness model of Myers-Scotton (1993) to ascertain whether some of the code choices of the students exhibited markedness. Again, no one theory can adequately describe why speakers code switch because the data in this study do not completely situate CS as contextualization cues neither do they all indicate markedness. Both aspects and many more are observed in the data but this work has decided on these frameworks.

In CA, Auer stresses the importance of 'dialogical meaning' which he explains 'as a negotiated property of interaction' (Auer 1984: 6). He explains meaning as:

The visible-observable techniques, strategies, signals, etc, by which participants make themselves understood, display their understanding of co-participants' utterance, check on their being understood by co-participants, etc. (Auer 1984: 6)

Such meanings can only be interpreted by participants of a community who share a common communicative norm. Members who do not belong to the same community of practice may be incapable of interpreting the techniques, strategies, signals, etc.

necessary for community construction. Moreover, as Heller states, CS must be situated in context for it to be understood. Context, to her, goes beyond micro-level features of conversation and must include macro factors that can be interpreted by the community. Community based interpretations relate to features that are salient within the community (Myers-Scotton 1993b). It is the ability to identify and interpret such salient factors that defines participants' community of practice. The subsequent section discusses how CS can be the linguistic choice of a community of practice (CofP).

#### ***2.2.4 CS as the language in a community of practice (CofP)***

The selection of more than one code in discourse portrays speakers' orientation. So the study of CS tries to explain how CS is used as a systematic resource that members of a community have at their disposal in order to arrive at interpretations of 'what is meant' by a particular utterance in its context (Auer 1998:2). The CS situation in this study indicates that the choice of a particular code(s) on campus is governed by students' ability to interpret the language nuances that prevails at the university. The study will attempt to explain how students are able to construct their lives to adapt to the linguistic practices of the university community.

Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999) contend that to be a member of a community, a person needs to acquire the sociolinguistic competence that will help one 'to perform appropriately ...as befits our membership status' (Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999:74). Members in the University of Education Winneba (UEW) where this study was conducted, must therefore perform appropriately to befit their status which set them apart as a community of practice and also set them apart from the town in which the university is situated. One way of showing their belongingness to the university community is their linguistic choices. People of the town are able to distinguish between university students and town folk and make the appropriate linguistic choices. The ability

to behave appropriately is captured in the interview below in which in which we are told that the people of Winneba do not speak Efutu<sup>3</sup> to the students because they aware of the students' status.

Extract 1

1 Nii: **I live in the town and some speak the Efutu language, for that one I don't understand at all but I understand the Fanti<sup>4</sup>**

2 Kwame: **If you talking about the indigenous language then is Efutu but when you go around and you want to speak to them they all speak Fanti to us**

3 INT: **They all speak Fanti even among themselves?**

4 Kwame: **Yea even among themselves**

5 Nii: **No no no I live in a house where there are some Efutus and they speak Efutu but when we are //speaking to them they speak the Fanti because we don't understand**

6 Aseye: **//Even when you go to the //erm sea shore and want to buy something and they want to communicate among themselves they speak the Efutu language but not to we //the buyers because we don't understand.**

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<sup>3</sup> The language of Winneba; It is a dialect of Guan

<sup>4</sup> Another dialect of Akan which is also widely spoken in the Western and Central Regions of Ghana

The town folks are aware that the linguistic practices of the students are significantly different from that which obtains in the town. They are also aware that to be able to communicate with the students (as they are the mainstay of their economy), the town folks must learn English and Fanti in addition to Efutu. This study will therefore use the CofP concept to discuss the sociolinguistic background of the students and the relationship that exists among them, and between the university community and the town.

## **2.3 Theoretical Frameworks**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

CS as a linguistic phenomenon has been examined within many frameworks. This section presents the Markedness model of Myers-Scotton (1993b) and the Conversational Analysis (CA) model of Auer (1984) using them to analyze students' CS patterns.

### **2.3.2 The Markedness model**

The Markedness model examines speakers' socio - psychological motive for engaging in code switching (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 75). Modeled after Grice's co-operative principles (1975) using the negotiation principle. The principle states that:

Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange (Myers-Scotton 1993: 113)

Thus participants in a conversation are obliged to choose a code that will index the context in which they are operating. It proposes that 'speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their

codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place' (Myers-Scotton 1993b:75). It shows that 'participants "know" (at some level) that they enter into conversation with similar expectations, whether about unmarked code choices or about unmarked communication intentions' (ibid).

The argument is that code choices are understood as indexing rights and obligation (RO) sets between participants in any given interactional type (Myers - Scotton 1993b: 85), and these RO sets are normative based. So in any interaction that involves communication, participants establish the type of saliency that is at play within that situation and make a linguistic choice to reflect that situation.

In essence, participants in a communicative activity know what they are about and select their codes to reflect their intentions bearing in mind the implications that those choices will convey. Consequently, participants select their codes to maximize rewards for themselves. In Ghana, for instance, many advertisers will choose Akan/English CS over English because that is what will maximize rewards for them. In the same way students will choose Akan/English to perform their activities in the town because of the benefit they will derive.

In the university, the unmarked code in many given situations is English as it indicates prestige for its users. This brings about the 'saliency of indexicality' ((Myers - Scotton 1993b: 85) as being in the university is indexical of higher education which is associated with English, and by extension social prestige. The use of an indigenous language by any person or group of persons will also index another RO set like ethnicity. Akan/English CS is also an unmarked code at the university, and its use is indexical of social mobility, as Akan is spoken widely among students as a second language.

### 2.3.2.1 *The Unmarked Choice Hypothesis*

The unmarked choice hypothesis postulates that within a continuum, a linguistic variety can be identified as unmarked and this will index a specific RO set in an interaction which can be compared to other varieties that may also be in use (Myers - Scotton 1993b: 89). In this regard, any time speakers engage in communication, there is a negotiation of the existing RO sets which allows language choices to be made and also enables a particular choice to be marked or unmarked.

### 2.3.2.2 *CS as an unmarked code at UEW*

Unmarked CS is the language of expectation within a particular context for example in extract 2a, Swahili/English CS is the unmarked choice among the three participants who are from different ethnic backgrounds. English is in bold and Swahili in normal font.

Extract 2a

1L: Mbona hawa **workerswa East Africa Power and Lightning** waaenda **strike**,

hata wengine nasikia washawekwa **cell**

(And why on earth did those East African Power and Lightning workers strike,

even I've heard some have been already put in cells [jail])

2K: Ujue watu wengine ni**funny** sana. Wa –na-**claim** ati mishahara yao iko low

sana. Tena wanasema eti hawapewi **housing allowance**

(You know, some people are very funny. They are claiming that their salaries are

very low. They also say – eh- they are not given housing allowance



3M: Mimi huwa nawafikiria lakini wao huwa na **reasonable salary**

(As for me, I used to think, but they have a reasonable salary)

(Myers-Scotton 1993: 118)

Akan/English CS is the main unmarked choice for many of the social interactions among students at the UEW. For example in extract 2b students are discussing a radio programme in which one of their professors was a panelist

Extract 2b

1 Nii: AM kãã wɔ **radio** so

(AM said it on the radio)

2 Araba: **Station** ben?

(Which station?)

3 Kaki: **Joy FM**

4 Kwame: **Because** (.) me frɛ **Professor AM but** wamfa **first one** no ɛna **later** ɔfrɛ me na

me nni hɔ enti me baa e na me behwɛ yɛ frɛ no **back** ɛna ɔse o **'I was wi- with**

**Joy FM ...'**

(Because (.) I called Professor AM but he didn't pick the first one and later he

called me but I wasn't there so when I returned and noticed it I called back and

he said o 'I was with Joy FM...)

5 Akuvi: Aa na ɔmo kã **about** ɔmo se //**falling standard of education**

(Aa they were talking about they were discussing the falling standard of education)

5 Kwame: //The falling standard of education

In the extract, students use Akan/English CS to discuss a topic that people are passionate about and passionate issues demand a language that can display their passion.

### 2.3.2.3 *The structure of students' CS patterns*

Structurally, students' unmarked CS samples that are recorded in this work are mostly insertional and inter-sentential, though in a few instances students alternated between English and Akan where a student would use English in one turn and Akan in another turn. Extract 3 illustrates the switch patterns that are observed.

Extract 3:

1 Kwame: **That's what I was saying that** etese **innatist** (.)

(That's what I was saying that it is like innatist)

2 Nii: //Aye se **innatist**

(It is like the innatist)

3 Kwame: //**The innatist theory** no enye **imitation** keke **is not just imitating**

//**the adult speakers** aye tese **because** –

(The innatist theory is not just imitation, is not just imitating the adult speakers, it is like because -)

4 Ibo: //**But the person is is is**

5 Nii: **So your performance is as a result of your exposure from this one** no

6 Kwame: **You are exposed to the language but you also have the ability to create**

7 Efo: **Yea yea yea**

8 Serwa: **You know this guy used some term** bi Pascal ose **the the the speaker tries**

**to- he's working out something something inside that's why it comes out -**

(You know this guy Pascal used a term, he said the speaker tries to- he's

- working out something inside that's why it comes out -)
- 9 Nii: Hmm
- (Yes)
- 10 Efo: **He will he will actively work out the rules of the //language**
- 11 Aseye: **//Language yea and**  
**also he creates his own**
- 12 Kwame: Ahaa **so it is not because** oniako no a-**expose-e** ana ɔte **adult speakers**  
deɛ nti //but **because** on nso ɛwɔ (.) ɔ- **form-e the hypothesis -**  
(Yes so it is not because the person has been exposed or understands  
adult speakers but because s/he also has (.) he is forming the hypothesis)

In this extract, Kwame uses insertional /inter-sentential CS in turns 1 and 3 and English alone in turn 6. Nii also does a similar thing in turns 2 and 5. In turn 12, 'expose' and 'form' are marked by Akan tense and aspects. Thus students' CS patterns are a mixture of all the CS structures that scholars describe in other situations. Here, it is a kind of mixed pot and all the insertional switches have Akan as the matrix language.<sup>5</sup>

#### **2.3.2.4 CS as a Marked Choice**

A language choice is considered marked because it operates within the context of an unmarked variety. If a speaker intentionally or unintentionally uses a code that contrasts with the expected RO set, then it becomes marked and speakers recognize it as such. Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that a marked choice 'is a negotiation against the unmarked RO set' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 131) and secondly, it calls for another RO set (ibid). Making a marked choice implies that a participant has weighed the implications that that choice will convey and is prepared for the consequence. A participant will make a

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<sup>5</sup> See Quarcoo 2009

marked choice if s/he knows the reward that will be gained. She argues that marked CS is used to ‘negotiate a change in the social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing’ (1993b:132).

Making marked choices may increase social distance e.g. English might increase the social distance between a student and a shopkeeper in Winneba. Between a student and a lecturer, English might increase the distance ‘via authority along with anger or annoyance’ (Myers-Scotton1993b: 132), however, it does not index such social distance when it involves the students themselves. In extract 4 for instance, Kaki has lost her pen and switches to Akan to draw the group’s attention to her problem when English is the unmarked code in place.

Extract 4

1 Nii: //So you just so Oduro is saying you just have to identify what the thing  
is and just apply (.) change the //wording is that not it?

// (goat bleat)

2 Yaaba: //Errm errm don't bring that close it

3 Kaki: //Me pen no me nhu o (.) me pen

(I can't find my pen)

4 Efo: Hmm

5 Nii: So it will help you to identify the //persistent of the student is that not so

It can be observed that the switch from English to Akan in the extract does not indicate a change in the social distance either increasing or decreasing between the speaker and the other members. Rather the switch is an appeal to group alignment and intimacy. Kaki’s choice of Akan is a way of telling the members to do the right thing by offering her a pen

without her having to beg for it. Note that she does not make a direct request . One can conclude that when students switch from English to Akan, it is not to maximize reward for an individual as the theory postulates, but to rather reinforce group cohesion, communality and solidarity.

### **2.3.2.5 Sequential unmarked CS**

Myers - Scotton argues that in the course of an interaction, when situational factors change, the RO sets can also change to reflect the new situation e.g. topic shift or when another person joins. She calls it the ‘sequential unmarked CS’ (Myers - Scotton 1993b:114). When such a situation arises, then speakers are accepting the ‘status quo’ (ibid). She emphasizes that even though a change in the situation that reflects a new RO set which triggers sequential unmarked CS may be external to the speaker, it is the speaker who has the right to respond to the changes. This however is not always the case. Our/ my data indicate that one speaker can trigger the marked code, to reflect the new RO set, but another speaker can respond to the change and make the new choice unmarked as the interview in extract 5 shows.

Extract 5

1 Yaaba: **You say I should call Afua (.) if i hadn’t come ka mo nfrɛ me**

(You wouldn’t have called me)

2 Efo: **Yaaba**

3 Asibi: **//That’s why you have come**

4 Efo: **//Yaaba**

5 Yaaba: **Yes?**

6 Efo: **I beg you I need wara**

(Water)

7 Int: **Yaaba** yɛpa wo kyɛw si fɔm bra wae

(Yaaba please come down)

8 Efo: Yehia nsuo wae

(We need water please)

9 Yaaba: //Ka maa mma ha ka monfrɛ me

(You wouldn't have called me if I hadn't come here)

10 Nii: //Wope a mɛ nfa mma ka wo be hu

(If you like don't bring it and you will see)

(Laughter)

In the extract, English is the unmarked code in place, but Yaaba shifts to Akan at the end of her speech (turn 1), to complain which makes that portion marked. The switch triggers a response from the interviewer in the same marked choice (turn 7) after which subsequent shifts were made into Akan by the other members, and Akan became the unmarked code afterwards.

### **2.3.3 The Conversational Analysis model**

The Conversational Analysis framework (CA) focuses on the 'sequential development of interaction' (Auer 1984:5) through the use of linguistic choices. The linguistic choices made by participants in conversation show a 'sequential implicativeness' of the language choices in conversation (Auer 1984:5). This means that 'whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, will exert an influence on subsequent language choices of other participants' (Auer 1985:5). So in effect, participants in a conversation will accommodate one another (Giles et al 1987) in a sequential manner.

Sequential analysis attempts to ‘reveal the underlying procedural apparatus by which conversation participants themselves arrive at local interpretation of language choice’ (Wei & Milroy 1995: 283). It implies that participants in a conversation consider the benefit of a particular code choice and how it would be interpreted by other participants within the community before making a choice. So, whether the choice of a code is interpreted by participants as showing familiarity or distance depends on the community’s interpretation of what constitutes such choices. This involves language negotiation which participants mediate in a sequential manner till they reach an agreed choice. Thus in conversation, participants co-operate with one another by testing to see if each is making meaning of a previous utterance in order to also contribute meaningfully. Auer explains this in two interrelated perspectives i.e. discourse-related CS versus participant-related CS.

### **2.3.3.1 Discourse – related CS**

This refers to the use of CS to organize a conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance (Auer 1998:4). Participants must select their code to contribute to the ongoing interaction by negotiating their language choices in their various turns to come to an agreed choice. Hence, language convergence takes place. Extract 6a, from Auer demonstrates how discourse-related CS is organized.

Extract 6a

Informal conversation among young Spanish-German bilingual speakers: W, female; M, male.

1. W: *Qué hora se?*

(What time is it?)

2. (2.0)

3. Wie spät?

(What time?)

4. M: Zwanzig nach elf;

(Twenty past eleven)

(Auer 1998: 4-5)

In the extract, it is assumed that the non-response in line 2 of participant M (i.e. after 2.0 seconds) is interpreted by participant W as meaning the use of a language that contrasts with the preferred language of discourse i.e. Spanish. Participant W therefore selects German which receives a response from participant M. Auer explains that the second choice coincides with participant M's preferred language which enables M to contribute to the discourse making it discourse-related.

The data exhibits a similar example in extract 6b from the study group. In the extract, the non-response of the other participants at the end of Serwa's speech (a 2 second pause) makes her switch completely to Akan in her next turn. Her switch receives a response from the other speakers which enable them contribute to the discourse.

Extract 6b

1Serwa: **Language according to user** (.) ose (he says) **in the variety in the variety according to user we see whether the person is using the language as a second language or as a native speaker** (.) wo twere ye? (did you write that?) **The geographical setting is also important in language according to user. LAD thus Language Acquisition Device predisposes us to the language in which we are born into. Everybody has a language provided he is born into a language situation and this language turns out to be the native language of the user (.2)**



2 Serwa: Mhm saa na medee me twere no mom

(That was how I wrote it anyway)

3 Osei: //Hm (unclear)

(Yes)

4 Awo: //**Geographical setting** ene beebia ye woo nipa no (.)

(Geographical setting is where the person was born)

5 Oduro: enoa nono **that's all about language according to user**

(That's all, that's all about language according to user)

6 Osei: //Hmm

(Yes)

7 Serwa: //**That's where (.2) everybody acquires according to where he //was born**

Serwa's switch receives the expected response from the other members and enables them to contribute to the discussion. According to Auer, in discourse-related CS, participants are oriented to transition points in conversation which enables them to allocate turns to other participants. Turn-allocation has two parts and is hierarchically structured.

(i.a) Current speaker selects next speaker

(i.b) If (i.a) does not apply, self-selection takes place, and the first starter acquires the rights to the turn.

(i.c) If neither (i.a) nor (i.b) holds, present speaker may continue.

(ii) In this case, part I of the turn –allocation component becomes relevant again as soon as the next transition relevant place has been reached (Auer 1984: 33).

Thus in conversation, the current speaker has the right to allocate turns to other participants by selecting the next speaker. If s/he fails to allocate the turn, any of the participants can self-select. It is during self-selection that competition takes place leading to overlaps. If no one self-selects then the original speaker acquires the right to the next turn as is seen in extract 6b above where Serwa fails to allocate the next turn and nobody self-selects. After a two second pause, Serwa again acquires the right to the next turn.

In the second part, after the present speaker has completed the turn, there is another opening for other participants to take up the next turn. Extract 6c illustrates how this is achieved. In this extract, Nartey switches (turn 2) towards the end of his speech, selects speaker Nii to take up the next turn which he fails to acknowledge. Consequently, a vacuum is created and Yaaba, Osei and Ibo compete for the turn by self-selection which results in an overlap of all their three speeches.

Extract 6c

1 Nii: Montwen Apea εεtwere bi nti se otwere wia

(Wait Apea is writing something so when he finishes)

2 Nartey: **Content validity is a true representation of a text or of what? Nii1 (.) is it true representation of the text?**

3 Yaaba: //εnyε eno

(That is not it)

4 Osei: //Content validity

5Yaw: //Content validity

6 Nii: **Apea is writing something so let him finish**

### 2.3.3.2 Participant-Related CS

Unlike discourse related CS where participants converge to a common language of interaction, in participant-related CS, there is the notion of ‘language negotiation sequence’ (Auer1998:8) where not all participants in a conversation agree on one common language. There are ‘persistent phases of divergent language choices’ (ibid). Auer demonstrates how language negotiation takes place between a farmer and a government worker in extract 7a. Both use divergent languages to negotiate their turns i.e. the farmer uses Lwidakho<sup>6</sup> and the worker uses Swahili<sup>7</sup> and English<sup>8</sup> until the worker converges at a point but quickly diverges again.

Extract 7a

1 Worker: *Nakuuliza, njaa gani?*

(I ask you, what kind of hunger?)

2 Farmer: Inzala ya mapesa, kambuli

(Hunger of money; I don't have any)

3 Worker: **You have got a land**

4 Worker: *Una shamba*

(You have land [farm])

5 Worker: Uli nu mulimi

(You have land [farm])

6 Farmer: mwana mweru-

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<sup>6</sup> Lwidakho is in normal font

<sup>7</sup> Swahili is in normal font

<sup>8</sup> English is in bold

(... my brother-)

7 Worker: mbula tsisendi

(I don't have money)

8 Worker: **Can't you see how I am heavily loaded?**

(Auer 1998:10)

Here participants choose their language of preference in discourse. It is inferred that sometimes preference-related CS occurs because a participant may not be competent in the language being used in the discourse and may choose a code that s/he is more comfortable with (Auer 1984:49). It can also occur when a participant wants to digress or diverge to keep a distance (ibid). At the study group discussion in extract 7b, Nii persistently uses English as the language of preference but the other members maintain Akan. At turn 11, he briefly converges to the language of the group and quickly returns to English and continues in it afterwards.

Extract 7b

1 Nii: **Number one explain briefly the significance of any four of these terms**

**in the language and literature classroom**

2 Yaaba: Y'ankeyere

(We were not taught)

3 Akuvi: //Yε nnyε! yε nnyε!

(We won't do it! we won't do it)

4 Asibi: //Y'ankeyere?

(Were we not taught?)

5 Yaaba: W'annkyere

(He didn't teach it)

6 Nii: **One** (.)

7Nii //So is not part of -?

8 Osei: //Hwε?

(Sure?)

9 Akuvi: Yε nnyε **anything** -

(We won't do anything)

10 Araba: Adeε no ɔ **expecti** sε yεbε yε **transfer of learning** nti ma mo

nkāse //wankyε nti yε nyε

(The thing is he is expecting us to do transfer of learning so don't let's say he didn't teach so we won't do it)

11 Nii: //Enti **please let's not delay** yε nyε no **very fast** na yεn hwε (.) **so explain**

**briefly the significance of any four of these terms** (.)

(So please let's not delay, let us do it quickly and see. So briefly explain the significance of any four of these terms.)

12 Osei: Ka woo kɔ twεrε **twenty ten**

(You were about to write twenty ten)

13 Yaaba: Hmm (chuckle)

14 Nii: **Any four of these terms**

Though the students organize their discussion in divergent languages, it did not indicate that they were incompetent in any of the languages that were in use neither did any of the choices indicate social distance. An important observation here is that participants in a conversation switching between two or more languages must be familiar with the

languages involved. In this way successful conversation can be carried out without necessarily converging to the same language.

Auer (1984:37) continues that CS can be used to ‘get into’ a conversation in which a participant has been a bystander or was not the addressee at that point. In extract 8, Yaaba gets into the discussion by interrupting Asibi. She does this by changing the language in use and in so doing shifts attention from the group to herself. Even though Asibi ignores her, Awo could not and responds to her question in the same Akan that she used to enter.

Extract 8

1 Asibi: ɔse (he says) **this is another name for the behaviourist psychologist. (a)**  
**response theory, (b), assimilation response theory (c), perception**  
**response theories (d), stimulus response theory (e), stimulus approach theory**

2 Yaaba: Eɛ ɛye deen nono?

(What is that?)

3 Asibi: // **This is another name for behaviourist psychologist**

4 Awo: //Eɛ wotie a anka wobe hu **answer** no o

(If you had listened, you would have known the answer)

5 Oduro: **Behaviourist**

The selection of Akan by Awo to organize her response shows that speakers can show solidarity by converging to a previous speaker’s language. In this way, the previous speaker does not lose face. It can be concluded that speakers code choices are geared towards maintain group cohesion and not necessarily about the benefits that they would derive in selecting a particular code.

### **2.3.4 CS as a contextualization cue**

Auer argues that CS can be used as contextualization cues. This refers to the 'strategic activities of speakers in varying their communicative behavior within a socially agreed matrix of conventions, which are used to alert participants in the course of on-going interaction to the social and situational context of the conversation' (Li Wei & Milroy 1995:296). It implies that participants must provide their hearers with well formed propositions to be able to communicate what they want to say and also say it in the right context for the audience to interpret (Auer 1984: 17). Therefore, during conversation, speakers are able to help other participants to contribute to the discourse by giving them the relevant cues that they can interpret and CS may be used for such cues.

According to Li Wei and Milroy (1995) CS as a contextualization cue is 'multi-functional' because it can be used for word finding, self-editing, repetition, emphasis, clarification, confirmation etc. (Li Wei & Milroy 1995:293). They continue that it can be used to contextualize imminent completion of a turn or a shift in topic as well as preference organization, repair, insertion sequence, etc. The following: preference organization, repair, word-finding, repetition, clarification and insertion sequence are analyzed in this section

#### **2.3.4.1 CS in preference organization**

Li Wei and Milroy (1995) describe preference organization as the ranking of adjacency pairs with an assessment. These adjacency pairs include acceptance or refusal and agreement or disagreement. They argue that these alternatives do not have equal status because some second parts are 'preferred' (Li Wei & Milroy 1995:287). For example acceptance of offers is preferred to rejections. Secondly, preferred second parts are structurally simpler than dis-referred parts and it latches more smoothly to the first part

while dis-preferred second parts are delivered after a filled or unfilled pause. In extract 9a, Akorfa's response (turn 5) to Opoku's question (turn 4) *woate aseε?* 'Have you understood it?' made with a pause, an English adjunct and another pause before the main sentence indicates a dis-preferred part. The dis-preferred part gives Opoku another opportunity to explain the point further. This shows how speakers collaborate to bring meaning in conversation.

Extract 9a

1 Akorfa: **Issss sssis not the median that's fifteen the fifteenth //position**

2 Opoku: **Pos//ition that corresponds  
to the marks**

3 Kofi: **So the median marks** no woha ewo (that is here, it is) **eight an-- okay is  
within this mark but the fifteenth position no is within the seventeen so  
we trace it to the-**

4 Opoku: Woate aseε?

(Have you understood it?)

5 Akorfa: (.) Still(.) me nteaseε

((.) Still (.) I don't understand it)

6. Opoku: **The me-median no is not fifteen** o eyε (it is) **the //fifteenth position**

Akorfa's selection of Akan to organize her response is not to diverge but to let her members help her to understand better. It must be noted that Kofi's and Opoku's explanations in the previous turns are made in English with very few Akan.



### 2.3.4.2 Repairs

Wei and Milroy (1995) report that repair is used to confirm or reformulate an original assertion and it can be initiated by a respondent or it can be self-repairs. An initiated repair occurs when one of the interlocutors uses a turn to prompt the first speaker to repair an original statement. A self-repair is one that is done by the speaker within the same speaking turn without any prompting from others. CS can contextualize repairs in the following: (1) a repair initiator can be issued in a different language (2) the repairable item can be replaced with an equivalent in a different language and (3) insert an item in a different language to draw the listener's attention to the repairable and such items could be discourse markers like 'you know'; 'right' 'see' (Wei & Milroy 1995: 293). In extract 9b, Nartey does a self repair and in 9c, Oduro does the repair for Aseye. Unlike their assertion that a repair is normally done in a different language, the repairs here are all done in the same language.

Extract 9b

Nartey: //Wowɔ meinu a wo betumi aka **depend on the ti- your time**

(If you have two you may say it...)

Extract 9c

1 Aseye: **For modification remediation and //erm co-**

2 Oduro: **//correction**

CA argues that repair procedures show collaboration and cooperation among speakers in conversation so that 'failure to respond to repair initiators or do required repairs' (Wei & Milroy 1995: 294) can lead to communication breakdown or 'undesirable communicative consequences' (ibid).

### 2.3.4.3 *Insertion Sequence*

Insertion sequence occurs when in the course of ongoing conversation; an item from another language is inserted to draw participants' attention to some repairable elements or a problematic spot. In extracts 9d, Opoku inserts Akan emphatic elements in English frames for emphasis. It is argued that when such insertions are made, the speaker switches back to the base language that s/he was using.

Extract 9d

Opoku: **The me-median *no* is not fifteen *o eyɛ* the //fifteenth position**

(The median is not fifteen it is the fifteenth position)

### 2.3.4.4 *Repetition*

In repetition, a phrase, word or sentence uttered in one language is repeated in another language and is mostly for emphasis. In extract 9e, Opoku repeats '*if we are taking*' in Twi '*sɛ yɛ fa wei*'

Extract 9e

Opoku: Enti wei no ***if we are taking sɛ yɛ fa wei s ɛ*eleven a L will be //seven point five**

enti **record it**

(And so here if we are taking, if we take this as eleven, L will be seven point five so record it)

### 2.3.4.5 *Confirmation*

Confirmation occurs when a speaker tries to get other participants to corroborate a previous assertion. In extract 9f, speaker 1 (turn 1) wants a confirmation from the other

participants, what s/he perceives as the right answer in Twi/English CS and receives it from speakers 3 and 4 in English.

Extract 9f

1 Osei: //ɛyɛ **approximation** sɛ ɛyɛ **approximation?**

(It is approximation isn't it?)

2 Kaki: //The **L1 and the L2** enoa ɛnyɛ **L1** ɛnyɛ **L2**

(It is neither L1 nor L2)

3 Akuvi: //Yea

4 Kwame: //Yea **approximation so if you get the diagram**

Proponents of CA argues for a sequential implicativeness of language choices in conversation i.e. whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, will exert an influence on subsequent language choices of other participants (cf Auer 1985:5). This study argues that when a speaker selects a code to organize his/her turn, it does not necessarily influence the other speakers' code. Rather, it is when another speaker decides to align to the previous speaker that s/he selects the same code. For example in extract extract 5, repeated as 10a, when Yaaba switches to Akan at the end of her speech (turn 1) to complain, it did not exert any influence on the subsequent speakers as they continued in English which was already use. It is when the interviewer decides to appeal to her that the interviewer selects Akan to align to Yaaba.

Extract 10a

1 Yaaba: **You say I should call Afua (.) if i hadn't come** ka mo nfrɛ me

(You wouldn't have called me)

2 Efo: **Yaaba**

3 Asibi: //That's why you have come

4 Efo: //Yaaba

5 Yaaba: Yes?

6 Efo: **I beg you I need wara**

(Water)

7 Int: **Yaaba** yɛpa wo kyɛw si fɔm bra wae

(Yaaba please come down)

In the same way in extract 8 repeated as 10b, when Yaaba selects Akan to get into the discussion (turn 2), it did not influence Asibi who continued in English (turn 3). It is Awo (turn 4) who decides to respond to speaker Yaaba's question and selects Akan too. In this way, she aligns herself to speaker Yaaba

Extract 10b

1 Asibi: ɔse (s/he says) **this is another name for the behaviourist psychologist.**

**(a) response theory, (b), assimilation response theory (c), perception**

**response theories (d), stimulus response theory (e), stimulus approach theory**

2 Yaaba: Ei eye deen nono?

(What is that?)

3 Asibi: //This is another name for behaviourist psychologist

4 Awo: //Ei wotie a anka wobe hu **answer** no o

(If you had listened, you would have known the answer)

5 Oduro: **Behaviourist**

From the above conversation, it can be said that the choice to converge or not to converge to a previous speaker's code choice lies with the subsequent speakers' decision to align to the speaker during their turns and not necessarily as a result of sequential implicativeness.

### 2.3.5 Justification for the two models

This work selected the CA and Markedness models for a few reasons. Firstly, the data shows that students' code choices are organized in a sequential manner so that a subsequent speaker continues from where a previous speaker ended. Secondly, though some of the preference languages choices the students made are marked, many of these preference choices do not necessarily mark those speeches. In extract 11 for example, the students select English, Akan and French to organize their various turns but none of these are marked.

Extract 11

1 Yaaba: Ei! ena mo te ho di na mo nfrɛ me?

(Ei! And you people are eating without calling me)

Short laughter

2 Nartey: Yaaba bra wae

(Yaaba, please come)

3 Kwame : //Yaaba bra

(Yaaba, come)

4 Ibo: //**Hurry up hurry up**

5 Aseye: //**I just came**

6 Nartey: *Avant (isi)*

(Come here)

## 7 Asibi: Eh **descend**

It can be noted that Yaaba organizes her turn in Akan, but Nartey organizes his two turns (turns 2 and 6) in Akan and French while Ibo, Aseye and Asibi organize theirs in English but all these speeches are unmarked in the context. All of them make meaningful contributions to the topic. However, students make marked choices to mark specific utterances e.g. to complain, tease, reprimand, etc. On the other hand, the Markedness model does not discuss how CS can be used as contextualization cues. There was therefore the need to combine both models to adequately explain the data.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed how the Markedness model of Myers-Scotton (1993b) and the CA model of Auer (1984) explain students' CS patterns. In the Markedness model, participants code switch to mark utterances in order to get the attention of co-participants and co-participants are able to interpret the switches because of the normative factors operating in the community. However, speakers make marked choices not necessarily to maximize reward for the individual but to show group cohesion, solidarity and communality where the use of an unmarked choice would not have achieved. It has also been shown that in sequential unmarked CS, one speaker can trigger the marked code but another speaker can respond to the change and make the new choice unmarked.

Within the CA model, participants accommodate and collaborate with one another to make meaning of utterances in a sequential manner in order to contribute to the discourse. However, in making preference language choices, students do not select divergent languages to indicate incompetence in any of the languages involved nor indicate social distance. What is important is that participants must be familiar with the languages they use so that successful conversation can be carried out without necessarily

converging to the same code. Secondly, students switch to a preferred language to get proper understanding of concepts.

Again, CS as a contextualization cue is an important aspect of successful communication because participants are able to detect cues at strategic points which enable them to contribute to the discourse. The study also argues that the choice to converge or not to converge to a previous speaker's code choice lies with the subsequent speakers decision to align with that speaker during their turns and not necessarily as a result of sequential implicativeness.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the methodology employed in selecting the research site, collecting the data and the instruments used to perform these tasks. It also examines the ethical issues that arose and how they were dealt with. Finally, it discusses some of the challenges that cropped up in the course of the fieldwork.

#### **3.2 Ethnographic research method**

The methodology employed in collecting the data for this study was arrived at after several considerations. Because the study is purely about language use in a society, it was necessary to find a methodology that would be comprehensive enough to capture most, if not all the aspects of real life situations. Most sociolinguistic studies on language employ the quantitative approach which does not give a clear insight into what is actually happening. The ethnographic research method developed by anthropologists and used in many fields including education (Barton & Hamilton 1998: 57) was therefore employed. This method enables a researcher to study a phenomenon in its natural setting.

Barton and Hamilton (1998: 57) see four aspects to the ethnographic approach based on (Goetz and LeCompt 1984: 3). These are first, ‘ethnography studies real-world settings’ (Barton & Hamilton (1998: 57) i.e. ethnography involves studying situations in their natural environment and the study of code switching as a language phenomenon must be studied in natural speech. The research focused on a group of students in real life who use CS as a natural speech mode to conduct certain activities in the university environment.



Secondly, ‘the approach is holistic’ (ibid) showing what actually happens. Ethnography is holistic because it considers every aspect of a phenomenon and studies it from every angle. This research concentrates on all aspects of the students’ life including the different languages that they use to negotiate different activities in the university community. It also includes how students relate with other members of the university community as well as the observable patterns of membership management and the tools they employ in managing this membership. Thirdly, to effectively study the social meaning in language variation, one needs to combine different research practices (Eckert 2000). This must include the incorporation of everyday local observations of a community being studied to be able to ‘extract [...] key elements of social structure, social practice, and social meaning that can [...] correlate with the variable use of linguistic forms’ (Eckert 2000: 69). The work therefore combines different research techniques including audio recordings, interviews, observations (both participant/non-participant observation), field notes and questionnaires. All these techniques are employed to triangulate the study.

Triangulation will help to check and establish the validity of the study by analyzing the research question from multiple perspectives. The study will therefore compare the results of the interviews, questionnaires, and audio recordings of the students’ study group discussions to the observed patterns and field notes to establish conclusions. This means all the research tools employed will be thoroughly examined to establish the baseline for the choices the students make both linguistically and non-linguistically. Triangulating the research is not to expect a consistency across the data, but to use evidence to uncover deeper meaning in the data (Patton 2002). Finally, because ethnography is interpretative, this work aims at representing the participants’ perspective by highlighting what they do and say (Barton & Hamilton (1998: 57). The study has adopted the interpretive approach because interpretive does not predefine dependent or

independent variables, neither does it set out to test hypotheses. Rather, it aims to produce an understanding of the social context of the phenomenon and the process whereby the phenomenon influences and is influenced by the social context (Walsham, 1995) from (Rowlands 2005). Thus the study aims at establishing how the linguistic choices made by the students are influenced by the university's environment and how the environment influences their linguistic choices.

### ***3.2.1 Ethnography in practice***

The research was conducted on the South Campus of the University of Education, Winneba (UEW). The selection of the site was based on the researcher's bias due to her greater familiarity with the place than with the other campuses of UEW. Secondly, the campus has five halls of residence, making it the campus with the largest concentration of students some of whom also attend lectures at other campuses. The university's main library (Osagyefo Library) is also located on this campus bringing (in) an inflow of students from other campuses. It is on this campus that many activities take place in the evening. Some of these activities include church meetings, ethnic group meetings, alumni meetings and study group meetings, and I am interested in investigating language use in a study group. This campus is therefore ideal for such studies and the work will concentrate on discussions at study group meetings.

'Schools and normative institutions are problematic sites for the study of the vernacular' (Eckert (2000: 70) but because it is the place for socialization, it provides an avenue for the use of the vernacular. Eckert continues that while 'the school exert linguistic pressure against the use of vernacular, there also are certain settings and events [...] that encourage the use of vernacular' (ibid). One such setting is the study group discussion. Because it is a peer group interaction, it is expected that their language use may reflect

the freedom associated with informal interaction. In a Ghanaian university, it would not be conforming strictly to the English only policy of the lecture hall.

The best way to meet people during such studies is through introduction by friends (Eckert 2000: 77). Her observation seems appropriate since students in institutions are skeptical of persons who for selfish (ambitions) reasons, parade themselves as researchers. This approach proved useful as I was introduced to several study groups by a friend I had made on a previous visit. He also introduced me to other friends who belonged to study groups, thus I made use of the friend of a friend concept of the social network theory of Milroy (1980). For anonymity purposes, he will be referred to as Kwakye in this work. He was a Level 300<sup>9</sup> English major student.

### **3.3 Selection of the groups**

The next thing was to select some groups to work with. Kwakye and I visited several study groups and he introduced me to the group members most especially that of his former roommate's. Three groups were selected following an unexpected development. First one group was selected and afterwards members of this group who belonged to other groups introduced me to their other groups. So the social network approach proved extremely useful.

The reasons for selecting these three were (i) age: A large percentage of students at UEW are teachers who have taught for several years before entering the university for further studies; so most students are quite mature. I needed students who were relatively young. (ii) They are of mixed sex, (iii) they offer the same module, (iv) they belong to different ethnic groups and (v) some members belong to all the three groups.

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<sup>9</sup> The various year groups are referred to as 'Levels' beginning from 100 so first year is Level 100, second year is Level 200 and third year is Level 300, etc.

Finally, like all study groups, members of a group ‘come together around a mutual engagement and have ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor’ (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464) which place them within the community of practice concept (CofP). Thus study groups form a Community of Practice (CofP) within the larger CofP of the university. The study therefore adopts the CofP concept to describe the study group. The purpose is to investigate all aspects of the groups’ activities including their interactional patterns, social life, membership drive and the languages they use in negotiating all these activities as well as the reasons behind the choices they make. A detailed description of the concept in relation to the study group is found in chapter three.

For ease of identification, the groups have been named Church Group, Science Group and SPED. Membership of each group ranges from nine to twenty. A total of forty students voluntarily participated in the study.

### **3.3.1 *The data***

Anyone coming into a Ghanaian university will learn about the study group concept, but collecting a speech sample that will be representative of it will require closer contact (Eckert 2000: 74). For this reason, I became part of the groups and participated in many of their activities.

The study was conducted over a three-month period from March to June 2011. It took different forms at different stages. The first stage, which I call the pre - observation stage was conducted within three weeks when I went to the University to establish a relationship with some students and secure an opportunity to meet different study groups. After selecting the groups at the campus, about four different visits were made to them without recording any of their discussions. The aim was to establish a friendly relationship and have them get accustomed to my presence.

Stage two began with recording their group discussions. I met the groups twice a week at different times i.e. sometimes before meetings started and other times while meetings were in progress. The audio recordings were done by me, the leaders of the groups and sometimes Kwakye in my absence (my visits were on Tuesdays and Thursdays). Most of the recordings lasted a minimum of thirty minutes with each group. In all, twelve hours of recordings were obtained in a period of two months from the end of March to mid May 2011. Observations and field notes were done simultaneously with the recordings. Photographs were also taken of the groups and many other study groups which were not part of the focused group. These pictures show meeting places, sitting arrangements, dress code, etc. The photos are not part of the text but will be made available to the supervisors upon request.

The third and final stage was done in mid June. It involved the distribution of questionnaires and an interview. The questionnaires were administered to participants two weeks prior to our final meeting and the purpose was to enable me make a comparison with what I had observed to what they had to say. Forty questionnaires were distributed in the following manner:

Church Group - 20

Science Group- 10

SPED Group - 10

Thirty-six questionnaires were retrieved. This high rate of retrieval was achieved due to the bond I had established with the group and the willingness of the members to help in the project. Secondly, some of the participants filled the questionnaires while the interview was in progress making it possible for me to collect them at the end of the session. The questionnaire had thirty items ranging from bio-data to language choices.

The SPSS software was employed to analyze the data because of its accuracy of analyzing quantitative data.

Finally, two separate interviews were conducted - one with a combined group of the Church Group and Science Group at the end of May 2011 and one with six representatives of the three groups in June 2012. The June 2012 interview was a follow up to the 2011 one. The interview questions were structured though a few digressions occurred. The first interview was conducted in code switching. The choice was not by design but because it was at a get-together and the students were already using Akan. In order not to disrupt their choice of language, I decided to conduct the interview in Akan with a heavy dose of English. The second interview was in English only, though a few instances of code switching were observed. This happened because they had prior information of this meeting and they saw it as a formal interaction. Both interviews are used for analysis of the study as both contain information that is important to the study. The interview questions explored the linguistic choices students make with the town folk, on campus and during group discussions. Samples of the questionnaires and interviews can be found in the appendix. All the recordings were made with Sony IC recorder. The interviews and recordings were transcribed using the F4 transcription software. Except for the last interview that was conducted a year later, all the three phases of the research were done concurrently and participant observation was very constant. These observations produced insightful information into participants' relationships with different members in the groups, other members of the university community and people from the town.

### ***3.3.2 Transcription and Translation of the Data***

Not all the utterances recorded exhibited CS and since my objective was to look at CS patterns, I only used the portions that include CS even though some non-switched versions are used for comparisons. Secondly, to have a true representation of the speech samples, only spelling errors are corrected. Grammatical structures are unchanged. Again, though I was with the groups for many weeks, I could not identify many of the voices in the recordings so the three group leaders were employed at various stages to help tag the voices with their respective names. All the names used are pseudo names. The names were selected to reflect the gender and ethnicities of the participants. A brief write-up giving information on some of the participants will be appended. The following transcription conventions adopted from the Jefferson system of notation with some slight modifications were employed in transcribing the data

- All English words are written in **bold**.
- All Akan words appear in regular font
- Other languages are in italics
- The full English paraphrase is given in brackets.
- (.) - Short pause
- (.2) - Pause of two or more seconds
- // - Overlapping speech
- wor- Incomplete or truncated word
- wo:rd - Stretched word
- wo(h)rd - Laughter bubbling within a word
- ( ) Unclear talk

In discussing the linguistic data I follow the procedure identified by Li Wei (2002) and Gafaranga (2007) where short data extracts are set out with commentary so that I can

then combine insights from the recorded and transcribed data with those available ethnographically.

### **3.4 Ethical issues**

In Ghana, code of ethics regarding research is not rigidly enforced therefore the code of ethics that obtains in the United Kingdom was employed as the study is part of the British Academy Project. Some of the ethical issues that were applied include the following:

- Participants' approval was sought and they were asked formally to fill and sign consent forms.
- Participants were informed about the research, though the particular language practice expected from them was not disclosed. This was to avoid a situation where participants would have intentionally code switched and thus made the data unnatural.
- The respect and dignity of participants were never compromised.
- The researcher also signed a confidentiality form to assure the participants of the confidentiality of the information they provided. It also assured them that the data would only be used for the stated purposes i.e. for scholarly articles and conference presentations.
- Pseudo names were employed to conceal the identity of participants.
- Participants were given the option to opt out at any time during the programme. After the collection of the data, participants who wanted to redraw were given twenty-one days to do so by email after which they would forfeit that right. This clause was included in the consent form because the data might have been



transcribed as part of the whole and so removing part would have disrupted the research. No such situation arose though.

- I also promised to share the results of the data with participants in a seminar after the work had been completed. According to UK practice, names of universities and towns tend to be anonymised, but in consultation with my supervisors from the University of Ghana, it was decided to use ‘University of Education Winneba’, the name of the university where the research was undertaken, and ‘Winneba’, the town in which the university is located.

Though the data collection is completed and portions have been transcribed, I still keep regular contact with the participants because of their interest in the project. In this way I receive clarifications on issues that I am still not clear about which then enables me make more ethnographic recoveries.

### **3.5 Challenges in the fieldwork**

As Eckert (2000 70) observes ‘occupational status differences can impose serious constraints on relationship between a researcher and the researched’ and my relationship with the participants posed a great challenge to me as a researcher and a PhD student. The challenge started with Kwakye introducing me to the members as a colleague of one of their lecturers. For this reason, participants regarded our interaction as a formal one creating a social distance due to the formal relationship that exists between a lecturer and the student in the Ghanaian concept. Secondly, I am much older than them and in Ghana, age and positions are important variables in our address system, and this contributed to the social distance. It took a great effort on my part to bridge this distance and create the necessary familiarity that would enable me obtain the natural data needed for this kind of study.

This accounts for my inability to record their academic discussions in the initial stages of our meetings. In my first two meetings, the students restrained themselves to the use of English and sometimes a speaker might start with Twi and then suddenly pause in mid-sentence to switch to English upon realizing that s/he was speaking Twi. Other times too, other members would prompt a speaker to change because of my presence. I understood their situation, as the use of ‘vernacular’ in the presences of a visitor in a university to discuss academic work may be deemed inappropriate thus making schools and other normative institutions problematic sites for the study of the vernacular Eckert (2000: 70).

The opportunity to bridge the distance arrived unexpectedly when I joined Araba and Awo two ladies from one of the groups to the mini market (bushque<sup>10</sup>). At the market, we all joined the queue to buy our food and sat together with other students to eat. I shared their jokes and there was a general feeling of relaxation. I stayed in Araba’s room afterwards and it became a routine that I stay at her room anytime I visited for our meeting times. This encounter affected our relationship which then led to participants starting to address me by my first name instead of ‘Madam’. My presence no longer influenced their meetings and it surprisingly changed their language choice in the group discussion. Where previously they tried to use English only, they started mixing Akan and English most of the time. This made me realize that it was my presence that had influenced their choice of English in our previous encounters.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The chapter has discussed the methodology employed in the data collection. This includes the selection of the research site, the techniques employed and the reasons for employing those techniques. It has also explained the rationale behind the choice of the

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<sup>10</sup> A mini market where food and other commodities are sold

CofP concept to describe the study group. Finally it has discussed the ethical issues and the challenges that the researcher encountered during the fieldwork.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY AND THE STUDY GROUP AS COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a general overview of Winneba and the University of Education, Winneba (UEW) focusing on the relationship that exists between the university and the town. It describes the study group as well as its organizational set up and explores the variables that place the study group within the context of a Community of Practice (CofP).

#### 4.2 Backgrounds of Winneba and UEW

##### 4.2.1 *Winneba*

As has already been mentioned, the research site for this study is the South campus of the University of Education Winneba (UEW) situated in Winneba. Winneba is the capital of the Ewutu/Efutu/Senya<sup>11</sup> district in the Central Region of Ghana. It has a population of about 68,597 (2010 population and housing census). It is a coastal town bordered in the East by the Ayensu River and the West by the Manko Mountain range. The main occupations of the people of Winneba are fishing and pottery. Winneba is well known for two main things- the Aboakyir Festival<sup>12</sup> and the University of Education, which has three of its campuses there. The people also engage in petty trading, and the university

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<sup>11</sup> Ghana is divided into administrative districts and these districts have administrative capitals

<sup>12</sup> The Deer Hunting Festival celebrated annually around May

community constitutes their main clientele. This creates an opportunity for the people to interact frequently with the students and staff of the university. In addition to the business relationship, many students rent apartments and rooms in hostels in the town as the university cannot accommodate the increasing student population. Thus between the town and the university, there is a revolving relationship of inter-dependency.

#### ***4.2.2 The University of Education, Winneba***

University of Education (UEW) is one of the six public universities in Ghana with five campuses in two regions i.e. the Ashanti Region and the Central Region. Three of its campus, the North, Central and South campuses are located in Winneba alone. The university has fifty thousand and twelve registered students (50,012) (2011/2012 academic year). It admits students from all over Ghana, and like all universities in Ghana it has a wide representation of (most of) the ethnic groups of the country. It offers courses at both the undergraduate and the post graduate levels in English, Mathematics, Science, Linguistics / Ghanaian Languages and Special Education (for the visually and the hearing impaired). It also offers courses in all the nine indigenous languages of education in Ghana. These are Akan (Twi, Fanti and Akuapem), Dagaare-Wali, Dagbani, Dangbe, Ga, Gonja, Kasem, Nzema and Ewe. Apart from these indigenous languages that are taught in their respective languages, all other subjects are taught in English.

UEW previously consisted of different diploma-awarding institutions which were merged and converted into a university in 2004. Since the conversion, the university has undergone massive infrastructural development. These include a new addition to the library at the South campus, more lecture rooms, mixed halls of residence with women in three halls when there was only one previously, and sheds with concrete tables and chairs raised at vantage areas to be used for private studies. Lectures are also held on all the three campuses of the university at Winneba and students shuttle among campuses daily.

This makes social interaction with other students from the other campus a regular activity. There is also a new mini market (popularly called bushque) at the South campus where basic necessities and food items are sold. Apart from the internal changes, external changes outside the campus are also visible. There is now a taxi station outside the South campus to convey students to lectures at the other campuses. A clinic has also been sited close to the South campus to cater for the students' health needs. The clinic serves the entire student population both in and out of campus.

#### ***4.2.2.1 The university and the town communities***

The people of the town provide goods and services to the university community. They regard the university as part of their community and arrange some of their activities to involve the university. For instance, their main lorry station<sup>13</sup> is opposite one of the campuses of the university (Central Campus). Many people of the town have sited their shops around the campuses, and the town uses the venues of the university for its major occasions and celebrations e.g. traditional durbars of chiefs, football galas, etc.

In their relationship with the university, the town negotiates its language practices to fit into that of the university. People of the town use Akan (Fanti dialect) and sometimes English in their communication with members of the university, especially the students. Since language is important in the making of a community, it can be argued that the town and the university form a Community of Practice (CofP) because they share a language or two.

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<sup>13</sup> The commercial transportation centre where passengers board commercial vehicles to different destinations outside Winneba

Holmes and Meyerhoff maintain that a CofP bears a strong similarity to the ‘speech community’ which they explain as a research into the ‘orderly heterogeneity of language in its social setting’ (Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999:173). Gumperz (1972) who is a proponent of the speech community states that:

[...] Members of the same speech community need not speak the same language nor use the same linguistic forms on similar occasions. All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared so that speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication. (1972: 16)

The argument then is that once members of a community share a language and can decode the social meanings carried by that language, they constitute a speech community. Sharing a language and being able to decode the social meanings carried by that language however is not enough to make members in that speech community a CofP since speech activities alone do not provide enough of a framework for the appropriate discourse (Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999) that can constitute a CofP. Davies (2005:2) perceives the speech community as being concerned about only language and does not ‘consider the contribution of other social actions (practices) to the creation and maintenance of communities’. He contends that a ‘community is defined more than the linguistic code(s) used’ (Davies 2005:3) i.e. sharing a code is just an aspect of the many practices that define a community some of which can include behavioural patterns, dress code, food, etc.

A CofP must have more than a language in common. Even where the members have other practices in addition, it is the group that determines which practices they consider appropriate to their CofP. The town and the university share more than a linguistic code(s) but practices between them are interpreted from different angles by both parties. Students do not consider the town as part of their community because the intimacy and

communalism that exist among students do not extend to the town. Therefore, what the town may interpret as a CofP may be interpreted as a means to an end by the students. A CofP according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) is:

An aggregate of people who come together around a mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor (1992: 464)

What this suggests is that, a CofP looks at a social group who engage in a mutual activity which in turn shapes their perspective especially their linguistic practices. The activity would include what they do, why they do it, and what they aim to achieve. Despite the fact that students live and interact in close proximity with the town, students interpret their interactions as more phatic than a community relationship since geographical proximity (Davis 2005:4) is not enough to evoke a community of practice. In effect, students from UEW see themselves as a separate community with their own practices and beliefs which do not include the town. Even students who rent apartments in town have this perception. The students therefore do not befriend the town folks neither do they learn their language. One student who has lived in the town for seven years claims she can understand very little of the language as the interview in extract 2 indicates.

Extract 2

Araba: **Aha so I don't really understand all but some when they speak I would understand**

INT: **Have you lived here //for -?**

Araba: **//Yes for seven years**

INT: **For seven years aa //okay**

Araba: **//Ahaa**



INT: **Where do you come from are you erm what language group**

Araba: **I'm a Fanti**

INT: **Fanti aa okay and you have lived here for seven years; seven years is quite long time for you to understand the language what are you telling me huh?**

All: (laugh)

Araba: **Yes yes I didn't interact that much and erm even the little that I understand I will be playing with them and it will stick then later on I will ask somebody who knows much to explain**

Araba had her secondary education in Winneba and is now in the university but has still not acquired enough competence in Efutu. A situation like this arises because students do not organize their activities to include the town though the opposite is what obtains in the town, which organizes its activities at or adjacent to the university campuses.

Considering the relationship that exists between the town and the university, a CofP can be interpreted in two dimensions - (i) how members within a community interpret their relationship with other members of the wider community and (ii) a CofP occurs at different levels in a continuum. The reason being that it is the community members who decide on the group they regard as part of their CofP, as is intimated by the different angles from which the town and the university interpret their relationship. Secondly, it can be argued that the town's reliance on the university to patronize its goods and services and the university's need for these goods and services are enough to make them a CofP but at different levels. That is, their relationship is interpreted in different perspectives and the ability to interpret the differences in this relationship is what makes it a continuous process.

#### ***4.2.2.2 Life in the university***

Going to the university, in many circumstances, is a movement from one's community and family into a different community. A student needs to reconstruct family in the new community in order not only to concentrate on his/her studies but also to fulfill his/her human needs. The university community is a complex place where people select activities that are important to them to participate in, and the selection brings people of different lives together. By coming together, students reconstruct their homes and communities in the university environment by joining clubs, societies, churches, and by being in various relationships. These activities do not spill over to the town, and people in the town are not allowed access to these activities nor allowed to join.

In reconstructing the home environment, students bear in mind the purpose of their stay in the university which is primarily to study. Therefore, one important activity that takes place after lectures in the evening is the study group meetings. Many study groups meet after dark because members are free from other university - related chores. Joining a study group gives the student an opportunity not only to study but also to reconstruct family and make friends, as study groups fulfill academic, kinship and social functions.

Members visit their sick members, cook for them, exchange notes and ideas etc. A member of a group receives support from all members in times of need. Thus the study group is also a support unit. Because the study meeting is a peer group activity, members are free to express themselves and make mistakes without being intimidated by the presence of a superior like a lecturer. Being a member of a study group is considered the norm rather than the exception. A student who does not belong to any study group is seen as not being serious with academic work. Study groups are therefore an integral part of most Ghanaian universities

### 4.3 The study group

At UEW, like at most Ghanaian universities, one important activity that brings students together is the study group. Students at all levels form study groups. A study group is an informally organized group of students from the same module who meet to discuss lecture notes and class assignments, to prepare ahead for a lecture, to discuss, to study for examinations, and to read during their free periods after normal lectures. The aim is to foster peer teaching and learning among students. It is believed that a study group is an avenue for students to work on their own outside the supervision of lecturers. The study group also encourages competition among students as groups whose members perform well draw more membership among the student population. One can identify members of a study group by reading class assignments presented by students because members of a group tend to present the same ideas and argue them along similar lines.

The need to form or join a study group may be attributed to several reasons as ‘the kinds of situations that people find themselves in, their needs, the kinds of responses they tend to have to these situations and needs’ Eckert (2000: 39) bring them together. Students who come to the university all have needs of various kinds and students with similar needs are drawn together to form a community of their own and to organize activities that will fulfill their needs. Milroy and Milroy (1992: 2) state that [‘...] individuals create personal communities that provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence’. The study group concept is therefore a response to a need. Thus individuals who come together to form a particular study group can be seen as a community of practice (CofP) because each group has practices that are uniquely different from the others. Moreover, the significance of the study group lies not simply in their ‘existence and membership’ (Eckert 200: 74) but in other activities that may not necessarily involve ‘their day-to-day motions’ (ibid).

Some small group activities in Ghanaian universities are organized alongside special interests, and individuals must fulfill certain obligations to qualify for membership. For example Old Students associations, (one must have attended a particular school to qualify), Ethnic associations like Ashanti Students union, Ewe Students union, and others like Ghana Methodist Students' Union (GAMSU), etc. On the other hand, one does not need to fulfill any obligations to join a study group. The constitution of a study group is based on factors like doing the same module (the most important factor), friendship, the need for weak students to get help from colleagues, and the need to fulfill other social obligations.

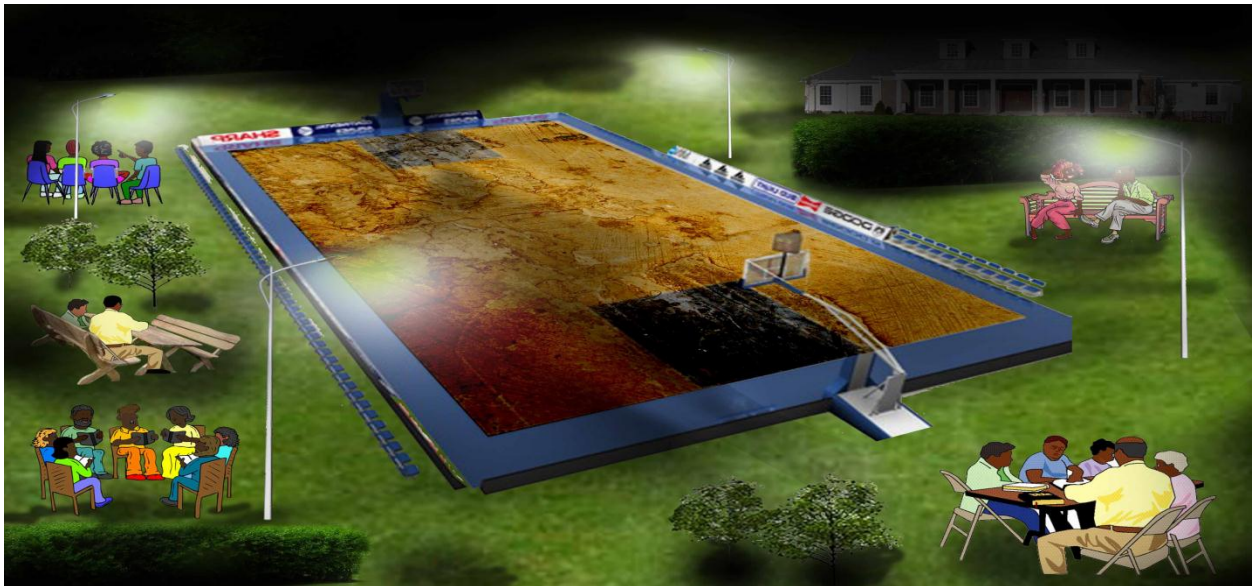
#### ***4.3.1 The organization of a study group***

A study group does not have a defined organizational structure. It is made up of members who do the same module though sometimes they may have 'visiting/occasional' members who join for some specific topics related to their areas of specialization. There is no special means of entry so one can just walk up to a group and ask to join; neither are there sanctions imposed on non-regular members. Joining a group is voluntary and members can leave any time without any apologies, and an individual can belong to more than one study group.

Study groups do not have defined places of meeting because of lack of space on the campus, and those who meet early take up others' spaces. For a group to have a place of choice, members must arrive early to secure the place. Many groups meet in the open and use the concrete tables and chairs that have been erected under the trees and thatch. Street lights have been provided for this purpose. Some also carry tables and chairs to open spaces where there are no concrete tables and chairs. I found that many groups prefer to meet outdoors instead of indoors because of the level of noise and the lack of space in the lecture rooms. There are advantages and disadvantages in choosing indoors vs. outdoors.

Choosing indoors means agreeing to contend with the noise level since there will be other groups and discussants can get into hot arguments. Choosing to meet outdoors means having to carry tables and chairs every evening to and from meeting sites, if a group fails to secure a place already fixed with concrete furniture. Meeting outside also means that the group must dissolve in the event of sudden rainfall. However, one's place outside is a bit more secure, since a group does not need to rush to secure one. Competition for space is more intense during the rainy season and during examination time. All these provisions provide clues to the seriousness attached to the study group meetings. Below is a rough sketch of one open study area.

Figure 1: A sketch of different study groups at a meeting place



#### 4.3.2 Leadership in the study group

Leadership in a study group is not well defined and any member can lead the group in his/her area of expertise. For example, in an English group, a member who is good in syntax can lead, and another who is good in semantics can lead another time. The groups that I chose, however, had defined leaders even though their roles were more honorary

than elected, and they did not wield any powers. Their duties were to coordinate the activities of the members, to select and arrange meeting places and to inform members of changes in venue. The next section describes the Church, the Science, and the SPED Groups who were the focus groups of the study.

### **4.3.3 The Church**

The Church group was formed by the leader Nii and three ladies<sup>14</sup> (Serwa, Awo and Akuvi)<sup>15</sup>. The four became acquainted during their first year at registration when they realized that they were offering the same module. They decided to form a study group. Others joined in the course of time. Members claimed different reasons for joining the group. Nii said he formed the group because he has to discuss whatever he reads to be able to make meaning from others' contribution. Awo claims she can only make meaning from discussing an issue as reading on her own makes her sleepy so she joined a study group. Efo joined because he had never joined any group in his life and so joining a study group was a new experience. Aseye also claims she joined because she could not study on her own for more than thirty minutes and needed something to help her study for longer periods; Osei was a loner and was advised to make friends, so he joined the group; Asibi joined because she did not understand some of the topics that were taught in class and needed help. Aba was invited by her roommate to join and Kwame joined because lecturers kept insisting that students should form study groups. Thus though the underlining principle for joining a group is to study, members have joined for different reasons.

The Church is a level 200 Bachelor of English Education (B.ED) group. I named the group 'The Church' because the group is large, has an identifiable leader and is more

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<sup>14</sup> A lady in the Ghanaian concept is a woman who has had formal education and/or works in a formal setup

<sup>15</sup> Pseudo names are chosen to reflect ethnic backgrounds e.g. Akuvi (Ewe), Serwa (Akan), Nii (Ga), etc.

organized than others. There are about twelve to twenty members in the group. The number is not well defined because other students join as and when there is an impending examination or a class assignment. Consequently, the number can increase or decrease depending on many factors. The group can therefore be divided into core and 'occasional' members. The core members are about ten in number and are in the same module, and do practically the same subjects.

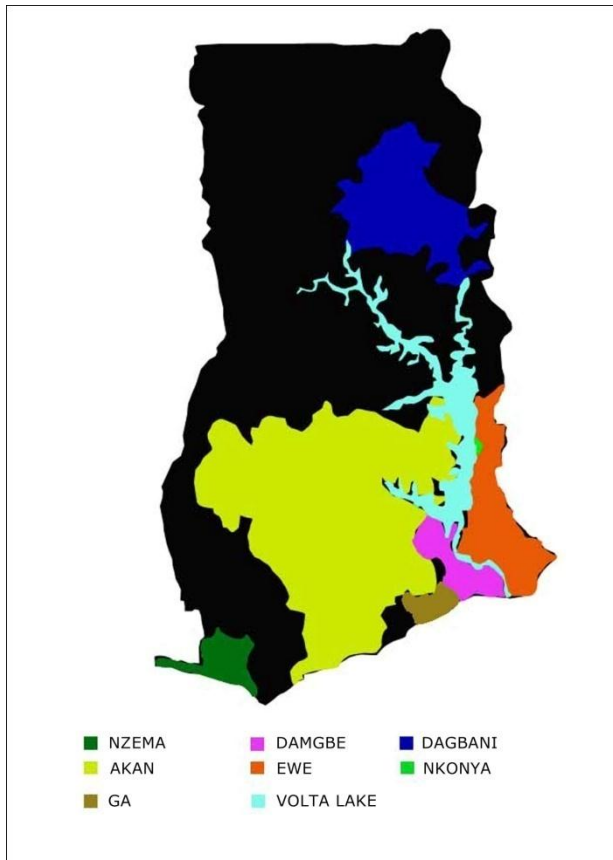
The peripheral members are those who join the group for the general courses and faculty courses (these are the university required courses and the faculty required courses). Some of the peripheral members belong to other groups where they are core members.

Through some of the peripheral members, I met two other groups - the Science Group, and Special Education (SPED) Group. All these groups are interrelated because some members belong to all the groups e.g. some members of the Science and Sped groups are members of The Church which they join for their general courses.

Some other factors that informed my selection of this group are that they are a mixed group comprising both sexes and the members are from different ethnic groups. The following ethnic groups were identified - four Akans, one Nzema, one Ga, two Dangmes, four Ewes, one Dagbane, one Nigerian (Ibo), and one Guan (from Nkonya). In all seven indigenous and one foreign language were captured in this group. Figure two shows the location of the ethnic groups in Ghana.

Figure 2:

The seven ethnic groups in the church groups



Some members of The Church belong to the Christian Fellowship popularly called ‘Chrife’ and often pray before the commencement of their discussions. The prayers can be offered in English or Akan/English CS depending on who prays. If for some reason, discussions start without prayers, attention is drawn mid-way to the anomaly, and prayers are said before the discussion continues. The group meets five days in the week (Monday to Friday) under the staircase of Aggrey Hall 2<sup>16</sup> and sometimes at the basketball court if the leader is unable to secure their place. Each member is given an opportunity to lead the group at one time or the other. When a lady leads, she is addressed as ‘Madam’ and if a

<sup>16</sup> The name of one of the Halls of residence



male, he is addressed by his name or nick name. Members are supposed to show by hand if they desire to answer a question but this is not always adhered to, resulting in overlaps. Members shine<sup>17</sup> for a person who answers a question correctly or explains a point very well. They engage in serious academic work during their meetings but the discussions are interspersed with jokes that elicit laughter now and then. Akan/English CS and English are the main languages used and a member is free to choose either one to answer or ask questions. All the texts are however in English. Jokes are also in English or in Akan/English CS. There is also a regular supply of water for the members.

The dress code is decent but informal due to the informal nature of the meeting. Members attend meetings in shorts and T-shirts and in bathroom slippers (chalewote). Some ladies even come along with cover cloths<sup>18</sup> to cover themselves instead of a cardigan (something they cannot do at lectures). Awo for instance always comes with a cloth wrapped around her waist and Kwame sometimes removes his shirt and sits in his singlet when he feels too warm. The only member whose dress code remained constant all the time I was with them is the Nigerian lady because she is a nun and always dresses in her uniform. Even their sitting postures and positions change. Sometimes a member may choose to stand or lie on chairs s/he has put together.

One special thing I found in this group is their degree of friendship and thoughtfulness for one another. Members who arrive early inquire about those who are late to find out

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<sup>17</sup> Rub their palms together accompanied by an alveo-palatal sound ‘shhhh’ instead of clapping

<sup>18</sup> A piece of cloth of two yards wrapped around the waist

the cause of the delay. Sometimes discussions can be suspended to solve a special problem of a member. Members call themselves by special academic names which they say are reflections of their aspirations for the future e.g. Dr. ..., Prof. ..., and Emeritus etc. They also have a welfare fund in which members contribute Gh 10.00 every month into a common fund. Members can borrow from this fund in times of need and pay back with a little interest. In fact, this is unique because they are the only group in the university (and my knowledge of other universities) that does that. Membership of the welfare fund is voluntary and some members from other groups contribute.

#### **4. 3. 4 *The SPED Group***

SPED stands for Special Education. This is a course designed to train teachers for children who have special educational needs like the visually impaired, the hearing impaired and those with the Down syndrome. The group is made up of twelve members – nine ladies and three men. Two members of this group, Asibi and Osei are members of the Church Group. There are five Ewes, two Akans, one Nzema, one Waale and three Dagabas. It was founded by two ladies – (Kafui and Laade) and two men (Agbesi and Sitso). Other members joined after realizing how focused the group was. Three of the founders (Agbesi, Sitso and Kafui) were classmates in the secondary school and the Teacher Training College. Kafui invited her roommate Laadi along and that was how the group started.

Three of the members are visually impaired (two ladies and one man) and they use the Braille during discussion to record their points. The group meets twice a week (Tuesdays

and Wednesdays) on the street in front of the Aggrey Hall 2. This is to enable members to join other groups on other days because all the members belong to other study groups.

Sometimes, they meet at the Liberation Square<sup>19</sup> if their place is taken over by another group. Apart from studying together, they also meet for other social activities like jogging, visiting friends, going to social functions and attending concerts. Their discussions are always in English but surprisingly, all their jokes and asides are in Akan/English CS. These jokes intersperse their discussions and can occur anytime anywhere within a topic. Agbesi always leads the discussions.

#### **4.3.5 The Science Group**

This consists of eight members (five ladies and three men). Like other groups, the number can increase or decrease depending on whether there is going to be a class test or an examination. The regular members are made up of one Ewe, one Dangme, one Kasena and five Akans. All the members also join other groups for their elective subjects. They meet thrice a week (Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays) for their faculty courses in one of the old lecture halls popularly called ‘The Hencoop<sup>20</sup>’. Sometimes, they meet on the veranda of Gharthey Hall 2. When they meet at the Hen Coop, they sit around tables to form a horseshoe but at Gharthey Hall, some sit and others stand for lack of sitting space. Apea and two other ladies who are members of the Church group also belong to this group and Apea introduced me to the group.

The group was started by Efua and Ataa (both ladies). They had been given a class assignment during one of their lectures and decided to meet and discuss it. Their assignments were judged the best in class and so other students asked to join them and

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<sup>19</sup> The place where Matriculation and other important functions are held in the university

<sup>20</sup> A lecture room that originally housed the university’s poultry farm when it was an ideological institute

that was how the group was formed. The two are very good friends and offer the same modules. Anybody at all can lead the group because they do not have a defined leader. Most of their discussions are done in Akan/English CS because members claim they can conceptualize better this way.

#### **4. 4 The study group as a community of practice**

Members of study groups have special characteristics that identify each group as unique, and they behave appropriately as befitting their individual groups. Holmes & Meyerhoff (1999) sees a CofP as a way of acquiring 'sociolinguistic competence' (174) because 'we learn to perform appropriately [...] as befits our membership status' (ibid). Furthermore, a CofP is a way of focusing on what members do to show that they belong to the group. At any particular time, within the group, members behave in a way that identify them as members of that group and such behaviour may include language use, discourse and interaction patterns. For example, Osei and Asibi belong to both the Church and SPED Groups and yet behave appropriately to fit into each group. Thus when they are with the Church Group, they do most of their discussions in Akan/English CS without a problem even though Asibi is not Akan, and when they join the SPED Group they use English only. Thus depending on which group they are with, they behave appropriately, as suitable for their groups.

Members of a study group form a CofP because 'a CofP is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages' (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). Members of a study group (1) can easily be identified as a social group, (2) they meet for a special purpose, which is to study and (3) they are part of the university community and their activities affect the individual members as well as the university community. Wenger (1998:76) identifies three crucial dimensions of a CofP. These are:

- i. Mutual engagement.
- ii. A joint negotiated enterprise
- iii. A shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time.

He explains mutual engagement as small groups, units or large groups that meet or interact regularly to discuss issues hence a group does not need many members to form a CofP. A study group may be small or large with membership ranging between three to twenty members. Study group members interact with each other on regular basis like visiting members, sharing information, going to the market together, etc. confirming Davies' (2005: 4) assertion that 'for a community of practice to exist, its members must engage in regular interaction with each other'. They are able to interpret their actions in relation to their individual groups and the university community and engage in 'actions whose meanings they negotiate with one another' (Wenger 1998: 73). Subsequently, the study group as a CofP engage in talk needed to keep the group going because their discussions act to reinforce (Davies 2005: 4) the existence of the group.

Wenger (1998: 80) describes a joint negotiated enterprise as a process involving the complex relationships of mutual accountability that become part of the practice of the community. He continues that the negotiations help members to understand their roles within the group. Each member in a study group understands his role within the group such that some look for the venue, others prepare the place and others inform the rest of changes in venue. Still it is someone's responsibility to supply water and another's to select the topic to be discussed. Each negotiates his/her role within the group and jointly coordinates for every member to gain maximum benefit from the group. They also share knowledge in their areas of expertise and even thrash out the selection of topics to be treated at the subsequent meeting. Members negotiate their interaction amidst the constraints imposed by the university in terms of language choice, different closing times,

constant change of meeting places, arrangements of the place, etc. but manage to create space and time for themselves. The ability to negotiate these situations makes the study group dynamic because:

The enterprise ... includes all the energy they spend ... not only in making claims processing possible in practice, but also in making the place habitable for themselves. Their daily practice, with its mixture of submission and assertion, is a complex, collectively negotiated response to what they understand to be their situation (Wenger: 1998: 78)

Finally, he explains a shared repertoire as including linguistic resources such as specialized terminologies and linguistic routines. Such shared repertoire must be one that members are comfortable with and in which they can express themselves freely. They must be familiar with specialized terminologies as well as the nuances of the language. In the Church and Science groups, Akan/English CS is a linguistic resource members exploit to seek clarifications on things they do not understand. Clark and Schaefer (1987) state that the shared repertoire is the practice which includes the way of doing things which can be instantiated through linguistic features, personal common grounds, as well as a shared perspective of the world. This is an indication that people who see themselves as a CofP must share ideologies and be of like mind in many worldly perspectives. Members of the Church Group appropriate to themselves special titles like ‘Doctor, Emeritus, Prof’ etc. to portray their aims and aspirations for the future displaying their similar perspectives of the world.

#### ***4.4.1 Interactional patterns and practices***

The study group as a CofP engage in practices that involve routine behaviour like language use, and interaction patterns like lecture material discussions, visiting sick members, contributing to their credit union, and going for jogging etc. Many of these

practices are performed with language and the choice of a particular language in discourse depends on the particular activity that they are engaged in at a particular time. In Araba's room for instance, Twi/English CS is the linguistic choice between herself and Awo.

Members' interactional patterns also differ in their relationship among individuals in the groups because even within the larger circle, some members have closer relationships with some individuals than with others. For instance, Araba and Awo are very close in the Church Group and are often seen together, and Awo often makes special provision for Araba by reserving a seat for her by her side should she be late. Consequently, they are always seated together. I encountered Awo several times in Araba's room when I started visiting Araba. They cook and eat together. Awo is at the same time close to Kwame who is the main target of her banter, which he seems to accommodate in good faith. Similarly, Afua and Ataa in the Science group are very close friends and roommates as well. Among the men, Nii1, Osei and Nartey are very close. Though Laadi and Kafui are roommates, one cannot perceive them as friends like say Afua and Ataa, so that within the larger groups, different CofP can be identified.

Again, a CofP can be formed based on different ideas. For instance while the Church Group is formed on friendship (one can observe the bond of friendship), that of the SPED Group is based on studying and members of this group are not necessarily friends. In the Church Group, each member has the telephone numbers of the others, and their relationship goes beyond the school whereas some members of the SPED Group do not know the telephone numbers of the other members.

The groups' engagements can be measured in terms of 'quantity vs. quality of interaction' (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999:180). Holmes and Meyerhoff argue that while

‘a social network requires QUANTITY of interaction; a CofP requires QUALITY of interaction’ (ibid) (capitalized in original). Hence the quantum of time a group interacts is not as important as the quality of time they spend together, since people may interact on a daily basis without necessarily forming a CofP. For example, there are students in the university who meet regularly in class, eat at the same canteen and often encounter each other on the stairs and yet their interactions do not go beyond a phatic communion. Such interactions can be quantified but lack quality and the individuals do not constitute a CofP. The study groups’ interaction can be measured both in quantity and quality because apart from their regular study meetings, they also interact frequently outside study time and engage in activities that strengthen the group. Quality of interaction can be interpreted in terms of communality and intimacy. Communality is where members are willing to sacrifice for the welfare of the group, and intimacy is where members have the assurance of support from the group.

Although Wenger does not consider face-to-face interaction as essential to the creation and/or maintenance of a CofP, for he contends that ‘given the right context, talking on the phone, exchanging electronic mail, or being connected by radio can be part of what makes mutual engagement possible’ (1998: 74). Face-to-face interaction is essential for the sustenance of the study group. Within the study group, a member should be regular at their face-to-face discussion meeting to be considered a core member. This accounts for the categorization of the members into ‘true’ and ‘occasional’ members. This however does not discard the other means of communication like phone calls, electronic mails, etc; such means are explored regularly especially during the holidays to keep the groups intact. The study group, therefore, adopt all forms of communicative means to sustain the groups both in and out of the university.



Wenger and Lave (1991) maintain that members must have the right to participate in the group's practices. The right to participate must also include the right to information and 'relevant information should be shared effectively, opinions should be clearly explained and explanations examined critically' (Mercer 1995: 96). Such 'knowledge should [...] be made publicly accountable' (ibid). Members of a study group ensure that information they perceive as relevant is shared with expected results, and members are able to freely express their opinions and are given opportunities to explain them. Knowledge acquired is regarded as a community property with members sharing both the privileges and the problems associated with it thus making everyone accountable. Furthermore, members discuss other issues not related to their studies but which are deemed to be equally important to their welfare as members of the university community. This accounts for why one member of the Church Group felt affronted for not being informed of an impending party which she chanced upon. She indicates her annoyance in the extract below

Extract 3

1 Yaaba: **You say I should call Afua; if I hadn't come ka monfrɛ**  
me  
(You wouldn't have called me)

However, the amount of participation depends on the individual members since some participate more fully in a group's activities than others. Wenger (1998) identifies three types of membership in a group. These are:

- Full participation
- Peripheral participation
- Marginal participation (from Davies 2005: 8)

These distinctions range from full participation to peripheral-participation and the trajectory of the individual in relation to the CofP (Davies 2005: 8). A full participant is one who participates in all the community's practices and the peripheral participant has partial participation so that a full participant is in the insider trajectory and the partial participant may be on his/her way to an insider trajectory or may maintain a peripheral one. A marginal participant may have minimal participation.

Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999: 176) explain that the degree of membership of a group may vary depending on how successful 'an individual has acquired the shared repertoire, or assimilated the goal(s) of the joint enterprise or established patterns of engagement with other members'. The individual's acquisition and assimilation of a group's activities depends entirely on his/her willingness to commit to the group as one cannot be a participant without some sacrifice. Members of a study group as a CofP may be categorized along that of full participation, peripheral participation and marginal participation or core vs. peripheral membership. Full participants or core members participate fully in all the group's activities and most often, such members are in the same modules which accounts for the easy identification of the Church, Science and SPED Groups.

Members of the latter two who belong to the Church Group may or may not be considered core members of the group depending on the degree of their participation in the Church Group's activities. For instance Asibi and Yaw are members of both the Sped and Church groups but one of them may be in the insider trajectory of both groups while the other may be at a peripheral trajectory of one group and an insider trajectory of the other. Peripheral members of the Church Group may or may not participate in some of their other activities because 'while practices are central to membership, the amount of practices engaged in does not directly index membership type, and [...] even the type of

practices may not index this' (Davies 2005: 9). Marginal members join the group as and when the need arises especially when there is an impending assignment and/ or examination. Such members do not consider themselves members of any particular group.

#### ***4.4.2 Legitimacy of membership***

It was observed that some members in the Science and SPED Groups who do not belong to the Church Group contribute to the welfare fund and that is their only relationship with the group while at the same time there are members of the Church Group who are not part of the welfare (scheme). This gives rise to the situation of where to place such members. Do we consider those who are not members of the Church Group but contribute and benefit from the welfare fund as peripheral or marginal members and those who are full members but are not part of the welfare as what? Davies thinks what is important in considering oneself as a member is 'LEGITIMACY' (Davies 2005: 10) (capitalized in original).

This study regards legitimacy in two ways (i) legitimacy on the side of the individual and (ii) legitimacy on the side of the group as 'membership is not simply about practice, it is also about acceptance' (Davies: 2005:10). Acceptance in a study group may not be likened to that of 'jocks and burnouts' (Eckert 2000) or 'trendy group vs. nerds' (Kinney 1993). Within the study group, because membership depends on practices, acceptance involves the recognition a member is given by the group as compared to how the individual sees him/herself. Thus in the Church Group, if an individual is regular at group discussion meetings but does or does not participate in the other activities of the group, that individual may still be recognized as a legitimate member. On the other hand, an individual who contributes to the welfare but does not attend group discussion meetings may not be regarded as a legitimate member because members do not interact regularly

with that individual. Therefore in the study group, interaction is crucial to membership. Thus a member needs to be recognized by the group to be considered a legitimate member.

Davies reiterates that legitimate participation is ‘being allowed a safe environment in which to make mistakes’ (2005:10) which is important in a study group because a member must have the freedom to make mistakes and not feel intimidated. Members should know the extent of their safety to be able to operate. In extract 4 below, Nii1 (turn 3) knows the extent of his safety and his threat on Yaaba only elicits laughter instead of anger.

#### Extract 4

1 Efo: Yehia nsuo wae

(We need water please)

2 Yaaba: //Ka maa mma ha ka mo nfrɛ me

(You wouldn't have called me if I hadn't come here)

3 Nii: //Wope a menfa mma ka wo behu

(If you like don't bring it and you will see)

(Laughter)

This threat would have taken a different dimension had Nii1 issued it to someone who is not a member of their group. A member must feel safe in a group to be able to operate in such a manner and this is more likely among core members than marginal members.

#### ***4.4.3 Hierarchy and sanctions in the study group***

Davies believes that being a member of a group must involve sanctions where some individuals are allowed their choice of participation and others are marginalized. Thus, in a CofP, there are hierarchies that monitor the selection of participation where some are allowed to participate and others are not. To him, within a self-constituted CofP, there are no ‘codified means of entrance, or recognized routes’ (Davies 1998: 8) that accepts people into the group. If there are no recognized routes of entry, then there can be no sanctions on participation. His question therefore is ‘who within the community of practice endorses an individual’s entry, and how is this managed’ (ibid). In Eckert and McConnell’s work, we realize that there are hierarchies within the jock community and membership is granted by those who are considered the gatekeepers. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet state that:

What is essential for jock girls is approval from those already prominent; [...] to be seen by those able to grant entry to the inner circle as desiring such entry is to jeopardize the chances of getting it (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1995: 492).

Thus some individuals have the power to allow others to be part of the group and one’s chances of acceptance may even be jeopardized should those in ‘power’ notice that one desires membership. This situation arises because membership confers prestige on the member. Should there be no prestige attached, such sanctions will not be necessary. The question of sanction and hierarchy does not apply to the study group. Though some groups may have identifiable leaders, such leaders do not wield power like that which pertains among the jocks, and membership does not confer any prestige on the members. Consequently, leaders do not have the power to sanction.

Unlike Eckert’s jocks and burnouts, the study group does not create any barriers to membership, neither is there any gate-keeping to regulate acceptance of membership because there is no ‘codified means of entrance’ (Davies 2005:8). All that an individual

needs to be a member is to walk to a group meeting and ask to join in the on-going discussion. Afterwards, if the individual desires membership depends on the individual. Being a member and not participating in other activities will not attract any sanctions. Secondly, class and socioeconomic background are not crucial variables in a Ghanaian university, and though they can be important in the choice of friends that one makes, they are not crucial to the study group. So unlike the jocks in Eckert (2000), where socioeconomic background is an important factor in one's acceptance, it is not important to the membership of a study group.

The study group formation is based entirely on academic dispensation and a person of whatever social class may only be accepted as a leader by proven academic excellence. For instance, at UEW, the Caribbean ladies<sup>21</sup> see themselves as being in a higher social class by the way they dress and the friends they associate with. Probably, membership of this group may be patterned alongside the jocks in terms of who is allowed to join and may sanction membership, but the general student body does not regard it as a group that confers prestige. For a group to be seen as prestigious, it must be conferred by the community. Thus the jock group is prestigious because the community considers it as such. These ladies join study groups and conform to the study group's regulations, if there are any.

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<sup>21</sup> A group of ladies who regard themselves as being of a higher social class because they dress fashionably

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This section explored the background of Winneba, UEW and the relationship that exists between these disparate entities. In discussing their relationship, it is realized that though the university and the town are inter-dependent on each other, students in the university do not consider the town as part of their community and so do not involve them in their social activities. On the other hand, the town considers the university as part of its community and constructs most of its activities around the university. The section also explored the various variables that place the study group within the context of a community of practice. We notice that interaction is a crucial factor to membership, and an individual who does not interact frequently with other members may not be considered a member. These interactions are measured in both quantity and quality, and communality and intimacy are essential to these attributes. It has shown that though the study group as a CofP has an internal structure and a hierarchy, it does not have barriers neither does it monitor access and admissions (Davis 2005: 19) like other social groups.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION AT UEW

#### 5.1 Introduction

The linguistic choices that individuals make at any given moment can be said to be a result of the linguistic situation that obtains in the larger society. Secondly, human language has features that ‘are locked into the kinds of activities that speakers carry out with speech’ (Thorne & Lantolf 2007: 171). Thus speakers’ language choices are influenced by the activities they perform because these choices are normative based (Myers-Scotton 1993b) and speakers are able to interpret the meanings that these languages convey. This chapter examines the linguistic situation in the Ghanaian society generally and how it impacts on students’ linguistic choices at the university in two main themes – identity and attitudes, etc.

#### 5.2 Language use in Ghana

According to Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu (2008), about 50 non-mutually intelligible languages are spoken in Ghana but English is the official language. It is the language of education, the judiciary, the media and of Parliament. All official documents are written in English; even obituaries, funeral brochures (it does not matter if the deceased was an illiterate) and posters of entertainment as well as Church announcements are also written in English and translated into an indigenous language when they are being read (Arthur-Shoba & Quarcoo 2012). It is only recently that The Graphic Communication Group Limited, one of the print media houses introduced ‘The Graphic Nsempa’, an Akan newspaper.



English is a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication in the larger society. It is also a lingua franca for academic, business and governmental interactions, especially with foreign nationals<sup>22</sup> as well as for social mobility and economic power. It is the main language of all formal interactions in the work place. At the same time, the ethnic-group languages are maintained and some have currency as lingua francas e.g. Akan. For instance, Dako and Quarcoo (forthcoming), report that in Accra and Tema<sup>23</sup> Akan, Ga and Ewe are used in government offices to transact business. These three languages are also used for interaction among offices workers more often than English in Accra and Tema. In the informal sector, especially markets in the urban centres, Akan is mostly used. Even in the formal sector, some officials feel more comfortable speaking Akan with some clients.

Sometimes, doctors in urban centres use Akan and the other indigenous languages with patients especially adult patients though not with children. I had a personal experience with my eleven-year-old nephew at the consulting room of a doctor at the Tema General Hospital where the doctor spoke English to my nephew and turned to speak to me in Akan. The reason is simply that many children are acquiring English as a home language instead of their parents' indigenous language(s) as Quarcoo (2006) found in her study of Tema Community Eleven. The doctor's choice of Akan with me may index the attributes +adult female and +plus low education.

These notwithstanding, it should not be assumed that everyone in Ghana can speak Akan.

The point here is that many educated Ghanaians do not speak Akan; they use English.

Such people have not had many problems because many Ghanaians have acquired some competence in English and can conduct successful conversations in it. It is when an

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<sup>22</sup> (cf Myers-Scotton 1993b: 120)

<sup>23</sup> One of the two port cities in Ghana, located about 18 km east of Accra

individual can neither speak English nor Akan that s/he might find it difficult to communicate beyond the home area.

The 2010 population and housing census reports that Akan commands about 47.5% of the population and only 18.2% of the population who are fifteen years and above are literate in English. It presupposes that many Ghanaians are more likely to operate in their indigenous languages than in English. It is guesstimated that about 70-80% of Ghanaians speak Akan as a second language and Akan is spoken more widely than English even in urban areas. For instance it is estimated that 42% of the people who live in Accra can speak Akan and only 29% can speak Ga (Agyei Mensah & Owusu 2010), the indigenous language of Accra. This notwithstanding, all the indigenous languages are also used regularly by their respective speakers. Because of the constant interaction between English and the indigenous languages, CS between English and all these languages is the norm rather than the exception.

### **5.2.1 CS in Ghana**

In Ghana, many recordings indicate that one hardly code switches when speaking English unless a particular word has no English equivalent as in *Nananom* or *Torgbuiwo* (Dako 2002). Recordings indicate that CS only occurs when people (think they) are speaking an indigenous language. In describing CS, neither the students nor the general populace recognizes the mixed languages hence speakers' assumption that they are speaking an indigenous language. Consequently, there is no name for CS. Unlike Wolof for instance where the society recognizes Urban Wolof as *le wolof francaise* 'Frenchified Wolof' or *le wolof de Dakar* 'Dakar Wolof etc, (Swigart 1992: 115), there are no such labels for any

of the code switching situations in Ghana and labels like ‘Twinglish’ and ‘Akanglis’ have not caught up with the population. It is therefore difficult to position CS in the linguistic repertoires of Ghanaians and say that it occupies maybe a high, mid or low position.

### **5.3 Language use at the University of Education**

The linguistic situation at UEW is a replica of what obtains in the larger Ghanaian society. All students enter the university with English because it is the language of education and a prerequisite for admission. The students in addition speak at least their L1 and often additional Ghanaian languages. Akan may be the L1 of the majority of the students but it is also spoken widely as a second language by non-Akan students. In addition, students may have Student Pidgin (SP) as a colloquial alternative (Forson 1996, Huber 1999, Nettey 2001, Dako 2002, 2013, Osei 2008).

According to Forson (1996), Huber (1999), Nettey (2001), Dako (2002), and Osei (2008), SP is primarily a male dominated language spoken widely among male students in all the tertiary institutions in Ghana. A few females also use it, though. Recent findings by Dako 2013 report that female students are encroaching on SP and use it to talk to their boyfriend(s) but not to their female friends. Students in the university therefore have a variety of codes to choose from in discourse which include English, Student Pidgin (SP), and their L1 yet students use CS in most of their interaction at the university.

#### **5.3.1 *Competing languages on campus***

As has already been mentioned, many students enter the university with only English and their L1 and since their L1s are different, it is expected that English would be the sole unmarked code choice among students in both formal and informal interaction. The study

found that, contrary to expectation, Akan competes with English especially in informal interaction. In the interviews below, students were divided as to which of the two languages dominate in students' interactions. The first interview, conducted in Akan/English CS was not by research design but because it took place at a party and conversation was in that language before the interview began.

Extract 1a

Int: Enti mo mo krom ha se **this is a town this is a town on its own?**

(And so this town of yours, this is a town on its own right?)

Nii: **Yea**

Int: Erm kasa ben n'ε**dominati** wɔ **this community?**

(Which language dominates this community?)

Efo: //**on campus here?**

Awo: //Efutu

Int: //**Campus here not town o I'm looking at your town here this erm**

**university South Campus** ha (here)

Efo: **The English language**

Int: **English language** n'ε**dominati** paa wa hu?

(English is the language that dominates here right?)

Efo: Hmm

Nii: (English)

Int: **English** n'ε**dominati in and out of the classroom?**

(Is it English that dominates in and out of the classroom?)

Efo: Hmm

Kwame: //I also have a different view about it

Opoku: //Because we are of different backgrounds

Kwame: I also think is the Akan language because people who were first not speaking the Akan language they have been forced because of erm especially when we come for group discussions some people that were not speaking the Akan language they have been forced to speak a little bit of the Akan. That shows that the domination of the Akan language outside classroom even in the classroom people do speak the Akan to friends //and others

Int: Enti you think //Akan dominates not the other way round

(And so you think Akan dominates and not the other way round)

Kwame: Yea

The second interview which is a follow up of the first was conducted in June 2012 in English with some selected representatives of the groups.

Extract 1b

Osei: **We have Ghanaian languages** //Ewe, Twi Ga, Ga-Dangme

//Gur/Gonja, Kasena, etc

Aseye: // Ewhe<sup>24</sup> (laughs)

Nii: //Gur/Gonja

Int: **I mean the languages that you speak around, what people use commonly around (.) All these languages?**

Aseye, Kaki, Apea: //Yes

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<sup>24</sup> Non Ewes cannot easily make the  $\beta$  sound and pronounce it with the voiced labial-velar approximant

Osei: //Yes those people like as we are saying it depends on the department yes because they are in the same //department when they are speaking they speak their language

Nii: //You see the fact is that we have many Northerners here we have many Fantis here we have many Ewes here Gas are not all that much but we still many people can speak Ga so but the language Ghanaian language that dominates here is Twi that one is true Twi dominates here but all other languages are what spoken on campus

Agbesi: And as he's saying somebody might be reading Ewe but //he has a friend in English who also speaks Ewe so when because they are from the same area they underst- it doesn't matter whether the person is speaking English or when they meet they speak Ewe

Aseye: //The person-

Int: So between English, Ewe and Akan which language dominates?

Lareba: Akan dominates

Int: Akan dominates English Ewe and Akan, Akan dominates?

All: Yes

We get an insight into the linguistic situation at UEW. Many non-Akan students who speak Akan claim they acquired it in school (22.2%) and 38.9% claim they acquired it from their communities. This indicates that individuals are more likely to acquire the dominant language(s) in their communities than in other places. This can be attested to in extract 1a where students report that some students acquired their Akan in the university

community. The interview also indicates that to be part of the university community, all students must conform to the two dominant languages of English and Akan.

In making linguistic choices outside the classroom, students consider the interactional type and select languages appropriate to each interaction. They know for instance that English may not always be appropriate in certain out-group interactions and so select an indigenous language or Pidgin. Tables 1 and 2 show the linguistic choices they make with friends and at church.

Table 1

Language used with friends

Valid	Frequency	%
Ewe	2	5.6
Akan	20	55.6
English	11	30.6
Pidgin	1	2.8
Dagaare	2	5.6
Total	36	100.0

Table 2

Language used at church

Valid	Frequency	%
Akan	20	55.6
English	14	38.9
Ewe	1	2.8
Others	1	2.8
Total	36	100.0

It was actually a surprise that Akan scored higher than English in the church. I assumed that since it will be impossible to find an Akan-dominated congregation, English would be the obvious choice to cater for the linguistic needs of all the members. It could probably be also that students attend church in town and obviously, the town would not make any provision for the students.

The linguistic situation at UEW can therefore be structured in the following cline - English at the top followed by Akan and then the other indigenous languages as the diagram below explains.

English



Akan



Other ethnic languages

Though many students claim they can speak Akan, very few can speak (any of) the other indigenous languages<sup>25</sup> It was noticed that while all the non-Akans could speak at least some Akan, only one ethnic Akan (out of the ten) could speak Ga. It seems ethnic Akan speakers hardly learn other indigenous language(s) so while the non-Akans are trilingual/multilingual in their L1, Akan and English and sometimes another indigenous language, ethnic Akans speak only Akan and English.

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<sup>25</sup> Only two respondents claimed to speak another indigenous language in addition to Akan and their L1



## 5.4 CS among students

### 5.4.1 *Inter-ethnic group CS versus Out-group CS*

Two types of CS situations were observed among the students. (1) CS involving the ethnic languages like Ga/English, Ewe/English, Sisala/English, Akan/English, Nkonya/English, etc and (2) CS involving Akan/English. Students code switch between their ethnic languages and English when the interaction involves a few members of the same ethnic group. It is used to negotiate ethnic membership thus making such CS an in-group code. Akan/English CS also doubles as an out-group language which students use to interact with the larger university community and the town. It is used to negotiate university membership and also functions as the lingua franca between the university and the town making it the bridge language between them. Any other out-group situation that does not demand Akan/English CS will be taken over by English.

Myers –Scotton argues that speakers must be bilingual peers to indulge in CS and that such switches do not occur when there is a socio-economic difference between speakers or when they are strangers (Myers-Scotton 1993b:119). While CS occurs among peers, CS can also occur among people of different socio-economic statuses as happens between students at UEW and the town of Winneba. CS also occurs between students and lecturers and they are not peers.

Students claim using Akan does not exclude non-Akans but the use of any other indigenous language excludes those who have no ethnic affinity to that language. Thus the choice of an indigenous language that is not Akan indicates a movement towards an in-group trajectory, whereas Akan/English CS indicates a movement towards an out-

group trajectory. It can be argued then that students at any time select the language(s) that is appropriate for (any) interaction bearing in mind the ‘existence of linguistic hierarchies, together with knowledge about the social values attached to the different codes’ [ ...] is usually part of sociolinguistic competence’ (Mæhlum 2010:21). In extract 2 for example Nii and Amerley (a marginal member)<sup>26</sup> interact in Ga when they were preparing their place of meeting (both are ethnic Ga). Many of the members had not arrived by then.

Extract 2

Amerley: *O gbemei neε fiɔ late kpakpa*

(Your members don’t come early at all)

Nii: *Mεikomei sumɔɔ ni amεba arrangeɔ //chairs kε tables ε*

(Some don’t want to come and arrange the chairs and tables)

Amerley: //Aah **I see**

**Nii:** *Awo baaba nɔɔ le ebaa mmla* (Awo arrives) aa //ono na waba no

(Awo will come soon; she normally comes early. Aa here she is)

Awo: //Ei Amerley **welcome** yehu wo akyε

(Ei Amerley you are welcomed. We have not seen you for a while)

Nii and Amerley are conversing in Ga because it involves only the two of them.

However, when Awo joins, Nii switches at the end of his speech to Akan to include her.

Note that Awo also addresses Amerley in Akan.

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<sup>26</sup> See Chapter Three section 3.3.1

Since the use of inter-ethnic CS excludes others, it can be argued that students make marked choices by using them. Selecting an ethnic language is a negotiation against the existing unmarked code which often is English or Akan/English CS and this will index a different RO set. Using ethnic group language(s) in an out group context often attracts comments from other participants. For example, after close of one of their meetings when members were packing off the chairs and tables they had taken from the assembly hall, two members of the Ewe ethnic group began to converse in Ewe. The other members immediately reacted to it asking whether they were planning a coup. This situation arose because the conversation was conducted in a language which was not expected in out-group interaction; an indication of a break in convention. Secondly, other members were not privy to what transpired and felt excluded. Thus participants who use inter-ethnic CS in an out-group interaction know what they are about and select a particular code to index that. Minority ethnic groups mostly exploit their inter-ethnic language to sometimes annoy or as a form of retaliation against the dominance of Akan. For instance it was observed that Akan and some non-Akans are welcoming when Akan is used in out-group contexts. Yet they react negatively towards any other ethnic language(s) that is introduced in the same context. Often, to retaliate, other speakers, especially Ewes, will intentionally switch to Ewe. The situation is either resolve by converging to English or the minority group submitting to Akan/English CS.

During academic discussions, inter-ethnic group languages are the preferred languages to mark certain utterances like asides, complaints, jokes, etc. because these choices are more likely to receive the expected responses than when they are done in the unmarked code in place. Making marked choices is a negotiation against the existing unmarked code and a student must consider the implications such choices convey. Thus when Yaaba, (extract 3a, turn 1), switches to Akan to register her complaint, she is negotiating against the existing code in place and this achieves the desired result.

Extract 3a

- 1 Yaaba: **You say I should call Afua (.) if i hadn't come ka mo nfrɛ me**  
(you wouldn't have called me)
- 2 Efo: **Yaaba**
- 3 Asibi: **//That's why you have come**
- 4 Efo: **//Yaaba**
- 5 Yaaba: **Yes?**
- 6 Efo: **I beg you I need wara**  
(water)
- 7 Int: **Yaaba** yɛpa wo kyɛw si fɔm bra wae  
(Yaaba please come down)
- 8 Efo: Yehia nsuo wae  
(We need water please)
- 9 Yaaba: **//Ka maa mma ha ka mo nfrɛ me**  
(You wouldn't have called me if I hadn't come here)
- 10 Nii: **//Wopɛ a menfa mma ka wo behu**  
(If you like don't bring it and you will see)
- (Laughter)

Her choice is deliberate because Akan is the in-group language of the group. It is the language of affiliation and inclusion and its use is an indication of membership. The members not inviting her made her feel neglected. Her choice is a way of calling attention to the fact that members have erred. In extract 3b, Araba selects Akan/English

CS (turn 5) to organize her banter because using English would not have brought out the import of her message.

Extract 3b

1 Apea: **Between child and a father**

2 Kaki: //**Between student and student**

3 Apea: //**Between the student and the student - classroom and the use at market**

**all these are varieties according to use**

4 Serwa **According to the situation**

5 Araba: //Woti no mu **blow blow**

(Your hair smells)

6 Nartey: //**Situation in which a language is used**

7 Serwa: Whan na ne ti mu **blow**? Eti nye nnora yia na ye she a miti no mu **blow**?

(Whose hair is smelling, was this hair not done only yesterday and you are complaining that my hair is smelling)

(Laughter)

In these examples, students are able to interpret the Akan speeches within these contexts as marked because they apply local interpretations to what these speeches convey. This accounts for the reason why in extract 3a members are not apologetic of Yaaba's complaint but instead, go ahead and request her to perform other chores. At the same time, Yaaba is not offended by Nii's threat (turn 10). In extract 3b, Serwa is able to interpret Araba's comment as a joke and therefore is not offended.

In making their linguistic choices, students accommodate one another in a sequential manner following a change in code. In extract 3a when Yaaba switches to Akan to mark

her complaint, the interviewer responds to her complaint in Akan too (turn 12) which subsequently makes Akan the unmarked choice following a change in the situation. Yet all their choices contribute to the overall meaning of the discussion.

#### **5.4.2 CS in study group discussions**

When members were asked about the language(s) they use regularly at study group discussions, all 36 respondents claimed English; this is clearly contrary to what actually obtains. The recordings indicate that only the SPED Group used English regularly and no group used Akan only. The Church group alternated between English and Akan/English CS and the Science group used Akan/English CS fairly regularly. In fact, code switching hardly occurs when they use English in their study group discussions. Extracts 4a and 4b from the SPED and Church Groups show this very clearly.

Extract 4a from the SPED Group

1 Agbesi: **So we were just talking about hm exogenous social change then they say social change could also be external (.) They occur as a result of foreign sources such as influences due to intercultural cultural contacts cultural borrowing (.) when we talk about cultural borrowing we are talking of the clothes //we wear**

2 Laadi: **//We wear the food //we eat**

3 Akesi: **//we eat**

4 Agbesi: **Anaa the food we eat ahaa right now when you go to //Accra**

(Or)

(yes)

5 Fati: **//The language we speak**

6 Akesi: //Even our //dress style

7 Akesi: This (unclear) //our dress //style

8 Akorfa: //Eh- then men men

Extract 4b from the Church Group

1 Nii: Let's move on (.) briefly explain what each of the following is used

for //(.) briefly explain what each of the following is used for

2Aseye: //Hm?

3 Nii: One (.) //placement evaluation

4 Aseye: //Placement evaluation

5 Nii: So I'll mention //all of them and you take it one by one first

one (unclear) evaluation, formative evaluation, diagnostic evaluation

subative and pragmatic evaluation

The majority of the students, however, agreed that they code switch during group discussions and 32 respondents (88.9%) said so. They also said that Twi/English CS is the language mostly used at study group discussions, claiming 83.3% (of the time). Hardly do they combine any other languages e.g. Ewe/English or Dagare/English during their discussions. They reiterated that the use of any of the other languages may be for personal issues that do not relate to the academic discussions.

Table 3

Languages used in code switching<sup>27</sup>

Valid	Frequency	%
AK/E	30	83.3
D/E	2	5.6
E/E	4	11.1
Total	36	100.0

Respondents claim they choose Akan/English CS because it is easier to clarify issues in it. It is an effective means of communicating ideas and it gives better understanding. It is also the language everybody speaks. Thus Akan/English CS performs the functions of pedagogy in academic discussions and inter-ethnic group CS performs peripheral functions as in extract 5 below. In the extract, students use Akan/English CS for the academic work and other general topics but the use of Ewe/English CS by speakers Awo and Aseye (turns 7 and 8) are asides between only the two of them.

Extract 5

1 Efo: ɔse **because of this** no **any time** bia no **if you are teaching an aspect of grammar** wo **teachi** sɛ ebia **comparative** anaase erm ebia **verbs** a **always teach the regular pattern first** (.) //enti wo **teachi** wei a na sɛ wopɛ sɛ wohu sɛ wayɛ a wodeɛ ma **exercises** na fa wei nibi **irregular ones** no bi //fram (.) eno na wobe hu sɛ **concept** no wanya na afe na wobe //kyerɛ no ma wahu sɛ enti **efalli under**

<sup>27</sup> AK/E- Akan/English, D/E – Dagare/English, E/E- Ewe/English



**that pedagogy**

(S/he says because of this any time if you are teaching an aspect of grammar, if you teach maybe comparative or maybe verbs, always teach the regular pattern first. After teaching this, if you want to know whether they have understood, give some exercises and add some of the irregular ones. Then you will see whether they have grasp the concept and then you will teach them to see that and so it falls under that pedagogy)

2 Kwame: // **That is it**

3 Kwame: **Irregular** befram

(Mix with irregular)

4 Efo: //Kyerε no ma no nhu se wei no ye **different**

(Teach him/her to know that this is different)

5 Kwame: //Enti wobe hu **pedagogic** ayi **pedagogy** ana **methodology**

(And so you will understand the pedagogy, that is pedagogy or methodology)

6 Serwa: Se εye **the same thing** baabi ayi kokai - -

(It is the same thing, somewhere this person said - -)

7 Awo: (to speaker Aseye) *Ayi xowo me ne* **meeting** *a wunua?*

(Will you be going to your room after the meeting?)

8 Asaye: *Aow*

(No)

## **5.5 Language and identity**

The linguistic orientation on campus enables students to continually move from one code to another and this is not only to make marked choices but also to construct identity. Myers-Scotton argues that the choice of CS in interaction has to be the type in which speakers wish to symbolize the dual memberships that such CS calls up (Myers-Scotton 1993b:119). CS as a symbol of dual membership involving high education and ethnicity can be expected in inter-ethnic group interactions. This, however, depends on the individual. If a speaker views his/her ethnic language positively and wants others to see him/her as belonging to that ethnic group, then s/he will index the values by using it in inter-ethnic group interactions. It is not everyone who views his/her ethnic language positively as Quarcoo (2006) noticed. Students at UEW, construct identity in two main areas - ethnic ties and study group affiliations.

### **5.5.1 *The study group identity***

All study groups have unique interactional types that identify them as belonging to the Science Group, Church Group, etc. Most study groups are organized by members who have similar needs, and their activities must be seen as satisfying these needs. Being a member also means being identified with the group in many things and imbibing the group's identity. In some study groups, Akan is used to 'maximize relational meanings of connection, inclusion, similarity, and intimacy' (Bhatt & Bolonyai 2011: 530).

The choice of Akan is a way of creating 'affiliation, connection, intimacy and/or similarity between self and other(s)' (Bhatt & Bolonyai 2011: 530). This accounts for the reason why Yaaba (extract 3a) chooses it to register her complaint and Araba chooses it

to organize her banter in 3b. Its use is a movement towards togetherness and the toning down of the harshness in the messages. For instance Araba's banter in extract 3b would have been interpreted as a real insult had it been made in English or any of the indigenous languages. In the same way, Nii's threat to Yaaba (extract 3a) would have had a more serious import had it been issued in English.

Members are able to share their intimate thoughts with one another as one member shares what transpired between him and his girlfriend (who is not in the university) with his group in the extract below.

Extract 6a

Osei: //Ei! ɛɛ Kwaku maame frɛ me (.) manka ankyerɛ mo ka ɔɔbɔ me wɔ **phone** no

so o (.) ɔse hɛ mugu fie hɔ mooyɛ dɛɛn?

(Ei! Today Kweku's mother called me. I forgot to tell you (plural) she nearly

beat me on the phone. She said what are you (people) doing in the house?)

All: //(Laughter)

Members must be intimate to be able to share such information. It can even be inferred from the message that the girlfriend knows the group members. Note that the information is relayed in Akan. Akan therefore acts as a catalyst of good nature and harmony among members. Any other ethnic language would call for another interpretation like distancing oneself from the group.

### **5.5.2 Ethnic affiliation**

Many students also construct their in-group identity through ethnic affiliations. Ties to a particular ethnic group is an important variable without which a student might be

considered ‘lost’. Symbolically, it is used to index solidarity to express ‘ethnic affiliation and identity [...] create in-group cohesion [...] or symbolic alignment with a cultural community of practice’ (Bhatt & Bolonyai 2011: 528).

In constructing ethnic identity, one must not be seen as leaning too close towards one’s ethnic language(s) as it would be misconstrued as incompetence in English and therefore unpolished since English is synonymous with sophistication. At the same time, leaning too close to English is interpreted as being stuck-up, proud, and overconfident and this might attract negative comments from other students. In extract 6b, one of the students who affects English manners through his accent which affects even his Akan, is teased by his members as being too ‘stuck-up’. ‘Gentility’ here refers to English manners which include the way one dresses (shirt tacked in), speaks (being extra polite and affecting an English accent), and demeanor. This particular student is compelled to respond in Akan to vindicate himself as a response in English would have resulted in a huge outburst from the group.

#### Extract 6b

1. Osei: **Apea, gentility** beku wo o

(Apea you will be killed by gentility)

2. Apea: Me pa wokyew wose?

(What did you say, please?)

3. Osei: **Gentleness** beku wo me se **gentility**- -

(Gentleness will kill you, I say gentility --)

4. Apea: Wonim nea meeyɛ?

(Do you know what I am doing?)

Though students use Akan/English CS in most of their out-group interactions, these two languages do not index dual membership of [+high education] and [+ethnicity] for the majority, except for Akans. Rather the choice is ‘more associated with familiarity with the languages together than it is necessarily associated with high proficiency or with social-identity factors, such as education or age’ (Myers-Scotton 1993:119).

Myers-Scotton reiterates that proficiency in the languages used in CS is not a sufficient condition, but the most important criterion is that speakers must positively evaluate for their own identities and the indexical values associated with such switches (Myers-Scotton 1993b:119). As proficiency cannot be a criterion for CS, evaluation in terms of positive values depends on the speaker and also the context. Some students are not sufficiently proficient in Akan/English CS but they conduct their daily activities in it, especially in the town. Such students might evaluate it positively because of the benefits they derive from this mixed code in that context but might not evaluate it positively in terms of their identities and values.

Moreover, an ethnic language which doubles as a lingua franca does not index dual identities to the majority of its speakers who do not belong to that ethnic group. Again, the mixture of any of the indigenous languages, including Akan and English, does not give any of the indigenous languages the ‘colour of modernity’ (Pandharipande 1990: 17). The situation is simply that speakers now find it difficult to speak their languages without mixing due to the intense nature of contact between English and these languages. And unlike Swahili and Wolof which index simultaneously both high education and ethnicity to their speakers whether they are indigenous Wolof or Swahili, Akan does not have that status among non-Akans. Sometimes, though, an indigenous lingua franca like

Akan can index nationality when participants are out of their home country. For instance, a few months ago, a group of Ghanaians of different ethnicities met in another country for an international programme, and they used Akan/English CS instead of English for most of their in-group interactions and this indexed nationality.

### **5.6 Attitude towards the languages at UEW**

According to Oppenheim, attitude is:

A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, ... (1982: 39).

Students' attitudes to the various languages on campus are expressed in various ways both directly and indirectly. As members of the university community, students must conform to the linguistic orientation that obtains on campus. Students report that English and all the indigenous languages operate on campus but students have different perceptions about them. As the language of education, English occupies a prestigious position and students have a positive attitude towards it. It is a pride to be seen as having a good command of English. Fluency in English, for example, is the main selection criterion for a position at the university's radio station. However, students' attitude towards all the indigenous languages, including Akan, is generally negative. Gurene and Gonja scored the lowest in the ranking of the languages and the mention of their names elicited laughter among the students. Even though Akan is used alongside English, it does not have much prestige accorded it because, like all other indigenous languages, it is mostly acquired outside the classroom. The students seem not to attach importance to a language that is not learnt in a formal domain. Moreover, students believe the acquisition

of Akan is easy; as a response to why they choose it over other languages was ‘it’s easy’, ‘it’s the easiest language to learn’, etc. Students are also of the opinion that it is not important to take it as a major course in the university since its employment scope is limited to teaching and the media. An editor at the university’s radio station said it is not used to broadcast any programme because students will complain.

Students judge the importance of a language on the basis of two criteria (i) economic importance and (ii) acquisition. Though Akan has economic importance, its employment value is associated more with the informal sector and so by students’ judgement, it is not important. Most students associate economic importance to formal occupation like an office job. Therefore Akan being the language of the informal sector coupled with its acquisition which is also informal, makes it of little importance.

Though Akan is lumped with the other languages as unimportant, students’ attitude towards it indicate otherwise. It is highly valued besides English and competence in it is part of the sociolinguistic competence of UEW. Members agreed that it is the next highest language as extract 7 shows.

Extract 7

Int: Enti **next to English** no **what is the next highest?**

(And so, next to English, what is the next highest?)

Unison: Akan

Akan dominates students’ interaction in terms of its wide use and for that matter is perceived as imperialistic. It is not certain whether this perception can be substantiated, but students’ response seem to suggest that Akan ‘rob people and their languages of their

individual and cultural integrity, devaluing and distorting their differences' (Branson & Miller 2006: 117) through subtle means. One such means is through bullying other languages into submission.

### **5.6.1 Language bullying, protest and submission**

Language bullying was observed in the groups' discussions. Bullying here can be described as the direct or indirect means that one linguistic group (e.g. language A) forces members of another (language B) to submit to it (language A). During group discussions, Akan/English CS is often used alongside English to discuss texts, for asides, for jokes, for complaints, etc. but the other ethnic-group languages are not given such opportunities. They are mostly limited to asides. When these languages are used to the hearing of other group members, the speakers are accused of excluding the others as two students were accused of planning a coup because they spoke Ewe to the hearing of others.

Members feel intimidated when they use their inter-ethnic group languages for even ordinary discussions let alone academic work at group meetings. Thus Lareba's complaint in extract 8a captures how non-Akans are bullied into submission to Akan.

Extract 8a

Lareba: Aow Auntie, saa naɔmo tee (that's how they are)**that's how they are oo**

**(.) as for them they speak their language but when yo- you speak yours then they complain that they don't understand, they don't understand (.) they don't want us to speak our language.**



So at these meetings, language hierarchies exist and other ethnic languages are sidelined. The result is resentment towards Akan on campus. Students show their resentment through covert and overt protests. Overt protests can be observed in the interview below.

Extract 8b

1. Osei: **We are being taught in English even erm the contribution in class is done with the English language (.) The group studies, is the English language that is being used its only when maybe there is erm for (clarification) sake we tend to code switch aha and the-- even there then people even started complaining because we have the Voltarians<sup>28</sup> around (.) We have the Akans and the-- when we tend to use the Akan ebino (some) -- people erm felt erm hurt so they started complaining that we can't use erm Akan when they don't understand meanwhile they erm //that's the reason why I said some pretend that they don't understand but they do**
2. Int: **//They do understand**
3. Osei: **//They do understand**
4. Int: **//The Akan**
5. Osei: **//Yes**
6. Apea: **//They speak it**
7. Osei: **And they even speak in proverbials<sup>29</sup>**  
**(Laughter)**
8. Osei; **I was //even**

---

<sup>28</sup> Students from the Volta Region of Ghana

<sup>29</sup> Proverbs; to speak in proverbs is considered the ultimate of eloquence in Akan

9. Int: //They what they they understand but they don't want to use  
it because-
10. Opoku: That's not their native language they think its dominating their  
language //so they don't
11. Osei: //Aha //so they  
don't want it
12. Int: They they they are not using it not because they don't understand  
but because they //think
13. Osei: //This especially this my sister like this she don't understand she  
had (unclear)
14. Oduro: But she does
15. Kofi: //But they are not the very this thing
16. Nii: //She cannot speak very //well but they understand sister Ibo deε (unclear)
17. Osei: //Aha like Aseye herself like this Aseye can speak  
in proverbials but yet when you speak the Akan she will be annoyed
18. Int: So is it a protest agai//nst Akan or –

Aseye's open annoyance and other students' refusal to speak Akan, though these students understand it are some ways of registering their protests. Students have come into an educational community and expect English, a neutral language, to be the main language on campus but are surprised that another indigenous language seriously competes with it. Probably, they might not have been so resentful if it had been another neutral language like French. Students are compelled to use another indigenous language which they see as an affront to the dignity of their own languages. They are resentful because they are intimidated not to use their languages for out-group interactions. They are also resentful

because it seems impossible to reverse the situation. For instance when asked which language follows English in order of importance and they all responded ‘Akan’ Nii protested that he cannot put another language before his own. See extract 8c.

Extract 8c

1. Int: Enti **next to English** no **what is the next highest?**

(And so, next to English, what is the next highest?)

2. Unison: Akan

3. Int: Akan?

4. Nii: **Yea it is it is me it is individual base** o //me na me nfa me **language nkoye second?**

(Yea, it is based on the individual, why should I put my language second?)

5. Unison: //ooooh

6. Nii: Me na me nfa me **language nkoye se(h)cond?**

(Why should I place my language at the second position?)

7. Araba: Twi

8. Kwame: Akan

9. Apea: **Let me //give-**

10. Kwame: //Even Nii when you go to your place they speak Twi

11. Nii: **Who?**

12. Apea: //Your people

13. Nii: //Which peo(h)ple?

14. Osei: **The Ga people**

As members of a Community of Practice (CofP), students must construct their membership by engaging in the linguistic practices of the university. At UEW, speaking Akan is part of the university's identity so students are constrained to use it by 'a societal system' (Myers Scotton 1993: 92). Myers Scotton 1993 believes such 'conclusions are deterministic' (ibid) but the situation at UEW indicates that sometimes speakers are constrained by societal norms to make some linguistic choices. This shows that the practices of a community are more powerful than the individuals that form the community. Note also that the protest is made in Akan/English CS and not in Ga, his L1.

The situation is not peculiar to this university or Ghana alone. Swigart noticed a similar attitude in Senegal where non -Wolofs like the Diolas and Peuls exhibit their resentment towards the Wolof language (Swigart 1992: 83). Though students protest the dominance of Akan, they need it not only to conduct their activities in the university but also to conduct their activities with the town which provides their source of provisions.

In their protests, some non-Akans find subtle ways to retaliate. Retaliation can take various forms including making one indirectly apologize for speaking Akan. For instance in extract 9, Aseye is annoyed at Serwa's question posed in Akan to Asibi. Though speakers Asibi and Kaki respond to Serwa's question, they are all able to interpret Aseye's comment in turn 7 as annoyance. This accounts for Asibi's attempt to explain what Serwa said and Serwa's apologetic reason for asking the question (turn 8). In this situation, Aseye subtly succeeds in making Serwa and the others indirectly apologize for using Akan.

Extract 9

1 Serwa: Asibi ayi na wooka no ewo **page** sen?

(Adjoa, what you are talking about what page is it?)

2 Aseye: **ɛhɛ yes so when you are summarising, you quantify it**

3 Asibi: // **Evaluation page twenty one**

4 Serwa: // **Assessment and?**

5 Asibi: // **The bible page twenty twenty-one**

6 Yaaba: **Page twenty twenty-one**

7 Aseye: **It's okay //this not the-**

8 Asibi: // **She wants to**

9 Serwa: **No I was saying that i don't have that //quantifying in my notes**

The participants are able to interpret Aseye's speech (turn 7) as annoyance because they are able to interpret '[...] "what is meant" by a particular utterance in its context' (Auer 1998:2). Note that Aseye selects English to register her annoyance. Aseye is one who always selects English when she leads a discussion and refuses to speak Akan. Even when others make their contribution in Akan, she refuses to converge, even though she understands the Akan contributions. One can conclude that she intentionally maintains a divergent language and this can be another means of protest.

A survey among students indicates that some students refuse to join study groups because of the dominance of Akan in these group discussions.

As has been noted earlier Akan tends to be perceived as imperialistic due to its size in terms of speakers as (it is estimated that) more people can speak it than English and the fact that it is the most important lingua franca in Ghana. In spite of these attributes, any attempt to suggest it as a national language has been shelved in Parliament. The issue is too sensitive. Yet Akan will grow and spread according to all indications..

### 5.7 CS in written text

Though CS has been part of the linguistic repertoire of many Ghanaians for a long time (see Forson 1979, 88; Asilevi 1990; Amuzu 1996, 2005), it occurs mainly in speech form. Hardly is any text written in CS. All texts are written in English and a few in some selected indigenous languages like Akan, Ewe, Ga/Dangme, Dagare, etc. Students' opinions were solicited on the use of CS in texts and the majority felt it would not be appropriate. 66.7% said CS in texts would be confusing, inappropriate and difficult to understand.

Table 4

#### CS in written texts

Valid	Frequency	%
Interesting	5	13.9
Inappropriate/confusing/difficulty to understand	24	66.7
Better understanding	3	8.3
Unappreciated by people whose language is not used	2	5.6
Strange	1	2.8
None	1	2.8
Total	36	100.0

These are indications that in Ghana, CS has still not reached codification stage and therefore cannot be accepted in texts. A few said that it would be interesting though.

## **5.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that CS occurs between English and all the indigenous languages. Secondly two CS situations are observed among students: inter-ethnic group CS which is used for in-group interaction and Akan/English CS which is used for out-group interaction. Akan/English CS also doubles as an in-group language for study group members who use it to construct their identity. The chapter has shown that students switch to their indigenous languages purposely to exclude other participants or as preference choices to mark some utterances.

The chapter has also shown that ethnic affiliation and study group membership are used to index identity. Students also do not have positive attitudes towards the indigenous languages and are especially unhappy about the dominance of Akan on campus. Students protest the situation through covert and overt means which include open protests and subtle means of making participants apologize for their use of Akan. The chapter has also shown that English still remains the most important language in Ghana despite Akan being perceived as imperialistic.

## CHAPTER 6

### FUNCTIONS OF STUDENTS' CODESWITCHING IN ACADEMIC DISCUSSIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

Auer (1984: 2) posits that 'the global social meaning of CS is dependent upon its local function' therefore 'language alternation as a form of linguistic behavior in a given speech community differs according to the local functions it serves in interaction' (ibid). A study of students' linguistic patterns indicates that Akan/English CS performs pedagogic function in addition to the social functions in the lives of the students. This chapter discusses how students employ CS for referential purposes.

#### 6.2 CS in academic discussions

It is assumed that students' use of CS in academic discussions would be limited to asides, jokes, etc. but not to discuss actual texts and issues arising from the texts. This is because academic discussions concentrate on English texts and English is the only language expected in such contexts. Recordings in this work show that CS is used to discuss actual texts, and that asides, jokes, etc. take a minimal place. Students use CS 'when they unconsciously utilize and flout it to their advantage' (Swigart 1992: 262) to discuss texts in Mathematics, Applied Linguistics, Education, etc. They also use CS as a stress-releasing strategy during their discussions.



The choice of CS in study group discussions has symbolic implications that relate to their academic set up and the informal nature of their meeting. Students therefore negotiate their linguistic choices to index their academic – informal context and their choice of Akan/English CS is a result of this salient factor.

### **6.2.1 *Academic plus informal***

Ndyipfunkamiye (1994) from Arthur (1996) points out that the curriculum to which school children are exposed goes beyond the knowledge set out in the syllabuses to encompass ‘concepts, actions, events, relations, beliefs, values’ (p.81). The curriculum reifies the ‘hierarchical roles of language values’ (Arthur 1996: 18) so that the use of English in the Ghanaian classrooms is a reification of these hierarchical language values which are ingrained in the child throughout his/her educational, social and working life. This knowledge has compelled many parents to select English as a home language with the belief that it will propel their children ahead of their counterparts (cf. Quarcoo, 2006). The parents are also products of this situation which was ‘embodied and reinforced by the interactional classroom order’ (Arthur 1996: 20) from their childhood.

At the university, interactions at lectures are a reinforcement of this classroom order with English as the sole language in the lecture room. After lectures, however, students are no longer restricted to this classroom order and move to the indigenous language which is the socially accepted language of interaction in informal situations. The move from the lecture room domain to the outside domain is indexed by the change in code and the switch from English to an indigenous language therefore separates academic interaction from the non-academic one. Thus students move constantly between two social orders.

At study group meetings, students have in mind the academic nature of their discussions which calls for English, but at the same time, they are aware of the informal setting of their meeting which calls for an indigenous language. Students try to balance these two social settings by selecting a language that would simultaneously represent both the academic and the informal. The use of English alone for the discussions would be a reduplication of the lecture room situations which students may not want to repeat and the use of an indigenous language would be a departure from their academic setting. CS is therefore a 'self-facilitative' (Arthur 1996: 24) option that combines both the academic and the social that they wish to index.

This dual setting is made manifest by the heavy doses of jokes, asides, telephone calls etc. that characterize these discussions; something they cannot do in the normal lecture room. CS also helps them to 'resort to the L1 to fill in gaps in knowledge of target language vocabulary or to prevent errors' (Arthur 1996: 24).

### ***6.2.2 Language Agreement***

The study tried to find out how members agree on the language(s) for a particular discussion because their linguistic choices were not consistent. It came out that the choice of English and/or Akan/English CS sometimes depends on the leader of the particular discussion selecting and maintaining it throughout. It is not always, though, that a leader succeeds in his/her choice, as members often refuse the leader's choice. Members claim that it is the topic that determines the language choice and making contrary linguistic choices to that of the leader's is unintentional. They also claim that the linguistic situation of their physical environment (Stedman 2011:671) exerts its influence on their linguistic choices.

Thus the choices have to do with their ‘linguistic space’ (Schrambke 2010: 91) as such ‘social preferences and actions are acquired in the process of socialization’ (Mæhlum 2010:20). Most often, though, members converge to the language choice of the leader. Divergent and convergent language choices are observed in extracts 1a and b. In extract 1a, Nii who is leading the discussion prefers English but the other members contribute to the discussion in Twi/English CS or Twi only. It was towards the end that Awo converges so the discussion is organized in contrasting languages.

Extract 1a

1 Nii: **Any four of these terms**

2 Amerley: **Nii?**

3 Nii: **So one diagnostic (.) people will be writing so if we //explain**

4 Amerley: **// Nii?**

5 Nii: **//Yes maam?**

6 Amerley: **//Ka bio (mante)**

(Repeat it. (I didn’t hear))

7 Nii: **Okay**

8 Nartey: **Question** wei na eɛɛba nɔ̃ o

(This is the question we must expect)

9 Nii: **So one (.) diagnostic //Apea?**

10 Apea: **//Diagnostic**

11 Araba: **Ahaa**

12 Oduro: **//Obiaa ntwere bi?**

(Should we all write?)

Awo: //If we are unable

Nii: //Oh if you want to write you write

In extract 1b members converge to the leader's choice because Asibi selects English to respond to Serwa's question which was made in Akan. Serwa is therefore compelled to also use English, the unmarked choice in use.

Extract 1b

1 Serwa: Asibi ayi na wooka no ewo **page** sen?

(Asibi, what you are talking about what page is it?)

2 Aseye: ehe **yes so when you are summarising, you quantify it**

3 Asibi: // **Evaluation page twenty one**

4 Serwa: //**Assessment and?**

5 Asibi: //**The bible page twenty twenty-one**

6 Yaaba: **Page twenty twenty-one**

7 Aseye: **It's okay //this not the-**

8 Asibi: //**She wants to**

9 Serwa: **No I was saying that i don't have that //quantifying in my notes**

This shows that students' code choices are shaped by the linguistic environment they respond to unconsciously, because the choices they make are dependent on 'its local production in the [...] conversational context which it both shapes and responds to' (Auer 1998:2).

Their linguistic choices are purposely geared towards contributing to the overall meaning of the discussions regardless of whether they converge to the same language or they use divergent languages. In extract 2, Osei (turn 14) chooses Akan/English CS as his

preferred language to organize his contribution but he still contributes to the meaning of the topic under discussion.

Extract 2

1 Nii: **First and foremost what is content validity then we apply?**

2 Kaki: //Content validity

3 Aseye: //Content validity

4 Asibi: **Hmm is the ability of a text (.)**

5 Apea: //Hmm?

6 Araba: //Hmm?

7 Efo: **Ei the validity in general** no na wobε kã yi?

(Ei is it the validity in general that you are going to explain?)

8 Yaaba: **No it will //no content validity is where the (.) measure the content the -**

9 Osei: **Aa content the validity is of a text to adequately cover**

10 Nii: Mmh mm

11 Nii: //Wahu?

(Have you seen it?)

12 Efo: //Your objectives your instructional objectives of the course

13 Aseye: //Remember the content

14 Osei: //It will it will content //validity εwɔsε εcover //adequately the

content outline enti ehɔ na table of specification o sε deɛn deɛn no wɔ no

enti the ability of a text-

(It will content validity it has to cover adequately the content outline and so that is where we get the table of specification or whatever it is and so the ability of a text-)

15 Aseye: // **Allow him**

The choice of Akan/English CS enables him to make a meaningful contribution, and for this reason, Aseye who is leading the discussion will not allow any interruption with her comment '**allow him**' in turn 8.

During these discussions, students strategically provide their hearers with well-formed prepositions to enable them communicate what they want to say and also say it in the right context for the audience to interpret them (Auer 1984: 17). Certain utterances provide relevant cues for others to interpret as imminent completion of a turn or a shift in topic. For example in extract 3, Opoku's '**alright** yɛn toaso' (alright let's continue) (turn 6) is a cue for the others to shift topic.

Extract 3

1 Opoku: //Wose **one point five** wahu?

(You said one point five right?)

2 Kofi: //So wahu sɛ biibi sei **class interval** no **median** ayi no wo ha wo hu se

**below the class interval** no **the median marks** no ...

(So you see some like this class interval, the median here you can see that below the class interval, the median marks ...)

3 Opoku: //Ah nase ɛnee yɛfa ha nso a wo betumi aya **below** ...

(Ah, but if we come here also you can get below...)

4 Kofi: Wofa ha wo betumi anya **below** but ahane ha no wo nnu **median class** no

(If you use this one you can get the below but here you have not reached

the median class)

5 Efua: Na se se saa na //woope akyere dea wo faha nso dea **this is also below**

**so below will be three point four**

(If that is what you mean, when you use here, this is also below will be three point four)

5 Kofi: //Aha, **but** aha enti na mese se wo fa wei ne wei na wahu wo nnuru **median class** no wo nya Akeola **elective Maths** na me wo na me nnim se biibi sa nka me fa //**Maths book** bae

(Aha, but aha, that is why I say if you add this and this you see you can't get the median class if you get Akeola's elective Mathematics, I have but I didn't know about something like this I would have brought my Mathematics book)

6 Opoku: //**Alright** yen toaso

(Alright let's continue)

7 Efua: Oh enti eye deen

(Oh so what is it?)

8 Kofi: **So LF CB CLB is the cumulative frequency in the class interval**

**below the class interval that contain the //median** enti eye (it is) **eleven.**

It is observed, that the cue to shift topic signals a shift in code as well. For instance, Kofi's next turn (turn 8) is almost wholly made in English with very little Akan; when he was previously using more Akan. It is their ability to interpret these cues that enable students to switch codes to find words, contextualize repair, repetition, clarification and insertion sequence, etc. some of which have already been discussed in Chapter Two. For example in extract 4a Opoku reformulates the clause '*if we are taking*' which is in the

continuous tense in the simple present when it is repeated in Akan ‘*sɛ yɛ fa wei*’ ‘if we take this’. In this way he emphasizes what he aims to say. The same situation applies in extract 4b where Kofi repeats the Twi clause ‘*na yebe useu*’ (future tense) in English ‘*so we are going to use*’

Extract 4a

Opoku: Enti wei no **if we are taking sɛ yɛ fa wei sɛ** eleven a L will be //seven point five

Enti **record it**

(And so here if we are taking, if we take this as eleven, L will be seven point five so record it)

Extract 4b

Kofi: Enti //this class this class //enti this class **na yebe useu** for our work **so we are going to use** this class for our work

(And so this class and so this class is what we are going to use for our work)

Again students switch code to seek confirmation or to confirm other participants’ contribution. These confirmations enable participants to corroborate and collaborate with one another. In extract 4c, Serwa seeks confirmation from the group by reiterating that her contribution was what she had written, and Kwaku confirms that she was right with ‘*enoaa nono* (that’s correct) in turn 3. These confirmations are made in Akan which contrasts with English, the language of the discussions.

Extract 4c

1. Serwa: **Uses between a child and an adult is different** (.) //nea metwɛɛ wɔhɔ a nono o//(.) obi wɔ fofrɔ?



(That was all that I wrote. did someone write something different?)

2. Kaki: //Sε wo amiaso

(Because you have covered it)

3. Kwaku: εnoaa nono //between a husband and a wife

(That is correct)

### 6.3 Reasons for CS in academic discussions

Some aims of the study were to find out why students in the university conduct their academic discussions in CS contrary to what is expected of them and another aim sought to learn how the use of CS contributes to the overall meaning of the topics the students discuss. As has already been mentioned, Akan/English CS is used more often for academic discussions than English. Students were asked their reasons for choosing CS and table 6 below gives some reasons for their choice.

Table 5

Reasons for code switching

Valid	Frequency	%
Effective communication, better understanding and explanation of concepts in cultural context	26	72.2
Expression of self	3	8.3
Preference	2	5.6
Naturally/unconscious	2	5.6
None	3	8.3
Total	36	100.0

26 students, representing 72.2% of the students claimed they choose to code switch because it is effective for explaining concepts in the cultural context and 8.3% said it is easier to express oneself in it. 5.6% said it is a preference choice and another 5.6% claimed it comes naturally. Thus, CS helps students to situate their learning in their cultural environment as well as make it easier for them to express themselves without the constraints of English. It can be inferred by these reasons that though students ‘receive intellectual upbringing in English’ (Amuzu 2010:268) and use English daily, they still conceptualize in their indigenous languages. It was realized that students use CS to conceptualize English concepts, simplify issues and explain difficult texts.

### ***6.3.1 CS to conceptualize English concepts***

All texts books for any course work in Ghana from early primary to the university are written in English. It is expected that their interpretations would be in English too since most of the concepts are derived from the English environment. Students are expected to conceptualize these concepts, both concrete and abstract, from their English lexicon. Many students on the other hand have no firsthand experience of the English environment except those that they have read about in books, from the print media, and heard or watched from the electronic media. These concepts are abstract in all forms to the student and they need to bring them into their environment to be able to conceptualize them. Students believe that CS helps them to conceptualize abstract concepts better than when they have to do so in English alone. The following extracts (5a and b) show how students use CS to conceptualize English concepts. In extract 2 repeated as extract 5a, students are trying to explain the concept ‘content validity’ and Osei (turn 14) does so using Twi/English CS.

Extract 5a

1 Nii: **First and foremost what is content validity then we apply?**

2 Kaki: //Content validity

3 Aseye: //Content validity

4 Asibi: **Hmm is the ability of a text (.)**

5 Apea: //Hmm?

6 Araba: //Hmm?

7 Efo: **Ei the validity in general** no na wobε kã yi?

(Ei is it the validity in general that you are going to explain?)

8 Yaaba: **No it will //no content validity is where the (.) measure the content the -**

9 Osei: **Aa content the validity is of a text to adequately cover**

10 Nii: Mmh mm

11 Nii: //Wahu?

(Have you seen it?)

12 EFO: //Your objectives your instructional objectives of the course

13 Aseye: //Remember the content

14 Osei: //It will it will content //validity εwɔsε εcover //adequately the

content outline enti ehɔ na table of specification o sε deɛn deɛn no wɔ no

enti the ability of a text-

(It will content validity it has to cover adequately the content outline and so that

is where we get the table of specification or whatever it is and so the ability of

a text-)

15 Aseye: //Allow him

In extract 5b speaker Opoku is also explaining a difficult mathematical concept to speakers Akorfa and Kwaku using CS

Extract 5b

1 Opoku: Ye **use-u** wei n'eyeε (.) **this plus this** ye sen?

(We used this to get it. What is this plus this?)

2 Akorfa: //Eleven

3 Kwaku: //Eleven

4 Opku: **Plus six** ye sen?

(Plus six is what?)

5 Akorfa: //eye **seventeen**

(It is seventeen)

6 Kwaku: //Seventeen

7 Opoku: //Seventeen enti **assumi se - it is it //falls within this range** (.) Enti //this **class this class //enti this class na yebe use for our work so we are going to use this class for our work**

(Seventeen so assume that –it is – it falls within this range (.) And so it is class this class and so this class is what we'll use for our work so we are going to use this class for our work)

10 Kofi: //Wa hu?

(Have you seen (it)?)

### 6.3.2 CS to explain difficult texts and simplify issues

Because some of the texts are difficult to comprehend, students need to explain them and sometimes clarify issues that will arise from the discussions. By the use of CS, students are able to fall on their indigenous languages' vocabulary for easy comprehension and clarification. The conversation in extract 6a gives an insight into the need to explain things in the indigenous language for proper understanding of the ideas in the text before one can rewrite them in English. In this extract students are arguing over the need to write their answers differently to avoid a possible cancellation of their examination papers for alleged copying.

Extract 6a

1 Araba: //Mese ɔbɛ yɛ den na wahu sɛ ye nyinaa twɛrɛ **answer** pɛpɛpɛ //adeɛ no **idea**

no na yɛɛ pɛ

(I say how will s/he know that we all wrote the same answer; it is the idea that we want)

2 Awo:

//Brɔfo no mpo

deɛ eduru hɔ a yɛbɛ sesa

(As for the English when we get there we will change it)

It is for this reason that students in extract 6b students use CS to explain how 'Text Items' as a representation of the teacher's objective must be understood in Akan before it is written in English.

Extract 6b

1 Aseye: **That's the text items //(.) are what?**

2 Nii: Mmh mmh **clear //representation of the content**

3 Efo: //Ah Awo a (she is trying to write something on his arm)

4 Apea: //Ma yen n-use **clear** ye n-use **adequate representation** anaase //(.) erm

edeendeen **because clear** no deε ...

(Let's not use clear, let's use adequate representation or erm what what because as for the clear)

5 Nii: //Hmm hmm **are true representation** ana (or) **true?**

In the discussion above Efo explains that using 'clear' will not give proper understanding of what 'Text item' represents so they should use 'adequate representation' or something more appropriate. His contribution is made in Akan and the English items are technical terms whose equivalences are difficult to come by immediately in Akan. Akan/English CS therefore helps them to clarify issues that arise in the texts where Akan is the facilitating code and English provides technical support to make meaning explicit. The examples in extract 6c, d and e follow the same pattern.

Extract 6c

Kofi: Sε sε woate aseε aha (.) enti woanya //**class** sε ɔmaa sε yebe **use class interval** wɔ ayi no mu

(Now you understand aha (.) now you have the class and he said we will use class interval in it)

Ataa: //unclear sound

Opoku: ɔmaa sɛ **class interval class sɛ we have to calculate the for class interval**

(He said that class interval, that is we have to calculate the for the class interval)

Kofi: **interval** no yɛ **four** (the interval is four)

Opoku: Enti wei no **if we are taking** sɛ yɛ fa wei sɛ **eleven a L will be //seven**

**point five** Enti **record it**

(And so here, if we are taking if we take this as eleven then L will be seven point five so record it)

Ataa: //seven **point five**

In extract 6c above, ‘class interval, calculate, eleven seven point five, L etc are all technical terms that may not have equivalences in Akan and so their English versions are used. Even in situations that the Akan versions are available, students are more likely to choose the English items because those may be frequently used than the Akan words e.g. the numerals – eleven, four, five, etc.

Extract 6d

2 Kwame: **Is that the next point?**

3 Serwa: ɔmo se ehyem

(They say it is part of it)

4 Kwame: ɛna mo **maki** yɛ?

(Is that what you made?)

5 Serwa: Hmm?

6 Kwame: **Is that the next point** a wo wo **maki** wɔ hɔ?

(Is that the next point you made there?)

7 Akuvi: (unclear) Sɛnea woo kyere kyere mu no?

(How you are explaining it?)

8 Serwa: **There is also pronunciation differences** no?

9 Kwame: //As one of the reasons why a?

10 Serwa: //Me medee //me **maki** no **different** but eɔa na yɛɛka no ɔmɔ se eka ho

(As for me I made it different but during the last discussion they said it was part of it)

11 Akuvi: //eno ye **different**

(That is different)

In extract 6d above, the choice of ‘maki’ (made) is of interest since it is one of those English items that hardly participate in CS. This is an indication that more Akan items are being replaced by their English counterparts in CS. Its choice could also be because it is more appropriate in the context since its Akan equivalence, *kãã* has multiple meanings. In extract 6e below, students are making most of their contributions in Akan and English just provides technical support.

Extract 6e

1 Efo: ɔse **because of this** no **any time** bia no **if you are teaching an aspect of**

**grammar** wo **teachi** se ebia **comparative** anaase erm ebia **verbs** a **always teach**

**the regular pattern first** (.) //enti wo **teachi** wei a na se wope se wohu se waye a

wodee ma **exercises** na fa wei nibi **irregular ones** no bi //fram (.) eno na wobe hu

se**concept** no wanya na afe na wobe //kyere no ma wahu se enti e**falli under**

**that pedagogy**

(S/he says because of this any time if you are teaching an aspect of grammar, if you teach maybe comparative or maybe verbs, always teach the regular pattern first. After teaching this, if you want to know whether they have understood, give some exercises and add some of the irregular ones. Then you will see



whether they have grasp the concept and then you will teach them to see that and so it falls under that pedagogy)

2 Kwame: // **That is it**

3 Kwame: // **Irregular** befram

(Mix with irregular)

4 Efo: //Kyerε no ma no nhu se wei no ye **different**

(Teach him/her to know that this is different)

The extracts above show how students use Akan as a facilitative language to assimilate English concepts. In extract 6c for example, almost the entire mathematical discussion is in Akan with English providing technical support. In extract 6d too, Efo's explanation of the grammatical concept is done entirely in Akan with English providing technical support. It can be concluded that English in these discussions perform technical functions and Akan performs general functions.

### **6.3.3 CS as stress –releasing strategy**

Though students use CS for serious academic work, they do not limit its use to that kind of activity. They also use it as a stress-releasing strategy by the creation of humour to prevent boredom. Academic discussions are not always exciting and students need to create excitement to avoid tiredness, sleepiness and boredom through jokes, asides, etc. Any member of the group can be the subject of a joke and members are expected to see it as such and not take offence. Their ability to absorb these banter shows communality, similarity and intimacy. The important thing to note is that these jokes and other stress-releasing utterances can occur anywhere within the academic discussion. In extract 7a Kaki needs a pen but is subjected to group banter.

## Extract 7a

1 Kaki: Me //pa mo kyew obi wɔ **blade** anaa **extra pen**?

(Does anyone have a blade or an extra pen, please?)

2 Nartey: //Enti (unclear) menka wei gye se nka ɔmo a ɔmo tonton //(laugh)

//wɔ **JCR**<sup>30</sup>

(And so (unclear) by the time I finish those who sell at the JCR-)

3 All //laughter)

4 Kwame: Me wɔ **ruler**

(I have a ruler)

5 Nartey:

//Kɔ **JCR**

(Go to the JCR)

6 Oduro: Mewɔ bi wɔ hɔ (.) **tippex** wɔ ha

(I have one here (.) tippex is here)

7 Kaki: Mo ngyae me mepɛ **blade** a wo se **ruler**

(Stop worrying me I need a blade and you talking about a ruler)

8 Nartey: ɛnɛ me hwɛɛ na ne **boyfriend** koraa-

(Today when I was watching, her boyfriend was even--)

9 Osei: **Two**

10 Osei: **Number two**

11 Nartey: //ɔse **explain what?**

(He says explain what?)

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<sup>30</sup> Junior Common Room

In the extract, Kaki needs a pen and a blade<sup>31</sup> and informs her group members. Instead of offering her any of these, they rather subject her to group banter. Nartey begins the banter with a reference to the sellers around the junior common room and Kwame and Oduro join by saying they have a ruler and tippex<sup>32</sup> respectively. Kaki complains but they are not perturbed and continue until Osei cuts in at turn 9 to continue the academic work. The banter is organized in Akan, the same language in which Kaki chose to make her request. However, when Osei felt the need to return to business, he chose English to signal the change. It can be observed that because the banter is not related to academic work, there is more Akan.

French was also used at a point for stress-release. In extract 7b Oduro's point is not audible enough and Ibo and Kwame ask him to speak loudly. They do so in French upon which Oduro repeats what he said in a louder voice.

Extract 7b

1 Oduro: **Yes, Aseye I want to add a point to-**

2 Ibo: **This set**

3 Aseye: **Mmh come**

4 Oduro: **Small group teaching by peers** (in a lowered tone)

5 Ibo: *Monsieur, parle plus fort*

(Mister, speak loudly)

6 Oduro: Hmm

7 Kwame: *Parle plus fort*

---

<sup>31</sup> A razor blade is used as a sharpener in Ghana

<sup>32</sup> Correction fluid

(Speak loudly)

8 Oduro: **Small group teaching by //peers** (louder)

9 Awo: //mmh

10 Aseye: **//Ah all of you are speaking French today when**

**yesterday they were looking for French speakers none of //you –**

### **Laughter**

The use of French is another way of creating humour and reducing stress. The use of French also enables them to have a break.

#### **6.3.4 CS as a distraction and aside**

Students also switch code to distract from the main discussion and also as asides. In extract 8a, Osei (turn 3) switches to Akan when he wanted to comment on what was going on between two of the members, who I believe are in a relationship.

Extract 8a

1 Nii: **//Content validity of a text how will it help or what is the significance of it //in the language and literature what classroom**

2 Yaaba: //Nii Nii?

3 Osei: // Ei moo yi me akɔnɔ deɛ (.) Asibi yenso yɛbeye bi wae

(Ei you people are whetting my appetite; Akua we'll also do the same okay)

4 Nii: Eh?

5 Osei: **Content validity** aye deɛn?

(What has content validity done?)

6 Awo: **It will help the teacher to (.) to // have samples**

In the extract, because Osei was distracted by some members, which he commented on, he lost the trend of the discussion and had to re-enter the discussion with the question ‘*content validity aye deen?*’ ‘what has content validity done’?. He selects Akan to compose the distraction and to (re-enter) get the discussion back on track.

### 6.3.5 CS to reprimand

As students re-enter or ‘get into’ (Auer 1984:37) the discussions, they are sometimes reprimanded. In extract 8b Yaaba gets into the discussion (turn 2) by interrupting Asibi. She does this by changing the code that Asibi was using and in so doing shifts attention from the group to herself. Awo reprimands her in the same language she used to enter.

Extract 8b

1. Asibi: ose (he says) **this is another name for the behaviourist psychologist.**

(a) response theory, (b) assimilation response theory (c), perception

response theories (d), stimulus response theory (e), stimulus approach theory

2 Yaaba: Ei eyɛ deen nono?

(What is that?)

3 Asibi: // **This is another name for behaviourist psychologist**

4 Awo: //Ei wotie a anka wobe hu **answer** no o

(If you had listened, you would have known the answer)

5 Oduro: **Behaviourist**

And in extract 8c, Serwa reprimands Efo (turn 9) for commenting on a question that has not been directed at him.

Extract 8c

1 Aseye: **Okay the second one**

2 Araba: **Diagnostic**

3 Efo: **Are you //are you**

4 Aseye: **//Are you sure that's what** (laugh)

5 Araba: **I' m not**

6 Akuvi: **//That's why that's why I also asked which one is the second one**

7 Efo: **//I don't even know because if I don't take care and somebody takes that**

8 Aseye: **//No no**

9 Serwa: **//Na ye nfre woa na wooka?**

(But you have not been called so why are you answering?)

10 Efo: **Okay**

11 Aseye: **The second one is forma(h)tive**

In all these extracts, it is observed that students select Akan which is more associated with informality to organize their distractions, and reprimands. It can be inferred that students make these choices to reflect social cohesion, tone down an otherwise harsh reprimand or create a convivial atmosphere to reduce animosity. It can also be a face-saving strategy that they employ to reduce face-threatening utterances.

In extract 9, Awo uses Akan/English CS as an aside when she dictates to herself in turn 7

Extract 9

1 Awo: **Pronunciational differences** no ye **one point?**

(Is the pronunciational difference one point?)

2 Araba: Mm ena **example how does a Ghanaian pronounce the the -**

(Mm and)

3 Kwame: **The** ena (unclear)

(The and (unclear))

4 Awo: Mee saa **examples** na wo keka yi nyinaa me nni bi

(As for me I don't have all those examples you are mentioning)

5 Araba: Medee na ooka na me twereɛ na ose (As for me I wrote them when he

was mentioning them) **even aside the pronunciation but to every**

**country speaking Eng- speaking English has a standard way of speaking**

**it the Ghanaian aah okay omo nyinaa (they all) has a standard but ...**

6 Awo: **Pronunciation difference** me ntwereɛ bi (speaking to herself as she writes)

(Let me write)

One can notice from this aside that it is done on the quiet to avoid distracting the on-going discussions. The choice of Akan can also mean that the student is trying to conceptualize the idea in the indigenous language concept.

### **6.3.6 CS as a softener**

Students also employ CS as a softener to reduce the severity of an utterance. For instance, Nii's threat on Yaaba (turn7) is softened by Akan in extract 10a. In the same way the severity in Araba's unsavory joke is reduced by the use of Akan in 10b.

## Extract 10a

1 Efo: //**Yaaba**

2 Yaaba: **Yes?**

3 Efo: **I beg you I need wara**

(water)

4 Int: **Yaaba** yɛpa wo kyɛw si fɔm bra wae

(Yaaba please come down)

5 Efo: Yehia nsuo wae

(We need water please)

6 Yaaba: Ka maa mmaha ka monfrɛ me

(You wouldn't have called me if I hadn't come here)

7 Nii: Wope a mɛ nfa mma ka wo be hu

(If you like don't bring it and you will see)

(Laughter)

## Extract 10b

1 Araba: //Woti no mu **blow blow**

(Your hair smells)

2 Nartey: //**Situation in which a language is used**

3 Serwa: Whan na ne ti mu **blow**? Eti nyɛ nnora yia na yɛ shɛ a miti no mu **blow**?

(Whose hair is smelling, was this hair not done only yesterday and you are complaining that my hair is smelling)

(Laughter)



The use of Akan softens these utterances and as such participants are able to interpret them as not face-threatening. For this reason, these utterances elicit laughter instead of anger. In 10c, Nii has to repeat the Akan instruction (turn 1) in English to give it the needed severity (turn 6).

Extract 10c

1 Nii: //Montwɛn Apea eetwɛɛ bi nti se ɔtwɛɛ wia

(Wait Apea is writing it so when he finishes)

2 Nartey: **Content validity is a true representation of a text or of what? Nii1 (.) is it true representation of the text?**

3 Yaaba: //ɛnyɛ ɛno

(That is not it)

4 Osei: //**Content validity**

5 Yaw: //**Content validity**

6 Nii: **Apea is writing something so let him finish**

In turn 10d, Aseye's request receives immediate response because it is made in English. The same request by Kaki in Akan (extract 7a above) did not receive the same attention but resulted in banter.

Extract 10d

1Aseye: **Please I need a pen**

2 Apea: **Let me see**

3 Nii: **What is it?**

4 Osei: **Apea ma no pen**

**(Apea give her a pen)**

**5 Osei:** Nii ka bio

**(Nii say it again)**

**6 Nii:** //Hm (laugh) me nka bio wahu?

**(Hm (laughs) I should repeat it right?)**

...

**7 Apea:** //Me nni pen

**(I don't have a pen)**

It can be inferred from these extracts that students attach different meanings to these two languages i.e. while Akan reduces threats, English increases the severity in an utterance.

#### **6.4 CS as the language of the youth**

As has already been noted, CS does not occur when participants are speaking English. The recordings show that all insertional CS occur in Akan utterances and very few of their Akan utterances were made wholly in Akan. When students switch at clause boundaries or use insertional CS, they believe they are speaking Akan and not English. Students were asked whether it is possible to speak without code switching. Many were of the opinion that it is possible to speak English without code switching but they cannot do so with the indigenous languages. The table below shows that 50% of them say they cannot speak an indigenous language without code switching and only 16.7% claim they can speak an indigenous language without code switching.

Table 6

## Speak indigenous language without switching

Valid	Frequency	%
Yes	6	16.7
No	18	50.0
Not sure	12	33.3
Total	36	100.0

33.3% were not sure whether it is possible to speak an indigenous language without code switching. These responses are indications that CS is more a part of their linguistic repertoire than speaking monolingually in an indigenous language. One student insisted that she does not code switch when speaking Akan but had to accept that she does after her colleagues pointed out the English stretches in her speech. It therefore shows that students are unaware when they switch. In fact 64.9% said they are unaware that they code switch. In the study group(s) for instance, 64.9% of the speakers said they were not aware that they were switching codes and participants actually thought they were speaking one language. Furthermore, the study observed that CS mostly occurs when speakers are speaking an indigenous language making speakers believe they are speaking an indigenous language. When asked at one point which language they were using, they all replied 'Twi'.

This is an indication that CS has become their version of the indigenous language which they are going to transmit to their children. One can therefore assume that the next generation of speakers is going to operate in a language that is neither English nor an indigenous language, but have an in-between code as L1. We therefore need a way to

describe these languages. We could give the Akan version a name like Akanglish, Twinglish, or more precisely Twibrɔfo; the Ewe version Eweglish, Ewegbe-Yevugbe; the Ga version Gaglish, Gablɔfo etc.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

The broader roles of CS are related to the functions it performs in the society. The chapter has shown that the choice of Akan/English CS in academic discussions is symbolic of the academic-informal nature of their meeting. It has also shown that the choice of English or Akan/English CS during group discussions is unconscious as students insist that it is the topic that dictates the choice. Due to this, students can converge to the leader's linguistic choice or maintain divergent languages but will still contribute to the general meaning of the discussions. It has again shown that CS is language used to discuss texts in Mathematics, Education, Applied Linguistics, etc.

Akan is the preferred language of jokes, reprimands, divergence and asides during group discussions. So all discussions that are not related to the academic work have more Akan and those that are related to serious academic work have more English. The section has also shown that CS is the indigenous language of these students which may be passed on to the next generation and so needs an appropriate name to describe it.

## CHAPTER 7

### FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH AREAS

#### 7.1 Introduction

In a society where many languages operate, speakers have the option to speak monolingually or combine languages. If a speaker chooses to combine, then s/he is conveying a special message whether consciously or unconsciously and these messages can be interpreted within the society's norms. Using CS is an indication of 'how speakers have grasped, at an unconscious level, the usually unarticulated rules and patterns of language use [...] and how they are able to utilize them and flout them to their advantage' (Swigart 1992: 262). Reiterating Auer (1984:2) that 'the 'global' social meaning of code-switching is dependent upon its local function' our attention is drawn to the fact that the reason behind every code switching activity by the students in this study has to do with the role it plays in the linguistic lives of the speakers. This chapter discusses some of the major findings and concludes the study. It also recommends areas that need further investigations.

#### 7.2 Findings

##### 7.2.1 The University of Education as a community of practice (CofP)

Using the community of practice concept the study explored the backgrounds of Winneba, and UEW and the relationship that exists between these disparate entities. In discussing their relationship, the study found that though the university and the town are inter-dependent on each other, students in the university do not consider the town as a

part of their community and so do not involve them in their social activities. On the other hand, the town considers the university as part of its community and constructs most of its activities around the university. Based on this, the work puts a CofP in two perspectives: (i) how members of a community interpret their relationship with other members of the larger community and (ii) how a CofP occurs at different levels in a continuum, and it is the ability to interpret the differences in this relationship that makes it a continuous process. Secondly, the study found that Akan/English CS serves as a bridge language between the town and the university.

The study found that different study groups form different communities of practice and within the study group interaction is a crucial factor to membership. Therefore, an individual who does not interact frequently with other members may not be considered a member. These interactions are measured both in quantity and quality, and communality and intimacy are essential to these measurements. The study group as a CofP has an internal structure and a hierarchy, but it does not have barriers, neither does it monitor access and admissions (Davis 2005: 19) like other social groups. It was also realized that one needs recognition from a group to be considered a legitimate member. Legitimacy in a CofP was placed under two dimensions (i) on the side of the individual and (ii) on the side of the group and that of the group is more important because an individual must be accepted by a group to become a legitimate member of the CofP. Finally, the study found that for a group to be considered prestigious, it has to be conferred by the society in which the group operates.

### **7.2.2 The Markedness Model and the Conversation Analysis Framework**

This chapter introduced the two models used in data analysis in the study: the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton (1993b) and the CA model of Auer (1984). In the Markedness Model, participants code switch to mark utterances in order to get the attention of co-participants and co-participants are able to interpret the switches because of the normative factors operating in the community. The model said that participants make marked choices to maximize reward for themselves. The study however, found that speakers make marked choices not necessarily to maximize reward for the individual but to show group cohesion, solidarity and communality which the use of an unmarked choice would not have achieved. In discussing sequential unmarked CS, it was realized that one speaker can trigger the marked code that will index another RO set but another speaker can respond to the change and make the new choice unmarked.

Within the CA model, participants accommodate and collaborate in a sequential manner with one another to make meaning of utterances in order to contribute to the discourse. However, in making preferred language choices, students do not select divergent languages to indicate incompetence in any of the languages involved nor indicate social distance. What is important is that participants must be familiar with the languages they use so that successful conversation can be carried out without necessarily converging to the same code. Moreover, using a preferred language does not necessarily mark an utterance. Students made preferred choice to enable them contribute meaningfully because they can conceptualize well in that particular language. Secondly, CS as a contextualization cue is an important aspect of successful communication because participants are able to detect cues at strategic points that enable them to contribute to the discourse. The study also shows that the choice to converge or not to converge to a previous speaker's code choice lies with the subsequent speakers' decision to align with

that speaker during their turns and not necessarily as a result of sequential implicativeness.

One interesting finding is that almost all the marked utterances during students' discussions were made in Akan and in a few instances, in Ewe and Ga. It can be concluded that students fall back on their indigenous languages when they want to mark certain utterances for a purpose whenever the unmarked code choice is English. The study selected both models because students preferred code choices do not always indicate markedness neither do their marked choices contextualize conversational cues.

### **7.2.3 Language and social interaction at UEW**

This study found that CS occurs between English and all the indigenous languages spoken on campus. Secondly two CS situations are observed among students: intra-ethnic group CS which is used for in-group interaction and Akan/English CS which is used for out-group interaction. Akan/English CS also doubles as an in-group language for study group members who use it to construct their identity. Students switch to their intra-ethnic group languages purposely to exclude other participants.

It was realized that intra-ethnic group languages and study group membership are used to index group identity. However in constructing ethnic identity, one must not be seen as leaning too close towards one's ethnic languages or too close to English as both have social implications. Minority ethnic groups mostly exploit their intra-ethnic languages to sometimes annoy or to retaliate against the dominance of Akan.

It came to light that students do not have positive attitudes towards the indigenous languages. Students judge the importance of a language on two criteria (i) economic importance and (ii) acquisition. It was observed that Akan was perceived to have



imperialistic tendencies and many non-Akans feel threatened by its dominance. Students therefore protest against the dominance of Akan through covert and overt means. The study also found that English still ranks highest as the most important language in Ghana though Akan is more widely spoken.

#### **7.2.4 Functions of CS in academic discussions**

It came out that the choice of Akan/English CS in academic discussions is symbolic of the academic-informal nature of their meeting. Secondly, the choice of English or Akan/English CS during group discussions is unconscious as students insist that it is the topic that dictates the choice. Due to this, students can converge to the leader's linguistic choice or maintain divergent languages but will still contribute to the general meaning of the discussion. Akan/English CS is the preferred language of study groups for the discussion of texts in Mathematics, Education, Applied Linguistics, etc. The choice of CS in these discussions confirms Setati et al (2002) and others' assertion that CS encourages learner participation in academic work.

Akan is the preferred language of jokes, reprimands, divergence and asides during group discussions. So all utterances that have more jokes, reprimands, etc have more Akan and those that discuss serious academic work have more English. It was also realized that, a switch from English to Akan removes the threats from face-threatening utterances and so students are able to accommodate these utterances without getting offended.

The study also found that CS has become the everyday language of these students which may be passed on to the next generation. There is therefore the need to appropriately describe it. Though CS is now the everyday language of these students, they still feel it is

wrong to use it in texts. It can therefore be said that CS has still not reached either the acceptance stage or the codification stage in Ghana and more work needs to be done in that area.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

This work has shown that CS occurs at all levels of the Ghanaian society including the highest level of the educational ladder. This questions the rationale behind the enforcement of English as the sole language of education from Primary four. Though students do not see the indigenous languages as important in their educational advancement, this study shows that the use of the indigenous languages as part of our educational system goes further than anticipated. This confirms findings by Setati et al (2002), Brew Daniels (2010) and others that CS facilitates teaching and learning in education. It can be concluded that teachers use CS to teach at the basic schools because the practice starts with the teachers themselves at the study group meetings in the university since students from this university are trainee teachers who will be posted to teach at the various basic schools.

The study has also shown that life in the university is a constant movement between different social orders e.g. moving from formal social contexts to informal social contexts simultaneously. Even at the informal level, students move constantly from in-group social contexts to out-group social contexts. Language is the sole determinant of these social movements and students must balance the use of English and that of the other languages, e.g. Akan, Ga, Ewe, etc. as leaning too close to any of these languages has social implications. A student's ability to manage these constant changes shows that that student has acquired sociolinguistic competence.

Also the prolific use of CS by the students in this study shows that the Ghanaian indigenous languages are undergoing some changes similar to what happened to the English language many years back that has changed the face of the language in modern times. It should not be a surprise to have people describing our indigenous languages in terms of Old Akan, Modern Akan or Old Ewe and Modern Ewe, etc. in the future.

Comparing Li Wei's (1994) findings of language shift among Chinese immigrants, their children and grandchildren, one can project that students in this study are gradually shifting from using purely indigenous languages to a mix code. If this persists, these students are likely to transmit these mix codes as their version of the indigenous languages to their children. The next generation will therefore have a code that is neither English nor any of the indigenous languages and one must find a means to describe it. It is probably time to campaign for its codification and poets can lead in this area as they have the liberty to flout language rules to their benefit.

The study has also brought to the fore the fact that though Ghanaians refuse to recognize Akan (Twi dialect) as a national language and the most important lingua franca, all indications point to Akan as a de facto national language. This Akan will however not be like the one spoken by the older generation but a mixed kind as used by the students.

#### **7.4 Future Research Areas**

This work has shown that Akan/English CS is the main language of out-group interaction and also the language of study group discussions at UEW. It is not known whether similar situations exist in the other universities. This study can be reduplicated in the other universities to enable us arrive at a more general conclusion.

This study did not ascertain whether CS is more prevalent among one of the sexes. It will be interesting to conduct a study in this area.

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**APPENDICES****APPENDIX 1****AUDIO RECORDINGS****CHURCH GROUP 1**

OSEI: Nya //abotrɛ //**because questions** na (unclear)

Exercise //patience //because the question (unclear)

ɛyɛ a na waka ni **year** no na me tweretwerɛ

you must not forget to say the year because I am

ni nyinaa

writing all

ODURO: //Year

//Year

AWO: **We have year two thousand and five two**

We have year two thousand and five two three

**three and six**

and six

APEA: Awo wo faa **questions?**

Awo did you take the questions?

OSEI: eno na akodi Efo hɔ nom a ɔno nso yɛ ntoa

That is what has gone to Efo and he is making

toa no

unnecessary noise

NII: //Two thousand and five two thousand and six

//Two thousand and five two thousand and six

ARABA: //ɔ ba?

//Is he coming?

NII: **Number one explain briefly the significance of  
any four of these terms in the language and  
literature classroom**

Number one explain briefly the significance of  
any four of these terms in the language and  
literature classroom

YAABA: Yɛ ankyere

It was not taught

AKUVI: Yɛ nnyɛ yɛ nnyɛ

We won't do it we won't do it

ASIBI: Yɛ ankyere?

Were we not taught?

YAABA: W' annkyere

He didn't teach

NII: **One**

One

NII: **So is not part of-**

So is not part of-

- OSEI: Hwε? Look?
- AKUVI: Yε nyε **anything**— We won't anything
- ARABA: Adeε no ɔ **expecte** sε yεbε yε **transfer of learning** nti ma mo yε nkāse //wankyere nti  
yε nyε The thing he is expecting us to do transfer of learning  
so we shouldn't say it was not taught so we won't do it
- NII: //Enti **please let's not delay**(.) yε nyε no **fast** And so please let's not delay let's do it very fast and  
na yen hwε **so explain briefly the** let's see so explain briefly the significance of any four of  
**significance of any four of these terms** (.) these terms (.)
- OSEI: Ka woo kɔ twerε **twenty ten** You were about to write twenty ten
- YAABA: Hmm chuckle
- NII: **Any four of these terms** Any four of these terms
- AMERL: Nii? Nii?

NII: **So one diagnostic (.) people will be writing so  
if we //explain**

So one diagnostic (.) people will be writing so if  
we //explain

AMERL: // Nii?

// Nii?

NII: //Yes maam

//Yes maam

AMERL: //Ka bio (mante)

//Repeat it. (I didn't hear)

NII: **Okay**

Okay

NART: **Question** wei na ebeba nō o

This is the question that will appear

NII: **So one (.) diagnostic //Apea?**

So one (.) diagnostic //Apea?

APEA: //Diagnostic

Diagnostic

ARABA: Ahaa

Ahaa

ODURO: //Obiaa ntwere bi?

//Should we all write some?

AWO: //If we are unable

//If we are unable



NII: //Oh if you want to write you write

//Oh if you want to write you write

ASIBI: //Diagnostic test

//Diagnostic test

NII: //Wait before you write

//Wait before you write

OSEI: This significance

This significance

(Efo and Ibo arrive)

NII: Yes he says explain briefly the significance  
of any four of these terms in the language and  
literature classroom (.) he is not asking what  
the thing is o but he says what // (.) its  
significance

Yes he says explain briefly the significance  
of any four of these terms in the language and  
literature classroom (.) he is not asking what the  
thing is o but he says what // (.) its significance

KWAME: //Its significance

//Its significance

AWO: We have //to talk about it

We have //to talk about it

EFO: //But we have to talk about it before you  
tell us

//But we have to talk about it before you tell us

NII: Okay okay so Oduro (.) Oduro

Okay okay so Oduro (.) Oduro

ASIBI: I don't i don't think briefly dee you don't talk  
about it o

I don't I don't think with briefly you don't talk about it o

NII: //Mmh

//Mmh

KWAME: //Briefly dee significance no na wo be-

With briefly, it is the significance that you will mention

ODURO: This one will enable the teacher to di- to  
discover the problems the learners are going  
through to be able to do remediation

This one will enable the teacher to di- to  
discover the problems the learners are going  
through to be able to do remediation

NII: Mmh

AMERL: Especially the (.) erm (.) //the systems

Especially the (.) erm (.) //the systems

OSEI: **Hmm //the systems difficulty of the  
//learner recorded to**

Mh //the systems difficulty of the //learner  
recorded to

NII: **//Mmh**

//Mmh

AWO: **eye pεpεεpε?**

Is it the same?

OSEI: **//Ayε sε nea question**

//It looks like the question

NII: **//So you just so Oduro is saying you just have  
to identify what the thing is and just apply  
change the //wording is that not it  
// (goat bleat)**

**So you just so Oduro is saying you just have  
to identify what the thing is and just apply change the  
//wording is that not it**

YAABA: **//Erm erm don't bring that close it**

**//Erm erm don't bring that close it**

KAKI: **//Me pen no me nhu o me pen**

//My pen, I can't find my pen

EFO: **Hmm**

Mmh

NII: **So it will help you to identify the //persistent  
of the student is that not so**

**So it will help you to identify the //persistent  
of the student is that not so**

YAABA: //Nyε sε meho nye  
den a nka meyi wasum bia

You are fortunate that I am not strong else I would  
have slapped you

OSEI: **Yes**

Yes

KAKI: Mepa mo kyew obi afa me **pen** ana?

Please has any of you taken my pen?

OSEI: Aye -

It has -

EFO: Me pa mo (unclear) //wafa wei no?

Please (unclear) have you taken the thing?

KWAME: //Enti hwε //senea me nso

//And so see //how I also wrote it //because it is

me twerε no //ename sε eyε **language** neema

related language I wrote that it will enable the

nti no me me twerε sε **it will enable the teacher**

teacher identify the cause of and //persistent

**identify the cause of and // persistent difficulty**

difficulty of the language learner aha as for me I

**of the language learner** aha mee mede **language**

added language

kãã ho

NII: //Mmh //mmh //mmh

//Mmh //mmh //mmh

NII: Wate aseε?

Have you understood it?

KAKI: Me //pa mo kyεw obi wɔ **blade** anaa **extra**  
**pen?**

Has anyone got an extra pen //please?

NART: //Enti (unclear) menka wei gye sε nka ɔmo  
a ɔmo tonton //(laugh) //wɔ JCR

//End so (unclear) before I finish saying except  
those who sell //(laughs) //at the JCR

ALL: //(laugh)

KWAME: //Me wɔ **ruler**

I have a ruler

NART: //Kɔ **JCR**

Go to the JCR

ODU: Mewo bi wɔ hɔ (.) **papers** wɔ ha

I have some there (.) papers are here

KAKI: Mo ngyae me mepɛ **blade** a wo se **ruler**

Stop worrying me when I want blade you are saying

ruler

NART: ɛnɛ me hwɛɛ na ne **boyfriend** koraa-

Today when I was watching even her boyfriend

NII: **Two**

Two

NII: **Number two**

Number two

NART: //ɔse **explain what?**

//What did it ask to explain?

EFO: //Aa na kan menhwe

Aa read it to me

NII: //The **significance of four of these**

//The significance of four of these

KWAME: Aa enti wo bɛka bɛaa baako anaa?

Aa and so will you mention one of each?

NII: Aae ebiaa baako //(.) enti **they have been**

Yes, one each// (.) and so they have been

**given five** enti **you are just -**

given five and so you are just -

YAABA: //Hmm

//Yes

AWO: //Mmm

//Yes

KWAME: **Significance** deen he na wookã?

Which significance are you talking about?

NII: **That's what so the diagnostic is the first**

That's what so the diagnostic is the first

**one so he says that**

one so he says that

KWAME: (unclear)

NII: //The second one is (.) **content and validity**

//The second one is (.) content and validity

NART: //Wowɔ meu a wo betumi aka **depend on**

//If you have two you can say it depending on your

**the ti- your time**

time

**NII: The first one no as Osei and Oduro said he**

The first one as Osei and Oduro said, it will you

**says it will help you it will help the teacher**

the teacher to identify the persistent language

**to identify the persistent language what**

problem of the learner

**problem of the learner**

**KAKI: Persistent difficulty of //the language**

Persistent difficulty of //the language learner

**learner**

**NII: //Enti yε nkɔ second one noso**

And so let's move to the second one

**IBO: Content**

Content

**NII: //Counting validity of a text how will it help or**

//Counting validity of a text how will it help or



**what is the significance of it //in the language**

what is the significance of it//in the language

**and literature what classroom**

and literature what classroom

YAA: //Nii Nii?

//Nii Nii?

OSEI: //Ei moo yi me akɔnɔ deɛ Asibi yenso yebeye bi

Ei! You people are whetting my appetite. Asibi

wae eh

we will also do the same okay

NII: Eh?

Yes?

OSEI: **Content validity** ayɛ deɛn?

What has content validity done?

AWO: **it will help the teacher to (.) s to // have**

It will help the teacher to (.) s to // have samples

**samples**

NII: **//First and foremost**

**//First and foremost**

**what is content validity then we apply**

what is content validity then we apply

KAKI: //Content validity

//Content validity

ASEYE: //Content validity

//Content validity

ASIBI: **Hmm is the ability of a text (.)**

Yes, it is the ability of a text (.)

APEA: //Hmm

Yes

ARABA: //Hmm?

Yes?

EFO: **Ei the validity in general** no na wobe kã yi?

Ei! Is it the validity in general that you are going to explain?

YAABA: **No it will //no content validity is where**

No it will //no content validity is where

**the (.) measure the content the -**

the (.) measure the content the -

OSEI: //Aa **content the validity is of a text**

Aa content the validity is of a text to adequately

**to adequately cover**

cover

NII: Hmm hmm

Yes, yes

NII: //Wahu?

//Have you seen?

EFO: //Your objectives your instructional

//Your objectives your instructional objectives

**objectives of the course**

ASEYE: //Remember the content

//Remember the content

OSEI: //It will it will content //validity εwoε

Content validity should cover adequately the

εcover //adequately the content outline

content outline and so that is where the table

enti εho na **table of specification** o se deen

of specification or what ever is . and so the

deen no wɔ no enti **the ability of a text** -

ability of a text -

ASEYE: //Allow him

//Allow him

NII: //Hmm hmm

Yes, yes

Snap of finger

...

AWO: //Mepaa kyew mon wie **measurement**

We have not completed the measurement please

no

OSEI: //Aae it covers all the aspects of language

Aae it covers all the aspects of language teaching

**teaching**

IBO: **But if //you haveN't //taught the aspect**

But if //you have't //taught the aspect

**of language teaching it can't be part of-**

of language teaching it can't be part of-

KWAME: **But //whatever (.) //whatever is taught**

But //whatever (.) //whatever is taught

NII: **Listen o he says content validity of a**

Listen o he says content validity of a

**text //(.) nansa yiaa mo werε afi**

text //(.) Have you forgotten just now

EFO: Eh?

Eh?

NART: **//A text -**

//A text -

AWO: //Mo nwie **measurement** mo nwie

//We have not exhausted measurement

**measure//ment**

NII: **//Listen to what somebody**

//Listen to what somebody

**wrote he said it helps the teacher to**

wrote he said it helps the teacher to

**determine whether items are clear**

determine whether items are clear

**representations of the //con//tent of what**

EFO: //eh

ODURO: //εε εye saa εno a  
no no ka bio ka bio

(laugh)

SEEYE: **Please I need a pen**

(laugh)

APEA: **Let me see**

NII: **What is it**

OSEI: **Apea ma no pen**

representations of the //con//tent of what

//Yes

Yes, that is it repeat it repeat it

Please i need a pen

Let me see

What is it

**Apea give her a pen**

OSEI: Nii ka bio

Nii repeat what you said

NII: //Hm (laugh) me nka bio wahu

Hm I should repeat it eh

OSEI: //Ei ɛnɛ Kwaku maame frɛ me manka kyere mo

Ei! Today Kwaku's mothe called I forgot

ka ɔɔbo me wo **phone** no so o //ɔse he mugu fie

to inform you. She nearly beat me on the

hɔ mooyɛ

phone. 'she said what are you people doing

in the house

//(laugh)

APEA: //me nni **pen**

I don't have a pen

//(laughter)

ODURO: //Gye ɛ gye wo wie a fa maadeɛ ma me wo

Take it when you finish give it back and

wie a enwia woate?

don't steal it okay?

(Laughter)

OSEI: //ei granralite

NII: **He //says it it helps the teacher or the language**

He //says it it helps the teacher or the language

**teacher //monye no language teacher //the**

teacher //make it language teacher //the

**language teacher to determine the items to to**

language teacher to determine the items to to

**determine whether the items are clear**

determine whether the items are clear

**representations of the content**

representations of the content

ASEYE: //Thank you (collecting the pen)

//Thank you (collecting the pen)

ASIBI: //(to Yaw who has just arrived) **oh we've**

oh we've

**started you're welcome**

started you're welcome



ASEYE: **That's the text items //(.) are what?**

That's the text items //(.)are what?

NII: //Hmm hmm **clear**

Yes, yes clear representation of the content

**representation of the content**

EFO: //Aa Awo a (she's writing something on his arm)

Aa Awo a(she's writing something on his arm)

APEA: //Ma ye nuse **clear** ye nuse **adequate**

Let's use clear let's use adequate representation

**representation** anaase //(.) err εdeendeen

or //(.) erm because as for the clear

**because clear** no de

NII: //Hmm hmm **are true representation** ana **true**

//Yes, yes are true representation or true

APEA: Nii?

NII: **Yes** papa?

Yes papa

APEA: **To enable the language that determine the what?**

To enable the language that determine the what?

NII: **Determine //whether**

Determine //whether

ASEYE: **//whether the text item**

//whether the text item

EFO: **Item** mee me twere no **whether the text only caters**

Item as for me I wrote it whether the text only caters

**for content item**

for content item

IBO: **//Representation of the text**

//representation of the text

NII **//Deɛ wootwɛɛ no ma ye nyinaa nte bi**

Whatever you are writing let us all know

APEA: **//Ma me ntwɛɛ**

Let me write

NII: //Montwɛn Apea ɛɛtwɛrɛ bi nti se otwɛrɛ wia

Wait Apea is writing something and so when he finishes

**NART: Content validity is a true representation of**

Content validity is a true representation of a text

**a text or of what //Philip is it true representation**

or of what //Philip is it true representation of the

**of the text**

text

YAABA: //ɛnyɛ ɛno

That's not it

**OSEI: //Content validity**

//Content validity

**YAW: //Content validity**

//Content validity

**NII: Apea is writing something so let him finish**

Apea is writing something so let him finish

**SERWA: (to Yaw) Wo an hwɛ a ne woo twɛrɛ no wo nhu o**

If you are careful you won't see what you are writing

YAW: Mee me bisa se **content validity**

I am asking whether it is content validity

YAW: **It helps the language teacher to determine the validity (dictating to himself)**

It helps the language teacher to determine the validity (dictating to himself)

ODURO: **Validity (laugh) content content reference no**

Validity (laugh) the content content reference

IBO: **Is it hm it helps the language teacher to determine the text to determine whether the text item adequately caters for the content outline**

Is it hm it helps the language teacher to determine the text to determine whether the text item adequately caters for the content outline

NII: **That's all**

That's all

IBO: **Adequately caters //for the content outline**

Adequately caters //for the content outline

OSEI: //For the content outline

//For the content outline

ODURO: εh **because** wohu sε wobε **prepare content**

Yes because you see that you will prepare a content

**outline** a wode be kyere

outline that you will use to teach

## CHURCH 2

SERWA: **Uses between the child and an adult is**

Uses between the child and an adult is different (.)

**different(.)** nea me twere wɔ hɔ a nono //(.)

That was what I wrote there //(.) has anyone got

obi wɔ fofrɔ?

something new?

KAKI: //Sε wo amia so

Because you have covered it

KWAKU: enoaa nono //**between a husband and a wife**

That is correct between a husband and a wife

APEA: **Between a child and the father (.)**

Between a child and the father (.)

KAKI : //Between student and student

//Between student and student

APEA: //Between (.) the student and student

Between (.) the student and the student

**classroom and the use at the market all**

the classroom and the use at the market

**these are varieties according to -**

all these are varieties according to

SERWA: (unclear) //according to the situation

(unclear) //according to the situation

ARABA: //Wo timu **blow blow**

Your hair is smelling

NAWART://**Situation in which a language is used**

//**Situation in which a language is used**

SER: Whan na ne ti mu **blow**? Eti nye nnoraa

Whose hair is smelling? Was this hair not

yia ne hye ye a eti nomu **blow blow**?

made only yesterday and you say it is smelling

ARABA (Laughs) **the wind is blowing your hair**

The wind is blowing your hair

SERWA: Mhm me ntoa so?

Mhm should I continue?

ARABA: ɛnɛ me tri ho **blink blinki** nti ɛwɔ (h)se me

Today my hair is shining so (h) I have to

**SERWA:** **Variety according to user(.) In the variety according to user we see whether one is using the language as a second language user or as a native speaker the geographical settings is what determines the language the user ei! deɛn na me twɛrɛ ye? wo twɛrɛ geographical setting?**

KAKI: Me deɛ menim deɛ wo adru mpo

**SERWA:** **Language according to user (.) use in the variety in the variety according to user we see whether the person is**

Variety according to user (.) In variety according to user we see whether one is using the language as a second language user or as a native speaker the geographical setting is what determines the language the use ei! What did I write? Did You write geographical setting?

Do I even know where she is?

Language according to user (.) he says in the variety in the variety according to user we see whether the person is

**using the language as a second language**

**or as a native speaker (.) wo twere ye?**

**The geographical setting is also important**

**in language according to user. Thus**

**language acquisition device predisposes us**

**to the language in which we are born into.**

**Everybody has a language provided he is**

**born into a language situation and this**

**language turns out to be the native**

**language of the user (.)**

SERWA: Mm saa na medee me twere no mom

using the language as a second language

or as a native speaker (.) Did you write that?

The geographical setting is also important

in language according to user. Thus language

acquisition device predisposes us to the

language in which we are born into.

Everybody has a language provided he is

into a language situation and this language

turns out to be the native language of the user (.2)

That was what I wrote it anyway



OSEI:	//Hm (unclear)	//Yes (unclear
AWO:	//Hmm (unclear) <b>geographical setting</b> ene  beɛbia yɛ woo nipa no(.)	//Yes (.) geographical setting and where the person  was born (.)
ODURO:	enoa nono <b>that's all about language according  to user</b>	That's all that's all about language according to user
OSEI:	Hmm	Yes
SERWA:	<b>That's where (.2) everybody acquires  according to where he was //born</b>	<b>That's where (.2) everybody acquires according  to where he was //born</b>
AKUVI:	Mm                   //born	Yes                   //born
SERWA:	<b>According to the geographical setting</b>	According to the geographical setting
KWAME:	<b>That's it (.) that's the only difference</b>	That's it (.) that's the only difference
AFIA:	Hmm	Yes

SERWA: **The reasons for speaking different forms of English** aha na **problem** ne ba **one** (.) **level of education** (.)ena mose **two** mose erm **exposure to English** our exposure to **English** this is because our **geographical differences** (.2) because of our **geogrphical differences** there is the **likelihood of speaking different forms of English** example a **Nigerian man speaking English** is quite different from that of the **Ghanaian** but to every country speaking **English** but to every county, speaking **English**

The reasons for speaking different forms of English this is where the problem arises one (.) level of education (.) and you say two erm exposure to English our exposure to English this is because our geographical differences there is the likelihood of speaking different forms of English example a Nigerian man speaking English is quite different from that of the Ghanaian but to every country speaking English but to every country, speaking English has a standard way of speaking the language example it is an example the Ghanaian

**has a standard way of speaking the language**

**example** ɛyɛ **example the Ghanaian saying a**

**word 'says' is quite different from a British**

**'saiz' but both ways are acceptable as**

**standard English in each country** ɛne no?

**next one** nonso **there is also pronunciation**

**differences** ɛna erm mose eshe mu no?

**KWAME: Is that the next point?**

SERWA: ɔmose ehyem

KWAME: ɛna mo maki yɛ?

SERWA: Hmm?

**KWAME: Is that the next point** a wo maki wɔhɔ?

saying a word 'says' is quite different from a British

'saiz' but both ways are acceptable as standard

English in each country and the next one also there

is also pronunciation difference. (.) is erm that what

you say is part?

Is that the next point?

They say it is in it

Is that what you made?

What?

Is that the next point that you made?

AKUVI: (unclear) Senea woo kyere kyere mu?

The way you are explaining it?

SERWA: **There is also pronunciation differences** no?

There is also the pronunciation difference?

KWAME: //As one of the reasons why a?

As one of the reasons why?

SERWA: //Me medee //me **maki** no **different but** eda naa  
yeeka no omose eka ho

As for me I made it different but the day  
we were discussing it they said it was part of it

AKUVI: //eno ye **different**

That is different

SERWA: Saa?

Is that so?

IBO: eyε //different point under reasons //why a?

Is it a different point under the reasons why?

AKUVI: //eyε **different point**

It is a different point

APEA: //Enti eno

And so that is it the pronunciation

no **pronunciation** no ye **different**

is different

KWAME: **Pronunciation difference** na wode ayε //examples

You have rather used the pronunciation as

(unclear) **is under (.) that one is under it**

your examples (unclear) it is under (.) that one

- YAABA: //Ei! mee man kyerekyerem mpo nti //menim dee  
woka no
- ASIBI: //Enti **that example** na wo maa ye no
- AWO: ebaa ne sen na monyaa ye? (.2) Hm?
- YAABA: eye **level hundred**
- ASIBI: Beye se ye **refer** no
- FAFA: Saa da menhwe eme se **level hundred**
- is under it
- Ei! As for me I didn't explain it so I don't even  
know what you are talking about
- And so that example that you gave
- How did you arrive at that? (.2) Hm?
- It is a level hundred
- Probably he was referred
- That day let me see I think it's level hundred

### CHURCH 3

- KAKI: **Characteristics of the creative analysis. Creative**  
**because according to the researchers the L2 learners**
- Characteristics of the creative analysis.  
Creative because according to the resea-

**create an L2 system on the basis of the data provided  
by the environment //this construct-contrasts with the  
behaviourist view that language learners are  
conditioned by their experiences thus their new  
language habit were dictated by their individual  
experiences (.) //the learner-**

chers the L2 learners create an L2 system  
on the basis of the data provided by the  
environment //this contrasts with the behaviourist  
view that language learners are conditioned  
by their experiences thus their new language  
were dictated by their individual experiences (.)  
the learner-

ARABA: //cough

ASEYE: **//Okay do do you know what since we don't have  
much erm how do i call it erm most of us don't  
understand it why don't you take it point by point  
and try to explain it? and then when we get to**

//Okay, do you know what since we don't have  
erm how do you call it erm most of us don't  
understand it why don't you take it point by  
point and try to explain it? And then at the end

**the bottom we know what to do or //or you give  
us a full explanation?**

SERWA: //Time

//(Someone blows his nose)

FATI: //Mm əbɛma yɛn

ASEYE: //Just give us the explanation so that we move on

OSEI: //We see the hypothesis on the basic assumption

**that //the learner (.) when the learner is exposed**

**to language the second language he will form a**

**new system which is close to the the L2 the**

**inter-language**

ASEYE: (to OSEI) //You should have been here, i can't

we will know what to do or //do you intend to

give us a full explanation?

//Time

He'll give us

ust give us the explanation so that we move on

//We see the hypothesis on the basis assumption

that// the learner (.) when the learner is exposed

to language, the second language, he will form a

new system which is close to the L2 the inter-

language

//You should have been here I can't hear you

**hear you**

OSEI: **Oh then** (unclear)

Oh then

ASEYE: Mhm

Yes

EFO: //Yea

//Yea

OSEI: **Because he's creative**

Because he's creative

ASEYE: //Oh okay

Oh okay

OSEI: **Mh for example if you introduce the learner to**

Mh for example if you introduce the

**the regular pattern of the what past forms of the**

learner to the regular pattern of the what

**verb those that end with the -ed marker, the**

past forms of the verb, those that end with

**learner because he/she is creative will what**

the -ed marker, the learner because he/she

**over generalize the rule and apply to the irregular**

is creative will what over generalize the rule

**forms so he'll will will the learner will go and meet**

and apply to the irregular forms. So he'll (.)

**the word buy and will add the -ed to it and write**

when learner meets a word like 'buy', he will



**buyed go he'll add -ed to it**

add the –ed to and write ‘buyed’ , ‘go’ and he

will add –ed to it

ASIBI: // **I heard something**

I heard something

ADAMU: // **Goed**

Go-ed

OSEI: // **You get it. He has been exposed to what**

//You’ve got it. He has been exposed to what

**//the rule that in forming the past tense he**

//the rule that in forming the past tense he

**should add –ed**

should add the -ed

MENSAH: //Cough

KWAKU: // **The L2**

The L2

OSEI: **And because he's creating a new system**

And because he’s creating a new system which

**which is close to the L2 so the go the -ed is**

is close to the L2, the go +ed is close to L2 and

**close to the L2 but not the //correct one use by**

not the //correct one used by the native adult speaker

**the native adult speaker**

ODURO: //The correct -

//The correct-

NII: //Okay in this case

Okay in this case

KWAME: //That's what i was saying that ete se

That's what I was saying that it is like the innatist (.)

innatist //(.)

NII: //Ayε se innatiste

It is like the innatiste

KWAME: **The inatiste theory** no enyε **imitation**

The innatiste theory is not just an imitation. It is not

**kεkε is not just imitating //the adult**

just imitating //the adult speakers. It is because-

**speakers ayε tεse because -**

IBO: //But the person is is is

But the person is-

NII: //So your performance is as a result of your

//So your performance is as a result of your

**exposure from this one** no

exposure from this one

KWAME: **You are exposed to the language but you also**

You are exposed to the language but you also

**have the ability to create**

EFO: **Yea yea yea**

SERWA: **You know this guy used some term bi**

**Pascal use the the the speaker tries to he's**

**working out something something inside that's**

**why it comes out**

NII: Hmm

EFO: **He will he will actively work out the rules of**

**the //language**

ASEYE: **//Language yea and also he creates his own**

KWAME: Ahaa **so it is not because** oniako no a **expose**

ana woate **adult speakers** dee nti **//because** ono

have the ability to create

Yea

You know this guy Pascal used a term. He said

the speaker tries – he's working out something

inside that's why it comes out

He will actively work out the rules of the language

Language yea and also he creates his own

Ahaa so it is not because the person has been exposed

or has heard the adult speakers //because s/he also

nso εwɔ **forme hypothesis**

forms the hypothesis

EFO: //And then i read somewhere that it is not also

And then I read somewhere that it is not also

**the influence of the L1**

the influence of the L1

OSEI: **No no no the L1 doesn't come in**

No the L1 doesn't come in

ARABA: Wei koraa dee **CC** no dee //L1 nnim

As form the CC the //L1 does not come in

YAABA: //enyε L1

//It is not the L1

NII He's basing his his creation on the L2 what he

He's basing his creation on the L2 what he

has learned what he has acquired

has learned what he has acquired

OSEI: //Enti wuhu sε wohwε **diagram** na **second**

And so when you look at the diagram

**language exposure you expose the learner**

on the second language exposure, you

**to the L2 as a result of your exposure so**

expose the learner to the L2 as a result

**you enter** (unclear)

of your exposure so – you enter (unclear)

YAABA //Ahaa

//Ahaa

- ASIBI //Hmm hmm mh **i'm getting it so this also leads to when a person doesn't form it well that leads to the erm fossilization**
- OSEI: **Fossilization** no ahaa εwo ha **the error analysis**  
no nso ka ho bi
- NII: Error analysis will also come in
- OSEI Σε οye na w'anya no yie a ahaa
- NII //Hmm yea
- IBO //Enti-
- OSEI **//So the inter inter language comes here with the creative what what**
- NII **Yea**
- //Hmm hmm mh i'm getting it so this also leads to when a person doesn't form it well that leads to the erm fossilization
- Ahaa the Fossilization is here the error analysis is also part
- Error analysis will also come in
- If he does it and is unable to get it ahaa
- //Hmm yea
- And so-
- //So the inter language comes here with the creative what what
- Yea

AKUVI **Because they are creative**

Because they are creative

NARTEY //So that's the language between the L1 and  
  
**the target language**

//So that's the language between the L1 and the  
  
target language

OSEI: //εye **approximation** se εye **approximation?**

It is approximation isn't it?

KAKI: //the L1 and the L2 εnoa εnye L1 εnye L2

AKUVI: //Yea

//Yea

KWAME: //Yea **approximation so if you get the diagram**

//Yea approximation so if you get the diagram

SERWA εno εye (**geocratic**) or so

That one is (geocratic) or so

ODURO Ahaa **diagram**

Ahaa diagram

OSEI **Natural position strategy is like because he's  
  
creative no he will observe the the language being  
  
exposed to and then will actively what generate**

Natural position strategy is like because he's creative  
  
no he will observe the the language being exposed  
  
to and then will actively what generate some rules

**some rules and then those rules are temporal**

EFO: use **because of this** no **any time** bia no **if you are**

**teaching an aspect of grammar** wo **teachi** se ebia

**comparative** anaase erm ebia **verbs** a **always**

**teach the regular pattern first** (.) //enti wo

**teachi** wei a na se wope se wohu se waye a

wodeε ma **exercises** na fa wei nibi **irregular**

**ones** no bi //fram (.) εno na wobe hu se **concept**

no wanya na afe na wobe //kyere no ma wahu

se enti εfalli **under that pedagogy**

KWAME: //That is it

KWAME: //Irregular befram

and then those rules are temporal

S/he says because of this any time if you are

teaching an aspect of grammar, if you teach

maybe comparative or maybe verbs, always teach

the regular pattern first. After teaching this, if you

want to know whether they have understood, give

some exercises and add some of the irregular ones.

Then you will see whether they have grasp the

concept and then you will teach them to see that

and so it falls under that pedagogy

//That is it

//Mix with irregular

- EFO: //Kyerε no ma no nhu se wei no ye **different** //Teach him/her to know that this is different
- KWAME: //Enti wobe hu **pedagogic** ayi **pedagogy** ana //And so you will understand the pedagogy that  
**methodology** is pedagogy or methodology
- SERWA: Σε εye **the same thing** baabi ayi kokai - It is the same thing, somewhere this person said -
- AWO: (to speaker Aseye) *Ayi xowo me ne **meeting** a* //Will you be going to your room after the meeting?)  
*wunua?*
- ASEYE: *Aow* //No
- SERWA: Aa ayi //Atta Mills ayi //Aa this man //Atta Mills
- KAKI: //Atta Mills //Atta Mills
- SERWA: Ne brofo baako nono Atta Mills **pedagogy** //One of Atta Mills' English is pedagogy



KWAME: //Sε ɔyε **teacher** ni

//I understand he is a teacher

OSEI: //ɔkɔɔ **training college** o

He attended a training college

NII: AM kãã wɔ **radio** so

AM said it on the radio

ARABA: **Station** bɛn?

Which station?

KAKI: **Joy FM**

Joy FM

KWAME: **Because** (.) me frɛ **Professor AM but** wamfa

Because (.) I called Professor AM but he didn't

**first one** no ɛna **later** ɔfrɛ me na me nni ho

pick the first one and later he called me but I

enti me baa e na me behwɛɛ yɛ frɛ no **back**

wasn't there so when I returned and noticed

ɛna ɔsɛ o '**I was wi- with Joy FM ...**'

it I called back and he said o 'I was with Joy FM...

AKUVI: Aa na ɔmo kã **about** ɔmo se //**falling standard**

Aa they were talking about they were discussing

**of education**

the falling standard of education

KWAME:

**//The falling standard**

//The falling standard of education

**of education**

ASIBI: **Sixty four percent primary school JSS they can't  
read they can't write**

Sixty four percent primary school JSS they can't  
read they can't write

EFO:

**Its the truth its the truth**

Its the truth its the truth

OSEI: **You can attribute it to a lot of causes and its**

You can attribute it to a lot of causes and its true

**true**

ASEYE: **And it cuts across its not only in the public**

And it cuts across its not only in the public schools

**schools**

EFO: **Even in the private schools some of them**

Even in the private schools some of them can't

**can't**

SERWA: ɔmo deɛ sɛ ɛyɛ **root learning** o

As for them it is only root learning

AKUVI: //ɛɛ

Yes

ASIBI: //ɛɛ

Yes

OSEI: (crem) woo ka na mekyere ebi adeɛ na ebi wɔ hɔ  
 wo kyere no adeɛ a wobɛ dwa wo wo kyere **public**  
**schools** -ebi wɔhɔ wode no **compare** wo nkodaa bi  
 wo ho -

Like you were saying I use to teach some and  
 sometimes you will get angry. Even if you teach  
 public schools –if you compare some of your  
 children there -

**SCIENCE GROUP**

OPOKU: Sɛ wo ate aseɛ? **four four class interval**

So you understand? four four class interval

ATAA: //unclear sound

MENSAH: **Alright**

**Alright**

KOFI: Sɛ sɛ woate aseɛ? aha (.)enti woanya //class

Have you understood? (.) Aha and so you get // class

sɛ ɔmaa sɛ yebe **use class interval** wɔ ayi no mu

if he gave us that we'll use class interval in it

ATAA: //unclear sound

OPOKU: ɔmaa sɛ **class interval class** sɛwe **have to**

He gave that class interval class if we calculate the for

**calculate the for class interval**

class interval

KOFI: Interval no yɛ four

The interval is four

OPOKU: Enti wei no **if we are taking** sɛ yɛ fa wei sɛ

And so here if we are taking if we take this as eleven

**eleven a L will be //seven point five** enti **record it**

then L will be //seven point five and so record it

ATAA:	<b>//Seven point five</b>	//Seven point five
EFUA:	<b>//Don't worry don't worry</b> (h)ma hu paa	<b>//Don't worry don't worry</b> (h) I have seen it
OPOKU:	<b>Seven point //five so L will be seven point five</b>  <b>so record //it</b>	<b>Seven point //five so L will be seven point five</b>  <b>so record //it</b>
KOFI:	<b>//Five</b>	<b>//Five</b>
LAREBA:	<b>//Aah L will be seven point five</b>	//Aah L will be seven point five
OPOKU:	Sε sε εyε <b>lower class level limit?</b>	Because is it the lower class level limit
ATAA:	//Aaa ei	Okay
AKORFA:	<b>//Aaa so you subtract one point five zero</b>  po//int five from the class	Aaa so you subtract one point five zero
APEA:	<b>//You say L is what?</b>  //(velar sound)	//You say L is what?
OPOKU:	<b>Sev- L deε εwɔ ha sei thus eight so you</b>	Sev- the L here thus eight so you subtract zero //point

**subtract zero //point five from eight so you get  
seven point thus the lower class limit of the  
median class**

five from eight so you get seven point thus the lower  
class limit of the median class

KOFI: **So Seven point five**

So Seven point five

MENSAH: **L L equal to seven point five**

L L equal to seven point five

SERWA: Fabra na me ntweretwera

Bring it and let me write

ASIBI: Me **paper** no wo hen?

Where is my paper?

(unclear sound)

OPOKU: Na **after L what do we need again** enti yenko

After L what do we need again so let's go on to the

formula no so yen ko **to - Then then too we know N**

formula let's go to- then then too we know N here

//N ni o N ne ye (.) //class int-

is //N N is our (.) //class int-

KOFI: //Then **CLB** //CLB is the **cumulative**

//Then CLB //CLB is the cumulative

**frequency in the class interval below the class**

frequency in the class interval below the class

**below the class interval that contain the median**

below the class interval that contain the median

OPOKU: **So the //cumulative frequency right now**

So the //cumulative frequency right now becomes

**becomes the eleven//Me ba o**

the eleven wait a moment

SERWA: Enti eye //one point five anaase **eleven?**

So is it //one point five or eleven?

OPOKU: //Ahaa wahu //ahaa wahu

//Aha, have you seen (it) //ahaa, have you seen (it)

KOFI: //Enti wo befa

//And so you'll take

OPOKU: //Wose **one point five** wahu?

//You say it is one point five isn't it?

KOFI: //So wahu se aye biibi se **class interval no median**

//So you see that it is like the class interval, the median

ayi no woha wo hu se **below the class interval**

here you see that below the class interval the

no the **median marks** no -

median marks -

OPOKU: //Aa nase nea yefa ha nso a wo betumi anya

//But if we go this way, you can get below -

**Below -**

KOFI: Wofa ha wo betumi anya **below but** ahane ha  
no wo nnhu **median class** no

If you go this way you can get the below but here you  
have not reached the median class

AFUA: Na se se saa na //woope akyere dea wo faha  
nso dea **this is also below so below will be**  
**three point four**

If that is //what you mean then if you go this way too  
this is also below so will be three point four

KOFI //Ahaa **but** aha enti na mese se wo  
fa wei ne wei na wahu wo nnuru **median class**  
no wo nya Akiola **elective Maths** na me wo bi  
na me nnim se biibi sa nka me fa//**Maths**  
**book** bae

//Ahaa but here That is why I say  
that if you take this and this you see you have not  
reached the median class. If we get Akiola's  
elective Maths I have one but did not know something  
like this will crop up else I would have brought my  
//Maths book

OPOKU: //Alright yen toaso

/Alright let's continue



AFUA: Oh enti eye deen?

Oh so what is it?

KOFI: **So L F CB CLB is the cumulative frequency in**

So L F CB CLB is the cumulative frequency

**the class interval //below the class interval that**

in the class interval //below the class interval

**contain the //median enti eye eleven**

that contain the //median and so it is eleven

KWAME: //Below

//Below

EFUA: //Median

//Median

MENSAH: **Let me look at**

Let me look at

ATAA: **But here is the case erm wo hu se like the median**

But here is the case erm you see that with the median

**we had it to be //fifteen but wei the range no //is**

median we had it to be//fifteen but the range here //is

**it because is less than**

because it is less than

OPOKU: //Hmm

Yes

AKORFA: **Issss sssis not the median that's fifteen the**

It is not the median that's fifteenth //position

**fifteenth //position**

OPOKU: //Position that corresponds to the marks

Position that corresponds to the marks

KOFI: **So the median marks** no woha ewo **eight an-**

So the median marks here is eight okay. It is

**okay is within this mark but the fifteenth**

within this mark but the fifteenth position is

**position** no is within the seventeen so we

within the seventeen so we trace it to the –

**trace it to the-**

OPOKU: W'ate aseε?

Have you understood?

AKORFA:	<b>Still</b> (.) me nteaseeε	Still (.) I don't understand
OPOKU:	<b>The me-median no is not fifteen</b> o εye <b>the //fifteenth position</b>	The median is not fifteen; it is the fifteenth position
KWAME:	// <b>Median ma-</b>	//Median ma -
ASIBI:	// <b>Fifteenth</b>	//Fifteenth
MENSAH:	// <b>Is the fiftieth position</b>	//Is the fiftieth position
OPOKU:	Ye <b>use-u</b> wei na yeε <b>this plus this</b> yeε sen?	We used this to do it. This plus this totals what?
AKORFA:	// <b>Eleven</b>	//Eleven
KWAKU:	// <b>Eleven</b>	/Eleven

OPOKU:	<b>Plus six</b> yɛ sɛn?	Plus six is what?
AKORFA:	//ɛyɛ <b>seventeen</b>	It is seventeen
KWAKU:	// <b>Seventeen</b>	//Seventeen
OPOKU:	// <b>Seventeen</b> enti <b>assumi</b> sɛ- <b>it is - it falls within</b>  <b>this//range</b> (.) Enti <b>this class this class</b> enti <b>this</b>  <b>class</b> na yebe <b>use for our work so we are</b>  <b>going to use this class for our work</b>  this class for our work	//Seventeen  And so assume that it falls within this  range. And so this class is what we will  use for our work so we are going to use
KOFI:	//W'ahu?	Have you seen?
ATAA:	<b>So you assume //to be this aa okay</b>	So you assume //to be this aa okay
KOFI:	// <b>To be this</b>	To be this
OPOKU:	<b>Because when you want to go a little</b>	Because when you want to go a little further

**further you'll //exceed //the fifteen**

you'll //exceed //the fifteen

MENSAH: **//Exceed the fifteen**

//Exceed the fifteen

LAREBA: **Come down to our level I'm asking**

Come down to our level I'm asking this

**this I'm asking this that you may get a question**

because you may get a question which you

**which you may not erm like you may get**

may not erm like you may get erm the

**erm the maybe if is the fifth position you**

maybe if it is the fifth position you can get

**can get the //exactly aha**

//exactly aha

**SPED**

AGBESI: **So we were just talking about hm exogenous**

So we were just talking about hm exogenous

**social change then they say social change**

social change then they say social change

**could also be external (.) they occur as a result  
of foreign sources such as influences due to  
inter-cultural cultural contacts cultural borrowing  
(.) When we talk about cultural borrowing we are  
talking of the clothes //we wear**

LAADI: //We wear the  
food //we eat

AKESI: //We eat

AGBESI: Anaa **the food we eat** ahaa **right now when  
you go to //Accra**

FATI: //The lang//uage we speak //yes

AKESI: //Even our  
//dress style

could also be external (.) They occur as a result  
of foreign sources such as influences due to  
inter- cultural contacts cultural borrowing (.)  
When we talk about cultural borrowing we are  
talking of the clothes we wear

We wear the food //we eat

We eat

Or the food we eat yes right now when  
you go to Accra

The lang//uage we speak //yes

Even our //dress style

FATI: //The language we speak εηε

//The language we speak right?

AKESI: This (unclear) //our dress //style

The (unclear) //our dress //style

AKORFA: //Eh then men men

//Eh then men

SITSO: Yeah show your hair

Yeah show your hair

LAADE: Like show your --

Like show your--

AGBESI: Yeah we're borrowing their

Yeah we're borrowing their

FATI: Even now when you're using your  
hand to eat we say it is what (giggles)

Even now when you're using your hand to  
eat we say it is what (giggles)

SITSO: The //Otto Pfister dressing

The //Otto Pfister dressing

AGBESI: You see now //Otto Pfister

You see now //Otto Pfister

SITSO: //(giggles) (unclear) Eating  
hm schools

(giggles) (unclear) eating hm schools

LAADE: //Yeah Otto Pfister yeah

Yeah Otto Pfister yeah

AKESI:	<b>I am aware and the rest</b>	I am aware and the rest
FATI:	<b>Show your stomach and show your waist</b>	Show your stomach and show your waist
AGBESI:	<b>Mm mm two(.) the change //can also be in the form of religious //conversion</b>	Yes, yes two (.) the change //can also be in the form of religious //conversion
LAREBA:	//Ne nyinaa wɔ ho	They are all part of it
ADAMU:	//Yeah	//yeah
AGBESI:	<b>That is from (.) they have made it f- ɛɛh from tradition to //Christianity</b>	That is from (.) they have made it f- yes from tradition to //Christianity
KOKU:	//Christianity	//Christianity
AGBESI:	<b>Those days our people were almost //traditionalist</b>	Those days our people were almost //traditionalist
AKESI:	//Traditionalist	Traditionalist
SITSO:	<b>And it was good</b>	And it was good
AGESIB:	<b>Are you sure?</b>	Are you sure?
SITSO:	//Laughs	//Laughs
SITSO:	//Yes	//Yes
KOKU:	//It was a good thing	//It was a good thing



ADAMU: //As for Sister Sitso eh//Too traditional  
 (.)ah well there are good factors but but

AGBESI: εeh you think so? Why do you think so?

SISTSO: Are you asking me? //Eh

//(Clearing of throat)

KOKU: //Oh answer him

SITSO: Oh yes it was good because now//

AKORFA: //Then you can't steal

LAREBA: When you when you yes that time when you steal -

//As for Sister Ruth eh//too traditional (.)

ah well there are good factors but but

Huh you think so? Why do you think so?

Are you asking me? //huh

//(Clearing of throat)

//Oh answer him

When Oh yes it was good because now //when

//Then you couldn't steal

When you yes that time when one steals -

## INTERVIEW 1

INT: Yε ka nesεn //erm **the church and other**

How do we it //erm The Church and other members

**members who are not erm the church**

who are not the Church. Our meeting here (undecipherable)

enti aha yi (undecipherable)

NII: //The church

The Church

YAABA: Ei ena mo te ho di na mo nfrɛ me?

Ei you people are eating without me?

Short laughter

Short laughter

NARTEY: **Yaaba** bra wae

Yaaba, please come

KWAME : //Yaaba bra

Yaaba, come

IBO: //Hurry up hurry up

//Hurry up hurry up

ASEYE: **I just came**

I just came

NARTEY: *Avant (isi)*

Come here

ASIBI: Eh **descend**

Descend

ASEYE: **Descend descend call your room mate Afua**

Descend and call your roommate Afua

EFO: **And water from -**

And water from -

NII: //Come with water

//Come with water R

INT: //No problem

//No problem

YAABA: **You say I should call Afua if i hadn't come**

You say I should call Afua if I hadn't come you wouldn't

ka monfrɛ me

have called me

EFO: **Yaaba**

Yaaba

ASIBI: // **That's why you have come**

//That's why you have come

EFO: //Yaaba

//Yaaba

YAABA: **Yes?**

Yes?

EFO: **I beg you i need wara**

I beg you I need water

INT; **Yaaba** yɛpa wokyew si fom bra wae

Yaaba, please come down

EFO: Ye hia nsuo wae

We need water, please

YAABA: Ka maa mma ha ka mo nfrɛ me

If I had not come here you wouldn't have called me

Laughter

Laughter

NII: Wopɛ a menfa mma ka wobe hu

If you like don't bring it and you will see

INT: Erm mema mea meho akwaaba ena afe nsono

Erm I welcome myself and also I came in peace

me baaha enyɛ bone

OSEI: **Excuse me madam i think some will be offended**

Excuse me madam I think some will be offended

**because there are some people //who pretend**

because there are some people //who pretend not

**not to understand even though they understand**

to understand even though they understand so you

**so you go to the L2 and be free**

go to the L2 and be free

All: //Laughter

Laughter

INT: **Okay yoo**

Okay I have heard

NII: **For today they won't pretend**

For today they won't pretend

INT: **Okay yoo yoo //I want to just i shouldn't mind**

Okay I have heard I//I want to just I shouldn't

**him eh?**

mind him huh?

APEA //Don't mind him

//Don't mind him

INT: **Don't mind me** ɛyɛ Ghana brɔfo **you shoudn't**

**mind him** ɛkyrere sɛn?

NII: Me nfii no

Laughter

INT: **Erm when i started this programme i needed people**

**to work with (.) when it comes to language research**

**it is a very difficult area because a lot of people don't**

**want to participate people have different**

**misconceptions Sometimes you don't understand**

**you want something simple and they will tell you**

**they are not ready but ba** me baa ha no **the way**

a mo gye me **the way you were so nice and you**

**allowed me to be part of your erm discussion**

Don't mind me is Ghanaian English. What does 'you

shouldn't mind him' mean?

Don't mind him

Laughter

Erm when I started this programme, I needed people

to work with (.) when it comes to language research

it is a very difficult area because people have different

misconceptions. Sometimes you don't understand you

want something simple and they will tell you they are

but when I came here, the way you welcomed me, the

way you were so nice and you allowed me to be part of

your erm discussion, everything. Your willingness to

allow me to record and then fill my questionnaire even

**everything your willingness to allow me to  
record and then fill my questionnaire even when  
i'm not around in my absence you were willing to  
(...) i appreciate it so much i haven't had it that easy  
in many areas eno nti me baaha erm mese ba i'm just  
coming to just meet sit with you chat and say thank  
you with this little // Ayi erm dɔkɔdɔkɔ yaamo  
(laugh) peace fm**

when I'm not around, in my absence you were willing  
to (...) I appreciate it so much. I haven't had it easy in  
many areas and so I came here – I'm just coming to  
just meet, sit with you, chat and say thank you with  
this little erm sweet drinks, peace fm

OSEI: //Dɔkɔ

//Sweets

NII: Adɔdɔdeɛ (laughs)

Sweets

INT: Adɔdɔdeɛ

Sweets

Laughter

NII: Adɔdɔdeɛ

Sweets

INT: nyɛɛ **i just wanted to use i wanted to use you for my programme from now we have become a family and friends anytime i'm available you can call me any time.** Enti mebaa ya na nea enti a me baa ya nea enti me nam. enti **whiles we are talking no we can start.** ye nni **plate** enti ye beyɛ no dɛn ye beyɛ ne dɛn?

NII: ɛnɛ deɛ ye bedi a awu

INT: Daabi ye nwu ye bedi anya nkwa

Laughter

NII: Ye e dia a awu

INT: **(to SC) you are feeling lazy to go upstairs**

ATAA: Me nfa **plate**?

It was that I just wanted to use for my programme. From now onwards, we have become a family and friends. Anytime I'm available you can call me any time. And so that is my mission today. So while we are talking, we can start. We don't have a plate and what shall we do?

As for we'll eat till we die

No, we won't eat to die. We'll eat to live

We are eating till we die

**(to SC) you are feeling lazy to go upstairs**

Should I bring a plate?

INT: Aah wowɔ ayi ha?

Aa are you on this block?

NII: wowɔ hefa **side**?

Which side are you?

INT: Enti mo mo krom ha se **this is a town this is a town on its own?**

And so in this town of yours. I believe this is a town on its own?

NII: **Yea**

Yea

INT: er kasa ben n'ɛ**dominati** wɔ this **community**?

Which language dominates in this community?

EFO: //On campus here?

//On campus here?

AWO: //Efutu

Efutu

INT: //Campus here not town o I'm looking at your town here this erm university south campus ha

This campus, I'm looking at your town here erm this South Campus of this university

EFO: **The English language**

The English language

INT: **English language** n'ɛ**dominati** paa wa hu?

The English dominates here right?

EFO: Hmm

Yes



NII: **English** (unclear)

English (unclear)

INT: **English n'edominati in and out of the classroom**

English dominates in and out of the classroom

EFO: Hmm

Yes

KWAME: **//I also have a different view about it**

I also have a different view about it

OPOKU: **//Because we are of different backgrounds**

Because we are of different backgrounds

KWAME: **I also think is the Akan language because**

I also think it is the Akan language because people

**people who were first not speaking the Akan**

who were first not speaking the Akan language

**language they have been forced because of erm**

they have been forced because of erm especially

**especially when we come for group discussions**

when we come for group discussions, some people

**some people that were not speaking the Akan**

that were not speaking the Akan language they have

**language they have been forced to speak a little**

been forced to speak a little bit of the Akan that

**bit of the Akan that shows language outside**

shows that the domination of the Akan language.

**classroom even in the classroom people do**

Even in the classroom, people speak Akan to

**speak the Akan to friends //and others**

friends //and others

INT: //Enti **you think**

//And so Akan dominates and not the other

**Akan dominates not the other way round**

way round?

KWAME: **Yea**

Yea

OSEI; **we are being taught in English even erm the**

We are being taught in English even erm the

**contribution in class is done with the English**

contribution in class is done with the English

**language the group studies is the English**

language; the group studies is in the English

**language that is being used.It's only when**

language that is being used. It's only when maybe

**maybe there is erm for (clarification)sake**

there is erm for (clarification) sake we tend to code

**we tend to code switch aha and the even**

switch and even then people started complaining

**there then people even started complaining**

because we have people form the Volta Region

**because we have the Voltarians around.**

around. We have the Akans and when we use Akan

**We have the Akans and the- when we tend**

some people felt hurt and complained that we can't

**to use the Akan ebino- people erm felt erm**

use erm Akan when they don't understand.

**hurt so they started complaining that**

Mean while they erm that's why I said some

**we can't use erm Akan when they don't**

pretend that they don't understand but they do

**understand. Mean while they erm that's the**

**reason why I said some pretend that they**

**don't understand but they do**

INT: **They do //understand**

They do //understand

OSEI: **//They do understand**

//They do understand

IIN: **The Akan**

The Akan

OSEI: **//Yes**

//Yes

APEA: **//They speak it**

They speak it

OSEI: **And they even speak in proverbials**

And they even speak in proverbs

Laughter

OSEI: **I was //even**

I was //even

INT: **//They what they they understand but they  
don't want to use it because-**

They understand but they don't want to use it because-

OPOKU: **That's not their native language they  
think its dominating their language //so  
they don't**

That's not their native language they think its  
dominating their language //so they don't

OSEI: **//Aha so they don't  
want it**

//Aha so they don't want it

INT: **They they they are not using it not because they  
don't understand but because they //think**

They are not using it not because they  
don't understand but because they //think

OSEI: **//This especially this  
she don't understand she had (unclear)**

//This especially this my sister like this  
she doesn't understand she had

ODURO: **But she does**

But she does

KOFI: **//But they are not very this thing**

//But they are not very this thing

NII: **//She cannot speak very //well but they**

//She cannot speak it very //well but they understand

**understand sister M dee (unclear) laughs**

sister M de (unclear) laughs

OSEI: **//Aha like Aseye**

//Aha like F herself like this F can

**herself like this Aseye can speak in**

speak in proverbs but yet when you speak

**proverbials but yet when you speak**

the Akan she will be annoyed

**the Akan she will be annoyed**

INT: **So is it a protest agai//nst Akan or**

So is it a protest agai//nst Akan or

KOFI: **//Well to me I don't know**

//Well to me I don't know so to me

**so to me I'll say it is the English language**

I'll say it is the English language

OPOKU: Hmm

Yes

INT: **So erm but the fact that someone protest does**

So erm but the fact that someone protest does

**not mean that English dominates**

not mean that English dominates

OPOKU: **Oh we we do speak the English**

Oh we we do speak the English

INT: **You speak the English**

You speak the English

AKUVI: Aae **than the other this thing**

Yes than the other this thing

INT: **//Well that is the question I'm about to ask in  
the erm in our Ghanaian context how do you  
rate English as compared to our Ghanaian  
languages? How do you rate English?**

//Well that is the question I'm about to ask in the  
erm in our Ghanaian context how do you rate  
English as compared to our Ghanaian languages?  
How do you rate English? Laughs

**Laughs**

INT: Oh ayi no **drinks** no me pa wokyew me mma  
wo deen wo pe deen?

Oh the drinks. Please what should I offer you?  
What do you want?

INT: Oh enti **yes** (to Ataa who arrived a few  
moments ago)me pa wokyew ye mma mo  
deen o?

Oh! (to Ataa who has justvarrived) What can I  
offer you please?

APEA: Awurade shira so na **blesse** so amen

God bless it. Amen

ATAA: Ebiaa

Anything

INT: Yes?

Yes?

NII: Me me ye okristoni enti me pe me pe ye fre

As for me I am a Christian and so I want erm

no sen akpeteshi

akpeteshi (an alcoholic beverage with a

high alcohol percentage brewed in Ghana)

Laughter

ARABA: Woye kristonii mpo ni?

What kind of Christian is this?

INT: (laughs) **Pass on pass on pass on**

Pass on pass on pass on

ARABA: (to speaker YAABA) **what do you want?**

What do you want?

NII: Mese me ye okristoni enti me pe akpeteshi

I say I am a Christian so I want akpeteshi

INT: **(Laughs) eh how do you rate English in relation  
to the indigenous languages?**

eh how do you rate English in relation  
to the indigenous languages?

YAABA: (to NII) y'abisa yen **question** mhm

(to Nii) We have bee asked a question

INT: ehε?

Yes?

AWO: (**aside to Araba**) **special quest-**

(aside to Araba) special quest-

INT: **How do you rate our English** seisei yen mfa ne

How do you rate our English right now let's

se **English** ye mfa **let's assume se English has**

assume that English has been in Ghana for

**been in Ghana for close to hundred and fifty**

close hundred and fifty years //and so let's

**years** //enti ye mfa ne se **it's now a Ghanaian**

assume that it's now a Ghanaian language

**language** //(.) **how do you rate it in relation se**

//(.) How do you rate it in relation to Akan,

ye mfa no se se Akan, Ewe, Ga ne ade **how do**

Ewe, Ga and others. How do you rate English

**you rate English?**

Int: **Is it higher //lower or what?**

Is it higher //lower or what?

NII: //Yes

//Yes

APEA: **It's higher**

It's higher



INT: **It's higher**

It's higher

APEA: **Yea**

Yea

AWO: **Very high**

Very high

ARABA: **Very very high**

Very very high

INT: Enti **next to English no what is the next highest?**

What is the next highest after English?

Unison: Akan

Akan

INT: Akan?

Akan?

NII: **Yea it is it is me it is individual base o //me na**

Yes, this is based on the individual. Why should

me nfa me **language** nkoye **second?**

I place my language at second position

Unison: //ooooh

//ooooh

NII: Me na me nfa me **language** nkoye **se(h)cond?**

Why should I place my language second?

ARABA: Twi

Twi

KWAME: Akan

Akan

APEA: **Let me give-**

Let me give-

KWAME: **//Even Nii when you go to your place**

//Even Nii When you go to your place they speak Twi

**they speak Twi**

NII: **Who?**

Who?

APEA: **Your people**

Your people

NII: **Which (h) people?**

Which (h) people?

OSEI: **The Ga people**

The Ga people

INT: **Yes? (to SM)**

Yes? (to SM)

IBO: **There was an oversight we didn't pray before we**

There was an oversight we didn't pray before we

NII: Ei!

Ei!

INT: Ei! ɛnɛ deɛ aɛm ato me //me pa mokyew me

Ei! I am in trouble //please pray pastor

Paa kyew osofo bo mpae

**INTERVIEW 2**

INT: **What is the main language in this town this town  
Winneba town?**

NII: **Hmm is Efutu**

INT: Efutu

NII Efutu yes Efutu **they sometimes speak Fanti too**

OSEI: **//That's the traditional that's yes but everybo-  
almost everybody speaks Fanti**

OPOKU: **//Fanti is dominating**

NII: Hmm mm

INT: **Almost everybody speaks Fanti even in  
the town?**

AWO: **In town yea**

Nii: **I live in the town and some speak the Efutu**

**What is the main language in this town this town  
Winneba town?**

Hmm is Efutu

Efutu

Efutu yes Efutu they sometimes speak Fante too

That's the traditional that's yes but everybo-  
almost everybody speaks Fanti

**//Fanti is dominating**

Yes yes

Almost everybody speaks Fanti even in  
the town?

In town yea

I live in the town and some speak the Efutu

**language for that one I don't under- stand at  
all but I understand the Fanti**

**KWAME: If you talking about the indigenous language  
then is Efutu but when you go around and you  
want speak to them they all speak Fanti to us**

**INT: They all speak Fanti even among themselves?**

**KWAME: Yea even among themselves**

**NII: No no no i live in the house where there are  
some Efutus and they speak Efutu but when we  
are speaking to them they speak the Fanti  
because we don't understand**

**ASEYE: Even when you go to the //errm sea shore  
and want to buy something and they want  
to communicate among themselves they  
speak the Efutu language but not to we**

language for that one I don't under- stand at all  
but I understand the Fanti

If you talking about the indigenous language  
then is Efutu but when you go around and you  
want speak to them they all speak Fanti to us

They all speak Fanti even among themselves?

Yea even among themselves

Oh no i live in the house where there are some  
Efutus and they speak Efutu but when we are  
speaking to them they speak the Fanti because  
we don't understand

Even when you go to the //errm sea shore and  
want to buy something and they want to  
communicate among themselves they speak  
the Efutu language but not to we //the

	<b>//the buyers because we don't understand</b>	buyers because we don't understand
LAREBA:	<b>//Market</b>	<b>//Market</b>
INT:	<b>//Not to the buyers</b>	<b>//Not to the buyers okay</b>
	<b>okay</b>	
INT:	<b>But you think FantI dominates in the town that is what you think</b>	But you think FantI dominates in the town that is what you think
ALL:	<b>Yes maam</b>	Yes maam
INT:	<b>Okay do you all so do you all understand and speak it do you understand the Efutu?</b>	Okay do you all so do you all understand and speak it do you understand the Efutu?
NII:	<b>//Only the Fanti</b>	Only the Fanti
AKORFA:	<b>//No no</b>	No no
INT:	<b>Nobody understands the Efutu. Why don't you relate with the people?</b>	Nobody understands the Efutu. Why don't you relate with the people?
OSEI:	<b>No</b>	No
NII:	<b>We do relate to them but the only thing</b>	We do relate to them but the only thing sometimes

**sometimes I hear is** ebebebe

I hear is ebebebe

INT: (laugh) **and what does that mean?**

and what does that mean?

INT: **And what does that mean?**

And what does that mean?

NII: **I don't know most of the time when they are  
angry that's what they say ebeb wafa me  
(laughter)**

I don't know most of the time when they are angry  
that's what they say ebeb wafa me (laughter)

INT: **Laughs**

Laughs

OSEI: **He's right you wouldn't understand  
anything**

He's right you wouldn't understand anything

INT: **Have made the effort to learn it to learn?**

Have made the effort to learn it to learn?

OSEI: **No I have not**

No I have not

INT: **You haven't**

You haven't

OSEI: **Yea**

No

INT: **Why haven't you made the effort**

Why haven't you made the effort

OPOKU: **As I said when they are speaking with us  
they speak Fanti so the room is not there**

As I said when they are speaking with us  
they speak Fanti so the room is not there

INT:	Aah	Okay
KWAME:	<b>They don't make the room</b>	They don't make the room
INT:	<b>Does it mean nobody understands any Efutu at all? At least something I-</b>	Does it mean nobody understands any Efutu at all? At least something I -
ARABA:	<b>As for me I can hear some</b>	As for me I can hear some
INT:	<b>You can speak some?</b>	You can speak some?
ARABA:	<b>Aha so I don't really understand all but some when they speak I would understand</b>	Aha so I don't really understand all but some when they speak I would understand
INT:	<b>Have you lived here for long?</b>	Have you lived here for long?
ARABA:	<b>Yes for seven years</b>	Yes for seven years
INT:	<b>For seven years aa okay</b>	For seven years aa okay

ARABA: **Aha**

Aha

INT: **Where do you come from are you erm**

Where do you come from are you erm

**what language group**

what language group

ARABA: **I'm a Fanti**

I'm a Fanti

INT: **Fanti aa okay and you have lived here for seven**

Fanti aa okay and you have lived here for seven

**years seven years is quite a long time for you to**

years seven years is quite a long time for you to

**understand the language what are you telling**

understand the language what are you telling me

**me ha?**

ha?

ALL: Laugh

ARABA: **Yes yes I didn't interact that much and erm**

Yes yes I didn't interact that much and erm even



**even the little that I understand I will be**

**playing with** them and it will stick then

later on I will ask somebody who knows

much to explain

INT: Mmm mm

INT: **You haven't actually needed language**

ARABA: **Yes yes**

INT: **So then I will skip question three because  
i wanted to find out how you relate with  
the people and in your relationship you**

the little that I understand I will be playing with

them and it will stick then later on I will ask

somebody who knows much to explain

Okay

You haven't actually needed language

Yes yes

So then I will skip question three because  
I wanted to find out how you relate with  
the people and in your relationship you

**speak //Fanti**

ALL: //Fanti

OSEI: //Fanti **and at certain points we speak some English //yes some level of English when you meet some of them when you go to some of the shop you speak English with them that man over there erm erm //Blessed even the market**

INT: //Some English?

NII: **Broken English**

ODURO //Oh but some you can see the standard

KWAME: //for some the standard

NII: //Yes

APEA: //Blessed

INT: **Does it mean you don't you use it on**

speak //Fanti

//Fanti

//Fanti and at certain points we speak some English //yes some level of English when you meet some of them when you go to some of the shop you speak English with them that man over there erm erm //Blessed even the market

//Some English?

Broken English

//Oh but some you can see the standard

//for some the standard

//Yes

//Blessed

Does it mean you don't you use it on campus?

**campus?**

ARABA:	<b>No</b>	No
INT:	<b>Yes Efutu nobody uses it on campus</b>	No nobody speaks Efutu on campus
NII:	<b>For students no but I have seen the workers using it among themselves but for students no I have not seen anybody</b>	For students no but I have seen the workers using it among themselves but for students no I have not seen anybody
ASIB:	<b>They are not more on campus this campus is dominated by people form //outside</b>	They are not more on campus this campus is dominated by people form //outside
ATAA:	<b>//other areas</b>	//other areas
INT:	<b>So what is the main language on campus the main language on campus here?</b>	So what is the main language on campus the main language on campus here?
NII	<b>Hmm the main language that is English</b>	Hmm the main language that is English
OSEI:	<b>Eh is English depends on the person you are speaking with because if I meet my</b>	Eh is English depends on the person you are speaking with because if I meet my

**colleague (.) if i meet somebody who  
understands let's say Twi we speak Twi  
there but when the other person who  
does not speak Twi or who would not  
want to speak Twi comes we speak English**

**NII: So as he said depends on who you meet  
and the relationship between you and the  
//what the person**

**INT: //The person**

**ASEYE: So all other languages we speak them but  
the main one is English**

**INT: So what are some of the languages?**

**AWO: //On campus?**

**INT: //On campus**

**OSEI: We have Ghanaian languages //Ewe, Twi**

colleague (.) if i meet somebody who  
understands let's say Twi we speak Twi there  
but when the other person who does not speak  
Twi or who would not want to speak Twi  
comes we speak English

So as he said depends on who you meet  
and the relationship between you and the  
//what the person

//The person

So all other languages we speak them but  
the main one is English

So what are some of the languages?

//On campus?

//On campus

We have Ghanaian languages //Ewe, Twi

Ga, Ga-Dangme //Gur/Gonja Kasena

ASEYE: //Ewhe (laughs)

NII: //Gur/Gonja

INT: **I mean the languages that you speak  
around people use commonly around all  
these languages?**

ASEYE, KAKI, APEA: //Yes

OSEI: //Yes those people like as we saying depend  
the department yes because they are in the  
same //department when they speaking they  
speak language

NII: //You see the fact is that we have many  
Northerners here we have many Fantis here  
we have many Ewes here Gas are not all that  
much but we still many people can speak Ga  
so but the language Ghanaian language that

Ga, Ga-Dangme //Gur/Gonja Kasena

//Ewhe (laughs)

//Gurene/Gonja

I mean the languages that you speak  
around people use commonly around all  
these languages?

//Yes

//Yes those people like as we saying depend  
the department yes because they are in the  
same //department when they speaking they  
speak language

//You see the fact is that we have many  
Northerners here we have many Fantis here we  
have many Ewes here Gas are not all that much  
but we still many people can speak Ga so but  
the language Ghanaian language that dominates

**dominates here is Twi that one is true. Twi  
dominates here but all other languages are  
what spoken on campus**

here is Twi that one is true. Twi dominates here  
but all other languages are what spoken on campus

**AGBESI: And as he's saying somebody might be  
reading Ewe but //he has a friend in English  
who also speaks Ewe so when because they  
are from the same area they underst- it  
doesn't matter whether the person is  
speaking English or when they meet  
they speak Ewe**

And as he's saying somebody might be reading  
Ewe but //he has a friend in English who also  
speaks Ewe so when because they are from  
the same area they underst- it doesn't matter  
whether the person is speaking English or  
when they meet they speak Ewe

**ASEYE: //The person**

//The person

**INT: So between English, Ewe and Akan which  
language dominates?**

So between English, Ewe and Akan which  
language dominates?

**LAREBA: Akan dominates**

Akan dominates

**INT: Akan dominates English, Ewe and Akan**

Akan dominates English, Ewe and Akan

**Akan dominates?**

ALL:

**Yes**

Akan dominates?

Yes

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

I am Millicent Quarcoo, a PhD student from the University of Ghana, Legon conducting research into the bilingual language practices of students in the university. I would like to solicit responses to this questionnaire. I assure you that all the information given will be treated confidential and solely for the purpose of this study.

1. Sex – female/ male

2. Age – 18-25, 26 – 30, 31 +

3. Level – 100/ 200/ 300/ 400

4. What programme are you pursuing?

.....

5. What is your mother tongue (L1)?

Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani, Efutu, Gonja, others (please state)

6. Do you use it regularly? Yes/ no

7. If not, what language do you speak regularly?

.....

8. Apart from your L1, what other indigenous language(s) do you speak?

.....

9. How did you acquire it (them)?



School / friends / community

10. Which people do you speak it (them) with? (You can select more than one option)

i. Friends ii. family iii. Lecturers iv. strangers

11. Do you speak English regularly? Yes/No

12. Which people do you speak it with? (You can select more than one option)

i. Friends ii. Family iii. lecturers iv. strangers

13. What language(s) will you use in the ff. Contexts –

i. Classroom

ii. School canteen

iii. With your lecturer

iv. With your friends

v. In church

14. What language(s) do you use during your study group discussion?

.....

15. Why do you choose that language(s)?

.....

16. Do you switch codes during group discussions? Yes / no

17. If yes, which languages do you normally code switch?

.....

18. Why do you mix those languages?

.....

19. Do you code switch intentionally?

- i. intentionally
- ii. unaware

20. Do you think it is a good thing to code switch between English and an indigenous language? Yes / no

21. Give one reason for your answer in question 21

.....

22. How do you rank the following languages in order of importance on a scale of 1 – 6 where 1 is very important and 6 the least important

- i. English
- ii. Akan
- iii. Ga/Dangme
- iv. Ewe
- v. Dagaare
- vi. Others (state)

23. Give a reason for your choices

.....

24. How will you view a text written in a mixture of English and an indigenous language?

**APPENDIX 3A**

**INTERVIEW 1:15/6/11**

1. What is the main language in this town?
2. Do you all understand and speak it?
3. How do you relate with the people of the town?
4. What language do you use with the townsfolk?
5. Do you use it on campus?
6. If yes, which people do you use it with? (students/lecturers/workers/sellers)
7. What is the main language on campus?
8. Do all members of university community use it?
9. Apart from this language, is any other language(s) spoken on campus?
10. Why did you form a study group?
11. How does a person join your group?
12. Does one have to attend meetings every day?
13. What happens if a person attends meetings once in a while? Will the person be punished?
14. Apart from studying, do you perform any other activities like cooking together, jogging, etc?
15. Are you all friends?
16. What language(s) do you use during your discussion?

17. Why do you use that language(s)
18. Is the choice deliberate?
19. Did all members agree on the choice?
20. If the choice was not a collective decision, what language(s) do you prefer during the group discussions?
21. Can a group member use another language during group discussions?
22. If s/he does, how do members react to such a situation and what implications do you attach to it?
23. Do you mix your languages when you do your discussions?
24. Which languages do you mix?
25. Why do you choose those languages?
26. Are all the members comfortable with the choice?
27. How do you feel about people who mix their languages?
28. Do we mix an indigenous language with another indigenous language in speech?
29. If yes, which indigenous languages do we mix?
30. How will you feel about a text written in CS?

**APPENDIX 3B****INTERVIEW 2: 21/6/12**

1. What is the main language on campus?
2. Do all members of the university community use it?
3. What language(s) do you use during your discussion?
4. Why do you use that language(s)
5. Is the choice deliberate?
6. Did all members agree on the choice?
7. If the choice was not a collective decision, what language(s) do you prefer during the group discussions?
8. Can a group member use another language during group discussions?
9. If s/he does, how do members react to such a situation and what implications do you attach to it?
10. Do you mix your languages when you do your discussions?
11. Which languages do you mix?
12. Why do you choose those languages?
13. Are all the members comfortable with the choice?

14. How do you feel about people who mix their languages?
15. Do we mix an indigenous language with another indigenous language in speech?
16. If yes, which indigenous languages do we mix?
17. How will you feel about a text written in CS?

#### **APPENDIX 4**

#### **STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT 3/4/2011**



My name is Millicent Quarcoo. I am a PhD student from the Department of English, University of Ghana, and part of the British Academy/African Research Project on **Language Practices and Values among Young People in Ghana**.

I am working on bilingualism among the youth. Your study group has been selected as one of the groups to be studied. Because this is a linguistic variation study embedded in ethnography, I need to be at your meetings and spend time with your group during which time I will observe and record behaviours and activities. I will also conduct interviews, take photographs and ask you to respond to questionnaires.

The information you provide will be transcribed and used in my thesis, which will help in the documentation and description of language choices among the youth during specific activities. All information will remain completely anonymous outside this research. By providing me with your information you indicate your consent to the collection, use, storage and processing of this information by me and my supervisors solely for the purposes described above.

After the study is over, the researcher promises to disseminate findings to participants.

Participants who give their consent have up to **three weeks** after data collection to opt out of the study if they so wish.

All concerns can be directed to the email address below:

[Akosquarcoo@yahoo.com](mailto:Akosquarcoo@yahoo.com)

**CONSENT FORM**

**CODESWITCHING IN ACADEMIC DISCUSSION: A DISCOURSE STRATEGY BY STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY**

**OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

MILLICENT QUARCOO

**PLEASE TICK TO CONFIRM**

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

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

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

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

Signed,

.....

(Name of Participant)

.....

(Signature)

.....

(Date)

.....

(Name of Researcher)

.....

(Signature)

.....

(Date)

**APPENDIX 5**

**FIELD NOTES**

2/3/11

Day 1

Arrive at UEW South Campus

Time: 1.30 p. m.

There have been great changes since I left in 1994. There is a new gate at the entrance to the campus. A mini market has sprung up at the entrance. This market used to be a small collection of traders operating in the parking shed on campus. There is also a taxi rank is also operating at the entrance.

Students are still at lectures

Visit the English department library.

Meet Kwakye and his friends here. Kwakye is a newscaster and a host of one of the programmes on Radio Windybay, the university's radio station. He is a level 300 English student.

Kwakye and I tour the campus.

There is a new addition to the Osagyefo Library.

Many sheds have been erected with seats and tables. There are also concrete seats and tables in open places and Kwakye says they are purposely for group studies.

Visit bushque (the main market on campus) some students are eating. Lots of food are sold. Bushque seems to be more of a conglomeration of food joints than a mini market.

Visit Central and North campuses.

North Campus has also seen massive infrastructural additions but the Central campus seems almost the same as I remember.

Well I can say the buildings look nicer than our time. I think they have been renovated.

4/3/11

Day 2

Arrive on South campus at 4 00 p.m.

Kwakye is at lectures. Sit in one of the sheds in front of the Osagyefo Library. The library is situated on the road leading from the residence halls to bushque. That road is therefore a very busy one.

There are two ladies in one of the sheds so I move to join them.

They are Yaa and Samira both level 400 students offering Education. They had returned from a lecture from the North campus and were waiting for another friend who is coming from the Central campus. They were going to eat at bushque with the friend.

Kwakye arrives at 5.45 p.m. tells me study groups meet in the evening.

We chat. He tells me that many students attend lectures on the other campuses and he also has two of his lectures there on Mondays and Fridays.

Other students also attend lectures at the South campus but there are more movements towards the North campus because it has more lecture rooms.

7.30 p.m.

Campus suddenly becomes alive with many groups

Start our tour on study groups.

Visit the Gur-Gonja group under one of the trees near the SRC building. 5 different groups meet at different locations around this area.

Visit the basketball court. Meet Education group. 3 members had arrived and were waiting for other members. Four other groups were in progress at different locations here.

Other groups meet in the various sheds opposite the Osagyefo Library. Some sheds had two or more groups

Visit groups under Aggrey Hall staircase. Quite a large group –group leader is Kwakye's former roommate. Another group meets in front of the cafeteria near the staircase.

Every group is busy. Understand there is going to be a class test on Monday.

Return to my hotel at 10.00 p.m. Windy hotel – everything seems to be named after Winneba's colonial name

10/3/11

Day 3

Arrive at 2 p.m.

Tour the town.



Clinic near South campus still operating but has still not seen any infrastructural changes.

3 hair dressing shops and 2 barbering shops have been erected a few metres from the entrance of the campus

Many sellers along the street leading to the campus; in fact the whole street is a shopping mall.

Meet and befriend Ancie, an etew (food prepared from fermented corn dough, it is also called banku) seller behind the campus's wall.

Buy some balls of etew and fried fish.

Return to South campus at 6.30 p.m. meet Kwakye to continue our tour on studygroups.

Visit the group under staircase again. 2 other groups were in front of the cafeteria. It was only one group the previous Friday.

Each group has 3 members each.

Interact with all the groups. The group under the staircase is an English group and the 2 others are Maths and French groups.

Visit the assembly hall at Aggrey hall 2. There are too many groups and so the place is very noisy. Couldn't count because they were too many.

Other groups meet on the small veranda around the building. Counted 6 groups at different parts on the veranda. Other groups meet on the street in front of the hall all the way to the Aggrey hall 1 gardens and down the curve towards the entrance of the gate. Almost, every space is occupied by one group or another. I think every student belongs to a study group

We return to the group under the staircase. They are closing but stay to listen to my mission and my request that they be my focus group and they agree. Plan to meet on Tuesday.

15/3/11

Day 4

Arrive at 1.20 p.m.

Meet Kwakye and Nii, leader of the group that has agreed to be my focus group.

Visit the Osagyefo Library

Students at the discussion area doing their discussions in Akan, interesting

Go to busque to eat. Students and sellers interact with Akan (students use Twi dialect, sellers use the Fanti dialect)

Meet Araba and Awo, both members of Nii's group there.

Return from busque

Kwakyee leaves for his 3.30 lectures

Sit with Nii in one of the sheds opposite the Osagyefo Library to observe the movement of students to and from bushque.

Many speak an indigenous language. Nii confirms that many students speak an indigenous language outside the lecture room.

Nii is Ga

4.20 Nii leaves for his lecture

Walk to the Central campus. The main Winneba market is close to this campus. The main transport station is also opposite this campus. Now there are more shops in the premises of the station. The university has indeed made the town very vibrant.

Visit the beach -fishing harbor. The place is almost empty because it was getting dark.

The few people around spoke Efutu and some Fanti

Return to South campus

Go to the meeting place under the staircase. Only 2 members ( Nii and Osei) have arrived and are bring tables and chairs from the assembly hall. Awo arrives to help. Lots of jokes are exchanged both in English and Twi. Four others also arrive and the jokes shift to one of the gentlemen among the four who is in love with a lady but has still not gathered enough courage to approach her. Beside Nii, no one pays attention to me. Wonder if the rest have even noticed me

Meeting starts. It is 7.33 p.m. More people arrive

8. 20 p.m. 13 people in all. Nii introduces me officially to the group.

Nii tells me they are 20 in all when there is a full house but can have between 9-15 at a sitting. Meeting can start with 3 or more members.

Meet some members of the Gur-Gonja group whom I met previously under the tree near the SRC in this group

They discuss Applied Linguistics.

They use only English and there are lots of hedges and pauses. I wonder if that is the language they use regularly

After about an hour they stop the group discussion and chat with me.

Found that group comprises different ethnic groups.

There are 5 Akans (nkurasifoɔ), 4 Ewes, 1 Ga, 2 Dangme, 1 Dagomba 1 Nzema, 1 Nkonya and 1 Nigerian

Closed at 9.30 p.m.

16/3/11

Day 5

Tour Winneba

Visit the seashore to observe activities. Efutu dominates all the activities though Fanit is also used. Meet some students from the North campus who have come to buy fish and they do all their bargaining in Twi while some of the town folk use both Twi and Fante. Nobody spoke Efutu to them and that is interesting. Even the fishermen who were using Efutu a few seconds ago have all switched to Fanti.

Visit Ancie. I sit by her and observe her interactions with the students. They form the bulk of her clientele. Ancie speaks Twi with the students and Fanti to the people in her house. She sells her food in front of her house behind the university's wall.

I followed Ancie's daughter Yacoba to the main Winneba market.

All her interactions at the market were made in Fanti. She does not speak Efutu. Says she is not fluent that is why she does not speak it.

6.30 p.m. go to South campus. Meet Apea, a member of Nii's group but also belongs to another group.

7.30, Visit the science group at the hencoop. Meeting already in progress Discussion already in Akan/English CS, serious discussions and few jokes. They have a class test coming up tomorrow

8 members present – 5 ladies and 3 men Say they are about 12

Apea introduces me after the discussion. Group comprises 1 Ewe, 1Dangme, 1 Kasena and 5 Akans.

All members belong to other study groups but meet for the general science courses.

He tells them of my mission and they agree to be part of my focus group. I recognize Yaaba and Yaa from the first group

9.00 pm.

Meet Asibi in front of Aggrey hall 2 to meet her other group.

This is a special education group.

They are also ready to close but stay to meet me.

12 members were present – 5 Ewes, 2 Akans, 3 Nzemas and 2 Dagaes

All our interactions are made in English

Special education has 3 units –

EVI – Education for the visually impaired

EHI – Education for the hearing impaired

EMI – Education for the mentally challenged

Members meet for general courses but all members belong to groups related to their special areas.

Members offer other courses like Art Education, Maths, Music, Health Physical Education, Recreation and Sports (HPERS).

Close at 10.00 p.m

Met groups on 22/3/11, 24/3/11

27/3/11 Met all group leaders at 6.30 p.m and explained the format of my work. I tell them about the consent forms, the recordings and if possible will like to take photographs of them

31/3/11

7.00 p.m meet group under staircase. Call them Church group and they agree to the name

Today a lady is leading the discussion. I did not notice her at the previous meetings. Was told she travelled

I think she is Ewe judging from her accent. Everyone addresses her as Madam

Give them the consent forms to sign

Discussion is in English only



Start my recording

8.00 visit Science Group

Give them consent forms to read and sign

Start my recording

Discussions in Twi/English CS

Rush to meet the Special education group to deliver the consent forms

5/4/11

Arrive at 4 02 p.m.

Visit Araba. Awo is there cooking

They speak only Twi. Awo says she is Ewe. Surprised because I thought she was Akan. Didn't get her ethnicity right the first day. They tell me all the members in the group can speak Akan including Sister, the Nigerian nun. Sister looks old. I think she is the oldest member.

7.00 p.m.

Attend study group meeting.

Osei is leading today. They discuss a topic in English literature

He starts off in Twi and someone draws his attention but he ignores her and then all the discussions are done in Twi and English. This is the first time I have seen the group doing any of their discussions in Twi . I think they have become used to my presence.

Madam still maintains English

Take pictures of the group

## **Appendix 7**

## Sociolinguistic background of some students

### **Nii**

Nii is a male student and the leader of the Church Group. He is ethnic Ga and speaks it fluently. He also speaks the Twi dialect of Akan fluently in addition to English. During the holidays, he lives in Accra with his parents and siblings. In the group discussions, he alternates between English and Akan/English when he leads. He used to speak Akan with me until he realized I could speak Ga and we alternated between Akan and Ga in most of our personal interactions. Whenever we are with the group, we spoke Akan or English. Besides me, I saw him once chatting in Ga with Amerley. Amerley is not a regular member of the group and I met her only once. Nii had his secondary education in the Greater Accra Region

### **Aseye**

Aseye is a female student and a member of the Church group. She is ethnic Ewe and lives in the Volta Region during the holidays. She speaks English with a heavy Ewe accent. In all my interactions with the group, I never heard her speaking Akan but I believe she understands it because she always contributed meaningfully to the discussion even when others speak Akan. During the interview section, I found out that she is one of those who seriously objects to the use of Akan in the group's discussions.

**Osei**

Osei is a male student and a member of both the Church and Sped Groups but is regular at both groups' meetings. He is ethnic Akan and speaks Akan and English only. He lives in Kumasi during the holidays. He is a teacher by profession and taught for three years in Kumasi before entering the university. He claims he cannot speak Ga and yet attended secondary school in Accra.

**Awo**

Awo is a female student. She is ethnic Ewe and lives in the Volta Region of Ghana during the holidays. She is also a teacher but entered the university straight from the training college so she has not had much experience in teaching apart from the little practice she had at the training college. For someone who lives permanently in the Volta Region, she does not speak English with much accent characteristic of people from that region. She speaks the Twi dialect of Akan in addition to Ewe and English. She is a close friend of Araba and speaks Twi with her most of the time. She is a member of both the Church and Science Groups.

**Asibi**

Asibi is a female student and ethnic Dagomba from the Northern Region of Ghana and speaks her native Dagbane fluently besides English and the Twi dialect of Akan. Though she speaks Twi and was observed making some of her contributions in it, in the interview it came out that she is one of those who complain of the use of Akan in the group's discussions. She is a member of both the Church and Sped Groups

### **Yaaba**

Yaaba is ethnic Nzema but can speak both the Fanti and Twi dialects of Akan. She can also speak Ga. She lives in Accra during the vacation. She is a member of the Church Group. She had her secondary education in the Central Region of Ghana.

### **Oduro**

Oduro is a male student and comes from Nkonya in the Volta Region of Ghana. He speaks his native Nkonya (a dialect of the Guan language). He also speaks Ewe and Akan in addition to English. He lives in Cape Coast with his elder sister. He claims he speaks Fanti with his sister but in the study group I observed that he speaks Twi as well.

### **Ibo**

Ibo is a Nigerian and speaks a dialect of Ibo. She has lived in Ghana for the past four years in Accra. She speaks Akan too and claims she learnt it in her community but she is not very fluent and so made most of her contributions in English. She claims she has not interacted much in Ga and so cannot speak it.

### **Nartey**

Nartey is a native Dangme from the Greater Accra Region. He lives in his hometown during the holidays. He speaks Ga and Akan too. He is also a member of the Church Group.

### **Araba**

Araba is a female student and ethnic Akan. She speaks the Fanti dialect but is also fluent in the Twi dialect. She is the close friend of Awo and speaks Twi with her. In fact Twi is their main language of interaction even during study group meetings. During vacations, she lives in Winneba with her elder sister who teaches at the Winneba Nursing Training College. She had

her secondary education at Winneba Secondary School in the Central Region of Ghana. She has lived in Winneba for the past seven years but claims she can hardly speak Efutu

### **Akuvi**

Akuvi is a female student and an ethnic Ewe but speaks only English with Laadi her roommate who is ethnic Waale from the Upper Region of Ghana. She also speaks Akan. Akuvi believes Akan is her first language because that is the language she speaks at home with her parents. She was raised in Takoradi and speaks the Fanti dialect of Akan fluently. She also had her secondary education in Takoradi. She is a member of the Sped Group

### **Laadi**

Laadi is a female student and ethnic Waale from the Upper Region of Ghana and speaks her native language fluently. She claims she can speak Akan though I never heard her speaking it. This might probably be because her group operated mostly in English. She said she learnt her Twi in her hometown because they trade with Techiman, a predominantly Akan-speaking town. Entering the university was her first time in the South of Ghana and she still goes back to her hometown during the holidays. She has been visiting Accra periodically since she entered the university.

### **Kwame**

Kwame is a male student. He is half Ewe and half Akan and he speaks Akan fluently but not Ewe. He says his mother speaks only Akan to him and his siblings and so they never got the opportunity to learn. He also speaks Ga a bit and says he learnt it from his friends in the secondary school. He lives in Koforidua in the Eastern Region of Ghana during the vacation.

**Kaki**

Kaki is a female student. She is half Ewe and half Dangme and speaks both languages. She also speaks Twi and Ga fluently. She lives in Accra during the holidays.



