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CODE-SWITCHING IN AKAN-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

University of California, Los Angeles

Ph.D.

1979

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Code-Switching in Akan-English

Bilingualism

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Barnabas Forson

1979
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1979
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF TABLES</th>
<th>vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PART I INTRODUCTION

0.1 AIM ........................................... 1
0.2 MATERIALS .................................... 3

1.1 CHAPTER ONE: SOME RELATED STUDIES IN CODE-SWITCHING .......... 5

1.01 SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH .................................... 5
1.02 LINGUISTIC APPROACH ...................................... 14

1.2 TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING .................................. 20

1.3 DEFINITION OF CODE-SWITCHING ............................. 23
  1.3.1 What Code-Switching Is Not ............................ 26
  1.3.2 What Code-Switching Is ................................. 29

## PART II AKAN

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND OF AKAN ....................... 33

2.0 THE PROBLEM .......................................... 33
2.1 NAME OF LANGUAGE ...................................... 34
  2.1.1 Various Terms ........................................ 34
  2.1.2 Dialects .............................................. 40
  2.1.3 Suggestion ............................................. 43
  2.1.4 Geography ............................................. 44

2.2 HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AKAN IN GHANA .................. 48
  2.2.1 Western Europeans in Ghana .......................... 48
  2.2.2 Borrowing .............................................. 51
  2.2.3 Written Fante .......................................... 52
  2.2.4 Written Akuapem ....................................... 55
  2.2.5 Fante to 'Twi'? ......................................... 55
  2.2.6 Written Asante ......................................... 59
  2.2.7 English, Medium of Instruction ....................... 60
  2.2.8 How Much Code-Switching? ............................. 61
  2.2.9 Unification of Orthography ............................ 61

2.3 SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC POSITIONS OF AKAN AND ENGLISH .......... 62
  2.3.1 Akan in Ghana ......................................... 63
  2.3.2 English ............................................... 64
CHAPTER THREE: ASPECTS OF AKAN GRAMMAR RELEVANT TO CODE-SWITCHING  70

3.1 PHONOLOGY  ........................................ 71
3.1.1 The Consonant System ............................. 71
3.1.2 The Vowel System .................................. 74
3.1.3 Diphongs .......................................... 77
3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES ......................... 78
3.2.1 Special Dialectal Features ....................... 78
3.3 VOWEL HARMONY IN AKAN ............................ 80
3.3.1 Vowel Harmony in Fante .......................... 81
3.4 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX ......................... 82
3.4.1 The Pronoun System ................................ 82
3.4.2 Tense/Aspect Marking in Akan .................... 84
3.4.3 Extra Asante Vowel Suffix ....................... 91
3.5 TONE .................................................. 92
3.5.1 General .......................................... 92
3.5.2 Dialects .......................................... 93
3.5.3 Active/Static ...................................... 93
3.6 ORDER OF PRE-VERBAL MORPHEMES ................. 94
3.7 NUMBER ................................................ 96
3.7.1 Countables ....................................... 96
3.7.2 Non-Countables .................................. 98
3.8 MODIFICATION OF NOUNS ............................. 99
3.8.1 Pre-Head ......................................... 99
3.8.2 Post-Head ....................................... 100
3.9 ADVERBS ............................................. 100
3.10 SUBORDINATION ..................................... 102
3.11 FRONTING .......................................... 104
3.12 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION ....................... 105

PART III NORMAL AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS .......... 108

4.0 THE PROBLEM ......................................... 108
4.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGES IN CONTACT .... 109
4.2 SPEAKERS' EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS ........................................ 113
4.3 SUBJECT MATTER ...................................... 117
4.4 FORMALITY .......................................... 121
4.5 MEDIUM ............................................. 125
4.6 NON-RELEVANT FACTORS ............................ 128
4.7 DIRECTION OF SWITCH ............................... 131

CHAPTER FIVE: GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING 132
5.0 INTER- AND INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING 132
5.1 PHONOLOGY 135
  5.1.1 Phonemes 140
  5.1.2 Epenthetic Vowels 142
  5.1.3 Initial Vowel Deletion 145
  5.1.4 Extra Asante Vowel 147
  5.1.5 Tone 148
  5.1.6 Possession 150
  5.1.7 Vowel Harmony 152
  5.1.8 Special Phonological Features in Fante 156
5.2 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX 157
  5.2.1 Morpheme-Level Switching 157
  5.2.2 Word/Phrase-Level Switching 162
5.3 CLAUSE-LEVEL SWITCHING 172
  5.3.1 Subordination 172
  5.3.2 Relativization 178
  5.3.3 Fronting 179
  5.3.4 Serial Verb Construction 181
5.4 LEXICON 183

CHAPTER SIX: LINGUISTIC SIGNIFICANCE 187

6.0 187
6.1 ACQUISITION 187
  6.1.1 Background 189
  6.1.2 The Data 190
  6.1.3 Findings 191
  6.1.4 Observation 195
6.3 SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING 197
6.3.1 ATTITUDES 200
  6.3.2 Observations 206
  6.3.3 Sample Quotes 209
6.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 214

APPENDICES 222

BIBLIOGRAPHY 286

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## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Akan: Speakers of Various Dialects</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>European Settlements and Activities in the Gold Coast (now Ghana)</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Early Publications by Ghanaians</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Akan Consonant System</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Akan Vowels</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Akan Pronoun System</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Attitudes Toward Code-Switching</td>
<td>.202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Quantity of English Items in Discourses I-III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Akan in her Language Family.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Africa South of the Sahara, showing</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akan in the Niger-Congo Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spanish and Portuguese Languages in</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the World after the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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PUBLICATIONS

Forson, B. (co-author). 1975. English Course for Primary Schools in Ghana
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   (ii) Teachers' Books 1-6
   (iii) Workbooks 1-6

x

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Code-Switching in Akan-English

Bilingualism

by

Barnabas Forson

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1979

Professor Paul M. Schachter, Chair

The study deals with the factors leading to, and the linguistic characteristics of, code-switching involving Akan (a West African language) and English. It has six main chapters and an appendix which provides some samples of discourses and suggestions for further study.

In Chapter One, the subject of code-switching is introduced with a review of some related studies, a simple typology, and a working definition of code-switching for this study.

Chapter Two gives some background information about the two languages involved: the geographical distribution of Akan, a Kwa language which is one of forty-six languages spoken in Ghana but native to over 40 per cent of
Ghanaians, a survey of the main Akan dialects, a short history of literacy in Akan and English, and the relative social statuses of the two languages in Ghana.

This is followed, in Chapter Three, by an outline of the aspects of Akan grammar relevant to the main issues raised in the study of Akan-English code-switching.

The sociolinguistic factors leading to normal Akan-English code-switching—speakers' linguistic background, medium, formality, subject matter, as well as the kind of relationship between the languages in contact are discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five examines the grammatical characteristics of (including constraints on) Akan-English code-switching.

Finally, Chapter Six deals with the acquisition and social function of, as well as attitudes toward, Akan-English code-switching.
PART I

INTRODUCTION

0.1 AIM

Of the many identified language phenomena that are pursued by scholars, code-switching is perhaps the most stigmatized, most detested, and least studied. Switchers and listeners alike show generally negative attitudes toward it (examples in Chapter Six, under "Attitudes") because of the loyalty to one's language which sees any such mixture as a sign of alienation or lack of patriotism. Compared with such bilingualism-related concepts as dialectology, diglossia\(^1\), registers\(^2\), etc., which receive, at worst, unemotional reactions, therefore, code-switching attracts less than average enthusiasm from even descriptive linguists.

Yet it is as much a part of the linguistic repertoire of the bilinguals who use it as each of the two (or more) languages that make the speakers bilingual. If the component languages participating in code-switching deserve a systematic and rewarding study, there is basically an equally good case to be made for the study of the "hybrid code," too.
This study is not, however, meant to be an apologia for code-switching, or a recommendation that it be learned. It primarily intends to use the Akan-English situation to describe some of the grammatical regularities and characteristics of this facet of bilingual speech, and to suggest what role code-switching plays in enriching, rather than impoverishing, the switcher's register range as well as his linguistic competence and performance in general.

In the process, we will address ourselves to the following questions, among others:

1. Are there types of code-switching according to language/dialect relations and statuses? Specifically, is code-switching automatic in any type of bilingualism (in its broadest sense in the existing literature), irrespective of social relations and statuses of the languages involved and the diglossia situations?

2. What phonological, syntactic, and semantic constraints does the Akan-English code-switching operate in?

3. Under what circumstances do Akan-English bilinguals switch codes?

4. What further research, resulting from this study, can general linguistics benefit from?

If reasonable answers are found to these questions from this study, it is hoped that a modest start will have been made with perhaps the most extensive study of
code-switching between an African language, Akan, and a genetically unrelated language, English, toward an explanation of both theoretical and applied linguistic problems.

0.2 MATERIALS

The study will be based primarily on material that was tape-recorded and transcribed during an earlier exercise for an M.A. thesis in Ghana. A few short sentences were also hand-recorded in that exercise. Later, some recordings were also made with subjects in the United States. These were native Akan bilinguals (with English). After being in the United States for some time, however, it is suspected that their language may have been modified somewhat. Therefore, since code-switching among Akans in the United States could constitute a completely different and important study in its own right, it is not going to be an integral part of the present exercise. Samples of the characteristics of code-switching in the two main geographical settings appear in Appendix "A to F."

In all cases, the recordings were surreptitious. There were a few problems in using this method of data collection. Among them was, first, the fact that large chunks of taped materials were sometimes not very audible. Also, there were often very long pauses, since utterances were neither prepared nor organized.
However, this method had the advantage of recording only "natural" utterances. As a regular participant in the language activities recorded, I might often have sounded a little too prominent, especially in my role as the initiator or prompter of some of these discourses. Under the circumstances, the important test that my own utterances would have to pass as also being "natural" was that they should not draw any attention or comments from the other participants. If they did, they would not be "natural." They did not.

In any case, I do not intend to cite or analyze any of my own utterances in the following description.
CHAPTER ONE

1.1 SOME RELATED STUDIES IN CODE-SWITCHING

We can break our overview of some significant studies on code-switching into two broad categories—sociological and linguistic—though the materials in these categories almost inevitably draw from each other, and sometimes overlap.

1.01 SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

One of the most prolific contributors in the social aspect of code-switching has to be J. J. Gumperz, an anthropologist who has been involved in various extensive studies in socio- and psycho-linguistic explanations of the phenomenon.

In 1969 Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez reported (and their findings were confirmed by those of Lance in 1969) that there are many bilingual Mexican-Americans for whom "alternating language is a feature of daily conversation rounds with family and friends." These bilinguals are observed to switch between Spanish and English within sentences, clauses, and phrases, and this does not appear to slow down the pace of their conversation.

Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez demonstrate in this study, and in a later one (1972), that switching codes is
a response to the switchers' assessment of each other's "ethnic identity, age, sex, degree of solidarity, or confidentiality." Here, not only do we begin to get an explanation for switching codes, but also we are given a hint of switching being done on purpose.

This position is reinforced in a study by Blom and Gumperz (1972), which is similarly concerned with values expressed in certain genres of speech, especially self-identity and pride in informal conversation. But the language community here is different from the Spanish-English one studied by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez. Blom and Gumperz's study is with a Norwegian community of the Hemnes, and the authors discuss rules of alterations governing the linguistic repertoire of the entire community. The Hemnes switch between one of two legal standard forms of the language, Bokmål (formerly Riksmål; the other standard is Nynorsk, formerly Landsmål), and the local dialect, Ranamål, which is an integral part of the family background—a sign of local identity.

Blom and Gumperz distinguish between situational and metaphorical switching. In situational switching, the speakers shift completely from using one tongue to another in response to a change of participants or strategies. For example, the arrival of non-speakers of the dialect, Ranamål, occasions a change from Ranamål to
the standard, Bokmål, accompanied by a change in speed, rhythm, frequency of hesitation pauses, etc. There is also the example of a lecture in Bokmål followed by an open discussion of it in Ranamål. The authors explain that this alternation between varieties of the language redefines the situation—a change in the governing norms.

In metaphorical switching, the participants use both tongues within the same language activity and situation. This is usually intentional and meant to "bring a flavor of the speakers' relationship," according to the authors. The alternation, they argue, enriches the situation, and alludes to there being more than one social relationship in the same situation.

Thus, we have a study of code-switching that covers switching of dialects and/or registers within what could be considered a monolingual repertoire by other criteria. This has been observed in Akan (speakers switching between the various dialects in somewhat similar circumstances as Blom and Gumperz report), but it has not been systematically studied, nor is it intended in this exercise. This study is concerned with inter-language, rather than inter-dialect, switching. The latter could be the subject of another study.

Gumperz's recent work on the subject (1977) focuses on the complex relationship between usage and social
context, contrasted with the "simple, almost one-to-one, relationship" in a diglossia situation. He suggests that members build on one another's "knowledge of the alternative grammatically distinct subsystems and the social assumptions this implies" to generate indirect conversational inferences. With the extension of the definition of meaning from "reference to intent," Gumperz points out that social suppositions play an important part in understanding speech norms. Thus switchers have their own socially-defined notions of code or style.

Lance (1969) focuses his examination on the personal histories of bilinguals who switch codes. He studies the milieu in which the two languages were acquired and the functions of each of the languages in the lives of the bilinguals. He notes that "a bilingual background characterized by the use of the two languages at home ('compound bilingualism' in psycholinguistic literature) leads to a merger of two linguistic systems on the level of competence, while the potential for independent performances in either language remains unaffected—as does the possibility of switching between languages—'speaking a willy-nilly mixture of the two'." While 'compound bilingualism' should obviously be a basis for code-switching, it need not be a necessary requirement. The present study will provide examples of switchers who
are monolingual at home and bilingual elsewhere. Many of the Akan-English bilinguals used have absolutely no English background at home. They live with monolingual Akans at home, and do not switch at home. In the company of Akan-English bilinguals, however, they switch between the languages.

Further, there are some Akan families, both in Ghana and in the United States, who use English and/or Akan in the following different ways at home:

1. Exclusively English among all members of the family.

2. English and Akan, side by side, among all members of the family.

3. Exclusively English between parents and children, but Akan or code-switching between parents.

These situations may be expected to lead to code-switching at certain points in the family members' individual linguistic lives. The different linguistic characteristics of the code-switching resulting from different backgrounds could be the subject of another study.

E. Haugen's studies are a survey of bilingualism in the United States and a few casual observations of points beyond. Predictably, most of these studies include English as one of the languages of the bilingual United States immigrants and their offspring born and raised in
the United States. But only two articles on Spanish-English code-switching are referred to: J. J. Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1969), and Lance (1969). The first work, covering a period up to 1956 (Haugen, 1956) is a bibliography of general bilingualism in the United States and various South American countries.

Haugen's later work (1970) reflects different sub-disciplinary approaches to what he calls "bilingual talk." The study examines works by experimental psychologists and psycholinguists in which switching is more or less forced on the subjects in carefully constructed tests (e.g., tests by Kolers in 1965 and Macnamara in 1967) designed to measure such factors as differences in encoding and decoding times used in producing monolingual versus bilingual (i.e., switched) texts. The other facet of this study is concerned with linguistic and sociological treatments of code-switching based on data collected from bilinguales in "natural settings," e.g., Rayfield's (1970) study of the Yiddish and English situation, or Hasselmo (1969) on the Swedish-English situation in Wisconsin. Haugen's studies are merely an anthology of types of code-switching-related studies. They all more or less confirm the existence of the phenomenon which he calls "language mixture," but point out that it occurs at random in sentences, clauses, and smaller units.
Scotton and Ury (1977) go a little further than identifying code-switching. In a discussion of the social functions of code-switching, the authors use a study of a bilingual community in Kenya, East Africa, that switches between Luyia, a local dialect, and Swahili, the national and official language, to demonstrate that code-switching interactions can be defined in terms of three different social arenas (a "social arena" is defined as a "construct to correspond to a set of norms"), and that a change in social arenas corresponds to a change in the nature of the interaction. Each change in interaction and social arena is accompanied by a change in the variety of language used, and code-switching is one such variety.

The three arenas identified by the authors are as follows:

1. The Identity arena, where the participants share at least one common factor, e.g., age, occupation, etc.

2. The Power arena, where the relationships are unequal.

3. The Transactional arena, which is neither Identity nor Power, but a blend of the two.

Here, code-switching is seen as resulting from these arenas but not bound to them.

This is different from the position described in Brown and Gilman (1968), in which 'power' and 'solidarity'
pre-exist with, or characterize the meaning of, language
choice, according to social norms. For Brown and
Gilman, language choice is a "direct function of the fixed
relationship of status and degree of acquaintance" between
the participants. Interactions are seen as pre-existing
clusters of topics, participants, etc.

Brown and Gilman's treatment ends up with views
similar to Blom and Gumperz's (1972) dichotomy between
situational and metaphorical switching. Their example of
a choice between one of two second person pronouns
according to pre-existing arenas is similar to Freiderich's
(1972) treatment of switches between one form of the same
pronoun and another in Russian according to well-defined
social situations.

Thus, in the views of both Brown and Gilman, on the one
hand, and Scotton and Ury, on the other, status re-
relationship is somehow linked with language choice. The
difference in the two positions is that Brown and Gilman
see a one-to-one relationship between status relationship
and language choice; Scotton and Ury see the link resulting
from a role-taking—a dynamic process which is never one-
to-one.

Timm's (1975) short work on Mexican-Americans'
Spanish-English code-switching looks at code-switching
from both sociological and linguistic standpoints in
remarkable detail. In the sociological aspect of this
study, Timm's findings corroborate and exemplify those of Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1969, 1972). She observes that a Spanish bilingual's switching to Spanish is "a device for indicating such personal feelings as affection, loyalty, commitment, respect, pride, challenge, sympathy, or religious devotion." Understandably, a switch to Spanish is likely when the topic of conversation turns to aspects of Mexican culture or life in the barrios. Conversely, if the Spanish (Mexican) switches to English, he does so to signify his feelings of detachment, objectivity, alienation, displeasure, dislike, conflict of interest, aggression, fear, or pain, or it may be in response to a shift of topic to matters essentially Anglo-American.

Switching is also used, according to Timm, for highly effective rhetorical and stylistic purposes, typically for quotations, or to emphasize what has just been said in the other language, for a parenthetical--often witty--aside, to mimic someone, and for humorous and/or satirical comments on some aspect of social life.

Code-switching for humorous effect is also reported by Haugen (1972). And Stewart (1968) sees the French-Haitian Creole code-switching as a "stylistic device to indicate a change in the mood...of the discourse."

But we have a couple of problems by calling the first of the situations Timm describes here "metaphorical." It conflicts quite a bit with "metaphorical" as used in, say,
Blom and Gumperz or Fishman (1972). In both of these, the term refers to switching which occurs within the same situation and discourse. Timm, on the other hand, suggests a situation in which a speaker changes entirely from one language (say, only Spanish) into another (say, English) as a result of a change in setting. Secondly, the situation in which only "positive" feelings coincide, or are associated, with switching into Language 1, and all "negative" feelings are linked with switches into Language 2, has not been attested anywhere else in the literature, and would appear to be strikingly different from the Akan-English situation.

The sociological approach to code-switching in various forms of bilingualism have, therefore, taken the form of recognizing the presence of the phenomenon, explaining it in terms of cultural and emotional affinity and a redefinition of the setting for the language event. Though none of the investigators say so, it appears to be rather deliberate. The use of code-switching recognizes specific social norms to which it is either bound or from which it emanates.

1.02 LINGUISTIC APPROACH

Compared with the sociological studies, the purely linguistic examination of code-switching, though reasonably old, has not been nearly as vigorously pursued. The little
interest in this direction has centered almost exclusively around the syntax. Little or nothing is said about phonology or lexis. And even the syntactic investigations have usually been confined to constraints on isolated points. Other than these, investigators have not often found any systematic patterns in code-switching.

Espinosa's (1917) study of the influence of English on Mexican Spanish is not only one of the pioneers in the general investigation of code-switching, but one of the earliest studies concerned with the linguistic characteristics of what he calls language "mixture." He, however, simply observes that the use of regular English words and phrases in the Spanish of Mexicans has no fixed limits. This unproved view was held for almost half a century, and as recently as 1971, Labov assessed the Spanish-English code-switching of Puerto Ricans in New York as "the irregular mixture of two distinct systems." The concept of "irregularity" must have played a part in dimming interest in any linguistic approach to code-switching. But, then, monolingual language is often no more regular.

The second part of Timm's study (ibid) provides us with an example of the most systematic approaches to the syntactic investigation into code-switching. Timm agrees with Labov that the two languages in code-switching remain independent systems, but denies that code-switching is
syntactically irregular. She demonstrates, even if not entirely indisputably, firstly, that there are syntactic regularities underlying the switching process, and secondly, that some segments of speech are never switched.

Timm's study specifically looks at the co-occurrence of finite verbs with pronouns (subject and object) and some verbal modifiers (auxiliaries and infinitival complements) in Spanish-English code-switching. Using the word orders of the two languages, she computes various combinations of switches between these and comes up with the following interesting results:

1. That switching cannot occur between pronouns and finite verbs (e.g., S-E. 1-4):

```
Subj.  Verb
S-E.1. Spanish English (a) *yo (I) went;
S-E.2. English Spanish (a) *I fui (went);
S-E.1. Spanish English (b) *el (he) wants;
S-E.2. English Spanish (b) *he quiere (wants);
S-E.1. Spanish English (c) *ellos (they) gave;
S-E.2. English Spanish (c) *they daban (gave);
```

```
Verb  Object  (English Word Order)
S-E.3. Spanish English (a) *mira(looked at) him;
   (Spanish Word Order)
   (a) *him mira;
   (English Word Order)
   (b) *dijo (said) to him;
   (Spanish Word Order)
   (b) *to them dijo;
```

16
Verb   Object   (English Word Order)

S-E.4. English Spanish   (a) *she sees lo (it);  
       (Spanish Word Order)  
           (a) *lo she sees;  
       (English Word Order)  
           (b) *said les;  
       (Spanish Word Order)  
           (b) *les said;

2. That switching is prohibited between finite verbs and infinitival complements (e.g., S-E. 5,6):

S-E.5. (a) *they want a venir;  
       (b) *they want a come;  
       (c) *they quieren to come;
S-E.6. (a) *I'm going a decidir;  
       (b) *I'm going a decide;  
       (c) *voy to decide;  
       (d) *voy a decide;

3. That switching between auxiliary and verb is "aberrant" unless the principal verbal element is a phonologically adapted English loan word (e.g., S-E. 7-10):

S-E.7. (a) *I must esperar (b) *debo wait;  
S-E.8. (a) *(he) has visto (b) *ha seen;  
S-E.9. (a) *(I) was caminando (b) *estaba walking;  
S-E.10. *(he) was watchando (=watching)

Timm explains the non-occurrence of switching between finite verbs and pronouns in terms of the fact that Spanish subject pronouns are allegedly optional, and are realized
from the marking on the verb. This, however, does not help us to explain why switching does not occur between finite verbs and object pronouns, which are not optional. Secondly, it is clear that the explanation (for the non-occurrence of switching between subject pronouns and verbs) does not apply to all verbs. A glance at the examples under (1.) shows that the verbs used—"went," "wants," and "gave"—usually have a high frequency use in most languages (and I am told—by Reyes, 1979—that Spanish is no exception), and switchers typically tend to use the more frequently used or the structurally simpler items from either of the languages being switched. Perhaps further work with different types of verbs, say, those with relatively lower frequency use and/or those which are structurally more complex in Spanish than in English, might help to confirm or modify these conclusions.

In the light of this hypothesis, one is not surprised that Pfaff (1977) readily finds a few counterexamples to Timm's claims, e.g., S-E.11:

S-E.11. tu lo underestimate a Chito

"You underestimate Chito."

The Spanish equivalent of the English item "underestimate" is bajaestimar, which is less frequently used. Thus, the English verb "underestimate" occurs with the Spanish subject pronoun tu and object pronoun lo.
Pfaff also provides counterexamples to Timm's claim that switching cannot occur between finite verbs and their infinitival complements, with examples S-E.12 and 13 below:

**S-E.12.** y fui a cash su cheque.
"I want to cash his cheque;"

**S-E.13.** no van a bring it up in the meeting.
"They're not going to bring it up in the meeting."

The same explanations might possibly hold for these, too. The translation for "to cash" in "cashing a cheque" is reportedly more complex than the English item; and "bring it up" is an idiom, which is likely to be more frequently quoted in English in connection with meetings than its Spanish equivalent. The regular use of the verb complement "to bring," for example, is not likely to be switched with a Spanish finite verb.

Similarly, Pfaff's counterexamples of switches between auxiliaries and principal verbs, such as:

**S-E.14.** estaba training para pelear.
"He was training to fight."

and

**S-E.15.** and ever since then I have been hablando espanol.
"and ever since then I have been speaking Spanish."

should help to modify Timm's conclusions.

The available literature on the subject, therefore, largely concentrates on Indo-European languages, with the
exception of isolated examples like the study of the Kenyan situation involving Swahili and Luyia. It is also quite clear that most of the attention paid to code-switching has been in connection with the sociological and psychological aspects of the phenomenon, whereas the grammatical aspect has been largely neglected, on the whole, as being irregular and presumably unprofitable. This study is an attempt to start a systematic investigation of the grammatical aspect of code-switching.

1.2 TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is usually conversational—frequently spoken, rather than written or sung. Blom and Gumperz (op.cit.) distinguish between two types of conversational code-switching: situational and metaphorical (see under "Sociological Approach," p. 5 above), a typology which has been used by other linguists since introduced.

Metaphorical code-switching, with which we are mainly concerned in this study, can further be classified into two subtypes: deliberate and normal.

In deliberate code-switching, at least one of the participants, the speaker, is aware of the fact that he is using two linguistic systems. He intentionally switches between the two systems for some special effect or purpose, e.g., humor, parodying code-switching, illustrating a point, etc. Basically, it has most of the
characteristics of general code-switching, but, since it is deliberate, there are, theoretically at least, no constraints (sociological or linguistic) on it.

It can be in any medium--spoken, written, or sung. For example, over the past decade or so, a few Ghanaian popular songs have occasionally employed the phenomenon for humorous effect. One of the earliest was Alex Sackey's "Alomo (Jack Toronto)" (Appendix C) recorded in about 1970. In it, the artist switches between Akan pre-verbal affixes (subject pronouns, tense/aspect morphemes) and English main verbs, which is basically allowed in Akan-English code-switching (see under Syntax, Chapter Five below) though prohibited in Spanish-English (Timm), thus:

"... ṣ - se' mi - n - go;
he - say I - imp - go
me - se' mi - 'n - go'
I - say I - neg - go."

"He says I should go; I say I won't go..."

It would be clearly unusual, however, to switch between such Akan preverbal affixes and an English verb like "go" (in a regular, nonidiomatic use) in regular Akan-English code-switching. But this is precisely how he achieves the humor intended.

Kwadwo Donker's Ogyatanaa Band followed about a couple of years later with "Agya Nyame," which does use
lexical items and syntax that could be found in regular Akan-English code-switching, e.g.,

B\text{rise} \text{ on the first} \text{ pa' a na onipa ba} \text{ a - because really then person child PF-}
\text{brok -u \text{ Na account no a -t free}}
\text{broke-V And \text{ the PF-fall}}

"Because just on the first (of the month), the son of man is broke, and the account is in 'free' (or neutral, gear)\ldots"

The success of this song does not, in this case, depend on a violation of code-switching rules, but on the fact that the artist is code-switching--deliberately--in a song, especially one that is supposed to be a plea to God.

Deliberate code-switching may also take any degree of formality. It may occur in very informal casual conversation, as, for example, when code-switchers ridicule the phenomenon itself, or in very formal, prepared use, as in an illustration in a formal lecture, or when used in a (prepared) song. It can be used for any type of subject matter--general or technical, and for practically any social function--as well as for entertainment or for academic discussions.

I would, therefore, classify the cases of code-switching for humor and special effect as reported by Haugen (1972) and Timm, etc., under deliberate code-switching.
Normal code-switching, on the other hand, is basically unintentional. The speaker is unaware of the fact that he is using two grammatical systems. The grammatical systems he uses are controlled and operate within quite specific constraints (Chapter Five). Similarly, there are sociological factors which characterize normal code-switching: the common linguistic background for speakers, specifically spoken informal medium, particular social functions, subject matter, and relationships between languages (Chapter Four below).

The following, then, is our diagrammatic representation of the types of code-switching that we can discern:

```
  Conversational Code-Switching
    /     \
   /       \
  Situational  Metaphorical
    \
     /     \
    Deliberate  Normal
```

Our main interest in this study is normal metaphorical conversational code-switching involving Akan and English.

1.3 DEFINITION OF CODE-SWITCHING

If there is one point on which scholars of code-switching agree, it is the fact that at least two linguistic systems are involved. Beyond this, very
subtle but important differences are found in various definitions of the phenomenon. In fact, earlier studies on the subject use terms that have quite different, and therefore sometimes confusing, meanings in current linguistic literature.

Weinreich (1953) is an example. In perhaps the earliest use of the term, he says "code-switching... occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech." In Weinreich's view, code-switching is the first of three stages in the process of "borrowing" (which he also calls language "diffusion" or "integration"). The stages are as follows:

1. **Switching**: The alternate use of two languages.
2. **Interference**: The overlapping of two languages;
3. **Integration** (or "diffusion" or "borrowing"): The regular use of material from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in the historical sense.

The use of "integration" for "borrowing" is helpful here, in that borrowed items can be said to have been adopted into--accepted by--the borrowing language and retained permanently as an integral part of its vocabulary.

The description of switching as "the alternate use of two languages" is perplexing. This can be said to
fairly well describe the general linguistic activities of the bilingual, but we cannot say that every speech of the bilingual is code-switching.

It is in characterizing code-switching as introducing "a completely unassimilated word" that Weinreich's and Timm's definitions have the most in common. For, Timm's code-switching is "that preeminently bilingual mode of communication characterized by frequent shifts from one language to the other (typically without phonological interference) throughout the flow of natural conversation."

As long as Weinreich talks of "words" rather than items (of different sizes) in code-switching, we have a problem confirming or refuting this claim. But whatever the case, our study of Akan-English code-switching will provide counterexamples to the claims by both Weinreich and Timm that it does not involve assimilation or phonological interference.

Other bilingualism-related concepts are also sometimes confused with code-switching, and it is necessary to distinguish them. Thus, before we can get a fairly clear picture of the nature of the subject we are dealing with, we will attempt to define code-switching negatively--i.e., in terms of what it looks like but is not--before attempting a working definition of what it is.
1.3.1 What Code-Switching Is Not

Borrowing. As appreciated by Scotton and Ury (op. cit.), for example, it is not easy to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing, especially because the use of lexical items from more than one language is an important ingredient in both. It is not even easy to assign a universal chronological order between the two phenomena. Take, for instance, Weinreich's claim that code-switching precedes borrowing, the former being the first of three stages of the latter, and that the switched items are "completely unassimilated." The following suggestions will bring out the problems involved in such claims.

Borrowing (from English into Akan) involves the use of isolated lexical items, usually nouns, and less frequently verbs, that collocate with some typical borrowed items, e.g., "po : su lete", "post (a) letter," or adjectives (usually colors). Code-switching is not confined to lexical items; it may occur within any unit—from morpheme to sentence or groups of sentences, with some constraints. Secondly, borrowing may occur in the speech of either monolinguals or bilinguals; code-switching is the product of bilingualism, and, by implication, cannot occur in the speech of monolinguals.

Thus, in the speech of all Akans, whether bilingual or monolingual, English items like the following are
regularly used, and no effort is made to look for Akan substitutes because they are foreign (English) as opposed to indigenous (Akan) concepts:

1. band : ba:n
2. stamp : sɛt ampu
3. lorry : lorI
4. driver : draba / droba / drafa
5. ditch : di:ʊ(i)

They are typically pronounced to conform with Akan phonological rules, although the pronunciation of item (3) lorry approximately coincides with Standard English pronunciation. Even more surprising is the fact that there is usually no substitution in this word for /l/, which is not in the Akan phonological system. Items (2) and (5) need final (epenthetic) vowels, principally because Akan does not have final consonants other than nasals (see Chapter Three below), and final /d/ in (1) band is deleted for similar reasons; the substitution of /b/ or /f/ for /v/ in (4) driver results from the absence of the voiced fictative in Akan (see Chapter Three below).

Apart from (3) lorry /lorI/, these items cannot be said to be unassimilated, and they do not belong to code-switching; they are borrowed. Finally, they are borrowed into the language without earlier stages of code-switching and interference. I have observed that if, out of necessity, I have to introduce a new English word when talking to my (illiterate) monolingual mother, for
example, she comes up with her own "assimilated" form immediately when echoing it; e.g., I would say, /tæŋk/ 'tank', in reporting a problem with the petrol tank of my car; she would repeat it /təŋki/.

The distinction between code-switching and borrowing is, therefore, not so much a question of the assimilation of lexical items as who uses them and the types of items used. This is obviously not always readily perceptible.

**Dialect Mixing.** In a discourse, one or more speakers may switch from the original dialect of discourse to another, or the other way round. This may occur in situational switching—shifting entirely into another mutually understood dialect of the same language because of change in situation or circumstances. When this occurs, it is bound to be deliberate, especially at the lexical level, and it may be done with specific intentions, e.g., for the sake of propriety or to join the "majority" dialect. In such a change, the speakers may be found to be mixing items from the different dialects because they may not be completely fluent in the new code. If this happens in spite of their efforts, it cannot be any more code-switching than any use of a second tongue "with an accent."

**Register Mixing.** Shifts between different registers—formal and informal, etc.—cannot properly belong to code-switching. With changes in register parameters—change of
interlocutors, subject matter, formality, etc.—during discourses, registers are inevitably mixed. This cannot be considered code-switching, however. Such changes might be described as 'register-switching', or, where all circumstances result in a change of stable registers, might properly be covered in the analysis of diglossia.

1:3.2 What Code-Switching Is

Gumperz (1977) defines code-switching as:

...the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange. Most frequently, the alternations take the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement...

Scotton and Ury (1977) do not restrict the number of languages to two, as does Gumperz. For them, code-switching is:

...the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction. The switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech. The variety may be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language...

These two examples represent two of the major different definitions of code-switching. A couple of important differences are discernible. Gumperz's emphasis is on inter- (rather than intra-) sentential switching ("...the alternations take the form of two subsequent
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works are uncomfortably wide enough to cover anything from
different languages to different dialects or different
registers. In this way, not only is code-switching seen
as a product of bilingualism, but it does, indeed, cover
the very field which bilingualism, in its general
definition (such as in Wald (1974), MacKay (1968), Hill
(1958)), covers in its entirety. Every speaker of every
language is supposed to employ more than one type of
"linguistic variety" or "grammatical system or subsystem"
at one time or another in his language life or language
activity. These could be anything from varieties
according to user, "dialects," to varieties according to
use, "registers" (Halliday, 1964); in addition, there
are situational varieties of language use, as in
Fegusson's 'diglossia' (1959), and completely different
languages. In effect, given definitions such as
Gumperz's or Scotton and Ury's, we do not have much chance
of coming into contact with a monolingual speech or
speaker; every speaker is somehow involved in some kind
of code-switching. But code-switching is not exactly
synonymous with bilingualism, nor is it the case that all
speakers, or even all bilinguals, code-switch all the
time.

Therefore, the kinds of positions represented by
those of Gumperz, on the one hand, and Scotton and Ury,
on the other, provide at best only a basis for a
definition of code-switching, and require modification.

We would offer the following as our working definition of conversational code-switching:

Using two languages--'codes'--in a single discourse within and between sentences. The use of code-switching is predictable, given the necessary sociolinguistic setting, particularly a common primary language (in this case, Akan) for all the participants, the ability to use a common second language, a knowledge of which has economic and/or social advantages over the primary language (here, English), and an informal, spoken discourse.

This is a modification of Pfaff's (1977)--"a mixture of two or more languages within a single discourse or commonly within a single sentence...". Our definition limits conversational code-switching to two languages (and excludes dialect-switching, etc.); takes into account the social statuses of the languages involved, covers both intersentential and intrasentential switching, and gives an idea of the social circumstances in which we have normal code-switching.

This is what our description is about.
PART II

AKAN

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND OF AKAN

2.0 THE PROBLEM

The first language of Akan-English code-switchers is called by various names with different references. Of these, 'Twi' (pronounced [twe]) seems the most frequently used. Other terms include 'Akan,' 'Twi-Fante,' or else the names of some of the individual dialects used by various speakers to represent the entire language. In addition, some dialects, or dialect-clusters, are sometimes included in the definition of 'Akan' or 'Twi,' but they are not mutually intelligible with the dialects involved in this study.

The first part of this chapter presents the nature of the confusion in the use of some of these terms; then a suggestion for the choice of an acceptable name and a limitation on the dialects covered is made. The section will also deal with the language family, dialects, and geographical facts of Akan.
In the second part, a short history of Ghana is sketched, tracing the circumstances leading to English becoming the second (and official) language in Ghana, as well as the reducing to writing of three dialects of Akan. Finally, the social positions of Akan and English in Ghana are discussed.

2.1 NAME OF LANGUAGE

There is considerable confusion in the literature, and among native speakers of the language we are referring to as Akan, about the precise name of the language and the geographical area covered by the term.

2.1.1 Various Terms

Christaller's otherwise excellent classic (1875) exemplifies the nature of the problem in its very title: A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Chwee, Twi).

Among the several identifiable dialects of the language are Akuapem, Asante, and Fante, given that the dialects are identified by the names of the tribes that speak them. Therefore, the initial difficulty is the statuses of the terms 'Asante,' 'Fante,' 'Akuapem,' 'Twi,' 'Akan.' With this, we do not have a clearcut criterion distinguishing dialects from languages. Most native speakers of such dialects as Akuapem, Asante, and
Akyem popularly refer to their dialects as 'Twi,' and none of these would readily accept this term as applying to Fante, nor would any Fante accept 'Twi' as applying to what he speaks. On one point, at least, therefore, there is a fairly general agreement: Fante is not 'Twi.' In fact, pragmatically, the most satisfactory definition one could offer for the term 'Twi' has to be negative, e.g., "any dialect of Akan other than Fante." The problem with such a definition, however, is that it fails to recognize the language as a dialect continuum—a cline without definitive boundaries as to where one dialect ends and another begins. We cannot group a number of dialects under one term based on geographical proximity or in terms of phonological, morphological, or lexical similarities. There are obviously more phonological and other similarities between Akuapem and Fante, for example, than between Asante and Akuapem, yet, perhaps based on historical facts (see History of English and Akan in Ghana below), Akuapem and Asante are commonly considered 'Twi' in contradistinction to Fante. Such a classification has also the added disadvantage of leaving a number of identifiable dialects carelessly hanging between the 'Twi' group and Fante, but belonging to neither—or perhaps both—depending on what level they are considered on.

Secondly, in spite of the specific mention of Asante and Fante in the title as components of the 'Twi'
language, Christaller's work is curiously almost entirely based on Akuapem, another dialect with a standing similar to Asante or Fante, and in fact, items in the latter two dialects are cited in the work only as exceptions. The confusion is compounded, when elsewhere in the main text, Christaller suggests that Akem (Akyem) and Asante were the original Akan languages, and yet does not mention 'Akan' in the title or use the 'original' language as the basis of his study:

Akan is chiefly represented by Asante and Akem, and in purity, extent and importance prevails so much over the Fante dialects, that we might even use the name as the common name of the language instead of Tshi. (P. X).

Another name, almost extinct now, is 'Amina', used in Proffen (1764) for both the 'Twi' group of dialects and for Asante. Proffen uses the name 'Amina' almost throughout his study (which is based on linguistic information collected from slaves on the Dutch islands of S. Thomas, S. Croix, and S. Jan). The name 'Asante' (spelled 'Assenti') is found only once. Clarke (1848) also makes reference to the dialect of Fante being called the 'Fetu or Amina' tongue. Crust (1883) announces "a dangerous variety of names for the Twi or Asante language"; but he is, in fact, referring only to a variety of spellings (and perhaps some alternative pronunciations) of a single name. He observes, "Ashanti is known

36

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promiscuously as OTSHI, OJI, O-TYI, ODSCHI, ODJII, OCHI, OTSUI, TYI, TSHI, CHWEE, TWI." He thanks Cristaller for "boldly cutting the knot and calling it 'Ashanti'" (p. 96). Crust also quotes Christaller as saying "Akan is spoken purest in Akem (Akyem)," and that there is "little more than a difference in pronunciation betwixt Ashanti and Fante." To this, one may quickly add that the difference between Asante and Akuapem is similarly "little more than a difference in pronunciation." If this is so, then there is no basis for grouping Asante and Akuapem under the name 'Twi,' setting it apart from Fante.

Noone is absolutely sure about how and when the term 'Twi' originated, or how it survived all others. Akrofi (1937) hints that it might have come from the Akem word for 'to scrub' or 'to polish'--"twi(w)," indicating the polished form of the language. Another suggestion is found in Christaller's reference to Twifor as "a smaller tribe...speaking a genuine Akan dialect." (p. X), but this is not elaborated.

To Christaller, as will be clear in the history sketch (below), 'Twi' is synonymous with Akan, more or less. This is a position he takes over from his teacher, the Rev. H. N. Riis (1833) and passes on to such later scholars as Akrofi, whose work is essentially an abridged translation of Christaller's.
The controversy over the name is not limited to students of Akan. Native speakers of the so-called 'Twi' dialects contribute substantially to the confusion, as evidenced in their concept of their own dialects vis-a-vis other forms of 'Twi.' Speakers of Akyem, Akuapem, and Asante, especially, usually call their variety 'Twi' to the exclusion of one another's. Here are typical examples, roughly translated from the original comments in Akan dialects:

1. After a friend of mine (EAA) had preached a sermon in the Akyem dialect at an Akyem village, an impressed member of the congregation remarked, "This is the first time we have heard a sermon in Twi; it has always been in Akuapem."

2. My landlord, an Akuapem (Presbyterian) minister (JHK), told me in a conversation, "...I taught in villages in Asante, Akyem, and all those places, yet I kept speaking my pure Twi."

3. An Asante girl in Los Angeles (DA), recently commented, "When they (Akuapem ministers) preach and pray in Akuapem instead of Twi, it's sometimes really funny to me--they really amuse me..." Then, trying to imitate Akuapems, she was closer to Fante than any other dialect, explaining, "If they don't speak Asante, what else do they speak--not Fante?"
In spite of all the controversy, the name "Twi" is unquestionably too established to be dismissed or changed. But in view of the problems of classification that it, along with other nondefinitive terms, presents, we need a more meaningful, less ambiguous term: Akan. Our reasons are different from those of Christaller, who is only worried about his choice of 'Tshi' as a common name for Asante and Fante because it "presents difficulties for the pronunciation and writing by Europeans" (p. XV), and, therefore, proposes 'Akan' for "whoever likes an unmistakable, easily pronounced name." (p. XVI). The choice of 'Akan' has the advantages of eliminating classification problems, and of being assigned a definite status—that of language, with all other varieties individually identified as its dialects, and, therefore, including all and only the dialects that are mutually understandable. Moreover, it is accepted by all speakers of the language—speakers of the so-called 'Twi' and Fante alike.

The term 'Akan' is being used more and more in some official and public situations now. Radio Ghana and the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation television (GBC-TV), for example, refer to programs in Akan dialects as 'the news in Akan,' 'Variety Entertainments in Akan,' etc. The news readers, announcers, hosts, or guests on these programs speak their various dialects. The use of 'Akan'
does not have any official backing, though, as other official Government notices, e.g., hospital notices, still appear under names like 'Twi,' 'Fante,' 'Akuapem-Twi,' 'Asante-Twi,' and never 'Akan'. The West African Examination Council still has School Certificate and GCE ordinary level examinations in 'Twi (Akuapem Version)', 'Twi (Asante Version)', and 'Fante'. The three separate papers have the same contents.

2.1.2 Dialects

The problem with identifying the dialects of Akan is tied up with the confusion in the name of the language discussed in "Various Terms" above. In addition, there is the question of linguistic areas covered by the name. In Westermann and Poryan (1952), 'Akan' represents a language group consisting of the following: (a) Twi-Fante dialect cluster; (b) Anyi-Baule dialect cluster; and (c) Guang dialect cluster.

While it is possible that these "dialect clusters" are linked by some historical and social ties, it is difficult, for our purpose at any rate, to consider all of them as one language since they are not mutually intelligible. Whereas it is true that most speakers of (b) 'Anyi-Baule' and (c) 'Guang' are bilingual (with neighboring dialects from the 'Twi-Fante' dialect cluster), the reverse is not true. For example, almost
all speakers of such Guang dialects as Kyerepong, Lateh, or Anum also use Akuapem (from 'Twi-Fante'), and almost all Efutu (Guang) speakers use Fante, but a great number of Akuapems or Fantes do not understand any Guang dialect. Riis is quoted by Cust as saying "Guang is a distinct language from Akan," and Zimmermann (1874) shares Riis' views in his "Grammar of Akra (Ga) language" (1881) and his Dictionary (1874). I agree. Our present study, therefore, excludes switches between any variety of Anyi-Baule or Guang and English.

If Westermann and Bryan's definition of the language extends beyond the bounds of mutual intelligibility, Christaller (1933)5, followed by Akrofi, plainly confuses the issue when it comes to the classification of the dialects of the language. As though we do not have enough problems in Christaller's classification of 1875, he still identifies the language as 'Twi,' and lists the major dialects as (a) Akan, (b), Brong and Kamana, and (c) Fante, while claiming that "another name for Twi is Akan" (Christaller (1933) page XII; Akrofi, page vii). All other names, therefore, represent varieties or sub-dialects of (a) to (c) above. Christaller and Akrofi go on to list these subdialects with a lot of problems for today's student of Akan, if not those of the Christaller-Akrofi eras. For example, it is quite plausible to put Asante, Akyem, Adanse, Denkyira, Twiforo, Akwam, and Wasa

41
under one group, even if that group is exclusively called 'Akan.' but few, if any, would accept a classification such as Christaller's, in which Kwawu is grouped with Brong under the main dialect (-cluster?) 'Brong and Kamana,' which includes the Guang dialects spoken at Nkonya, Worawora, Krakye, Buem, and Ntwumuru. Compounding the problem, he says, in both works, that "Kwawu includes ...Asante-Akyem" (Christaller (1875), p. XIII; (1933), p. XII). Any synchronic study of these dialects will reveal that the Kwawu dialect has a lot more in common with Akyem and Asante than with Brong, which no average Kwawu would ordinarily understand. And there is no basis for suggesting that Asante-Akyem is part of Kwawu—either as a tribe or dialect; Asante-Akyem is, for all practical purposes, an integral part of Asante.

When Christaller's classification comes to 'Fante dialects,' he turns completely geographical, without any appeal to linguistic consideration. Thus, he groups Winneba, Beraku, Senya (all speaking the Efutu variety of Guang) with Agona, whose speakers do not understand Guang; but he also has (another?) "Efutu country as part of Cape Coast"—all these being 'Fante' (1875, p. XI).

This classification is obviously not linguistically motivated, and whoever takes it seriously and uses it as a basis for compartmentalizing the dialects into the three pigeon holes provided by Christaller will only be confusing
terms, and missing important distinctions.

2.1.3 Suggestion

It is suggested that it is more satisfactory to call the language Akan and refer to each dialect by the name of the tribe to which it is native, e.g., Agona, Akuapem, Akyem, Asante, Fante, Kwawu, etc. The terms 'dialect-cluster,' 'sub-dialects,' etc., would be comfortably eliminated. If, following this, one would like to make a comparative study between individual dialects, one could do so by studying them systematically and independently at various levels—phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, etc. It is clearly not very convincing, as Christaller and Akrofi do, to label dialects as "pure," "genuine," or even to distinguish between a pair of similar dialects like Asante and Akyem by simply noting that Asante is 'broad and hard' (Akrofi: 'tɛtrɛ, denneenen'), but Akyem is 'soft and delicate' (Akrofi: 'bɔkɔɔ frenkyemm) (Asantes, they cite as an example, say kɛɛ, but Akyems say kyerɛ "show/teach"). Nor does it help any study to remark that "The dialects of Fante, compared with those of Akem and Asante, are indeed deteriorated dialects of the same language, less clear and distinct than they, and, according to concurring testimonies of ancient and recent dates, less agreeable to the ear..." (Christaller, 1875, p. XVIII). Surely,
these *"dialects of Fante*" are **not** *"less clear and distinct"* or *"less agreeable to the ear"* from the point of view of the native speaker!

2.1.4 Geography

Akan is a member of the Kwa group of languages in the Niger-Kordofanian language family (Greenberg, 1963). Figure 1 below shows Akan as a member of her language family.

---

**Fig. 1: Akan in her Language Family**

**Niger-Kordofanian Family**

- West-Atlantic
  - Mande
- Gur (Voltaic)
- Adamawa-Eastern
- Benue-Congo (including Bantu subgroup)
  - KWA
  - Ga
  - Yoruba
  - Igbo
  - Ewe
  - Guang
  - Anyi-Baule
  - AKAN

In its widest sense in the literature, Akan is spoken in two West African countries: in Ghana--in the southern portion, including some pockets of the Volta Region in eastern Ghana (mostly Guang dialects)--and in the Ivory Coast--in the eastern fringes of the country north of the lagoon as far west as River Bandinu (mainly Anyi-Baule dialects). Fig. 2 shows Africa south of the Sahara Desert, indicating the general area covered by the Niger-Congo language family, the Kwa group (numbered 6 to 9) and Akan (numbered 9).

Within our criterion of mutual intelligibility, whereby we exclude the dialects of Brong, Guang, Anyi, and Baule from our study, however, Akan is essentially a southern Ghanaian language. The boundaries of Akan in this study will therefore be approximately the River Tano on the northwest and the River Volta on the northeast. It is linguistically bounded on the west by Anyi and Baule, on the north by Guang and Brong, on the east by Ewe and on the southeast by Ga and Dangme.

According to the latest available figures based on a projection from the 1970 census, Akan is native to about 3.75 million speakers in Ghana, representing about 44 per cent of the country's population. In a country with about 46 languages, these figures make Akan easily the most dominant language in Ghana. It is spoken in most parts of the country, but almost exclusively within the
Fig. 2: Africa South of the Sahara, showing Akan in the Niger-Congo Family.
Table 1 (below) shows a breakdown of the numbers of speakers of the main dialects of Akan. (Adapted from 1970 Ghana Population Census Report, pub. Gouverment Printer, Accra.

Table 1: Akan: Speakers of Various Dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Main Region</th>
<th>No. of Speakers</th>
<th>% of Akans</th>
<th>% of Ghanaians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agona</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>62,429</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahafo</td>
<td>Brong-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahafo</td>
<td>22,782</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akuapem</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>184,173</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwamu</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>17,897</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akyem-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuakwa</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>145,288</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosome</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>15,442</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotoku</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>57,940</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(W.O.S.)*</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>40,590</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asante</td>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>1,551,474</td>
<td>41.36</td>
<td>18.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boron</td>
<td>Brong-</td>
<td>407,345</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahafo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fante</td>
<td>Central/</td>
<td>1,034,140</td>
<td>27.57</td>
<td>12.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwawu</td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>176,745</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akan(n.e.s.)**</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>34,535</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Akans 43,750,780 100.00 43.82

All Ghanaians 8,559,313 100.00

*(W.O.S.) = Without other specification.
**(n.e.s.) = not elsewhere specified.
2.2 HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AKAN IN GHANA

Only a sequence of twists of historical events has made English, rather than another Western European language, the partner in the code-switching we are studying. The second language could as well have been French, German, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, or Swedish. Speakers of all these languages were in Ghana (then the Gold Coast) in various periods of its history, as traders, missionaries, and colonialists from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.

2.2.1 Western Europeans in Ghana

Most of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese explorers had traded and built forts and castles along the west coast of Africa, principally the Gold Coast, and were in competition with the Spanish until the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. In that treaty, the Pope assigned all lands discovered approximately east of Longitude 60°W to Portugal and those west of Longitude 60°W to Spain. The Gold Coast, surrounding the Greenwich Meridian (Longitude 0°) was, therefore, in the Portuguese territory (Fig. 3).

From then, the competition between these two European nations spread to involve more Western European nations. The Gold Coast, like all other West African
countries, was a "no-man's" (or, better still, any European explorer's) land. Table 2 below is a summary of various European settlements on the Gold Coast before independence in 1957.

Table 2: European Settlements and Activities in the Gold Coast (now Ghana).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European Settlers</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Activities, Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1383-1413</td>
<td>Merchants of Dieppe-Rouen Trading Co.: Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1453 or 1471; 1481-1578</td>
<td>Trade; Built castles, forts along the coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1551-1957</td>
<td>Colonialism, Trade, Education—till independence; also Wesleyan Missionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1595-1870</td>
<td>Trade; Built castles, competed with English for land, e.g., Komenda (town) divided: British &amp; Dutch Komenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>ab. 1640-1850</td>
<td>Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>before 1652- ab. 1663</td>
<td>Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans (of Brandenburg or Prussia), Swiss (Basel)</td>
<td>1682-1720</td>
<td>Missionaries (Christianity), Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Christaller (1875); page I, Boateng (1977), pages 105-106.
2:2:2 Borrowing

Significantly, no formal education was introduced in the Gold Coast until the arrival of the British in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, with the interaction between Africans and Europeans, the African languages were inevitably influenced by the European languages somewhat. The Akan language has a few linguistic remnants to show, such as the following lexical borrowings (Source: Christaller (1875), page 195):

A. From Portuguese:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akan</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>práko/</td>
<td>porko</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamisàá</td>
<td>camisao</td>
<td>shirt (lady's vest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asepaáteré</td>
<td>capato</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kràtaá</td>
<td>carta</td>
<td>paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàanooó</td>
<td>pao</td>
<td>bread/biscuit/cookie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tààboó</td>
<td>taboa</td>
<td>board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóòberé</td>
<td>cobre</td>
<td>copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedà/sirikyi</td>
<td>seda</td>
<td>silk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. From Dutch:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akan</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mfènseré (Ap.)</td>
<td>venster</td>
<td>window</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. From Danish:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akan</th>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>degíre</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>sealing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chùre</td>
<td>hagel</td>
<td>hail shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàre</td>
<td>dale</td>
<td>dollar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51
krakum  kalkun  turkey
        (or kalkoen: Dutch)

D. From German:

Akan              German              English
brètè (Ap.)       brett               board
hanspà            handspaten         spade

E. From English:

Akan                      English
+pòñ/pòño (Fa.)           pound (sterling, also 16 oz.)
+siren/sedèr (Fa.)        shilling
+anyòw (Fa.)              onion
+tɔɔpɔɔ                    tub
+préte                   plate
+sàmànà                   summon

(Note: + indicates my own examples.)

2:2.3 Written Fante

Even when formal education was introduced in the Gold Coast, it was only in English. No attempt was made to reduce the local languages to writing with a view to producing Africans literate in their own languages. The earliest specimen we have of any Ghanaian language is Miller's (1673) account in German of the dialect of the Fante (referred to as 'Fetu' or 'Afutu') tribe, among whom he resided. It was a compilation of a vocabulary of about 500 words. This remained a useful source of reference for almost two centuries. Clarke (1848), in his study of African dialects, uses vocabularies from "Igua (Oguaa),

52
the native name of Cape Coast," and Agouna (Agona), both of which "...are Fante subdialects." Meanwhile, Prottten, a Gold Coast mulatto, had produced a short grammar of Fante and Ga (1764), to which he added translations of excerpts from the literature of Christian rituals such as the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. By the early or mid-nineteenth century, there were some notable publications by Ghanaians, mostly Fante, both in Fante and English (Table 3). But as Migeod comments, Fante had not been taught nearly as vigorously or as successfully as English:

...a larger part of the educated natives, many of whom are remarkably accurate in their own English composition, quite fail to grasp the meaning of a specimen of their own language, even when printed....They are unable to apply sounds to the combination of vowels and consonants which they see with their eyes, and in this they come very near to the Haussan, otherwise a good Arabic scholar, who fails to recognize his own language in Arabic character.

In 1868, Carr and Braun published an "Mfantsi Grammar" in Cape Coast, Ghana (then Gold Coast), following Prottten's 29-page attempt. This, however, Christaller (1875, p. IV) is rightly quick to point out, "is by no means satisfactory," especially regarding the orthography which was based almost entirely on the English system and thus failed to capture the peculiar sound (especially vowel) system of Akan.
Table 3: Early Publications by Ghanaians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. de Graft</td>
<td>Fanti Primmer</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. T. Laing</td>
<td>Fanti Primmer</td>
<td>1864-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Carr &amp; J.P. Brown</td>
<td>Fanti Grammar</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. A.W. Parker</td>
<td>Fanti Hymns and Testament</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. A.W. Parker</td>
<td>The Four Gospels in Fanti</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.M. Sarbah</td>
<td>Fanti Customary Law and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fanti Law Report</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J.B. Anaman</td>
<td>Gold Coast Guide</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J.B. Anaman</td>
<td>Fanti and English Instructor</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J.B. Anaman</td>
<td>Fanti Spelling Book</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J.B. Anaman</td>
<td>Life of Jesus Illustrated</td>
<td>Undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casely Hayford</td>
<td>Gold Coast Native Institutions</td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+C.F. Fleisher</td>
<td>Ga Made Easy</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. S.R.B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attoh Ahumah</td>
<td>Handbook of the Gold Coast</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.M. Sarbah</td>
<td>Fanti National Constitution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Fanti Law Report</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E. Sampson</td>
<td>Wisdom Whiffs</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. S.R.B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attoh Ahumah</td>
<td>The Gold Coast and National</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consciousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. J.B. Anaman</td>
<td>Collection of Hymns</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: +C.F. Fleischer is the only non-Fante in the list. He is a Ga (from Accra).

Source: Migeod, p. 264.)
2.2.4: Written Akuapem

The Basel and German missionaries did a more systematic job of teaching the natives to write and read their languages in the mid-nineteenth century. They had brought the Presbyterian (or Basel) version of Christianity to the Gold Coast, and settled in Akuapem because they found the weather there salubrious, and because Akuapem is near Osu, where they first stayed upon their arrival. They reduced the local dialects to writing and taught the natives to read and write them as follows: (a) 'Twi (Akuapem) to all non-Fante Akans; (b) Ga to all the natives of Accra and suburbs; and (c) Ewe to all the natives of the then German colony of Togoland--later to be divided between (i) the French trusteeship (now the Republic of Togo) and (ii) the British trusteeship (now the Volta Region of Ghana).

2.2.5 'Fante' to 'Twi'?

There was an intense inter-missionary rivalry for a single literary dialect for all Akan resulting from the situation. The positions are best reflected in the following views which need to be quoted in extenso.

First, Migeod's observation quite well reflects the position taken by the Wesleyan (Methodist) missionaries on behalf of Fante:
...The Basel Mission, whose industry has been entirely directed to the Akan branch of Agni-Twi groups of languages and dialects, does not recognize Fanti anyway. They claim that the Akwapim dialect as spoken at Akropong, the residence of the head chief of Akwapim, is the only dialect sufficiently representative and pure to be used as a standard. They have adopted it as the literary dialect, and subordinated, as is necessary, of course, all other dialects to this one. The Wesleyans, on the other hand, have worked principally in the Fanti country, and they have naturally adopted the language they found to hand, and which, also, was understood over a very wide extent of territory. Fantis do not readily understand the Akwapim dialect, and the Twi literature produced by the Basel Mission is, therefore, of no value or even use to them. Further, there would be no useful object attained if an attempt had been made to combine or assimilate the two dialects, as the result would only be an artificial language, failing entirely in its object to reach the people at large. Owing to the number and excellence of the schools in the Fante country, and especially at Cape Coast, the Fantis on the whole are better educated than any other tribe in the Gold Coast Colony, not excepting, possibly, even the Accras. There is a considerable amount of literature in the language, and its use is spreading to other tribes using kindred dialects. It would be quite impossible for all this to be swept away, and the Twi of Akwapim adopted as a standard and substituted for Fanti. If the two do not advance side by side, it is more likely that the growing influence of the latter will evince such a superiority as finally compel Twi to subordinate itself entirely, and even to disappear as a literary dialect... (page 250).

Migeod, only an observer from the Fante area, where he lived (and not a "warring" missionary) is here suggesting a compromise—that the two written dialects exist side-by-side, warning that if only one of the two should survive, it will be Fante at the expense of 'Twi'.
But Christaller's campaign for Twi, and against Fante, borders on emotionalism. Despite considering Akyem as "the purest and nicest Akan dialect" (p. XII, 1875), he selects Akuapem, defending his choice with various reasons including, notably, "providential circumstances":

...We grant to every existing dialect its right of existence, and are glad of every faithful representation on paper of any dialects or specimen of such, like the quoted Mfantsi Grammar, though the orthography adopted in it must be considered as a failure for practical purposes. But it seems to us, that neither the dialect of Cape Coast, nor any other Fante dialect, not even the purest of them, that of Anomabo, is fit to form the base of a literary language for the Akan and Fante tribes. Ought we, then, not take the Asante dialect, or the Akem dialect for this purpose? The choice is made already, enforced, indeed, by casual events and circumstances, but which, after all, have something providential,—and will, for a considerable time, prove to be the best that could have been made. It is the dialect of Akuapem that has actually been made the base of a common dialect; a literary language has been created, and such a common dialect is now existing in the Bible and dozens of other printed books, as well as manuscripts and letters of many individuals since more than two decenniums. What are the elements of this dialect? It is an Akan dialect influenced by Fante, steering a middle course between other Akan dialects and Fante, in sounds, forms and expressions; it admits peculiarities of both branches as far as they do not contradict each other, and is, therefore, best capable of being enriched from both sides. H. N. Riis has truly remarked, that, if the language should receive literary cultivation, the differences of the dialects will be no impediment to its development, but they will be subservient rather to its enrichment. This is actually the case. The native missionary David Asante, who took and still takes a considerable share in the cultivation of the Tshi language and its development, remarks in a letter of Sept. 1874
that 'the Akuapems are accustomed to embellish their spoken dialect by blending it with Akem expressions, that Akuapem easily admits of enrichment and admixture from Akem and even Fante, and Fante also admits and receives such foreign elements; but if the same should be done to the Akem dialect, it will not sound well. ...Should, however, a Homer arise in any of the other dialects, the Tshi tribes may all be brought to bow to him and acknowledge the superiority of his diction; in the mean time it seems the most rational way to build on the foundation laid, not by the transcendent inspiration, but by the conscientious painful labour of those who first succeeded in the language and teaching thousands of Africans to use it in literary intercourse. (1875, p. XIX).

One reason Christaller conspicuously misses in support of Akuapem as his choice for a literary dialect is the fact that it was the most accessible dialect to him. Living at Akropong, the paramounty of Akuapem, with so little, if any, means of transportation for any kind of serious field work, he was left with practically no alternative to Akuapem. In fact, the choice of the literary dialect in the Gold Coast seems to have been clearly dictated by the destination of the European missionaries, as evidenced by the following:

1. Fante: the Oguaa (Cape Coast) variety, and not, say, the Mankesim variety generally considered to be original and the 'purest'.

2. Ga (Accra): the Osu variety, and not, say, the Ga Mashi variety, because the Basel Missionaries who reduced Ga to writing lived at Osu (Christiansborg).
3. 'Twi' (Akuapem): the Akropong variety, and not, say, the Aburi variety, or, more significantly, the "pure" dialect of Akyem.

4. Ewe: the Anlo variety for all Ewes (including, Ewe-Dome (upcountry), which is as distinct from Anlo as, say, Asante is from Fante, or American is from British English), because the German Missionaries lived and worked in the coastal Anlo-land.

Thus, neither the Wesleyans (for Fante) nor the Basel Missionaries (for 'Twi') had made a strong enough case to warrant their choice being considered the sole literary dialect for Akan to the exclusion of the others. The compromise suggested by Migeod became the actual practice: both Fante and Akuapem ('Twi') were taught and written side-by-side, and the healthy rivalry between them helped to improve the literary rate in the two dialects.

2.2.6 Written Asanti

But as if two dialects of the same language did not provide enough problems, Asante became the third (and so far last) written dialect, in 1949, thanks to a study and recommendation in 1943 by Ida Ward of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. Asante became the first Ghanaian dialect reduced to writing by a non-Missionary. But as in the case of its predecessors, the first major publications were,
inevitably religious: translations of the Bible, the Catechism, and the 'Twi' Hymn Book (from the Akuapem version), and a translation of the (Methodist) 'Christian Aṣor(e) Nd worm' (the Christian Hymn Book, from the Fante version). Other early publications included a set of primary school readers, the 'Ran Me Rwɛ' series (translated from the Akuapem version).

2.2.7 English, Medium of Instruction

Until the early 1950s, Ghanaian languages were an important part of the school curriculum, and efforts were made to translate even non-language materials such as Mathematics books into them. However, with the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in all subjects in the elementary school except Ghanaian languages, interest in the teaching, learning, and study of the local languages steadily and perceptibly waned. In many elementary schools, it was, in fact, a punishable offense to be caught speaking a Ghanaian language on the school grounds. The child used English more and more in his school life, and his Ghanaian language at home. This situation was obviously a good recipe for code-switching.
2.2.8 How Much Code-Switching

It is impossible to collect data on code-switching in the pre-early 1950s, when Ghanaian languages were seriously taught in elementary schools in Ghana, and compare them with code-switching after English had become the medium of instruction. One can, as a separate (future) exercise, collect materials from those who were educated under the old system and compare them with materials from those who were educated under the new system. Such a study promises to be revealing and rewarding (Appendix G). For the present, we can only get some idea of the practices of these different generations by comparing the attitudes of some of their representatives (Chapter Six).

2.2.9 Unification of Orthography

It is significant to know that since 1950—i.e., soon after the introduction of Asante orthography—there have been a series of committees trying to unify the various orthographies of Akan. The latest of these has been working since October 1970 under the auspices of the University of Ghana's Language Centre. After a lot of give-and-take, some progress has been made: a set of proposals is being discussed and constantly revised. But a few problems still remain. It does not appear, though,
that a final acceptance and implementation of the proposals will come soon or easily, especially with the low interest in the teaching and learning of Ghanaian languages as a whole, following the slump of the 1950s. One of the most important outcomes of these efforts, in the light of the foregoing discussion, is the acceptance and the increased use of the name 'Akan' to cover all these mutually understandable dialects.

2.3 SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC POSITIONS OF AKAN AND ENGLISH

It is not always easy to communicate verbally within Ghana as one wades through the flood of languages. The need for a Ghanaian lingua franca, or even national language, has always been felt but rarely been formally expressed. In the past decade or so, there have been suggestions by some respected Ghanaians--academicians and other prominent members of the society--for a local national language. In fact, in the latter part of the 1960s, various members of the community actually nominated Akan as the most suitable candidate for that purpose. No other Ghanaian language has been so publicly proposed. Notable among the proponents were the late Professor Jones-Quartey, who was then the Director of the Institute of Adult Education, and Dr. Ephraim Amu, then head of the Music Department of the Institute of African Studies--both of the University of Ghana. Significantly, neither of
these were Akans: Professor Jones-Quartey was a Ga with some Sierra Leonean background; Dr. Amu was an Ewe; so they could afford to make such "bold, objective" recommendations on public platforms. The appeal merely died in silence. One is not too sure if mere disregard would have been the public's reaction if the suggestion had come from an Akan. The problem has always been the emotional attachment to one's dialect or language (which is why we cannot readily come up with even a unified orthography for dialects of the same language). And every Parliament or Government finds the issue too sensitive to try any legislation on it.

So far, about 10 of the 46 languages have been reduced to writing; and, along with English, six Ghanaian languages--Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Hausa, and Nzema--are used on the radio and for a few television programs.

2.3.1 Akan in Ghana

Akan is used in more parts of Ghana and for more purposes than any other African language in Ghana. It is claimed that there is practically no town in the country where Akan is not used or understood. It is the last resort for traders who do not share the same Ghanaian language with their customers, if English is not common to them. Most entertainments, live or recorded, are in
Akan, often even in non-Akan areas, and the majority of Ghanaian popular music is in Akan. In a word, one can go farther in Ghana with a knowledge of Akan than with any other language, except, perhaps, English.

But this is not to suggest that it will make a successful national language. One would not recommend legislation making it a national language because it is too local to be so considered. In fact, a local national language can only be considered desirable, but not terribly necessary or prudent now. Gradually, one may emerge as a natural lingua franca and de facto national language.

2.3.2 English

English is the official language, and more than that, it performs as many of the duties of a national language as it can. It is used for education, administration, legislation, the judiciary (outside the local (lowest) courts), and the press. A knowledge of English carries with it a number of social and economic benefits. Its importance is emphasized in the educational system from the very beginning. Both parents and pupils do worry about the child’s terminal reports on such "key" subjects as English and Mathematics, but they care less about the child's performance in his Ghanaian language, if it is offered in the school. In every school, English is taught, but quite a
number of schools, especially the so-called 'international' or 'preparatory' schools--elementary schools committed to preparing their children almost exclusively for the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) for the selection of children into secondary schools--do not offer any Ghanaian languages at all. The CEE, which is taken by children in class 6 to Middle Schools (ages 11 to 15), consists of papers in English (two papers: one 50 multiple-choice questions testing comprehension, vocabulary, grammar, and punctuation; the other requiring the child to write two or three short compositions), Mathematics (about 50 multiple-choice questions), and two Aptitude Tests (one Quantitative, the other Verbal--also centering around Mathematics and English, respectively).

Throughout the five-year secondary school course, English becomes even more crucial in the life of the student. Whereas Ghanaian languages are optional throughout the five forms (years) in the schools where they are offered, English is compulsory for all students in all classes. As in the elementary schools, students are worried about the grades they make in English throughout. At annual Prize-Giving Ceremonies, during which students who get the best scores in each subject are awarded prizes, the winner of the prize in English is held in high esteem by students, staff, and guests; on the other hand, there are secondary schools where
potential prize-winners in Ghanaian languages are known to find every excuse to be absent from the once-a-year ceremony for fear that they will be greeted with as many jeers as the winner of the English prize is greeted with cheers! At the end of the five years in secondary school, no matter how well the candidate performs in all his General Certificate of Education (GCE) ordinary level examination subjects, he cannot afford to achieve less than a "credit" (i.e., better than "bare pass") in English. And statistically, English is one of the most difficult subjects to pass at the GCE Ordinary Level examinations. The average secondary school time table allocates 6-8 periods out of 40 periods a week (i.e., 16%-20%) for English, leaving the rest to be shared among the remaining 12 to 14 subjects. Further, almost all these other courses (except Ghanaian Languages, where offered, and even in this case, some teachers have to start with English because some grammatical terms have to be "translated" into English), are taught and studied in English. Yet the results of the GCE ordinary level examinations seem to suggest that most of the children do not have adequate English for further academic work. Between 1970 and 1975, 40% to 44% of all candidates in Ghana's 'good' to 'very good' schools obtained 'credit' in English Language, compared with an overall average of 48% to 54% 'credit' in all other subjects (West African

Failure to obtain a 'credit' in English practically signals the end of the student's academic career and drastically reduces his chances of getting a good job. All the universities in Ghana (and for that matter, in English-speaking West Africa) have a basic minimum requirement of "five subjects at Ordinary Level (i.e., 'credit') including English," of which at least two or three must be at the Advanced Level. (Even though there is no Advanced Level examination in English, the General Paper introduced in the latter part of the 1960s is English-biased.) Thus, it is not only possible, but it actually happens, that students with several hard-earned 'A's' in subjects of their eventual specialization, e.g., the sciences, the fine arts, or even Ghanaian Languages, or those who want to pursue advanced courses in, say, Physical Education or some of the performing arts, are denied admission because they fail to obtain 'credit' in English.

For those who cannot, or do not, go to college after secondary school, there is no escape from English either. Almost all advertisements for jobs (especially Government jobs, which are the majority) require various degrees of proficiency in English, invariably Ordinary Level in English for jobs above the lowest ranks.
The situation is very different for Ghananian languages, by comparison. Only recently have the Department of Linguistics and the Language Centre at the University of Ghana, as well as the Department of Ghananian Languages at the University of Cape Coast accepted (not required) Ghananian languages as an alternative second foreign language, e.g., French, Spanish, or Swahili, as an admission requirement.

Like all other Ghanaians, the educated (and therefore bilingual) Akan normally tends to use his native language among peers and relatives outside the classroom or official position, despite the importance attached to English. Living in Ghana, he is likely to be embarrassed to claim, or be told, that he cannot speak his own language, though he is not worried about claiming, or being told, that he is illiterate in it. On the other hand, the educated Ghanaian is typically embarrassed to the point of being insulted if told that his command of English (writing, reading, speaking) is not good, but may claim (almost with thinly-veiled pride), "I cannot read my language, let alone write it." He may speak his language, with all kinds of "mistakes" and get away with it, but any noticeable grammatical (i.e., phonological or syntactic) mistake in English becomes a long-lasting stigma on him. Teachers, students, and public officials
are nicknamed (mostly behind their backs) with English mistakes they are credited with making.

In Ghana, therefore, Akan may be the most widely-known and spoken Ghanaian language, but English is very important in complementing the Ghanaian languages, and unifying a highly multi-lingual nation. As the official language, its importance, and the benefits of knowing it, are felt throughout the entire life of the Ghanaian who gets formal education.
CHAPTER THREE
ASPECTS OF AKAN GRAMMAR RELEVANT TO CODE-SWITCHING

'Normal' Akan-English code-switching follows a set of grammatical rules, and a departure from them makes it instantly unacceptable, or, at best, draws attention to itself as being abnormal or deliberate. In Chapter Five, we illustrate the grammatical regularities found in 'normal' Akan-English code-switching as well as departures from the rules. Even though two linguistic systems are involved in the phenomenon, it is the grammar of Akan which is basically used. As we shall note in Chapter Five, however, at certain levels and within certain stretches of utterances, the English grammatical features are maintained alongside the Akan ones.

In this chapter, we sketch out the aspects of the grammar of Akan that are relevant to our study. This material is based on previous studies of Akan by Christaller (1875), Akrofi (1937), Dolphyne (1967), and Schachter and Fromkin (1968). But the presentation here has been modified and organized specially for this study and may not bear much resemblance to those in the works cited.
3.1 PHONOLOGY

3.1.1 The Consonant System

The consonant system of Akan consists of 20 plain consonants and 10 labiolized forms of some of the plain ones. Table 4 below summarizes the system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Akan Consonant System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+Note: Items in parenthesis are exclusively Fante).

Orthographical-Representation-of Certain Consonants

The following list shows how certain consonants are represented in the current orthographies of Akan, which will be quite closely followed in this study (with a few modifications):

71
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Letter(s)</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>guare 'to have a bath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fw</td>
<td>fu-</td>
<td>fua(w) 'to slice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sw</td>
<td>su-</td>
<td>sua 'to be small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝw</td>
<td>hw-</td>
<td>hwe 'to beat up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝw</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>we 'to chew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĝw</td>
<td>tw-</td>
<td>twa 'to cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jw</td>
<td>dw-</td>
<td>dwen(e) 'to think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šw</td>
<td>hy-</td>
<td>hyia 'to meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šw</td>
<td>ky-</td>
<td>kyia 'to greet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jw</td>
<td>gy-</td>
<td>qya 'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jw</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>kwa 'life'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕ</td>
<td>(unmarked)</td>
<td>di 'eat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕ</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>we 'to chew'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dialectal Differences**

There are a few dialectal differences. All the dialects have /g-/ only before back vowels, e.g.:

- **Ap.** gu | goru | gow
- **As.** gu | gu(rw) | gu
- **Fa.** gu | gor/gvr | gow/gw

'to pour/' to play' 'to be soft'

cast'

However, where Akuapem and Fante use gu- /gw-/ before -a, Asante has dw- /jw-/, e.g.:

- **Ap.** gua /gwa/ | oguán | /ogwán/
- **Fa.** gua /gwa/ | oguán, iguán | /ogwán, igwán/
- **As.** dwa /jwa/ | odwan | /ojwá/

'market' 'sheep'

Also, where Akuapem and Fante use hu-/hw-/ before -a, Asante uses ŝw- , e.g.:

- **Ap./Fa.** huam /hwam/ | hua | /hwa?/
- **As.** hwam /swam/ | hwa | /swa?/

'fragrance' 'to be a parasite'

72
Consonant Substitution in Code-Switching

The following English consonants are not found in Akan, and they are shown with their usual substitutes in the speech of less educated switchers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/v/ as in 'van'</td>
<td>/f/ (initial and final): /fɛf/. /very/, /kɔf/ 'curve'; /b/ (medial): /draba/ 'driver', /kɔba/ 'cover';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ as in 'zero'</td>
<td>/s/ (medial and final): /resa/ 'razor', /boys/ 'boys'; Initial /z/ does not present much problem;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ as in 'late'</td>
<td>Not much of a problem though occasionally replaced by /r/ or /d/.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/ as in 'thin'</td>
<td>/t/ (initial and medial): /tɪŋk/ 'think', /batrum/ 'bathroom'; /f/ (final): /baf/ 'bath', /lɛmf/ 'length'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒ/ as in 'the'</td>
<td>/ʒ/ (initial and medial): /dʒ, dI/ 'the', /ldo/ 'although'; /f/ (final): /briʃ/ 'breathe'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ as in 'pleasure'</td>
<td>/s/ (medial): /plɛʃa/ 'pleasure', /lɛʃa/ 'leisure'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no voiced fricatives in Akan, apart from /ʃw/, which is often considered a labialized semivowel, and no dental fricatives (Table 3 above). Therefore, for voiced fricatives (/v, z, ʒ/) which have only the voiceless equivalent in the language, the Akan speaker may substitute the voiceless counterpart in various positions. In the case of the English dental fricatives /θ, ʒ/, which are both absent in the Akan consonant system, the
voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is substituted for both voiceless and voiced sounds in the final position. This may be explained by the fact that Akan has no final stops (and has limited final consonants in general—see under Distribution of Phonemes below); therefore, a continuant /f/ is a more likely substitute than a stop. The substitution here is made from a production from the nearest place of articulation. In the initial and medial positions, a voicing distinction is made in the substitution, using stop substitutes:

\[
/\theta/ \rightarrow /t/ \\
/\delta/ \rightarrow /\delta/.
\]

3.1.2 The Vowel System

There are different criteria in the literature for deciding on the number of vowels in Akan. Schachter and Fromkin, in the latest complete description of Akan phonology, start with five archisegments, each of which has two forms—tense and lax; the six non-mid vowels are further divided into oral and nasal. From all the sources available, we can discern these 16 vowels—10 oral and six nasal vowels, as shown in Table 5 below.
Table 5: Akan Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i/i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>didi 'to eat'; fi 'to be clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>/fI/ fi 'dirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>/mfI/ mfe 'years'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ/ø</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>/kItIëI'ketekete 'very small'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| a/a   | a      | /kë bi/ ka bi 'say/ some'/
| æ/a   | æ      | /ka'/ ka 'to bite'       |
| u/u   | u      | /su/ su 'to cry'         |
| u/u   | u      | /ku/ ku 'to fight'       |
| o/o   | o      | Kofi 'Kofi=Friday-born male' |
| ç/ç   | ç      | ko 'to go'               |

Source: Adapted from Dolphyne, 1967.

Orthographical Representation of the Vowels

In the current orthographical system, the following representations are made for the vowels:

Nasality, or for that matter, diacritics in general, are not marked in any current Akan orthography, but they
will be marked when relevant to our study.

Dialectal Differences

Fante does not have /ɛ:/; it uses /e/, the next higher tense vowel, for both /e/ and /ɛ:/ in Akuapem and Asante, e.g.:

(i) Ap./As./Fa.: /bebisa/ bebisa
     'will ask'

(ii) Ap./As.: /ɛkum/, akum; /kwɛ:ku/ Kwaku;
     /ɛkutu/, akutu.
     Fa.: /ɛkum/, ekum; /kwe:ku/ Kweku;
     /ekutu/, ekutu.
     'has killed' 'Wednesday-born male' 'orange'.

Substitutions for English Vowels

The following English vowels are not found in Akan, and quite often, Akan code-switchers make substitutions as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ə:/</td>
<td>/ɛ:/ or /ɔ:/, e.g., /hɛ:t/ 'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ:/</td>
<td>/a:/, e.g., /age:n/ 'again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ:/</td>
<td>/a/, /ɔ/, or /ɛ/, e.g., /bat, bæt/ 'but' /tɔf/ 'tough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʊ:/</td>
<td>/aː/, e.g., /hæt/ 'heart'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These comparisons are based on British English pronunciation, the target.
3.1.3 Diphthongs

A sequence of vowels of different quality is possible in Akan, e.g., /čia/ kyiа 'to greet', /čIа/ kyеа 'to bend', /kаI/ kae 'to remind/remember', /sіe/ sіe 'to hide', etc. They can however be analyzed as belonging to different syllables and should not be considered diphthongs as found in English, for example. In fact, most of the examples offered by Christaller (1875, page 3, Section 5) are combinations, not just of different syllables, but of different morphemes, and could be used to deny the existence of English-type diphthongs in Akan. (They are usually word-final.):

(a) In a-sа-e 'a hammer,' a-so-i 'a handle,' etc., the final vowel is a nominalizer, and, together with the initial vowel (/a-/ in this case), they convert the respective verbs sa 'to treat (a metal)', so 'to hold,' respectively, into nouns.

(b) In ɛ-po-e 'it withered,' ɔ-ko-e 'he fought,' ɔ-hu-i 'he saw,' etc., we have complete clauses made up of a pronominal subject (ɛ-/ɔ-/ɔ-) + verb (po/ko/hu) + clause-final past tense morpheme (-e/-i).

In addition to these combinations of vowels, Akuapem and Fante have also vowel + /-w/ final, though Asante does not normally have final /-w/ except in a few isolated frozen utterances, e.g., kyew in mepa wo kyew
(literally 'I doff my hat') = 'I beg your pardon';
'Please.' The Asante word for 'a hat' is /čē/ kyē;
the word in Fante and Akuapem is /čēw/ kyēw. The
presence of these diphthong-like sequences of vowels or
vowel +/w/ helps the Akan speaker in making most English
diphthongs similar to them.

The two English diphthongs that frequently present
some difficulties for Akans are /ei/ and /ou/. They are
usually replaced by a lengthening of the first segment of
the appropriate diphthong—/e:/ and /o:/ respectively,
e.g.,

/keik/  ➞ /ke:k/  'cake'
/roud/  ➞ /ro:d/  'road'.

3.2. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

The basic syllable structure in Akan is (c)V. All
consonants except /ʔ/ can occur initially and medially
in words. In word-final positions, only nasals, /r/,
/w/, and /ʔ/ may occur with different distributional
restrictions in the various dialects, thus:

Fante:  /-m/, /-n/, /-w/, /-r/, /ʔ/, but not */ŋ/;
Akuapem: /-m/, /-ŋ/, /-w/, /-ʔ/, but not */-n/ or */-r/;
Asante: /-m/, /-ʔ/, but not */-n/, /-w/, /-r/, or */ŋ/.

3.2.1 Special Dialectal Features

(a) In Fante, all labial consonants are palatalized
before non-low front vowels, e.g.,
/m̩/In/ 'to swallow'
/b̩/Ir/ 'to be dark'
/p̩/ɛ/ 'to like'
/p̩eʃ/ 'a Northern W. African'
/p̩ɪn/ 'to agree'
/p̩ɪra/ 'to hurt, injure'
/l̩ɛ/ 'a proverb'
/f̩ɪ/ɪw/ 'to suck, kiss'.

and labialized before non-low back vowels, e.g.,

/p̩ue/ 'to appear'
/m̩o/ 'to be bad'
/b̩uʃ/ 'to get drunk'
/b̩ɔ̃/n/ 'to stink'.

Also in Fante, /ts/ and /dz/ are allophones of /t/ and /d/ respectively. The affricates are in complementary distribution with their stop counterparts.

/t̩s/ and /dz/ occur only before /i/, /i/, and prenasal /ɛ/; /t/ and /d/ occur elsewhere, e.g.,

/t̩sɪr/ 'head' but /t̩ur/ 'to carry (baby)'
/ntsɛm/ 'quickly' /tɛtɛɾ/ 'flat'
/dzɪn/ 'hardness' /dɔɾba/ 'a needle'
/ndzɛmba/ 'things' /de/ 'that' (conjunction).

(b) In Asante, there is only one final nasal /-m/.

Where Fante has /-n/ and Akuapem has /-n/, Asante has nasalized high vowels /i/ and /i/ after front vowels, and /ʊ/ and /ʊ/ after back vowels, depending on vowel harmony (see Vowel Harmony in Akan below), e.g.,

|------|  |------|  |------|  |
| sɛp |  |  |  | sɛɪ |  |
| kɔŋ  |  | kɔn  |  | kɔʊ  |  |

'to hang' 'neck'

The above special features may be found in the speech of some Asante and Fante code-switchers (see Chapter Five below).
3.3 VOWEL HARMONY IN AKAN

In Akan, the vowels may be divided into two groups in terms of the feature "tenseness" (Ladefoged, 1964; Schachter and Fromkin, 1968). They are patterned in multisyllable words in such a way that, basically, only members of one group may occur together in one word. Following Chomsky and Halle (1968), however, we shall call the set produced with a narrowing and tensing of the walls of the pharynx 'covered' and the set without 'non-covered' (corresponding to 'tense' and 'lax' respectively in Ladefoged, and Schachter and Fromkin).

Covered: i/i e o oo

Non-Covered: I/I a/a

Generally, vowel harmony has a regressive effect in that the 'quality' of the vowel(s) in the root of the word has an effect on prefixes, but not on suffixes. The only suffixes affected are verbal inflections; nominal suffixes, etc., are not affected.

Examples: Stems: /didi/ 'eat', /čičė/ 'teach';

Affixes: /rI/ (Prog.), /be-/ (Future),

 Application: (i) /o-ri-didi/ 'he's eating'
(ii) /čičė/ 'he's teaching'
(iii) /mi-didi-/ 'I ate'
(iv) /čičė-I/ 'I taught it'.
In (i) and (iii) the verb root /didi/ 'to eat' has /i/, a vowel with the feature [+COV(ered)]; therefore, all the prefixes have to have [+COV] vowels -- /o-, ri-, mi-/.

But in (ii) and (iv) the verb /čIrɛ/ 'to teach' has vowels with the feature [-COV(ered)], /I, /; therefore, the prefixes have to have [-COV] vowels -- /o-, ri-, mi-/.

Each of these affixes appears in two forms:

/o-, o-/ 'he',
/ri-, rI-/ (Progressive tense),
/mi-, mI-/ 'I'.

In (iii) and (iv) above, we also see that the verbal suffix that indicates past tense in clause final position has two forms, /-i/ and /-I/, obeying the vowel harmony rule. However, non-verbal suffixes, e.g., the suffixes /-fu/ (Agent), are not affected:

/o-didi-fu/ 'eater',
/o-čIrɛ-čIrɛ-fu/ 'teacher',

in both of which the vowel in the suffix is [-COV], regardless of the type of vowel in the root.

3.3.1 Vowel Harmony in Fante

In Fante, the allomorphs of the following tense prefixes and all pre-verbal pronouns with front high vowels in the root are conditioned, not only by the 'tenseness' or 'coveredness' feature but also by the frontness (or roundness) of the first vowel of the verb root.
\{RI\-\} (Progressive): / -ri-saw/-ri-dzi/\_\_\_k /ru-wu/
\{BE\-\}_\{}(Future and Ingressive)
\{MI\-\} (1st Person Singular subject and possessive)
\{NI\-\} (3rd Person Singular subject and possessive)

In the following paradigm, the verb roots have vowels of different qualities, and they condition the same future tense prefixes in four ways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MI-</th>
<th>BE-</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Vowel Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>be-</td>
<td>tsiw</td>
<td>+COV, + front 'I'll pursue.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>mI-</td>
<td>be-</td>
<td>tsIw</td>
<td>-COV, + front 'I'll tear.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>tuw</td>
<td>+COV, - front 'I'll boast.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>tuw</td>
<td>-COV, - front 'I'll throw.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, in pronominal possessions, four different forms appear for each of the 1st and 3rd person pronouns according to the vowel features in the first syllable of the possessed nouns, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed Noun</th>
<th>Vowel Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) mi/ni</td>
<td>tsiir</td>
<td>+COV, + front 'my/his head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) mI/ni</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>-COV, + front 'my/his teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) mu/nu</td>
<td>buukuu</td>
<td>+COV, - front 'my/his book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) mu/nu</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>-COV, - front 'my/his chest'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

3.4.1 The Pronoun System

The Akan pronoun system may be tabulated as follows in Table 6:
Table 6: Akan Pronoun System.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, Number</th>
<th>Full (Emphatic)</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st (Sg.) mI (émI)</td>
<td>mI-</td>
<td>mI</td>
<td>mI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pl.) yèn (hèn)</td>
<td>yè-</td>
<td>yèn(hèn)</td>
<td>yèn (hèn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (Sg.) wù(òwu)</td>
<td>wù-</td>
<td>wù</td>
<td>wù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pl.) mù(hùm)</td>
<td>m (hùm)</td>
<td>mù(hùm)</td>
<td>mù (hùm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (Sg. Anim.) onù</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>nù</td>
<td>nI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sg. Pl.In-anim) ënù(ònu)</td>
<td>ë- (o-) o', clause- nI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pl. Anim) wɔn(hɔn)</td>
<td>wɔ-</td>
<td>wɔn(hɔn)</td>
<td>wɔn (hɔn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (1) Items in parentheses are exclusively Fante forms.

(2) Asante frequently uses the 1st Person Plural yè(n(e)) for both 1st and 3rd Person Plural, especially for unspecified subjects, e.g.,

(a)'They say we will go.'
(b)'They say they will go.'
(c)'We say they will go.'
(d)'We say we will go.'

The form w nom/w mo (As.) is also sometimes used for all 3rd Person Plural cases, e.g.,

(a) w nom/w mo k. 'They're gone.'
(b) y p w nom/w mo. 'We're looking for them.'
(c) w nom/w mo ni awu. 'Their mother is dead.'

83
Table 6. Akan Pronoun System (Con't.).

In Asante, wo(n) is usually reserved for formal or literary use. Fante currently frequently uses the 3rd Person Plural for the 2nd Person Plural. Thus, wo-se wo-bi-ba ha a? could mean all these, depending on the context:
(a) 'Do they say they will come?'
(b) 'Do they say you (pl.) will come?'
(c) 'Do you (pl.) say they will come?'
(d) 'Do you(pl.) say you (pl.) will come?'

Hom is found to be rather formal or literary in current use.

3.4.2. Tense/Aspect Marking in Akan

The tenses are marked prefixally, except the past, which is a suffix, thus:

Habitual: φ (unmarked).


Fa.: /ri/-rI-/ru-/rv-/ (examples under Vowel Harmony in Fante, above).

As.: a lengthening of the (final) vowel in the subject, except that if such a subject be /-a-/ then /-ë-/ is chosen and lengthened:
(i) /mi-/ /mi:dí/ 'I'm eating.'
(ii) /mi/ /mi:kɔ/ 'I'm going.'
(iii) /kofi//kofi:çva/ 'Kofi's cutting (it).'
(iv) John /jo:invi:ba/ 'John's coming.'
(v) Kwadwo /kwajwi:o:su/ 'Kwadwo's crying.'

but (vi) Ama /ame:wu/ "ama's dying."
(vii) America /ame:ri:ka:s I/ 'America's burning.'
Perfect: Ap./As.: /a-, x/ /a-ba/ 'has come'
         /x-hu/ 'has seen'
Fa.: /a-, e/ /a-ba/ 'has come'
         /e-hu/ 'has seen'

Future: Ap./As.: /b-ke-, be-/ /b-ko/ 'will go'
         /be-su/ 'will cry'
Fa.: /b-, be, bo/ /b-da/ 'will sleep'
         /be-dzi/ 'will eat'
         /bo-du/ 'will arrive'
         /bo- do/ 'will love'.

Ingressive: This term is used to cover the grammaticalized items /b-ke-/ and /ko-/ (from the lexical items ba
'come' and ko 'go' respectively). They indicate proximal
and distal directions respectively in describing the
geographical location of a verbal 'action'. They have
the same form for all tenses (subject only to vowel
harmony). They always have a low tone (except in commands
in Akuapem and Fante, where they are high). In this way,
be- contrasts with the homophonous future tense in mor-
pheme /b-ke-/, which is always high. In Fante, the four-
dimensional vowel harmony rule applies to the ingressive
morpheme. (For more on 'Ingressive', see Schachter and
Fromkin, p. 150.)

Examples:

Ap./As.: (i) /b-be-t/ 'He'll buy (it).'
Ap. (ii) /b-t/ 'Come buy it.'
   AS. (iii) b-ke-t (low tone on /b/)
   (iv) /o-be-t-/I/ 'He came to buy (it).'
   (v) /o-ri-ko-t/ (As:/o-ko-t/) 'He's
going to buy (it).'
   (vi) /ko-t/ (As:/ko-t/) 'Go buy (it)!
Fa. (vii) /o-be-t/ 'He comes to buy (it).'
   (viii) /o-be-dzi/ 'He comes to eat (it)'.

85
(ix) /ɔ-bə-网站地图' 'He comes to write.'
(x) /k3-fa/ , 'Go take it!'
(xi) /mu-kɔ-dum/ 'I go to quench (it).'
(xii) /mu-kɔ-tɔj/ 'I went to buy it.'
(xiii) /mi-ke-dzidzi/ 'I go to eat.'

Imperative: The imperative is indicated as follows:

(i) For the 2nd Person Singular,
   (a) there is a φ subject;
   (b) the affirmative has a φ prefix;
   (c) the negative has a (low-tone) ⌈N–⌉ prefix.

(ii) For all other Persons,
   (a) the subject is marked in its regular position;
   (b) the affirmative has a high-tone ⌈N–⌉ prefix;
   (c) the negative has a low-tone ⌈N–⌉ prefix.

Examples:

Affirmative:

(a) 2nd Singular: /fi/ 'Appear!' /pira (Fːi/:p'yira/) obii/ 'Hurt someone!'

(b) 1st Singular: /mi-ʃ-m-ʃ/ 'Let me appear!'

(c) 1st Plural: /ye-m-ʃ/ 'Let's appear!'

(d) 2nd Plural: /mu-ʃ-m-ʃ/ '(pl) Appear!' (Fːi: /hʊm m-ʃ/)

(e) 3rd Singular: /kɔfi m-ʃ/ 'Let Kofi appear!' /ʃ-ʃ-m-ʃ/ 'Let him/it appear!'

86
(f) 3rd Pl. (Anim.): /yaw nI/na kofi m-fi/
   'Let Yaw and Kofi appear!'
   /wo-m-fi/ 'They should appear!'

(g) 3rd (Inam.) Pl.
   and Sing.: /e-m-fi/ 'Let it/them
   appear!'

Negative:

(a) 2nd Plural: /m-fi/ 'Don't appear!'

(b) 1st Singular: /mi-m-fi/ 'Let me not
   appear!'

(c) 1st Plural: /ye-m-fi/ 'Let's not
   appear!'

(d) 2nd Plural: /mu-m-fi/ '(pl) Don't
   appear!'
   (Fa: /hum m-fi/)

(e) 3rd Sing. (Anim.): /o-m-fi/ 'Don't let
   him/it appear!'

(f) 3rd Pl. (Anim.): /wo-m-fi/ 'Don't let
   them appear!'

(g) 3rd (Inam.) Pl.
   and Sing.: /e-m-fi/ 'Don't let it/them
   appear!'

Past: The past tense (PA) is the only tense marked
suffixally, in the following ways:

(a) if it is followed by an object, complement,
   etc. (i.e., non-clause final), the final
   vowel is lengthened, e.g.,
   Kofi hu-ù no
   Kofi see-PA him 'Kofi saw him';

(b) if it is clause-final, PA is a front high
   vowel /-i/ or /-I/ (Asante has an extra

87
/ɛ/-, which is not subject to the vowel harmony rule (see Extra Asante Suffix below),
e.g.,

Ap./Fa.: /köf'i tɔ-ɪ/  /köf'i hù-ɪ/
As.: /köf'i tɔ-ɪ-ɛ/  /köf'i hù-ɪ-ɛ/
Kofi buy-PA-EAS  Kofi see-PA-EAS
'Kofi bought it' 'Kofi saw it'.

(c) where the final sound is a non-vowel (a nasal, /-r/ or /-w/), the non-clause-final past tense verb is distinguished from the present tense form by tonal differences. In Akuapem and Fante, the monosyllabic active verb usually has a low tone in the present, and a high-low tone pattern in the past. In Asante, on the other hand, the pattern is: high in the present form, low in the past, e.g.,

As.(No/-w/): ɔ-kye nam :ɔ-kyee nam.
'he-fry fish :he-fried fish.
'He fries fish': 'He fried fish'.

As.: ɔ-sɔm no :ɔ-sɔm no.
'he -serve him :he-served him.
'He serves him' : 'He served him'.

The difference in the tenses is represented in the proposed unified orthography (still under consideration) by a doubling of the final letter in the verb to indicate past tense—thus simplifying the rule with the generalization that the non-clause-final past tense is indicated in
writing by doubling the final letter in all situations.
In the existing orthographies, no difference is indicated
between the present and the past tenses in Akuapem and
Asante; Fante doubles the letter representing the last
vowel in the verb to indicate past tense, e.g.,

(i) (Orthographically):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existing</td>
<td>Proposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ap.*</td>
<td>/ɔtɔn nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As.* /ɔtɔn</td>
<td>/ɔtɔn nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.*</td>
<td>/ɔtɔn nam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He sells meat' 'He sold meat'

(ii) (Phonetically):

Ap. /ɔ-tɔn nam/ /ɔ-tɔn nam/
Fa. /ɔ-tɔn nam/ /ɔ-tɔn nam/
As. /ɔ-tɔn nam/ /ɔ-tɔn nam/.

In multisyllable verbs, the final non-vowel sound in
non-final verbs has a low-high tone for both present and
past tenses for all the dialects, e.g.,

(iii) Ap./Fa.: /kofi ɔi̯re̞ʊ nĩ papa/  
As.: /kofi ɔwir̤ (-e) nĩ papa/ (no final
/ -w/: lengthening for past).
Kofi write/wrote his father
'Kofi wrote to his father'.

(iv) All Dialects: /ãã cincîm bi/ (Present and Past)
Ama twists/twisted some
'Ama twists/twisted some'.

(d) Stative Verbs, etc.: There is no formal
internal distinction between the present and the past
tenses of stative verbs, progressive, perfect, and
ingressive tenses. Pastness in these is indicated by introducing the clause by the time adverbial (ADVₜ) na (Fa.: nna), approximately 'then', thus:

(i) **Stative:** /na-(nna) c-da ho /
    ADVₜ he-lie there
    'He used to lie there'.

(ii) **Past Prog.:** /na-(nna) c- rI-ba /(As:/na c:ba)
    ADVₜ he- PR-come
    'He was coming'.

(iii) **Past Perf.:**/na-(nna) ye-a -ba (As:/na yeaba)/
    ADVₜ we-PF-come
    'We had come'.

(iv) **Ingressive:** na-(nna)-mI-rI-be -ka (As:/na mI:beka/)
    ADVₜ I -PR-ING-say
    'I was coming to say'.

**Negation:** In Akan, only verbs may be negated. (There are no negative nouns like the English 'nobody,' 'nothing,' 'nowhere,' nor negative quantifiers and qualifiers like 'none,' 'no,' 'never,' 'neither,' etc. The only exception is the item /swI:/ hwee 'nothing,' but even that occurs with a negated verb.

Negation is basically marked by a nasal consonant homorganic with the initial consonant of the verb it precedes and negates. The NEG(ative) morpheme has a consistently low tone \( \text{[\text{N}-]} \), in contrast with the IMP - \( \{\text{N}-\} \), which is always high in the positive. When IMP and NEG both occur, the low-tone NEG prevails.

Some tense affixes signal different tenses in negative and positive verbs. For example,
Negative Affix on... ...Becomes the Negative of

HABITUAL: ɔba 'He comes' HABITUAL: ɔmba 'He doesn't come.' (No change)

HABITUAL: ɔba 'He comes' PROGRESSIVE: ɔmba 'He's not coming.'

PAST: ɔbae 'He came' PERFECT: ɔmbaे 'He hasn't come.'

PERFECT: woaba 'They've come' PAST: woamba 'He didn't come.'

PROGRESSIVE: woareba 'They're coming.' FUTURE: remba (As, ɔmbe) 'He won't come.'

3.4.3 Extra-Asante Vowel Suffix

Asante and related dialects (Akyem, Kwawu, etc.) have extra vowel suffixes in various syntactic positions, which figure prominently in code-switching, distinguishing code-switching in the speech of Asantes, etc., from that of, say, Fantes or Akuapems. This will be referred to as the 'Extra Asante Vowel' (EAS). The EAS occurs at the end of subordinate clauses, including relative and post-emphatic clauses. It is a mid-vowel /-e, -ɛ, -o, -ɔ/ agreeing with the preceding high vowel (/-i, -I, -u, -uv/) in the features [ə back], [ə round], and [ə covered]. It always carries a non-low tone, e.g.,
3.5 TONE

One of the major distinctions between Akan dialects is the distribution of tone.

3.5.1 General

(a) The second person subject pronoun and all emphatic pronouns are always high.

(b) All other subject pronouns are always low before stative verbs, e.g., mete 'I live' (or 'understand'), ɛ-da 'It lies,' and before multi-syllable verbs,
including verbs with prefixes, e.g., me-re-kɔ (As: meekɔ) 'I'm going'; ye-serɛ(w) 'We laugh'.

3.5.2 Dialects

In Akuapem and Fante, tense prefixes are high before monosyllables; in Asante they are low, except in the future.

(i) **Prog.**: Ap/Fa: wo-re-tɔ • 'They're buying (it)'
    As: wo-tɔ

(ii) **Perf.**: Ap/Fa: wo-a-tɔ • 'They've bought (it)'
    As: wo-a-tɔ

(iii) **Future**: (All): wo-be-tɔ • 'They'll buy (it)'

3.5.3 Active/Stative

The various dialects have different ways of distinguishing between active and stative readings of verbs. Where a verb can have both active and stative readings, Akuapem and Fante mark the distinction according to the tone of the preverbal syllable: a non-low syllable immediately preceding the verb signals an active reading; a low tone immediately preceding the verb a stative reading. In Asante, the distinction is made in the tone on the only or penultimate syllable of the verb itself—a high indicating an active reading, a low a stative reading.
Examples (Habitual) Active:

(iv) Ap/Fa: wɔfa tűru no (As. wɔfa tűrɔ no)
    uncle carry him 'Uncle carries him.'

(v) Ap/Fa: mɛ-bɛn wɔn (As: me-ɛn ɔn)
    I-be near them 'I get near them.'

(vi) Ap/Fa: Kwaame da ha (As: Kwaame da ha)
    Kwaame sleep here 'Kwaame sleeps here'.

(Non-habitual) Stative (All dialects):

(vii) wɔfa tűru no
    'Uncle is carrying him (= has him carried now').'.

(viii) me-ɛn wɔn
    I-be near them 'I'm near them.'

(ix) Kwaame da ha
    Kwaame lie here 'Kwaame is lying here'.

3.6 ORDER OF PRE-VERBAL MORPHEMES

The following is the basic order of pre-verbal
affixes in a simple sentence: (SUBJECT) + (TENSE/ASPECT/
MOOD) + (NEGATIVE) + (INGRESSIVE).

The tense/aspect/mood prefixes, and the meanings
they carry in affirmative sentences, are as follows:

(a) \{re-\} Progressive
(b) \{a-\} Perfect
(c) \{bɛ-\} Future
(d) \{n-\} Imperative

The negative prefix is \{n-\}, and the ingressive prefixes
are \{bɛ-\} (proximal) and \{kɛ-\} (distal).
The rule is that in a series of pre-verbal affixes,
(1) the subject comes first,
(2) there is at most one tense/aspect/mood prefix,
(3) the only tense/aspect/mood prefixes that co-
occur with the negative prefix are \{re-\} and \{a-\}.
(The sequence \{re-\} + \{n-\} expresses a future negative,
as well as a progressive-negative, meaning. The
sequence \{a-\} + \{n-\} expresses a past negative rather
than a perfect-negative, meaning—see Tense/Aspect
Morphemes above. A negative-imperative meaning is
expressed by the negative prefix \{n-\} alone, without any
preceding tense/aspect/mood prefix.

Examples (in Akuapem):

**Progressive:** wo-re-haw 'You're disturbing.'

**Perfect:** wo-a-haw 'You've disturbed.'

**Future:** wo-bê-haw 'You'll disturb.'

**Ingressive:** wo-bê-haw 'You come to disturb.'

**Negative (Habitual):** wo-n-haw 'You don't disturb.'

**Sequences:**
wo-re-bê-haw (Prog+Ingr) 'You're coming
to disturb.'
wo-re-m-bê-haw (Prog+Neg_Ingr) 'You're
not coming to disturb.'

(Note: Not *Perf+Prog: *wo-a-re-haw (ungrammatical).
*Prog+Perf: *wo-re-a-haw (ungrammatical).
*Put+Perf: *wo-b-a-haw (ungrammatical).
*Put+Prog: *wo-b-re-haw (ungrammatical).

For changes in the interpretation of tense affixes re-
sulting from negation, see Tense/Aspect Morphemes above.

95
3.7 NUMBER

Akan nouns may be divided into countables and non-countables. Countable nouns, for our purpose, are those that have different singular and plural forms; non-countable nouns do not distinguish between singular and plural forms.

3.7.1 Countables

Singular. The countable singular noun stem may have one of two principal deletable vowel prefixes (a 'deletable' vowel prefix being dropped in non-emphatic or non-initial positions in the sentence): (i) \{\text{\text{-}}\} , and (ii) \{\text{\text{\text{-}}}\} , e.g.,

\[\{\text{\text{-}}\} : \text{o-nípá 'person', o-dán 'building',}\]
\[\text{ o-kó tó 'crab', o-kán-ní 'an Akan'.}\]

\[\{\text{\text{\text{-}}}\} : \text{e-dín 'name', e-hyén 'a ship',}\]
\[\text{ e-sóno 'elephant';}\]

\[\text{e-bó 'price' (Fante frequently uses the prefix}\]
\[\{\text{i-}\} \text{ instead of } \{\text{\text{\text{-}}}\} , \text{ thus:}\]
\[\text{ i-dzin, e-hyén, e-sóno (also o-sóno),}\]
\[\text{ e-bó 'price'.}\]

The prefix \{\text{\text{-}}\} is the commonest one for human beings. Other singular prefixes are (iii) \{\text{\text{\text{-}}}\} , which is not usually deletable, even as possessed nouns, e.g.,
akókó 'chicken', Kofi akókó 'Kofi’s chicken'
abófra 'child', yën abófra 'our child'
adaká 'box', Maame adaká 'Maame’s box'
ashem 'case', mo ashem 'your case'
asomdwoe 'peace', chi asomdwoe 'peace there';

and (iv) ø, e.g.,

wofa 'uncle';

and certain loan words, e.g.,

prákó 'pig'
sukúu 'school'.

**Plurals.** Generally plurals are formed by replacing the alienable prefixes with one of two plural morphemes:

{%}
A- {Fa: {B- } }, and {N- } , e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\{A-\} & : \text{ó-dán} & \text{a-dán}; \text{ó-kóto} & \text{a-kóto} \\
& & \text{e-dín} & \text{a-dín}; \text{e-hýén} & \text{a-hýén}.
\end{align*}
\]

N- : o-nípa & n-nípa; ó-báa & m-báa

'woman/women'.

Countable singulans without deletable vowel initials generally form their plurals with \{N-\} , e.g., duá n-duá 'tree/trees', a-báa m-báa 'stick/sticks'.

The number suffixes -ni and -fo both become -fo in plural, e.g., ɔ-kan- ni  A-kan-fo; o-kua-fo a-kua-fo 'farmer/farmers'; o-sika- ni a-sika-fo 'rich person/persons'.

-nom. The suffix -nom is used for plurals of most personal relations, and may be accompanied by a change in tone in the following:
(o-) yére : (o-) yere-nóm 'wife/wives'
(o-) kunu : (o-) kunu-nóm 'husband/husbands'
(a-) gya’ : (a-) gya-nom 'father/fathers'
wɔfa : wɔfa-nóm 'uncle/uncles'
adamfo : n-damfo-nóm 'friend/friends'
(o-) nua’ : a-nua-nóm 'sibling/siblings',

but not *o- ba: banom.

-nóm may also be used for a group identified by the
nominal that gets that suffix (without tonal change)
e.g.,

Kwaku-nóm 'Kwaku and Co.'
héna-nóm (?) 'Who(?) (plural)'

(Ap) oyi-nom
(Fa) iyi-nom
(As) wei-nom.

3:7.2 Non-Countables

Among those classes of nouns which do not distinguish
between singular and plural forms are the following:

Mass Nouns. e.g., nsú 'water', anhweá 'sand';
Abstractions. e.g., asomdwoé 'peace', aníhaw
'laziness';

Food Items. e.g., bor de 'plantain', akutú
'orange'; (When food items are given plural morphemes,
they may refer to the plants, orchards, or farms, rather
than the fruit, e.g., m-boródé, n-kutú, n-kwadú =
plantain, orange, banana trees or plantations, respec-
tively).

Parts of the Body. e.g., ti 'head', ani 'eye',
nan 'leg'. The only parts of the body that may have
plural morphemes are those with the initial syllable ba-,
e.g., ba-tí(ri) m-ba-tí(ri) 'shoulder(s), ba-twów/
ba-twë(r): m-ba-twów/m-ba-twë(r) 'elbow(s)'. The fact
that parts of the body do not normally distinguish
between number may partly explain why items under
'Abstractions' above do not distinguish between forms:
most of them are usually formed from names of parts of
the body, e.g., asom-dwo-e (literally 'coolness in the
ear'), ani-haw (literally 'bothering of the eye'),
a-yam-hye-hye (literally 'burning of the stomach') 'panic',
etc.

3.8 MODIFICATION OF NOUNS

3.8.1 Pre-Head

In a modified NP, the following may precede the
head:

(a) possessives, e.g., Kofí din 'Kofi's name',
    mé nà 'my mother'.

99
(b) **noun modifiers** (similar to (a) above), e.g.,

Amérika tuo: 'American gun'; anadwo akwantu: 'night journey'.

(c) **the optional part of the demonstrative saa**
(at phrase/clause initial), whose obligatory specifier

yi/no (indicating proximal/distal relations) is a post-head, e.g.,

```
(saa) barima yi
(DEM) man this 'this man';
```

```
(saa) adwuma no
(DEM) work/job that. 'that job'.
```

3.8.2 **Post-Head**

All other modifiers—epithets, number, relative clauses, demonstratives—follow the head in that order, e.g.,

```
ofi kese baako a e -- si ha yi
house big one REL it--stand here this

'This one big house (that is standing) here'.
```

3.9** ADVERBIALS**

Adverbials may precede or follow the clauses they modify. Only the degree adverbials may not precede. In the initial position, the adverbials of time, reason, and purpose may carry the fronting morpheme (FM), na; those of place must carry an FM. Those with the FM have
different tones in the following clauses from those without, and there is also a meaning change, e.g.,

(a) **Time:**
   (i) ɔ-baa ha nnɛra 'He came here yesterday.'
   (ii) nnɛra, ɔ-baa ha 'Yesterday, he came here.'
   (iii) nnɛra nà ɔ-baa ha 'It was yesterday he came here'.

(b) **Reason:**
   (i) ɔ-koe efisɛ nà ɔ-mpɛ ha 'He went because he didn't like here.'
   (ii) (esiane sɛ) ɔ-mpɛ ha nti nà ɔ-koe 'It was because he didn't like here that he went.'
   (iii) (esiane sɛ) ɔmpɛ ha nti ɔ-koe 'Because he didn't like here, he went'.

(c) **Purpose:**
   (i) ɔ-koe sɛne a ñobenya bi. 'He went so that he'd get some.'
   (ii) (sɛne a) ñobenya bi nti ɔ-koe 'In order that he'll get some, he went.'
   (iii) (sɛne a) ñobenya bi nti nɔ ɔkoe 'It was in order to get some that he went.'.

(d) **Place:**
   (i) ɔ-baa ha 'He came here.'
   (ii) ɛ-ha nà ɔ-baɛ
     (nà is obligatory in (ii)).

101
(e) **Degree:**

o-ye kakra *(No fronted alternative)*

He's good a little 'He's fairly good'.

**CONJUNCTIONS**

There are two types of conjunctions--co-ordinating and subordinating.

**Co-ordinating Conjunctions**

The three co-ordinating conjunctions are na and n(y)e 'and'.

(1) na joins independent clauses in all the dialects, e.g.,

\[ \text{mi-didi} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{me-dae} \]

I - ate and I - slept.

'I ate and I slept'.

Where the subject is not marked in the clause(s) after the first, na is not marked either, and the VPs are serialized (see Fronting below), e.g.,

\[ \text{mi} \quad \text{- didi} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{dae} \]

I - ate slept 'I ate and slept'.

(2) nè *(As.: ne, Pa.: nye/nà)* joins all other items (therefore, in Fante, nà can be used to join all items):

\[ \text{Mi-nim Kofi} \quad \text{nè/nye/nà} \quad \text{Ama} \]

I -know Kofi and Ama.

'I know Kofi and Ama.
(ii) nanso 'but'. The item is made up of two parts—na and nso—either, or both, of which may be used with the same meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mè} & \quad \text{èm} \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{mè} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{gyimí}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-----------} & \quad \text{nào} \quad \text{-----------}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-----------} & \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{-----------}
\end{align*}
\]

I -- drink liquor but I -- NG -- misbehave

'I drink but I don't misbehave'.

(iii) anáašè (Fa.: anáaso) or anáa 'or'

Frè Kofi ènáa(sè)/ènáa(so) Kwaàmè.

Call Kofi or Kwaame.

'Call Kofi or Kwaame'.

Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are usually discontinuous: one part precedes the subordinate clause, the other following it. In all such cases, only the part following the subordinate clause is obligatorily marked, thus:

(i) ef(r)ìsè (Fa:òsiàndè)

(ii) (ésiàne sè) nòti (Fa:òsiàndè) Fa: nòtsi

(iii) (èwòm sè) dé/dzè, naànsò

(iv) (sè) ò, (sè)...ò

'because'

'because/

since'

(English initial sub. cl.)

(even though)

...yet

'whether...

or...'

103
(v) \((s \in\) \(\hat{a}\) \(\text{if/when} \) \(\text{Present Tense}\)

(vi) \((\text{bèrè } \hat{a}) \) \(\hat{n}o\) \(\text{when} \) \(\text{Non-Present Tense}\)

In general, discontinuous items in Akan tend to behave in the above manner: only the second part is obligatory; e.g., the demonstrative \((\text{sãá}) \ldots \hat{y}i/\hat{n}o\) 'this/that' (see Pre-Head, the optional part of the demonstrative \(\text{sãá}\)).

3.10 SUBORDINATION

Subordinate clauses (conditionals, time, concession, etc.) precede the main clauses (for exceptions, see Chapter Five below). They are marked by subordinating conjunctions (SUB), which are usually discontinuous. The first portions of these discontinuous items, which precede the (initial) subordinate clauses, are always optional; the second part, which links the two clauses (at medial position), is obligatory:

(a) 'if/when' \((\text{present}) \) \((s \in+)\) sub. clause + \(\hat{a}\) + main clause, e.g., \((s \in) \text{wo} \hat{-} \text{ba } \hat{a}\), \(\text{ye} - \text{bé} - \text{didi}\) (SUB) you-come (SUB), we-will-eat.

'If/when you come, we'll eat.'

(b) 'because/since' \((\text{ésiáne } s \in+)\) sub. clause + \(\hat{n}t\hat{i}\) + main clause. \((\text{ésiáne } s \in) \text{c-mpe } \hat{h}a \hat{n}t\hat{i} (\text{na)} \cdot -k \text{e}\) (SUB) he-not like here (SUB) (PM) he went.

'It was because he didn't like here that he went.'
(c) 'although' \((\text{sè} \text{ sè}+)\) sub. clause + de nanso + main clause:
\((\text{sè} \text{ sè})\) wo- àmba de nànsò ye-didì\ì°
(SUB.) you-not come SUB we-ate
'Though you didn't come, we ate.'

(d) 'whether...or' \((\text{se}+)\) sub. clause + è, \((\text{se}+)\) sub. cl. + è + main cl.
\((\text{se})\) wò- ba è, \((\text{se})\) wò- àmba è, ye- bédì\ì°
(SUB) You-come(SUB),(SUB)you-not come,SUB,we-
will eat.
'Whether you come or not, we'll eat.'

(e) Non-Present 'when'
(i) Past: \((\text{bèrè à})\) wò--bae no na ye- adì\ì°
(SUB) you-came SUB PA we-have eaten
'When you came, we had eaten.'

(ii) Future Perfect:
\((\text{bèrè a})\) wò-bèba no na ye- adì\ì°
(SUB) you-will come SUB PA we-have eat
'By the time you (‘ll) come, we'll have eaten'.

Object and Complement Clauses, (roughly equivalent
to 'that' clauses and complements in English) are intro-
duced by sè (Ap./As.) dë (Fa.) 'that':

(a) me -- tèe sè wò à-bà
I - heard that you - have come
'I heard that you'd come.'

(b) me -- pe dë me -- nyè wo kò
I want that I - with you go.
'I want to go with you'.

3.11 FRONTING

Fronting is a productive syntactic process for emphasis, contrast, and focusing. The particles used
are Xna ('it be X that') and Xd(z)€(e) ('as for X),
where X is the fronted item.

Eyí de' è -- ye
this FM it -- be good
'As for this, it's good' ('This is good').

Nné ñà o' -- bae'
today FM he -- came
'It was today that he came'.

These are frequently used in code-switching (e.g., see
Chapter Five).

3.12 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION

Akan does not conjoin verbs although co-ordinate
conjunctions may join other types of constituents. For
a series of verbs expressing consecutive or resultative
action (Li and Thompson, 1975), commitative and instru-
mental use (Lord, 1975; Schachter, 1974; Forson, 1976),
the verbs are strung together without any conjunctions.
The same tense morphemes are repeated on all the verbs
with the same tense, except that the future and progres-
sive tense morphemes in successive verbs are neutralized
into a common 'serializing morpheme' (SR) a-. The past
tense morpheme, which is the only one marked suffixally,
may be marked on only the last verb in the series, or
just before an object or complement.

(a) Present tense:
wó- nom bow da
you-drink get drunk sleep
'You drink (it) to/and get drunk and sleep'.

(b) **Perfect tense:**

wó -- a -- nom a -- bow a -- da
You-PF - drink SR-get drunk SR - sleep
'You've drunk (it), got drunk and slept'.

(c) **Future tense:**

wó -- be -- nom a -- bow a -- da
You-FU - drink SR - get drunk SR- sleep
'You'll drink (it) to get drunk and sleep'.

(d) **Progressive tense:**

wó - rè - nom a - bow a - da
You-PR- drink SR-get drunk SR- sleep
'You're drinking (it) to get drunk and/to sleep'.

(e) **Past tense:**

wó -- nom bow da -- e
You-drink get drunk sleep - PA
'You drank (it) to get/and got drunk and slept'.

(f) **Interrupted Past tense:**

wó -- nom -- m nsa bow -- w nkwaseam
you- drink --PA liquor get-drunk-PA foolishly
da -- e
sleep-PA
'You drank liquor and got foolishly drunk to sleep'.

107
PART III

NORMAL AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

4.0 THE PROBLEM

By definition, code-switchers are bilinguals (or multilingual, recognizing Timm's report (ibid) of switching involving three languages). Therefore, bilingualism is a necessary condition for code-switching. It does not follow, however, that code-switching is a necessary product of bilingualism. For if it were, all bilinguals would switch in all their language activities, while the truth is that there are many monolingual language activities involving bilinguals. Our task in this section, therefore, is, first, to identify the sociolinguistic factors that are necessary for code-switching—circumstances, that is, in which normal code-switching is not only possible but expected as the norm. (Our use of the term 'normal,' as opposed to 'deliberate' is roughly equivalent to the use of the term 'conversational' as opposed to 'metaphorical,' respectively, in other studies, e.g., Blom and Gumperz (ibid.).)

108
In this study, it is proposed that normal code-switching between Akan and English occurs only when certain conditions are satisfied with regard to all and only the following factors:

(1) the relationship between the languages in contact;
(2) the linguistic and educational background of the speakers;
(3) the degree of formality of the discourse;
(4) the subject matter;
(5) the medium of the discourse.

Beyond this, we will be able to suggest that other sociolinguistic factors are irrelevant in determining or predicting the use of Akan-English code-switching.

4.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

Ghana is a highly multi-lingual society, in which many people are fluent in two or more indigenous languages, in addition to the fact that all Ghanaians with formal education can use English in various situations and with varying degrees of efficiency. Yet the only two studies specifically related to code-switching in Ghana (Forson, 1968; and Forson (ed.) with Ure, 1975), show that in the Ghanaian situation, all code-switching, recorded or observed, occurs only between two Ghanaian
languages. It has to be added that though most of the forty-six languages spoken in Ghana are genetically related (Kwa languages, Chapter Two above), they are no more mutually intelligible with one another than each is with English. In fact, since English is both the medium and a subject of instruction in all schools and colleges in Ghana, and no Ghanaian language so far enjoys that status, English seems easier to acquire than a second Ghanaian language. But this is not to say that Ghanaians speak or use English more effectively than a second Ghanaian language. Such a comparison has not been made. (I have also observed that nationals of neighboring West African countries—Yorubas, Igbo, and Hausas from Nigeria, Ewe from Togo, and Hausas from the Upper Volta, etc.—who may be extremely fluent in Akan along with their native languages, only switch between their respective native languages and English, or between the Ghanaian languages they know and English, but never between their (West African) languages and a Ghanaian language. In the case of the Togolese and Upper Voltanians (from French-speaking West Africa) who have not been in Ghana long enough to lose their French, they may be able to use their (one or more) local languages and one or more Ghanaian languages, in addition to the two Western European languages, French and English. But
they, too, only normally switch between English (or occasionally French) and a West African language, and not between either two West African languages or the two European languages.

This appears to be significantly different from such studies as Scotton and Ury's (1977), in which code-switching is reported between two genetically-related East African tongues--Luyia and Swahili. A few reasons can be offered, however, to explain why code-switching occurs between Luyia and Swahili, on the one hand, and Akan and English, on the other. In East Africa, Swahili is an official language in most of the countries that use it, and also the proclaimed national language of some, e.g., Kenya, the home of Luyia, where Scotton and Ury conducted their study. According to the authors, many Kenyans expect that someday Swahili will replace English as the official language. "In such up-country Kenyan areas as Luyialand," they explain, "it is widely accepted as at least the lingua franca because it is perceived as a neutral 'nobody's language'. That is, it is relatively neutral. It is also unmarked as a signal of socio-economic status i.e., 'good' and 'bad' spoken Swahili abilities are, however, not necessarily associated with a 'good' or 'bad' job respectively, the way Luyians associate 'good' or 'bad' English with the 'quality' of
one's job." Also in places like Luyia, few people go to school long enough to be able to use enough or any English, and for a large majority, therefore, Swahili is the status language.

From the foregoing, we should be able to roughly equate the social status of Swahili in Kenya, or at least in Luyialand, with that of English in Ghana (and other English-speaking West African countries--Nigeria, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia). Access to, and the degree of proficiency in, such socially prestigious languages can be expected to carry at least some socio-economic advantages for the speaker. (It is important to note that in spite of their disclaimer that in Luyialand, Swahili is "unmarked as a signal of socio-economic status," Scotton and Ury add, in the next sentence, that "Swahili is often a transitional language for use in multi-ethnical situations, particularly commerce"--a confirmation that a knowledge of it carries some economic advantages with it.) A bilingual in any such 'prestigious' language and his own indigenous language is also invariably exposed to more non-indigenous concepts and ideas than his monolingual counterpart. This situation would seem to encourage code-switching.

The suggestion here, then, is that the genetic relationship between the languages in contact is not very
much a relevant factor in predicting code-switching: genetically-related languages like Akan and Ga (both Ghanaian (Kwa) languages) or Akan and Yoruba (of Nigeria) -- both Kwa languages -- are not switched, but similarly genetically-related tongues -- Luyia and Swahili (of Kenya, both Bantu tongues) are switched. The determining relationship between the languages switched -- Akan and English; Luyia and Swahili -- is social: native speakers of Akan and Luyia switch between their own tongues and the respective socially-prestigious languages, English and Swahili. Bilinguals are, therefore, more likely to switch between socially-prestigious and non-indigenous languages and their own -- 'high' and 'low' respectively in Ferguson's diglossia classification.

4.2 SPEAKERS' EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS

English is both a subject of instruction at all levels in schools and colleges in Ghana, and a medium of instruction for most public school pupils from Class 4 (about 8- or 9-year-olds). For some, especially those in 'international' or 'preparatory' schools, it is both a subject and the medium of instruction from the very beginning -- kindergarten or '(day) nursery'. Consequently, the amount of formal education the average Akan (or, for that matter, the average Ghanaian) gets is, all things
being equal, fairly proportionate to the extent to which he is exposed to the use of English. His exposure to, and use of, English, in turn, have a high correlation with the 'quantity' of his code-switching (see comparison in Appendix A, below). This may not only be due to the extent of his acculturation and, therefore, the breadth of his vocabulary in English, but also the frequency with which he has come to use English in his daily activities in and outside the school setting, and his relative competence in this second language.

For many situations, therefore, Akans with higher education, e.g., university students or graduates, are found to be far more at home in English than in their first language. The same can be said of Akans who have to use English in most of their daily activities, e.g., civil servants in government departments in multilingual (or generally in cosmopolitan) areas. (Examples 37 and 49 under 5.1.7 and 5.2.1 respectively below were collected from experienced civil servants with, respectively, secondary and middle school education.)

At the other end of the cline, in informal discourses, Akans with little or no formal education do little or no code-switching. They may only borrow lexical items—usually nouns—from English, e.g., 'photo', 'court', 'school', 'wife', etc. (The item 'wife' is included here
especially because of the interesting frequency with which it was observed to occur in the speech of purely monolingual ('illiterate') Akan young men. They frequently referred to me wife 'my wife', wo wife 'your wife', and ne wife 'his wife', but never 'wives' (plural) nearly as frequently as their bilingual (literate) counterparts did.) Strikingly, however, only bilingual wives were observed to refer to me/wo/ne husband; there was no record of wives with a similar lack of formal education referring to me/wo/ne husband. They would either use the Akan item kun(u) 'husband' with the Akan possessive pronouns, or else their husbands' first (usually day) names. Also three illiterate wives with literate husbands were found to refer to their husbands (and address them) as 'Mr' plus their last names.

In the specimen involving my 7-year-old nephew in his first few months at Achimola Primary (boarding) School (see 'Joojo', Appendix B below), English items are restricted mainly to a few isolated items, a few of which can be classified as borrowed items (marked '+'):  

**Isolated nouns:** e.g., 'teacher'+, 'parents', 'birthday', 'present', tape-recorder'+, 'house-master'+, 'match'+, 'speed', 'shot'+, 'draw' (= 'drawn game'), 'letters'+, 'school'+.
Modified nouns: e.g., 'music lesson', 'last Sunday', 'first goal', 'three days', 'school fees'.

Isolated verbs: e.g., 'visit', 'score' ('goal'), 'pass' (a ball), 'sack' (= turn away from classes/school), 'teach'.

Numbers: e.g., 'two', 'Number 9'.

Adjectives: 'straight'.

Conjunctions: e.g., 'versus'.

Joojo has been in this multilingual environment, where English is used from the outset in all activities, for only four months; therefore, we do not get the kind of extensive switching we do in, for example, the discourses in Appendix A. In such extensive switching, the English items involved are not only nouns or isolated words in other parts of speech; we get various modifications of the nouns, verb phrases, etc., and other items that collocate with them. Some switching involves almost complete clauses in English (e.g., Example 92 in Chapter Five below): "...I was under the impression of things weren't going well for her, the way she walked so mournfully in public no...". Indeed extensive switching by the typical Akan with high education may include any grammatical units from the top of the rank scale, the sentence, to the bottom, the morpheme, except that English bound morphemes are not used with Akan stems.
4.3 SUBJECT MATTER

The fact that code-switching in this study occurs only between Ghanaian languages and English, rather than between two or more indigenous Ghanaian (or West African) languages, can be explained, in part, by an appeal to the nature of the subject matters handled by the various languages. All the Ghanaian languages are used as the vehicles of similar social, economic, and cultural materials, and have similar degrees of efficiency in handling the subject matters for which they are used.

Among the subjects frequently discussed in monolingual Akan (or other Ghanaian languages), and for which code-switching is not usually used during the participation in, or discussion of, are the following: festivals, funerals, traditional marriages, traditional religion (and other rituals), farming arrangements, preparation of Ghanaian meals, local games and recreation (e.g., ware, nte (marbles), ampe), and public addresses (meant to be in a Ghanaian language). An explanation can be found by looking at some of the activities that have both Ghanaian and foreign forms. Marriage ceremonies and related transactions (such as divorce), for example, may be conducted in either or both forms. But it is observable that when the activity takes the Akan form, monolingual Akan is used and discussions of it—before,
during, or after--are essentially in Akan, irrespective of the participants' background. For example, on a few occasions, when I have been asked to write letters or documents (in English) in connection with customary marriage, I have had a lot of difficulty translating some of the Akan terms into English. Often, I have had to rely uncomfortably on an abundance of quotation marks and parenthetical explanations to come anywhere near rendering items like the following in English: "ɔ-gyee no abobow-mu-bɔ-de pon koro" (he was asked to pay a 'knocking fee' of 1 (two cedis)); "wo-sii no asiwaa" (she was promised in marriage; what is referred to here is not exactly an engagement or even betrothal: it is an arrangement that may take place on behalf of a girl of any age and a man who is expected to marry her when she is of age, with or without the knowledge or consent of either of the future couple). Situations like these would not normally call for code-switching: if there are no ready English expressions for them, even for written communication, there should be no place for English in oral discussion.

On the other hand, there is not much problem in using English to describe a Western-type wedding; in fact, one is more likely to hear Akans, after attending such weddings, talking about things like 'wedding gown',

118
'organist', 'vows', 'giving away the bride', 'exchanging rings', 'signing the register', 'attending a reception', 'proposing the toast', etc.,—all in English—rather than attempting to translate them into Akan.

Similarly, in talking about the preparation of Ghanaian meals, even well-educated Akans and other frequent code-switchers are likely to use monolingual Akan, without resorting to the use of English. The food items come with their own verbs, etc., and it would be really hard to translate items like potw abom ('to grind ingredients like garden eggs, tomatoes, pepper, onions, okra—all collectively called 'abom'—with a tapori, a piece of wood specially carved for the purpose, in a posi(e)/yabaasank a, an earthenware bowl specially made for it). Conversely, discussions of foreign foods like salad, hot beverages, etc., take place with English items, and therefore a lot of code-switching can be expected when the discussion is supposed to be in Akan.

Indigenous annual festivals, traditional religions, healings, rituals, games, and recreation are also more likely to be discussed mainly in Akan because similar difficulties may be expected to be encountered in any attempt to discuss them in English. If a subject matter is not easily treated in English, it does not attract code-switching.
English, on the other hand, basically handles a rather different set of 'materials' from the outside world. Besides such subjects as marriage, meal preparation, religion, recreation, etc., which have both English and Akan forms, discourses involving topics that come under politics, academic subjects, international sports (soccer, table tennis, lawn tennis, boxing, athletics (track and field), hockey, etc.) are usually in English: they are difficult to discuss or describe in monolingual Akan. Therefore, we expect any discussion of these in Akan to turn into code-switching.

Thus, Akan-English bilinguals normally do not use code-switching in handling topics that are better handled in Akan. However, for topics of a non-indigenous nature—those that are better handled in English—such bilinguals are more likely to use code-switching, when the setting is suitable for a discussion that is ostensibly in Akan. In such situations, not only lexical items are picked in English but other longer chunks representing larger units are also used. Often, it is a lot faster to carry the foreign item or concept in a whole phrase or clause in English than in Akan.
4.4 FORMALITY

The degree of formality characterizing a language event is an important factor determining the choice of normal code-switching over monolingual Akan or English. Again, such degrees of formality form a cline: there could be theoretically an infinite number of points between 'extremely formal' and 'extremely informal' language use. Thus a published legal document, the constitution of a country, or usually a printed wedding invitation, may be considered to employ 'extremely formal' language. A friend casually asking you to "hurry up or else you'll be left behind" could be considered 'extremely informal' language. Between the two ends, situations like settling a friendly dispute in the presence of another (not—too—familiar) colleague may be neither very formal nor very informal.

Only in relatively informal discourses—conversations, discussions, etc.—do Akan-English (or Ghanaian) bi-linguals code-switch, as reported in Forson (1968). Unilingual Akan (or Ghanaian language) or English is reserved for formal organized language activities, e.g., prepared speeches, publications, and public addresses. Thus every speaker at a political rally or a meeting of the inhabitants of a local community tries to speak unilingually: if he can speak the first language of the
village or city, he uses it without 'mixing'; if he does not know the local language, e.g., an Ewe or Akan politician speaking to a Dagbani-speaking village audience in Northern Ghana, he uses English, and his speech is translated through a local interpreter. Books, magazines, and newspapers are in either English or Ghanaian languages; the news and almost all programs on radio and television are also in either English or Ghanaian languages. Even sports commentaries in local languages, which were introduced about a decade ago alongside commentaries in English, are managed unilingually. The Akan commentator, for example, tries to limit any use of English to a few technical terms, which can conveniently be considered borrowed: 'corner', 'ball', 'penalty', 'referee', 'foul', 'goal', 'goalkeeper', reference to players by their position numbers (e.g., "Number Eleven" = Outside left), etc. Other than these, even familiar expressions which are normally quoted in English in free discussions among bilingual and unilingual Akans alike are rendered in Akan, e.g.,

As.: "...Osei Kofi aka ama 'Number Nine', a. . y3
Opóku Afriyie" ("Osei Kofi has passed it to Number 9,
..that is Opoku Afriyie").

Fa.: "... abo n' tsentseentsen dze ama Awulehy;
Awulehy 'so' dze ama 'Number Ten'; O, Hearts-fo hon Number

122
Three ágye..." ("...He's sent a long pass to Awuley; Awuley too has given (passed) it to No. 10, (but) 0, the No. 3 for Hearts has dispossessed him (of the ball)"). This is a special dimension added to the entertainment sector of Ghana broadcasting, and is generally regarded as only an experiment: often, one does not have enough opportunity to follow a full game continuously through this form of running commentary because where the two teams come from different language areas, e.g., Cape Coast Dwarfs (from Akan--Fante) versus Ho Volta United (Ewe), commentators from the respective languages take turns after every ten to fifteen minutes, and listeners miss the portions in the other language. Secondly, sometimes some of the meaning is obscured by mistranslation.

I have also observed that even at meetings of citizens of various villages resident in towns outside their home-town (e.g., the Kwanyako citizens' meeting in Accra, which I often attended--invariably all members had some form of formal education and were, therefore, bilinguals in Akan and English), a speaker would make every effort, with noticeable difficulty, to render his discussion in Akan without any "mixing." Any slip into code-switching was an occasion for spontaneous giggling, the speaker usually finding himself a participant in the ridiculing. After such meetings, however, topics like
those discussed at the meetings might be discussed over a bottle of beer through extensive code-switching by the same speakers. And it drew no attention (e.g., Appendix E).

Two explanations are possible here. First, the use of unilingual Akan (Agona, in this case) at the meeting seems to establish identity with, loyalty to, and pride in the citizens' hometown, around which most of the discussion is centered. There is a consciousness that to really belong to one's hometown in such a multilingual society, one has to be able to speak one's dialect: one should not sound "affected" by indulging in code-switching. Second, there seems to be an awareness on the part of the participants that it is just possible that some members at the meeting could be unilingual Akans (i.e., a few may have had no formal education), and no one would like to offend any such persons by speaking above their heads or preventing them from contributing to the discussions.

This is different from the situation observed at the only meeting of Ghananians I attended in Los Angeles in July 1979 (Appendix D). Believing that all the dozen people present were Akans, the chairman started the meeting by suggesting that we should use Akan, which instantly turned into code-switching. The switchers drew attention to their "mixing." Only after one member
introduced himself as an Ewe (non-Akan, though he could understand much of what was said) did we decide to hold the meeting in English.

It may be suggested that code-switching was possible in this case because (a) it is generally believed that all Ghanaians who come over to Los Angeles and attend meetings like these are either students or have had some formal education and understand English, and (b) even if we were all Akans, we most probably belonged to different dialect groups and there was nothing to be specifically identified with or loyal to. However, the fact that there had to be a decision on language is significant: it suggests the formality of the activity. And the fact that either monolingual Akan or English was to be used confirms the observation that code-switching is not normally expected in situations like this.

Code-switching is, therefore, meant for relatively less formal language activities.

4.5 MEDIUM

Normal code-switching is an exclusively spoken form of communication which occurs in informal and unprepared discourse. According to Forson (1968), all the language events using 'Mx' (normal Akan code-switching) were spoken. If, therefore, code-switching occurs in any
other medium—e.g., if it is written, read, or sung—it is
deliberate, and meant to illustrate a point or for some
special effect.

For example, in recent years, a few popular song
writers have occasionally included some code-switching in
their songs for humorous effect, e.g., Alex Sackey's
'Alomo Jack' (1967) (see Appendix C). The artist depends
partly on the use of euphemisms, e.g., Alomo (= 'girl' or
'girl-friend'), the verb hwe (literally 'beat up', 'strike',
but used here to mean, among other things, the verb 'to
be', 'to smoke'), the verb phrase yi ne ti ('to move/show
her head' = 'to go', 'to appear', etc.). But most
importantly, the effect comes from the use of contrived
code-switching. As will be pointed out under 'Lexis'
(5.4 below), the choice of English items like 'go',
'come', 'mother house' for equally frequently-used Akan
equivalents with very simple structure (ko, bra,
mame fie, respectively) is unusual in normal code-
switching and their choice here heightens the effect by
drawing immediate attention.

Akan-English bilinguals write most of their letters
in English—very rarely in Akan. In the few letters they
write in Akan, no normal code-switching is used. Occa-
sionally some English items may be quoted formally,
either for want of any handy Akan equivalent, or, as in
the case of only one of my several bilingual friends, for
humorous effect.

This would seem to be a little different from, say, the Spanish-English situation. Nowadays, there appear on the market, a few popular publications, especially magazines using Spanish-English code-switching. Among such publications which I found essentially in Chicano communities in Southern California (in the San Fernando Valley), was the 'Low Rider', from which we quote the example in Appendix F. Mrs. Pleuckiger (1979, personal communication) explains that contributors and consumers alike consider it a current fashionable entertainment to be able to get such mixed language printed and read: "they are all aware it is the 'in thing' today," she says. No such publication has yet appeared in Akan-English code-switching.

In fact, the participants in normal Akan-English code-switching consider themselves to be speaking Akan. The discourse usually begins in Akan, and as it progresses, the speakers freely use strands of English items of varying lengths. They are normally taken aback when their attention is drawn to the fact that they are "mixing." The same speakers might even protest the possibility of anybody "speaking like this" if they came across a transcribed text with normal code-switching, probably their own utterances, as did 'YD' in Forson (1968).
Yet the truth is that given the above sociolinguistic setting, any attempt at unilingual Akan discourse would appear conspicuously and ridiculously unreal. Code-switching is preferred as a more 'natural', more appropriate language choice in such situations.

The relevant sociolinguistic requirements for 'normal' code-switching, therefore, are:

(1) that there should be at least two tongues of which the non-native should be socially more prestigious than the native;

(2) that the participants should be bilingual in the languages involved in the code-switching;

(3) that the subject matter should not be typically indigenous; and

(4) that the discourse should be informal, unprepared, and spoken.

4.6 NON-RELEVANT FACTORS

From the above, then, we exclude a couple of sociolinguistic factors that are traditionally considered essential in language choice and use: (a) purpose of discourse and (b) social relationship between interlocutors. These are not to be considered relevant for the following reasons:
(a) **Purpose:** We have noted, under 4.4 ('Formality') that at two separate meetings—one in Accra, Ghana, and the other in Los Angeles, California—code-switching did not seem to be tolerated in the former, but would do in the latter. Yet both were for the same type of purpose—meetings for discussions on development projects. The choice of language variety here, then, does not depend on the purpose; it depends on such factors as a recognition (even if subconscious or merely unspoken) of the members' language background. At the Accra meeting, as pointed out earlier, the choice of unilingual Akan (Agona variety) seemed to establish identity with, and loyalty to, the single town from which all the participants came; it was also used in recognition of the fact that perhaps not all present had enough formal education to follow everything in English (there were a few members who had come to Accra only to live with working relatives and who were just attending a single meeting, or who were working in capacities not requiring much English). On the other hand, at the Los Angeles meeting, participants were legitimately expected to understand English, generally having come to an English-speaking country "to further their education." Thus code-switching might not be very desirable, but was tolerable.
Other purposes of language use, such as requests, instructions, etc., could be as well in monolingual speech as in code-switching.

A few purposes, such as ritual (e.g., prayers in church or the pouring of libation), may require only monolingual speech, but the above counter-examples would disqualify purpose as a consistent factor in determining the choice or rejection of code-switching. After all, rituals are prepared or else a set language form, and the determining factor is thus formality.

(b) Social Relationship Between Interlocutors:
Code-switching can occur between younger and older relatives, e.g., my discourses with my 7-year-old nephew (see "Joojo", Appendix B), as it does between peers (e.g., Appendix A). It may be used between teachers and their pupils (or students) (Example 68) in informal conversations and discussions. Such relations are clearly-defined, recognized, and important in the Akan (and generally Ghanaian) culture. Social 'subordinates' (children to adults, students to teachers, etc.) are very careful about what they say to their 'superiors'. Yet these relationships do not seem to be enough to determine a choice between code-switching and monolingual speech.

Purpose and social relationship between interlocutors are, therefore, not contributing factors in their own
right, and are not recognized in the combination of factors that determine the use of code-switching between Akan and English.

4.7 DIRECTION OF SWITCH

All the relevant factors create a setting that would ordinarily be expected to require the use of Akan, and in most cases the discourses do start in Akan. Then English items are brought in as the discourse progresses. It is never the case that a discourse meant to be in English turns into code-switching, unless a clearly-defined situation arises (e.g., the arrival of a monolingual Akan who is expected to follow the discourse), in which case all try to speak monolingual Akan. The Akan-English code-switching, therefore, has a one-way direction—Akan English—unlike, for example, the English-Hindi/Hindi-English situation reported in Gumperz (1976).
CHAPTER FIVE
GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

5.0 INTER- AND INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

Akan-English code-switching may occur both inter-sententially (between sentences) and intra-sententially (within sentences). Switching between sentences—inter-sentential switching—occurs when a complete sentence or a sequence of complete sentences in English is preceded and/or followed by one or more Akan or switched sentences. By switching within sentences—intra-sentential switching—on the other hand, we refer to a single sentence containing both Akan and English items of any size. In this chapter, we will be dealing with both inter- and intra-sentential switches.

In inter-sentential switching, the speaker retains more or less the same grammatical (i.e., phonological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic) features that would be expected in his regular monolingual English speech. It is now necessary to distinguish briefly between the average Akan-English bilingual's "regular monolingual English" and the English in his code-switching.

There are grammatical differences between English as an L₁, e.g., American or British English, on the one
hand, and English as an $L_2$, e.g., Ghanaian English. As observed by Sey in the only major work on the subject, "Ghanaian English" (1974), the most obvious differences, here are explainable in terms of interference from the Ghanaian's $L_1$. These differences are more pronounced at the early stages of the acquisition of English than at the later stages. Thus at college level, for example, the most obvious marks of a Ghanaian's English may be found essentially in the areas of phonology and semantics, whereas his syntax is basically similar to that of the target standard form of (British) English. The phonological differences result from (a) the various substitutions discussed under 3.1 above, and (b) superimposing Akan tonal patterns on English utterances. At the semantic level, Sey suggests that educated Akans may use English items with meanings that reflect peculiar aspects of Ghanaian (here Akan) culture. For example, "cloth" may mean a completed traditional garment—for the man, one piece of about eight yards; for the woman, a two- or three-piece outfit, worn approximately like a skirt, a blouse, and, optionally, a third piece that may be wrapped over the blouse or the skirt, hung over the shoulder or arm, or, in recent fashion, worn around the head instead of a separate scarf, turban, or, for another Ghanaian coinage, 'headkerchief' (following 'handkerchief', 'neckercleif').

133
These differences constitute the distinctive characteristics of a regional variety of English called 'Ghanaian English'—features that give this peculiar brand of English its identity and status, distinguishing it from such 'regional' varieties as American English, Australian English, and British English. (Of course, within each regional variety, there are such subtle, but discernible sub-regional or class 'dialects' as we find, for instance, among 'Southern', 'Black', 'New York', or 'Midwestern' 'dialect'/'accent'/'English' in the United States, on the one hand, and 'South London', 'Oxbridge', 'the Queens', or 'Midland' English in the United Kingdom, on the other. These sub-varieties may be analogous with, say, 'Ewe', 'Ga', 'Pante', 'Broken', or 'Standard' varieties of Ghanaian English, which are quite obvious to most English-speaking Ghanaians.)

In all these, we are dealing with monolingual Ghanaian English, as distinct from the English in Akan-English code-switching. In the latter, English sentences in inter-sentential switching have basically all the characteristics of the speaker's variety of Ghanaian English. In intra-sentential switching, there are various effects of the Akan grammatical system on the English items, conditioned by the immediate environment of the Akan items. These are over and above the peculiar characteristics of Ghanaian English.
In the following sections, we examine the various grammatical regularities and constraints observed in normal Akan-English code-switching.

5.1 PHONOLOGY

English items in intra-sentential code-switching generally take on various Akan phonological features, such as tone and syllable structure, as presented in Christaller (1933), and Schachter and Fromkin (ibid., pp. 105-115; 177-181), along with segmental substitutions. A couple of examples illustrate the point.

In Akan, there is a patterned relationship between the tones of some of the pre-verbal affixes and the verb roots (3.4 above), and between the most productive tone of the possessive pronoun and the possessed noun (5.1.6 below). For example, Akuapem and Fante have generally high tones on the prefix tense morphemes followed by monosyllabic verb roots, and possessive pronouns tend to have more high tones than low tones in these two dialects (5.1.5 below). In Asante, apart from the future tense morpheme ę-, which is always high (3.4 above)—to contrast with the homophonous ingressive morpheme (always non-high)—the pre-verbal affixes are all low, e.g.,
Ap. ye-ba ye-re-ba ye-a-ba ye-bé-ba
Fa. ye-ba ye-re-ba ye-a-ba ye-bé-ba
As. ye-ba ye-e-ba ye-a-ba ye-bé-ba

We come We-PR-come We-PF-come We-FU-come
'We come' 'We're coming' 'We've come' 'We'll come'.

These patterns are not consistent throughout the language. The most consistent patterns may be in a paradigm of progressive and perfect tenses with mono-
syllabic verb roots, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akuapem</th>
<th>Fante</th>
<th>Asante</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prog:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-re-ba</td>
<td>me-re-ba</td>
<td>me-e-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-re-yɛ</td>
<td>me-re-yɛ</td>
<td>me-e-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-re-pɛ</td>
<td>me-re-pɛ</td>
<td>me-e-pɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ri-kyi</td>
<td>mi-ri-kyi</td>
<td>mi-i-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-a-ba</td>
<td>ma-a-ba</td>
<td>m-a-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-a-yɛ</td>
<td>ma-a-yɛ</td>
<td>m-a-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-a-pɛ</td>
<td>ma-a-pɛ</td>
<td>m-a-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-a-kyi</td>
<td>me-e-kyi</td>
<td>m-a-kyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following patterns emerge from the above paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the most consistent and most productive tone patterns in the tense system. They are reflected in Akan-English code-switching, and they distinguish between code-switching among the different dialects at the
phonological level, thus: Asante ends all English verbs in code-switching on a high tone, Akuapem and Fante on a low tone. When an English verb has a final non-vowel, a final high tone in Asante has a greater tendency to make it syllabic (requiring an emphatic vowel) than a final low tone in Akuapem or Fante, e.g.,

\[
\text{Ap.} \quad w-a- [\text{tɛn}] \quad (19 \text{ below}) \\
\text{he-PF-'} \text{tɛn} \quad '\text{He has attempted}'
\]

\[
\text{Fa.} \quad me-e- [\text{mɣin}]w' \quad (44 \text{ below}) \\
\text{I-PF-mean you} \quad '\text{I've 'meant!' (marked) you'}'
\]

\[
\text{As.} \\
(i) \quad \text{mi- [cɛn}-i\text{]} \quad (\text{I - change-V 'I change'}}
\]

\[
(ii) \quad \text{ne [kampɛn] no-ô- [ge:n-i] [mumɛntum]} \\
\text{his campaign the-PR-gain-V momentum.}
\]

The data show that the only English items that are not significantly affected by Akan phonology in intra-sentential switching are complete clauses and complete phrases—i.e., those occurring entirely with only English items, English word order, and English morphology. Thus the English phrases

'two boys', 'every time' (Noun Phrases),
'very busy', 'too good' (Adjective Phrases),
'before the game', 'at once' (Adverb Phrases),

are, by and large, unaffected by Akan phonology, except when they are immediately followed (or in rather rare cases, when immediately preceded) by Akan items, where
the English portions immediately next to the Akan items are affected slightly.

But where the words, word order, syllable structure, etc., are in Akan or mixed Akan and English, there is increased evidence of Akan phonology in the switched phrases. In the following examples, the switched items are on the lefthand side of the sign '='; followed by the items as they would be rendered in Ghanaian English. The tones are marked in both cases for comparison:

(a) /bɔy꼬 tuSITE/ =/tu꾸 bɔy꼬/ (English words, Akan word 'boys two' 'two boys' order);
(b) /tɔm biARa/ =/ɛvrI tɔmI/ (mixed words, Akan word 'time every' 'every time' order);
(c) /a-Stoɔp-V kaA/ =/has stop t a kaA/ PF-stop-V car has stopped a car 'has stopped a car' (Akan morphology & syllable structure, English stems);
(d) /nɔIIsI tuSITE mɔC/ =/tuSITE nɔIIsI/ noisy too much too noisy 'too noisy' (Akan word order & idiom, English words).

In (a), (b), and (d), we have heads followed by modifiers (noun + adjectives; adjective + adverb). In regular Ghanaian English, we would expect the modifiers to precede the heads: 'two boys', 'every time', 'too noisy'. When the modifiers precede the heads (English word order), we have a high tone at the end of the
modifiers and a low tone at the end of the head in a sentence-final position. When we have the Akan word order, as in these examples, each English item (if we count /tuú máč/ in (d) as a single 'item') ends on a low tone. This is a regular pattern in such switched phrases, not readily explainable in terms of any Akan feature.

Example (c) (Asante) uses an Akan tense morpheme a- and an epenthetic vowel, making the phrase essentially Akan, and therefore it takes on Akan tone.

In clause-level switching, independent clauses in English are generally unaffected by Akan phonology; dependent clauses in English usually show Akan features especially in the portions immediately followed by Akan items. For example,

(1) ɔ-ba a, that's fine; I'm always ready to do
she comes if,
what I can for her. (Ap.)

'If she comes, that's fine; I'm always ready to
do what I can for her'.

(2) Me-sé `bifó: yù disáidé tù báI It ñu, mè-sé, I say before you decided to buy it ART, I-say, nè-sé, wo-[kon sòlt-ù-u]hwáñ? (As.)
I-say, you-consult- V-PA whom
'I say, before you decided to buy it...whom did you consult?'.

In (1), there are two independent clauses in English---
'that's fine' and 'I'm always ready to do what I can for
her...'. They both are unaffected by the phonology of Akan items in the immediate environment. They retain all the characteristics of the monolingual Ghanaian English. In the second example (2), the tone on the last item in the English dependent clause--"it"--is high-low, which is not English intonation. This is because it is influenced by the Akan article "no." If "it" had been followed immediately by an English main clause, it would have had a rising tone on it. It would seem that English items immediately followed by Akan items often carry a dropping tone, signaling the end of the English portion and the introduction of Akan items.

5.1.1 Phonemes

Not all the English phonemes listed in Chapter Three as not found in Akan present problems to all Akan code-switchers. In fact, depending on the amount of training the Akan has had in English, there may be few or no substitutions for English phonemes in his code-switching. It is a cline, however, and less educated switchers may use the substitutions suggested in Sections 3.1.1C and 3.1.2C.

Among the most frequent substitutions by switchers of all levels, according to the study, are the following:
(a) /-z/>/-s/, e.g., /boy-/ for /boys/ 'boys' as in

(3) me-[sɔspekt-ɪ] bɔys tuu] no' nyinaa (As.)
I-suspect- V boys two the all
'I suspect both of the two boys'.

(b) /æ>/<a/, /ɛ/ or /ɔ/, e.g.,

(i) /ɡeën/ for /ɡein/ 'again', as in

(4) A: wɔ-de wɔ-á-kyet n'.
    they-say they-PF-catch him
B: [ɡeën]
    Again?
A: [ɡeën] oo, [ɡeën]; wɔ-á-kyet n' biò
    again o, again; they-PF-catch him
    again! (Fa.)

'A: They say they've caught him
B: Again?
A: Again o, yes, again; (they say) they've caught
    him again!

or (ii) /ɛ/ as in /atɛnʃən/ for /atɛnʃən/ 'attention',
    e.g.,

(5) né [tíc ɔ] si n de wɔ-kyeré n' a'dže a
    his teacher says that they-teach him some-
    thing
    o-m- [pe: atɛnʃən] bi' a. (Fa.)
    he-NG- pay attention any
    'His teacher says when he's taught he doesn't
    pay any attention'.

or (iii) /ɔ/ as in /kɔndiʃən/ for /kɔndIʃən/ 'condi-
    tion', e.g.,

(6) [dɔkta] sè ne [kɔndiʃən] a- ye [kritikal] (As.)
    doctor say his condition PF-be critical
    '(The) doctor says his condition has become
    critical'.

141
(c) Loss of distinction between /ʌ/, /æ/, and /ə/
    $\rightarrow$/a/, e.g.,
    (i) /samə/ $\rightarrow$ /samə/ 'summer' as in
    (7) Ye-bé-hyiá wò wò̀ [sáma hàt] (As.)
        We-FU-meet you be 'Summer Hut'
        'We'll meet you at "Summer Hut" (a beer bar)'
    (ii) /bæd/ $\rightarrow$ /bad/ 'bad' as in
    (8) /tu̯í bâd/ (As.)
        too bad!
        'Too bad!'.

5.1.2 Epenthetic Vowels

Akan has essentially a CV syllable structure: the only non-vowels that may occur in final positions are nasals, /w/, /ʔ/, and /r/ (see 3.2 above). In code-switching, English items, especially those appearing in clause-final positions, tend to conform to the Akan syllable structure by employing epenthetic vowels. This tendency is more frequently found in Asante. An explanation that may be suggested is the fact that Asante is the most productive in syllable-final vowels (or, put differently, the most deficient in final consonants), the only non-vowel syllable final sounds being /-m/ and /-ʔ/. Akuapem has, in addition to those, final /-w/ and /-ŋ/, and Fante has /-n/, /-r/, and /-w/, e.g.,

    Ap. c-najɔ̃̃ srâdɛ̃ no
    Fa. c-nànɔ̃ srâdzɛ no
    As. c-nanɛ srâdɛɛ no
    he-melt oil the 'He melts the oil',

142

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in which Akuapem and Fante end the verb for 'melt' with consonants, but Asante needs an additional vowel.

An epenthetic vowel harmonizes with the vowel in the stem nearest to it. This appears in code-switching as shown in examples (9)-(12):

(9) o-[tiic] yẹn physical geography (Ap.)
    he-teach us  ---------------
    'He teaches us physical geography'.

(10) me- [ʃɔt-u] mɔ dɔdo (As.)
    I- short - V you too much
    'I cause you to run short (run out) of it too much'.

(11) wo- sè wo- re- bɛ - [demonstrɛɛt] (Ap.)
    they-say they- PR-ING- demonstrate
    'They say they're coming to demonstrate'.

(12) yɛ - sè yɛ - e -- [dimand-I] (As.)
    They-say they - PR -- demand-V
    'They say they are demanding (it)'.

In (9) and (10), both English verbs, 'teach' and 'short', respectively, are monosyllables ending with consonants which normally do not end Akan syllables: /c/ and /t/. Examples (11) and (12) are parallel situations, except that they are multisyllables. In both pairs, however, Asante has the epenthetic vowels, while Akuapem does not.

Of course, epenthetic vowels are possible in code-switching involving all dialects. For Akuapem, this is particularly noticeable with past tense verbs in sentence-final position; for Fante, past tense verbs in general, e.g.,
(13) ye- [čenj-]i-i (Ap.)
we- change-V-PA
'We changed (it)'.

(14) o, eyi de, o-de [jook-u-ı] (Ap.)
o, this FM, he-with joke-V-PA
'Oh, as for this, he joked with it'.

(15) o-a--n--tsé dê o-[čiit-i-ı] hon a? (Fa.)
he-TNS-NG-hear that he-cheat-V-PA them Q?
'Didn't he hear he cheated them?'

In (13) and (14) (Akuapem), we notice that in the absence of a final vowel which would be suffixed with a [-I] to indicate a sentence-final past tense in Akan, there is a harmonizing epenthetic vowel ((13)/-i-/ with /-e/; (14) /-u-/ with /-o/), which then takes on the past tense morpheme /-I/. Example (15) (Fante), similarly needs an epenthetic vowel /-i/ to harmonize with the vowel /-ii-/ before it is lengthened before the object, hon.

Epenthetic vowels are not confined to verbs but they seem to be more noticeable in verbs. In Asante, for instance, epenthetic vowels appear at the end of English nouns in final positions, e.g.,

(16) Kumáase na wo--[sii-s-ı] me [laинтер-ı-ı] (As.)
Kumase FM they-seize-V-PA my license-V-EAS
'It was in Kumase they seized my license'.

(17) wo'- wo [jáak-ı]? (As.)
you-have 'jack'
'Do you have a "jack"?'.

144

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Akuapems sometimes avoid both the epenthetic vowel and the past tense vowel, e.g., 'promise' (35).

There is generally much less use of epenthetic vowels in code-switching in Akuapem and Fante.

5.1.3 Initial Vowel Deletion

Unstressed initial vowels in English items are usually deleted when preceded by Akan items, especially prefixes, e.g.,

(18) ḍ- de [genst-i-i]yën (As.)
    he-with 'gainst-V-PA us
    'He used it against us'.

(19) w-a- [tënt]no several times (Ap.)
    he-PP-'tempt it ------------
    'He has attempted it several times'.

(20) M'a ḍ-hia a' a nye [nkerejment] wo-
    what he-need only be 'encouragement; they-
    nkerey' n' à ḍ-be-yeg [wondës] (Pa.)
    'encourage him if he-FU-do wonders
    'All he needs is encouragement; if they (or you?)
    encourage him, he'll do wonders'.

The initial vowel is deleted in all three sentences in the environment of a preceding vowel in Akan, which assimilates it, as it were. As a result, out of context, (19), for instance, could mean "He tempted him several times."

Stressed initial vowels (including, therefore, all initial vowels of monosyllabic English items) are retained, e.g.,

145
(21) " Mejá · o-[énta-a] nó for this year's exams (Ap.) I-made he-enter-PA him --------------------
'I made him enter him for this year's exams'.

(22) Ye-[énd-i-i] no on a very happy note (As.) we- end-V-PA it -----------------
'We ended it on a very happy note'.

(23) së o-[ópt-i] së o-bë- [help-V à, [óke] (As.) if he opt-V that he-FU help-V if, o.k.
'If he opts to help, o.k.'.

(24) së mé nà mé- [o:n-u] sàá [érìa] nó à, if I FM I own-V DEM area that if,
anka mé-n-[òfa] nó [frií] )As) ADV I-NG offer it free
'If I owned that area, I wouldn't offer it free (of charge)'.

The disyllabic verbs 'enter' (21) and 'offer' (24), and the monosyllabic ones 'end' (22), 'opt' (23), and 'own' (24) would have carried stressed initial vowels in isolation or in monolingual English context. In switched utterances, they generally get low tones; they are not deleted, like unstressed English initial vowels (18-20 above).

It would therefore seem that, initial vowels in English tend to be progressively weakened in code-switching: stressed ones get low tones; unstressed ones get deleted.
5.1.4 Extra Asante Vowel

The extra Asante vowel discussed under 3.3.3 is quite productive in the code-switching of Asante speakers. In Example (16) above, the item /laInsIs-I-ɛ/ 'license' (at the end of a sentence-ending subordinate clause) has not only the epenthetic vowel /-I/, but /-ɛ/. If it had been in the middle of, or at the end of, a main clause, the final /-ɛ/ would not have appeared, e.g.,

wo-gye-e me [laInsIs-I] Kumaase
The-get-PA my license-V Kumase
'They took my license at Kumase'.

Here are other examples:

(25) m-ɛ-[reʃj-i]a mā n-á-ko faako a
I-FU-'range-V for him-SR-go place REL
o-be-nya [pɔɔmùnti-ɛ]
he-FU-get opportunity-EAS
'I'll arrange for him to go where he'll have an opportunity'.

(26) [kumaasir tu akra:] deŋ, [ʃɔː siʃiʃ] a'a nā
Kumase to Accra FM , four cedis only FM
ye- [tʃaay-I-ɛ]
they- charge-V-EAS
'As for Kumase to Accra, it's only four cedis they charge'.

(27) [piɪ-tli-si] -fɔɔ [rɪprɛsɛntɛtɪf] nē no: wɔnom
'p. t. c. -PL representative be him: their
[sigɾɛɛt-I] nyiŋa, ɔnɔ na o-[distrɪbjuʈ-u-o]
cigarette all he FM he-distribut-V-EAS
'He is the PTC (Pioneer Tobacco Company) representative: he distributes all their cigarettes'.

147
(28) [mathematics] na ye-e- [week-I-e]; wó-káe
mathematics FM they-PR-work-V-EAS; you-think
st [jook-u] na ye-e- [jook-u-o]
that joke-V FM they-PR-joke-V-EAS
'It's mathematics they're working; do you think
it's jokes they're cracking?'.

(29) [káa] yi i-kó a'a, a a-[stop-u-o]
car this PR-go ADV when PF-stop-V-EAS
'This car was going when it stopped!'.

In all cases, the items with EAS come at the end of
clauses introduced by subordinators:

in (25), a (REL) .........'opportunity';
in (26), na (FM) .........'charge';
in (27), na (FM) .........'distribute';
in (28), na (FM) .........'working', ... 'joking';
in (29), a 'when' (SUB.Conj.)...'stopped'.

5.1.5 Tone

Akan tone is used in quoting isolated English items
in code-switching (e.g., the items in phonemic transcrip-
tion in Examples 1-29 above). It was pointed out, under
5.0 and 5.1 above, that English items that occur in
complete English phrases or clauses are not significantly
affected by the phonology of Akan. Thus in the following
examples, items not affected by Akan phonology are kept
in the regular English orthography and underlined in the
glossing; those affected are in phonemic transcription in
square brackets:
(30) YB se` akwada` no [di$t\text{e}\z\text{b}-\text{u}] too much (As.)
YB say child the disturb-V ---------
'YB says the child disturbs too much'.

(31) c--á- [mIs\text{andast}ánd] the whole issue (Fa.)
he-PF-misunderstand ---------------
'He has misunderstood the whole issue'.

Asante appears to modify the tone on English items
in code-switching more than Akuapem and Fante do, to make
them sound less like Ghanaian English. The following
examples of switched NPs with English heads and Akan
possessors illustrate the point:

(32) ne [k\text{ond\text{is}\text{In}}] a-ye very critical (As.)
his condition PF-be-------------
'His condition has become very critical'.

(33) w--mó--fa wón [st\text{at\text{is\text{Ik}s}}] fo no m--fi nípa so(As.)
they-IMP-take their statistics bogus the IMP-from
people on
'Let them get away with their bogus statistics'.

(34) mó [\text{andast\text{ándi}}]\n\text{g}e very terrible (Ap.)
your understanding be ------------
'Your understanding is very terrible'.

(35) wón [pr\text{út\text{é}\text{k\text{śi}}n}] á wó-[prom\text{is\text{í}}]yén
their protection REL they-promised us
no wó hé? (Ap.)
the be where?
'Where's the protection they promised us?'.

(36) wo-é-- wie hón [pr\text{ípr\text{é}s\text{én}}] n' à? (Fa.)
you-PF-finish your preparation the Q?
'Have you finished your preparation?'.

The tones on the English items 'condition' (32),
'statistics' (33), 'understanding' (34), 'protection' (35),
and 'preparation' (36) differ between Asante, on the one hand, and Fante and Akuapem, on the other. The difference is noticeable in the first syllable in each of these multisyllable words. In the Asante examples (32) and (33), there are two tones for the first syllable, high followed by low. The first syllable in each of the English items in the Akuapem, (34) and (35), and Fante (36) examples has a single (low) tone. The Akuapem and Fante forms are quite close to the pronunciation we expect from regular Ghanaian English—using an unstressed first syllable in each of those items.

5.1.6 Possession

Possessive pronouns in the various dialects differ in tone. In Akuapem and Asante, the tones vary between high (H) and low (L) in the environments of alienable and inalienable possessed nouns.

Asante possessive pronouns are:

(i) high before monosyllabic alienables, e.g.,
   nê dañ "his house"
   mé nám "my meat"

(ii) low before multisyllabic alienables and all inalienables, e.g.,
   me sika 'my money' (alienable)
   yen nwóma 'our books' (alienable)
ne kó́n 'his neck' (inalienable)
wo korò́na 'your heart' (inalienable)

In Akuapem, all alienables are preceded by possessive pronouns with high tone.

mé dán 'my house'
mé sika 'my money'.

It is not so consistent with alienables (table below).

In Fante, possessive pronouns are consistently high for all types of possessions, e.g.,

mó kún 'my husband'
no koko 'his chest'
né ba 'his child'
wo kràtaa 'your paper'.

The following is a random sample of pronominal possessions illustrating the tones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ap</th>
<th>As</th>
<th>Fa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me/wo/ne se</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komá (kořóna)†</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woña</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maame/na(ni)</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papá/agyà(sé)</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúnú (kún)</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yére</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwéne</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borcé(e)</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dade(e)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɛ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'my/your/his teeth' 'heart' 'uncle'
'mother' 'father' 'husband'
'wife' 'head' 'nose'
'leg' 'child' 'plantain'
'cutlass' 'sweetness'

151
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and an immediately neighboring Akan syllable. The Akan syllable takes on the 'coveredness' feature of the vowel in the neighboring English syllable, e.g.,

(a) Affixes:

(37) ye'n a'a na ye − [disaId-I-I] (As.)
we ADV FM we − decide-V-PA-EAS
'It was we who decided it'.
(38) o − fast-I-I (Ap.)
he− fast-V-PA
'He fasted'.

In (37), the first syllable of "decide" is pronounced with a [+COV(ered)] vowel /-i/, and selects the subject pronoun with a harmonizing [+COV] vowel, /ye/- instead of /ye/- [-COV]. The vowel in the second syllable of 'decide', /-aId/, does not agree with the preceding syllable in coveredness, but it agrees with the suffixes next to it. In (38), /-a-/ in "fast" [-COV] selects the subject /o-, also [-COV] instead of the [+COV] alternative /o-/ . Since it is a single syllable, it agrees with the following suffixes, too.

(b) Word Boundary: Vowel harmony may apply between words, e.g.,

(39) wó-be-te na [ɔposisIn] [ɔ-k-wiin-i],
you-FU−hear ADV opposition PP-win-V ,
ná [gouvmen-ı] a−[fɔ-ı-v] (As.)
ADV government−V PP-fall-V
'You'll hear that the opposition will then have won, and the government will then have fallen'.

153
In the above example, the speaker pronounces "win" /win/, hence the choice of a [+COV] vowel /æ/ to agree in coveredness with /i/ in /win/. Similarly, /o-/ [-COV] in "fall" chooses the [-COV] prefix /a-/ rather than /æ-/ for the perfect tense morpheme. Example (39), therefore, illustrates the application of the vowel harmony rule across word boundary, and, together with examples (37) and (38), demonstrates that the rule has regressive effect.

Vowel harmony also affects epenthetic vowels and the EAS (see examples (25) to (27) and (37)). The data also reveal that there is a unique relationship between round vowels and immediately preceding labial (round) consonants. The relationship takes precedence over vowel harmony per se. Thus, in examples (23) and (30) above, we have /help-u/ "help" and /distə:b-u/ "disburb" respectively. One would have expected, following the vowel harmony rule, that the front vowel /ɛ/ (in both items) would have harmonized with the front high vowel /-ɪ/ . But we do not get */hɛlp-I/ or */distɛ:b-I/. Similarly in (15) above and (52) below, we have the main vowels /i/ and /I/ in "cheat" and "sit" respectively harmonizing with the respective epenthetic vowels, but in examples (40) to (43), the epenthetic vowels rather harmonize with the 'back' consonants /p/, /m/, etc:
(40) Amoa na ə - [kiip-u-o]  
  Amoa FM he- keep-V-EAS  
  'It's Amoa who keeps it';

(41) Wei na ɔ - ɔ - [swim-u-o]  
  This FM she-with FU- swim-V-EAS  
  'This is what she'll swim with';

(42) ɔ - ɔ - [slim-ŋ],nti w - a -  
  she-say she-PR- slim-V, so she-PF-  
  [kaat-I] ne [breyft]  
  cut-V her breakfast  
  'She says she's slimming; so she's cut (down)  
  her breakfast';

(43) mé [brej-a - siip-ve] ne ndzamba wɔ  
  my brother ship-V-PA his things at  
  hɔ - mà o - nyà - a  
  there and he-get-PA  
  the same problems  
  (Fa.)  
  'My brother shipped his luggage there and got  
  into the same problems'.

The front vowels in the stems, /i/ in 'keep' (40), and  
'swim' (41) (pronounced here with the closer vowel /i/  
instead of /I/ /I/ in 'slim (42) and 'ship' (43), do  
not harmonize with front vowels as expected; they select  
back vowels for the suffixes: /u-o/ (40) and (41),  
/v/ (42), and /u - v/ (43) instead. They agree, however,  
in 'coveredness'.
5.1.8 Special Phonological Features in Fante

(a) **Palatalization of labial consonants.** Under 3.2.1, we observed that in Fante, labial consonants are palatalized before non-low front vowels. This appears in the code-switching of some Fante speakers, as illustrated in (45) and (46) below:

(44) me-áá me- é - [mYίm] w' papaapa
I -say I -PF- mean you very well
'I say I've 'meant' (=marked) you very well!';

(45) ño c-dé c-m -pYɛ [pYίls] ; [rάa]
he he-say he-NG-like pills ; rather
ç -[prífei] , [yu nó] : [enífi]
he-prefer you know anything
[líkwíd] bía'a
liquid any
'He says he doesn't like pills; he rather prefers, you know, anything liquid'.

In example (44) /m/ in 'mean' is palatalized \(\Rightarrow [mY]\); in (45) /p/ in 'pills' \(\Rightarrow [pY]\).

(b) **Frontness harmony in pre-verbal affixes in Fante.** As pointed out under 3.3.1, the allophones of Fante pre-verbal affixes which have front high vowels are conditioned not only by the feature 'covered' but also by the 'frontness' feature, e.g.,

(46) [ókée] ño mǔ-bó-[ksółt] n' ana
ok., then, I -FU consult him before
m-a - [ståat].
I-TNS- start
'O.k., then, I'll consult him before I start'.

156
(47) I- bó-tum `a, ke- [teek 1ɔː];
You-FU-can if, ING-take law;
ɔ'n' nà [prɔspɛktς] wo-m'
it FM prospects be-in
'If you can, go take Law; it's in that there're prospects'.

In (46), the vowels in 'consult' (pronounced with 
[-COV], [-front] vowels, [ɔ ... ɔ]), select the allomorphs
[mʊ] for the first person subject pronoun /me/, and
[bɔ] for the future tense morpheme /be/; in (47) the vowel
in the verb 'take' /e/ has the features [+COV], [+front]
and so do the vowels in the allomorphs /ke/ of the
ingressive morpheme /kɔ/. In all, they each select
from four features: [+COV, -COV, +front, -front].

5.2 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

This section is concerned with intra-sentential
switches. It does not deal with inter-sentential
switches--those in which complete sentences are quoted
in each language--since such sentences retain the
morphology and syntax of the languages used for them.

5.2.1 Morpheme-Level Switching

(a) **Tense/aspect markers:**

(i) Akan tense/aspect markers are generally
preferred in code-switching, unless the whole phrase or
clause is in English, e.g.,
(48) KN [inva\lIt -I-\ ] won (As.)
    KN invited-V-PA them
    'KN invited them';
(49) ç-a- fiks-I ne brothers and sisters
    he-PF- fix -V his
    nyin\ara (Fa.)
    all
    'He has fixed (=found places for) all his
     brothers and sisters';
(50) ç- n - [s\opp\t-u] à, ç-n - gyae (As.)
    he- NG - support-V if, he -IMP- stop
    'If he doesn't support it, let him stop!';
(51) wo -rê- [s\sp\end] no sê w -a-
    you- PR- suspend him that he- PF-
    ye dë\n? (Ap.)
    do what?
    'Why are you suspending him?'.

The tense/aspect markers in the above examples are (48)
/-I/ (Past), (49) /a-/ (Perfect), (50) /N-/ (Negative),
and (51) re /r\-/ (Progressive). Examples (46) and (47)
illustrate Future /bê-/, andINGressive /k\-/ respectively.
It is never the case that an English tense/
aspect marker is switched with an Akan stem. Thus,

*KN hyia-ed (KN invited)
*you are twê no a\n (you are suspending him)
or *wo are twê no a\n
are unacceptable.

(ii) All English verbs in such switches are
treated as regular verbs, and use the same (Akan) tense/
aspect morphemes, e.g.,

158
(52) ɔ- [slIt-i-I] ne [egzáməs]
  he- sit -V-PA his exams
  nɔ' last year (As.)
  the

'He sat for his exams last year.' (not * sat-I)

(53) ɛ-ye 1965 na o-[go-o]
  it-be ___ FM he- go-PA
  into business with him (Ap.)

'It was in 1965 he went into business with
  him' (not *-went -...);

(54) ɔwo, me-n - [trəst] w' ; ɛ - [brek]
  you, I -NG- trust you ; PF- break
  wo' [prɔmɪs]
  your promise
  e - [brek] e - [brek] e - [brek] ;
  PF- break PF- break PF- break ;
  mé-n -ye wo dɛn `ɛ?
  I -IMP-do you what Q?

'You, I don't trust you; you've broken your
  promise (several times); what should I do
  with you?' (not *e- brokIn ).

(b) Number: English plural items are quoted with
the same English morphology they occur with in regular
English, unlike other inflections for which Akan
morphemes are preferred (e.g., tense/aspect in (a) above).
This is the case whether the noun is quoted in isolation
(e.g., 'exams' in (52) or in a phrase, e.g., 'brothers and
sisters' in (49) above), or in context. The only Akan
number marker sometimes used with English nouns is the

159

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pair -ni/-fo (3.7.1A) used for denoting places of origin and membership of groups, e.g.,

(o) -teacher-ni 'a teacher'
(a) -teacher-fo 'teachers'
     college-ni 'a college student'
     college-fo 'college students'.

An explanation may be offered here. First, when we say a person is using language X, what we are actually saying is that he is using the grammatical system and grammatical items of that language, and not necessarily the lexical items. Thus, in the Akan-English code-switching, the speakers are using the Akan grammatical system and items, and therefore speaking Akan. The English items used (lexical, and less frequently grammatical) are those more accessible than their Akan equivalents. Second, in a situation where two systems are available to him, as in code-switching, the speaker is likely to prefer the structurally simpler of the two.

For example, the Akan tense/aspect markers are preferred, primarily because the switchers are using Akan, and also because the Akan tense/aspect marking is generally simpler than the English system. For instance, to mark the progressive tense in English, we need two items--prefixing and suffixing--and we are faced with at least three considerations:

(i) the choice of the verb "to be";
(ii) the selection from the various forms of the verb "to be" to agree with subject pronoun (1st/2nd/3rd Person), and in number (singular/plural), resulting in such variables as am/are/is/was/were...

(iii) the addition of the suffix -ing.

For Akan, this is marked by a single item—the prefix re- (or, for Asante, a lengthening of the very last vowel in the 'complete' subject—3.4.2 above). Negation in Akan tenses is not consistent (3.4.2H) but then it is a single process.

Akan number marking is not so simple, compared with English. English basically has one regular morphological process—sufffixing: /-z/, /-s/, /-iz/ (but Akans typically do not even worry about the voicing distinction between /-z/ and /-s/). Akan, on the other hand, has a lot more complex system (see 3.7.0): besides zero marking, it may use a prefix, a suffix, or both, for both singular and plural marking, and the prefixes are particularly varied. There is only one set of suffixes: 
-ni/-fo, indicating membership of human groups, e.g.,

0 - sante -ni A-sante-fo
'An Asante' 'Asantes'.

Even then, -fo is not always a plural; o-wi-fo 'a thief'
 a-wi-fo 'thieves', and sometimes even native speakers are not too sure when to use -ni or -fo for singular,
e.g., one hears both

ɔ-kyerà́kyerà́-ni and ɔ-kyerà́kyerà́-fo 'a teacher';
ɔ-kwàta-nì and ɔ-kwàta-fo 'a leper'.

Faced with this complexity, a switcher is more likely to seek a refuge in English.

5.2.2 Word/Phrase-Level Switching

In intra-sentential switching, the Akan word order is basically followed, where the word orders for English and Akan differ.

(a) Articles and other modifiers. In modified noun phrases, Akan articles are preferred, and they follow the head noun (phrases), e.g.,

(i) Definite Article no 'the':

(55) boy no sè ɔ-bè-ba (Ap.)
     the say he-PU come
     'The boy says he'll come'

(ii) The marked indefinite article bi 'some':

(56) fish bi à ɔ-tó-e (Fa.)
     some REL he-buy-PA
     'some fish he bought'.

(iii) The unmarked indefinite article 'a':

(57) ɔ-ɔ-hwehwé simple solution to the
     he-PP-look for simple solution to the
     problem problem
     'He's looking for a simple solution to the problem'.

162
(iv) Where English modifiers modify Akan nouns, 
the Akan order is followed:

Compare (58) mmofra four bi no? (Ap.)
children some the?
'Those four children?';
with (59) six books par na mo-to-fa (Fa.)
only FM I -buy-PA
'(It was) only six books I bought';
or (60) ne ba stupid bi no ! (As.)
his child some that!
'That stupid child of his!';
or (61) saa case yi yee very serious (Ap.)
DEM this be 
'This case is very serious'.

In (58) and (60), the modifiers 'four' and 'stupid'
modify Akan nouns 'mmofra 'children' and ba 'child'
respectively, and the NPs follow the Akan word order of
Noun + Adjective. In (59), both the noun 'books' and
the modifier 'six' are in English, and the English order
is followed.

In (58), (59), and (61), the items no and yi are
demonstratives, whose optional portion is saa (fa: DEM)
(marked in 61), with the obligatory no and yi showing
distal and proximal relations respectively. In code-
switching the optional portion of the demonstrative may
be expressed either in Akan (as in examples 61 to 63)
or in English, as in example (64), e.g.,

163
(62) M-á-hù saá young man á wo-re-ka no (Ap.)
I-PF-see DEM _______ REL you-PR-say that
'I've seen that young man you're talking about';

(63) Dém decisions yi', ó̄nó, n̄n-yë emi
DEM _______ these, they, NG-be I
nà mi-[teék] bi' (Fa.)
FM I - take NG
'As for these decisions, I don't take them'.

The optional pre-head demonstrative saa/dem, when
used, occurs together with the obligatory post-head
marker yi/no. The pre-head items may occur in English,
but they cannot occur post-head in English. Thus, we
have:

(64) These days yi', everything is hard to
DEM ____ these, ________________
come by (As.)

'These days, everything is hard to come by',
but we are not likely to have:

*Saa days these...

(v) English Items, with Akan Order: It is possible
to have an English modifier following an English head,
e.g.,

(65) ñ-ne [wúman tòf] bi nà
she-with woman tough some FM
ë-bàà -¢ (As.)
SUB-came-EAS
'It was with some 'tough' (=fat) woman he came';
(66) The same people, wo -a- [sɛ:v ɔn
____________, they-PF- serve on
gɑmɛnts tuʊ] nyinaá do. (Fa.)
governments two all on.
'The same people have served on both
governments'.

In both examples, the Akan word order--head +
modifier, rather than the Ghanaian (or Standard) English
order (of modifier + head)--is used. As a result, the
head nouns and modifiers are each given an independent
falling tone pattern, instead of the single tone pattern
one might expect in Ghanaian English. The tone patterns
of these examples thus support the word-order evidence
to the effect that the speakers are using Akan.

Example (59) shows that numerals can occur with
English order, though, as illustrated in (58) and (66),
they can also occur with Akan order, whether the heads
are Akan (58) or English (66).

(vi) Ordinals: English modifiers that most con-
sistently occur with English heads and with English
order are the ordinals:

(67) First time à mé-baa há ne last year (Ap.)
____________ REL I -came here be _________
'The first time I came here was last year';

(68) Second boy nó né third boy nó nyinaá
____________ the and _________ the all
skɔ; the same marks
scored __________

165
'Both the second and third boys scored the same marks'.

In (67) the ordinals 'first' and 'last', and in (68) 'second' and 'third' have a relatively fixed position with the English heads--pre-head both in code-switching and in monolingual Ghanaian English. From observation, English ordinals appear to be more frequently preferred to Akan ones probably because Akan ordinals are whole relative clauses, and therefore more complex; by comparison, English ordinals are single words. E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Akan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'first'</td>
<td>a o-/e-di kan (Fa.: dzi kan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'second'</td>
<td>a o-/e-to so abien (Fa.: do ebien)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(As.: etso. mmenu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fourth'</td>
<td>a o-/e-to so anan (Fa.: do anan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(As.: nnan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'last'</td>
<td>o-/e-twa to(ɔ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The English ones are, therefore, simpler, shorter, and more accessible. Being relative clauses, and also in the general order of modification, the Akan ordinals are post-head.

(vii) **Constraints on Possession**: Akan possessive pronouns may occur with English nouns, but English possessive pronouns may not occur with Akan nouns, e.g.,

(49) 'ne **brothers and sisters**'
(52) 'ne **exams**'

166
(34) 'mo understanding'
(35) 'woon protection'
(not 49) *his nu anom
(52) *his schwe
(34) *your ntease
(35) *their ho ban-bo

This also supports our observation that grammatical items (such as the pronouns here) are preferred in the intended language in code-switching—here, Akan.

In noun possessions, the Akan (especially Akuapem and Asante) marker is φ (approximately the equivalent of the English -'s (e.g., 69 and 70 below)), but generally in Fante, and in formal and contrastive contexts in Akuapem, a repeated possessive pronoun, ne/woon (Fa: hoon), is used for the 3rd Person, e.g., (71):

(69) KN uncle na w-a'-wu-o (As.)
    KN _____ FM he-PF-die-EAS
    'It's KN's uncle who's dead';
(70) tícà-fúɔ salaries déɛ, ɛ-n-
    teacher-PL _______ FM , it-NG-
    yɛɛ̀ yiye dà (As.)
    been good ever
    'As for teachers' salaries, they've never
    been good';
(71) OK ne' me-tà ò-dè ò-bé-ba (Fa.)
    OK his mother she-say she-FU-come
    'OK's mother says she'll come';
(72) Ghana-fo họn problems pì na’d (Fa.)
Ghana-PL their ______ many just
'Just the many problems of Ghanaians'.

(b) Pronouns: Akan pronouns are preferred in
mixed phrases—whether as subjects or objects:

(i) Subject:

(49) ɔ - a - [fiks- i] (Fa.)
he-PF- fix -V
'He has fixed...';

(50) ɔ - n - [support - v] (As.)
he-NG- support -V
'He doesn't support...'.

(ii) Object:

(48) KN [invite-I- I] won (As.)
KN invite-V-PA them
'KN invited them';

(51) wò - re - [suspend] no (Ap.)
you-PR- suspend him
'You're suspending him...';

(18) ɔ - de [genst-i-i] v n
he-with against-V-PA us
'He used it against us'.

The following constraints are observed:

(A) An English subject pronoun does not occur with
an Akan verb, e.g.,
not *he kyeréw
he write
'He writes'.

(B) An Akan verb does not occur with an English
object pronoun, e.g.,
not *Ye-be-fre them
we-FU-call them
'We'll call them.'

(C) In a simple construction, a subject and an object pronoun have to belong to the same language. We cannot have:

   either: an Akan subject with an English object, e.g., *ye = invalIt-I-I them
           'We invited them
     or *ye-be -fre them
            we-will call them

   or: an English subject with an Akan object,
       e.g., * we invalIt-I-I won
             'we invited them
       or *we invited won
             _______ them
       or *we be -fre won
             we will call them
       or *we will call won
             _______ them

These restrictions are clearly different from those reported by Timm in the Spanish/English situation, for example, in which switching cannot occur between pronominal subjects or objects in one language and finite verbs in the other (see Pfaff, page 10). The fact that Spanish subjects may be omitted in speech may partly explain the difference between the co-occurrence possibilities between Akan-English code-switching and Spanish-English code-switching.
(C) **Adverbials:** Akan verbs may be modified by English adverbials, e.g.,

(73) ṣ-bà ha as often as possible (Ap.)

he-come here __________________

'He comes here as often as possible';

(74) already ye-a -bɔ' ká (As.)

we-PF-strike debt

'Already we are in debt'.

(D) **Conjunctions:** Akan co-ordinating conjunctions seem to be generally preferred, e.g.,

(75) Ye-[sɛjɛst -ɪ-ɪ] na wɔ - kɔmfe:m-ɪ-ɪ (Fa.)

we- suggest-V-PA and they confirm-V-PA

'We suggested (it) AND they confirmed (it)';

(76) relay nó, Ḥene Asare na ṣ-ɔ-

the, Ḥene Asare FM he-PR-

[stɑt-ɪ] ənàa ɔ-ɔ fɪnîs -ɪ-ʊ? (As.)

start-V or he-PR- finish-V-EAS?

'The relay: is it Ḥene Asare starting (it) OR finishing (it)?'

(77) ná we were trying to come, ná na

Then ___________________ AND then

Yàw nso sɛ ye-n -twen (Ap.)

Yaw too say we-IMP-wait

"We were trying to come and then (at the same time), Yaw, too, told us to wait'.

Occasionally, the English conjunction 'or' may be used to join switched clauses, e.g.,

170
(78) ɔ-m -pɛ very long essays bi'ara or,  
he-NG-like any OR 
you know, essays à g-re-yɛ a- yɛ  
_____ , _____ REL they-PR-be SR-be 
the same as topics bi' à w -a -mà no  
_______________ some REL he-PF-give them 
on some previous occasion (Ap.)  

'He doesn't like any very long essays or, you  
know, essays which are somewhat similar to  
those he's given on some previous occasions'.

The English conjunction 'but' is the most frequently  
found to be used to link Akan or switched clauses, e.g.,

(79) me-baa ha' but m-a -n -to' ekia'a (As.)  
I -come here BUT I-TNS-NG-meet anybody  
'I come here, but nobody was in';

(80) ɔ-yɛ likely dé' wo -bɛ-ba, but, I'm not  
it-be _____ that they-FU-come BUT _____  
sure dé' wo -bɛ- [steː] (Pa.)  
sure that they-FU- stay  
'It's likely they'll come, but I'm not sure if  
they'll stay';

(81) Bo mmoden, but a -n -yɛ yiye a , gyae (Ap.)  
Try BUT TNS-NG-be good if, stop  
'Try, but if it doesn't work, stop'.

Other English conjunctions may be used in joining  
English items in a phrase during code-switching, e.g.,

(49) ne brothers and sisters  
'his brothers and sisters';

(82) yɛ-pɛ either Takoradi or Accra (As.)  
we-like  
'We like either Takoradi or Accra'.

171
5.3 CLAUSE-LEVEL SWITCHING

5.3.1 Subordination

(i) Certain subordinate clauses in Akan, e.g., conditionals and time clauses, have a relatively fixed order in relation to the main clause--

CONCONDITIONAL + MAIN, TIME + MAIN, etc.

In code-switching, this order is preferred, e.g.,

(83) w - a -n - [s t o l p - v ] won a , y e - b e - he-TNS-NEG- stop-V them if, we-FU- [r a n - I ] into big trouble (As.) run-V

'If he doesn't stop them, we'll run into big trouble';

(84) time à c - b a é no , n n a ma - a - REL he-came when, then I -PF- [f a î n a l a ë s ɜ r e n j m ë n ts ] no n y î n a a r a e - finalize arrangements the all SR- wie (Fa.) finish

' (At the) time when he came, I'd finished finalizing all the arrangements';

(85) se w o - [c e : k - i ] na o - n - ní h o à if you- check-V and he-NG-be there if [l i i v - u n o î t ] w ò me [pî jî n hoî l ] no leave-V note at my pigeon hole the mu mà me in for me

'If you check (up) and he's not in, leave (a) note in my pigeon hole for me';
(86) [síns] à ye-n – komít yen ho
since REL we- NG- commit ourselves
to any promise yi dé, why should we worry
ART FM, ________
about apologies and so on? (Ap.)
__________?
'Since we haven't committed ourselves to any
promise, why should we worry about apologies
and so on?'.

If the subordinate clause follows, rather than
precedes, the main clause in any of the above examples
it might sound like an afterthought, and most native
speakers are likely to deny the existence of such con-
structions in the language, though, as in the code-
switched examples (87) and (88) below, these do occur
in conversations, e.g.,

(87) mú-be-hu yen ɔkyéna, sè biribía’a
You-FU-see us tomorrow, if anything
à n-[hapIn] à (As.)
TNS-NG-happen if
'You’ll see us tomorrow, if nothing happens';

(88) dém girl n’ à? ɔ-a -n -ye. attempt
DEM that Q? she-TNS-NG-make ______
dé ɔ-ɓé-[apolojaIs-ɔ] mpo, aber à
that she-FU- apologize-V even, time REL
ńà Kwaámé so ɔ-ro- [kwéSin] no
then Kwaame too he-PR- question her
repeatedly dém a’ a (Pa.)
__________ DEM just
'That girl? She didn't even make any attempt to
apologize, while Kwame was also repeatedly
questioning her'.

Such post-posed subordinate clauses are not confined to code-switching: they occasionally occur in unilingual Akan, usually after a pause, or hesitation, that would seem to suggest it is an afterthought.

Subordinate clauses may either precede or follow the main clause, e.g.,

(89) In order to avoid him nó, m -è- [pretend] ART, I -FU- pretend sè mi-nnì ha koraa (Ap.)

that I -not be here at all

'In order to avoid him, I'll pretend that I am not here at all';

(90) nè younger sister nó báá ha with the his _______ the came here _______

intention dè ɔ- bè- [fish] out some _______ she-FU- fish _______

information about him, nà ɔ-dze a -

______ and she-with SR-

kè-mà nè parents (Pa.)
go-give her _______

'His younger sister came here with the intention of fishing out some information about him to go and give to her parents';

(91) mi-se me-n -hwehwe n’ anim m-a -hwe I -say I -NG-look for his-face I-SR-look because of late nó, m-à- [kam] to the _______ ART, I-PP- come _______

conclusion sè’ he’s out to sabotage my _______ that __________________
efforts (Ap.)

'I say I don't want to see his face, because of late, I've come to the conclusion that he's out to sabotage my efforts'.

In (90) and (91), the main clause precedes the subordinate clause—a reversal of the order in (89). Both orders are possible in both languages.

Of note is the ART(icle) no at the end of the subordinate clause in (89) and after the time adverbial "of late" in (91). It is not easy to gloss it, but it occurs at the end of many extensively-quoted English phrases and clauses in the study, probably signifying that the discourse is still in Akan. The article no 'the' is the same as the (obligatory) second part of the distal demonstrative (saa/dèm)...no 'that', and its proximal counterpart, yi 'this', also may appear in a similar position in extensive code-switching, e.g.,

(86) "since a ye-n-[komit] yen hò to any promise yi'...".

Sometimes, these articles may be about the only Akan items in complete complex sentences, e.g.,

(92) In fact, all along nò, I was under the ART impression sé' things were not going well that for her, the way she walked so mournfully nò (As.) ART.

175
(93) Even though œ-[kla:ma] sê there was
_________ he claimed that _______
nothing he was hiding nô, it was obvious
_________ ART, _________
from his prolonged silence sê, you know,
_________ ART, _________
that, ________
we couldn't trust him (Ap.)

(94) In such unusual situation a where nobody
_________ REL _________
is prepared to spend even one pesewa yi,
_________ ART, _________
then what do we do? (As.)

In all the three examples, the only other indications
of Akan utterances, along with the articles no and yi,
are the subordinating conjunction sê 'that' in (92) and
(93), œ- 'he' (93), and the absence of the indefinite
article (English 'an') before "unusual" in (94).

(ii) sê/dê ("that") clauses: The item sê/dê is
used for both the equivalent of the English noun clauses
beginning "that" and infinitival complements and con-
structions. In all cases, as seen in examples (92) and
(93), the item is in Akan, rather than English, e.g.,

(95) œ-[dav oy] sê yê-[kritisaal]i
you- doubt-V that we- criticize-V
constructively a, n-ka bîmbiâa
___________ if,NG -tell anything

176
n-kyere yén (As.)
not-show us
'If you doubt that we criticize constructively, don't tell us anything';

(96) ɔ- [traɪ-ɪ] very hard dɛ all his friends
he- try -PA _______ that _________
be-[sikyɔ] some jobs in the same
PU- secure _________
department (Pa.)

'He tried very hard for all his friends to secure some jobs in the same department';

(97) mú-[ðisαιd] sɛ mo-bɛ- [ʃtæt] you- decide that you-PU- start
a, mo-m ma me-n -te (Ap.)
if; you-IMP-let me-IMP -hear
'If you decide to start, let me know';

(98) ye-pɛ dɛ Sunday wo -be - visit hén (Pa.)
we-want that they-come- visit us
'We want them to come to visit us on Sunday';

(99) na me-m -p s me- rɪg-I wo
then I -NG-like that I - ring-V you
all the time (As.)

'I didn't want to ring you all the time'.

Timm (ibid) reports that "switching in Spanish-English code-switching is prohibited between finite verbs and their infinitive complements." In the absence of infinitives in Akan (since they take the form of clauses), a direct syntactic comparison is not possible. But on the basis of the function and meaning of the
utterances (96-99), we see that Akan allows switching between finite verbs and subordinate clauses which functionally correspond to infinitive complements.

5.3.2 Relativization

The Akan relativizer (REL) a is preferred in switched relative clauses. The head may be either in Akan or English, and the corresponding pronoun, following the Akan pattern, is always copied, in Akan, in the relative clause, e.g.,

(100) teachers a  \( w\) -\( \dot{m}a\) \( y\)!\( n\) tough time

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{REL they-gave us} \\
\text{p}á'\text{a no } \hat{n} -\text{ni ha bi}^{\text{(As.)}} \end{array} \]

really the NG-not here again

be

'The teachers who gave us a really tough time are no longer here';

(101) nkor\( \dot{c}f\)ö\( a\) \( o'-\text{rimuuy-}\text{u-}\text{u} \) \( w\)\( \dot{o} \) no \( b\)í

people REL he- remove-V-PA them the some

\( w\)\( \dot{c} h\)\( \dot{c} \) a \( w\)\( \dot{c} \) -\( \text{n} = \text{diz}\text{e}:\text{v}-\text{u} \) \( s\)á \( \text{(As.)} \)

be there REL they-NG- deserve-V that

'There are some of the people that he removed that do not deserve that (= 'Some of the people he removed are there that don't deserve it').

In (100) the relative clause contains the subject pronoun \( w\)\( \dot{c} \) - "they", which is co-referential with "teachers"; in (101) the first relative clause "a
"o-rimuuv-u-u|wɔn", has an object pronoun ɔwɔn 'them', which is co-referential with the noun nkorọfo 'people'; and the subject pronoun in the second relative clause "a wɔ- n-izizé:v-u" contains the subject pronoun wɔ- which also refers to the noun nkorọfo.

5.3.3 Fronting

Two morphemes (FM) are frequently employed for fronting ...na "it be... REL" and ...de/de=d=de 'As for...'. Whenever fronting occurs, FM is obligatorily used, as in the following:

(102) (Subject): hwan na o-[disiiv -u-u] wɔ? (As.)
who FM he- deceive-V-PA you?
'who deceived you?';

(103) (Adverb): time bɛn na mọ- be= [staàt]
which FM you-FU- start
mọ holidays nọ?
your ______ the? (A_p)
'When will you start your holidays?'
(could have been: 'mo-be-start mo holidays
no da bèn?');

(104) (Object): hwana-nom na e- sè wɔ -
who -PL FM you-say they-
paniš -I-I hòn?
punish-V-PA them?
'Whom did you say they punished?'
(Could have been: 'ese wɔ-[paniš-I-I]
hwana-nom?'.

179
(ii) de/dë/dë: This item may also be used to
front any item. The fronted item is then repeated as a
pronoun in the appropriate position (if marked) in the
regular sentence following the FM, e.g.,

(105) problems a wo' - [kriet -i-i] dë, REL they - create-V-PA FM ,
mû-n -tûm n -[kômprîhend] (Fa.)
I -NG-can NG - comprehend
'As for the problems they created, I can't
comprehend (them)'.

The Akan equivalent of 'them' is an inanimate
pronoun occurring at the end of a clause, and is Ø.

(106) w -a -nyin a'a fine, but ténten deë,
he-PF-grow ADV ____ , ____ tall FM ,
I don't know when he's going to be some (As.)

____________________
'He's quite old, but as for tall, I don't
know when he's going to be some';

(107) Saá man yí de', ñ-se me [ant,]
DEM man this FM , he-resemble my aunt
bi [hôusband] too much (Ap.)
some husband ______
'As for this man, he looks too much like the
husband of an aunt of mine';

(108) Christmas pá'a déë, ñ-se se ñ- ye-
____ really FM , it-fit that we-
[gánaIs -I] really great party (As.)
organize-V _______________
'As for (the) Christmas, we have to organize
a really great party'.

180

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(Note that the initial vowel in 'organize' drops because the speaker would probably pronounce that verb with an unstressed first syllable [ɔɡəhaɪz]).

Both the Akan and English forms of the FM, de...
and 'as for' may be used (redundantly) in the same construction, e.g.,

(109) **as for this woman pa'a deɛ, ne life**

_________________________ really FM, her ___

n -ye fine koraa (As.)

NG-be ___ at all

'As for this woman, her life is really not fine (=good) at all.'--in which 'as for' and de both have the same meaning.

5.3.4 Serial Verb Construction

The Akan serial verb construction rule (3.12) is followed in code-switching. All the tense/aspect morphemes take the same form in succeeding verbs (unless there is a change in tense, or an object or complement follows the verb) within one sentence. The exceptions are:

(i) the future and progressive tense morphemes change from /bɛ-/ and /re-/ respectively to a neutral /a-/, and

(ii) a sequence of past tense verbs may not be marked until the final verb or before an object or complement:

181
(110) wú -túni  [cë:k -í][distrìbyut-ú] ma -a
you-can check-V distribute-V give-PA
won? (As.)

them?

'Could you check and distribute (them) for them?'.

The past tense is not marked on any of the first three verbs--túni,'check', 'distribute'--but only on the last, ma-a.

(111) ye-n -[staát] n - [kontrò], a -n -ye
we-IMP- start IMP- control, TNS-NG-be
śàa à wo -re -n - [kontìnyù] n - [çplài]
that if they-TNS-NG- continue NG- supply
yèn biò (Ap.)
us again

'Let's start to control (it), otherwise, they won't continue to supply us again';

(112) wo -be- [staát-I] a - [màak-í] papers no
they-FU- start-V FU- mark-V
in two weeks' time (As.)

'They'll start marking the papers in two weeks' time';

(113) wo -a- [konsidà] a - [konsidà] re-ye
they-PF- consider PF- consider PR-make
a - [kâm] to the conclusion dè wo -bè-
SR- come Suspènd n' (Fa.)
suspend him

'They have considered it (repeatedly) and are about to come to the conclusion that they'll suspend him';
(114) Don't mind him! ɔ-dɛ ɔ-ro-kɔ- [stand-I]
_____________! he-say he-PR-go- stand-V
election biɔ? ɔ-a- stand a-[stand]
____ again? he-PF- stand PF- stand
a-[stand], ɔ-n-[yiin-i-i] bi da .
PF- stand , he-NG- win-V-TNS some ever.
o-bo-[luuz-ɔ] biɔ a-bo -su a -
he-FU- lose-V again SR-come-cry SR-
kyere ɔ-yimpa (Pa.)
show people
'Don't mind him! He says he's going to stand (for) election again? He's been standing for it (repeatedly); he's never won any. He'll lose again and then come to cry for people to see'.

5.4 LEXICON

In Akan-English code-switching, more commonly-used verbs are preferred in Akan when used in their regular, non-colored forms. Thus verbs like ba 'come', kɔ 'go', pɛ 'like/want', nim 'know', hu 'see', are frequently in Akan, rather than in English, e.g.,

*ɔ-re-go fie
home
to Swedni, etc.

do not occur in the data. Such verbs may be quoted in English only as parts of some idiomatic expression,(e.g.,

(53) "ɛye 1965 na ɔ- go- into business "
(113) "...a -kam to the conclusion
PF-come ________________ "),
and also

(115) ́éndéé, ̀ó -bé- [go-ó] her own way à ,
then , she-FU- go-V if,
£-m -fá obí ho (As.)
it-NG-pass someone about
'Then, if she'll go her own way, it doesn't concern anyone';

(116) ó -sè o -n -[sii] eye-to-eye with you à ,
he-say he-NG- see if, what can you do?

'If he says he doesn't see eye-to-eye with you, what can you do?'.

On the other hand, frequently-used English items whose equivalent in Akan may be more complex are more likely to be quoted in English, e.g.,

(117) mi-[biliiv -u] sè ̀ó-bé-ba
I - believe-V that he-FU-come
(believe= gye di) (As.)
'I believe he'll come';

(118) mi-[fiił] dè ̀ó-e -n -nyá ne
I- feel that he-TNS-NG-get its
nyìnaarà ('feel' = tsenka) (Fa.)
all
'I feel he didn't get it all';

(119) yè-[ statute -i] wònom ('suspect'=de am bu) (As.)
we- suspect them
'We suspect them'.

It appears that speakers generally tend to prefer simpler items. For example, apart from Fante, the other two dialects do not have any equivalent of the English
item 'be bad' (Fa.: muo) to contrast with ye (As.: ye) 'be good'. Therefore, the item ye/ye is frequently found in Akans' speech in general. Asantes and Akuapems may talk about something/somebody being 'good' eyε (eye) /ye/ oye; or 'not being good' enye (enye)/ onye (onye); but they have no way of expressing 'it's bad'. So in recent years, the currency of Akan subjects occurring with 'ye bad' is particularly high. Fantes, who have the equivalent muo, also use it. It makes it easier to express four different opinions, instead of two:

As.: eyε , enye , eyε bad , enye bad
Ap.: eye , enye , eyε bad , enye bad
Fa.: oye , onye , oye bad , onye bad
      o muo   o-m- muo

It's  It's not  It's bad  It's not bad
      good      good

It is also noticeable that many relational terms are preferred in English with Akan possessives: me/wo/ne...+ 'wife'/'husband'/'cousin'/'aunt'/'uncle'/'father'/'mother'/'daddy'/'friend'/'boy friend'/'brother'/'sister'/'my dear'...etc. (With the possessive pronoun in Akan, the last item, considered as a single (non-possessed) item, combines two possessives from the different languages thus: 'me my dear', 'wo my dear', 'Akos my dear...').

The data also show a good number of hesitation signals which appear in English, e.g.,
'You see', 'I mean', 'Let's see', 'You know', 'The thing is...'.

Other items preferred in English include those that appear to be culturally 'private' terms (not meant for regular public use), e.g., private parts (for which taboo terms or euphemisms in English are used, even if they are more complex) and terms related to the bathroom and toiletry. It generally appears to be more convenient to cover 'unpleasant' concepts in another language.
CHAPTER SIX
LINGUISTIC SIGNIFICANCE

6.0

In this chapter, we look at code-switching in the context of other areas of linguistic study, e.g., psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. In particular, we would like to briefly outline and illustrate the phenomenon from the point of view of its acquisition, of some of its functions, and of some attitudes towards it. Then, after drawing some conclusions, we will make some suggestions for further study (Appendix G).

6.1 ACQUISITION

As suggested in Chapter Two, basic formal education received by the Akan in Ghana includes English as a subject, and as a medium of instruction. This makes the average Akan with formal education a bilingual in Akan and English, and a potential code-switcher. It is also possible for some few Akans to be bilingual in these two languages without formal education. These include illiterate laborers, drivers, etc., who work in such multilingual cities as Accra, the capital, and who, therefore, have to use some form of (usually 'Broken') English to be able to get along. This functional English,
consisting mainly of a few lexical items and little or no elements of standard English grammar, is picked up on the job and in the streets. Users of 'Broken' English too, often get involved in code-switching.

Whether Akan-English code-switching is the product of formal education or of picking up 'Broken' English, its acquisition can most profitably be traced from the time the speaker comes into contact with English, unlike the general acquisition of language, which is usually studied from the speaker's babyhood days. (The acquisition of code-switching by children born into bilingual families before, or without, the children getting formal education could be a separate study in its own right.)

For the present exercise, we have a case study of one individual's acquisition of code-switching. In no way can we expect the conclusions we come up with here to be representative of the various means of acquiring code-switching in general. It is, however, hoped that it will at least serve as a sample that can be modified.

In this study, I investigate the Akan-English code-switching of my nephew, Joojo, starting at the age of 6+, during his first and second years of formal education.
6.1.1 Background

Before his admission into Achinota Primary School, Joojo has been living with his mother (a nurse), his sister, Boatema (5 years old), and his brother, Nana (3½ years old), in Kumase (dialect: Asante) and Cape Coast (dialect: Fante)—both Akan-speaking areas. At home, they speak essentially monolingual Akan (Agona variety). During the study period, Joojo's mother is working at Tamale, about 400 miles north of Achimota.

At the beginning of the study, Joojo is in his fourth month as a Class One pupil at Achimota Primary School, a relatively prestigious school in a suburb of Accra. It is the elementary department of Achimota Secondary School—the two institutions set in an isolated quasi-township forest, about six miles north of the Ghanaian capital. The primary school is one of those described variously as 'special', 'international', or 'preparatory' schools in Ghana. In this sense, it cannot be considered a 'typical' Ghanaian elementary school, especially since it is one of the rare boarding primary schools. In any case, we do not need a 'typical' primary school, since we are not interested in the acquisition of language (or code-switching) in a typical Ghanaian school. In this multilingual school, with English as both a subject and the medium of instruction from the

189
very first days of the childrens' school life, the pupil develops bilingualism as a matter of course, and, with it, given some of the factors discussed in Chapter Four, he uses code-switching as appropriate.

6.1.2 The Data

The data (Appendix B) show Joojo in five informal situations:

J-1: at Achimota School, where I am visiting him on a week-end;

J-2: at Achimota School, where I am visiting him with his sister, Boatema, and brother Nana (both of whom also go to a similar multilingual preparatory school (St. John's Preparatory), about four miles west of Achimota Primary School);

J-3: on vacation at his home-town, Kwanyak (Akan dialect: Agona), with Boatema, Nana, and his grandma;

J-4: at Kwanyak with his older cousin, Kwame (10), who goes to a regular unilingual (Akan) day primary school at home;

J-5: at Aburi (Akan dialect: Akuapem), about 20 miles away from Joojo's school. Here he is with my family--playing with my daughter, Adwoa (3 years, 11 months), my son, Kwasi (2½ years), and BoaMa and Nana, who have come with him to spend the Christmas vacation.
Joojo's utterances (Appendix B) are studied against a background of the observations made in Chapters One-Five.

6.1.3 Findings

A. **Phonology:** Joojo's phonological system in the code-switched portions in the data is not much different from that of the educated adult Akan (discussed under 5.0 and 5.1 above). Items like 'teacher', 'parents', 'visit', 'birthday', 'present', are pronounced with very much the same features we would expect in the average Ghanaian's pronunciation of English. His native dialect is Agona, whose phonological characteristics are similar to those of Akuapem and Pante.

(i) **Final epenthetic vowels** are not as pronounced as in Asante, for instance, they are found before past tense suffixes, e.g.,

\[
\text{[paas-I-I]} \\
\text{pass-V-PA 'passed' (J-2)}
\]

and a few other places, e.g.,

\[
\text{[ti: c-i]} \\
\text{teach-V 'teach' (J-4)}
\]

(ii) **Vowel substitution:** We have similar vowel substitution as found in adult Akans' speech, e.g.,
/ə/ \→ /a/, as in /tica/ for tiːcə/

'teacher' (J-1);

/ə/ \→ /ɛ/, as in /lɛtəs/ for /lɛtɛz/

'letters' (J-3);

/ʌ/ \→ /o/, as in /lʊkɪ/ for /lʌkɪ/

'lucky' (J-4).

(iii) **Voicing loss** in /-z/, e.g.,

/lɛtəs/ for /lɛtɛz/ 'letters' (J-3);

/deːs/ for /deɪz/ 'days' (J-3);

/yiɛs/ for /yɪɛz/ 'years' (J-4).

(iv) **Diphthongs** Long Vowels, e.g.,

/bɛ itching deː/ for /bɛ itching deː/ 'birthday' (J-1);

/deck/ for /deɪk/ 'days' (J-3);

/oʊkeɪ/ for /ou keɪ/ 'o.k.' (J-5);

/seːm/ for /seɪm/ 'same' (J-4).

(v) We also notice the loss of final consonants

(1) **In clusters**, e.g.,

/læg/ for /laːst/ 'last' (J-2)

/fæs/ for /fæs/ 'first' (J-2);

(2) **Not available in LL**, e.g.,

/drɪl/ for /drɪl/ 'drill' (J-2);

/skuːl/ for /skuːl/ 'school' (J-4).

(vi) There is also a falling (Akan) tone on most of the English items before a transition to Akan items, where there would have been a rising intonation in English (unfinished statements, unstressed), e.g.,
teacher..., parents..., visit..., birthday (J-1)
housemaster, music lesson, match,
last Sunday (J-2)
three days, school fees (J-3), etc.

B. Morphology and Syntax: The morphology and syntax in the switched portions in Joojo's speech are also similar to those of the average adult Akan switcher. Akan grammatical items and affixes are preferred, e.g.,

(i) Prefixes:
\[ m^\prime \text{-be - } \text{visit} \] (J-1)
IMP-ING- visit
'should come to visit';

(Akan imperative and ingressive prefixes; English verb stem);

(ii) Pronouns:
(a) \[ c^\prime - \text{paas-I-I} \] (J-2)
he- pass-V-PA 'he passed';
(b) \[ c^\prime - \text{drI-I} \] (J-2)
he- drill-PA 'he drilled';
(c) \[ c^\prime - \text{skO-I} \] (J-2)
he- score-PA 'he scored';
(d) w\(\alpha\) - [s\(\alpha\):k] (J-3)
they- sack 'they sack';
(e) mu - [tiː-\(\alpha\)-i] (J-4)
you- teach-V 'you teach'.

193
(Akan pronominal subjects, English verb stems).

(iii) **Past Tense Suffix**: Akan Past Tense suffix preferred (e.g., (2) (a) - (c) above).

(iv) **Possession**: Akan possessives + English nouns:

- 'yɛn **teacher**' (J-1)
- 'mɛ **birthday**' (J-1)
- 'mɛ **present**' (J-1)
- 'nɛ **shot**' (J-2).

(v) **English Adj. + Eng. Noun** (with Akan order and tone):

- **teachers two** (J-3).

The same syntactic constraints are observed here; for example, we do not have English pronominal subjects or objects with Akan verbs, but we have Akan subjects and objects with English verbs, e.g.,

- wɔ - **sack** me

- they- **sack** me 'they turn me out...'.

C. **Lexis**:

1. Items frequently preferred in English include those for concepts of foreign origin and those associated with the school child's daily experience (especially in a boarding house setting): **teacher**, **school fees** (and 'sack', if not paid), **music lesson**, **housemaster**, **visit**, **birthday**, **present**; **game of soccer**
and related terms: match, pass, 'drill', shot, No. 9, score, draw, goal, versus.

2. We also notice that in the first sample, Joojo's English items are restricted mainly to heads, generally unmodified: teacher, parents, birthday, visit.

The longer he stays, the more complex (modified) his lexical items become: music lesson, first goal, last Sunday, three days, three years, and in his second year, ten minutes, the same school, paper and pencil, Ready, go!

6.1.4 Observation

It appears the child's code-switching is very similar to the adult's, in its grammatical characteristics, constraints, etc. He acquires code-switching by using all the English items he has control of and incorporating them in his Akan sentences.

The main differences between the code-switching of the beginner and that of the mature switcher appear to be (a) the 'quantity' of switching and (b) the social context—the appropriateness of the situation.

All the discourses here are informal and spoken. We do not have much evidence of Joojo's written language, except for the arithmetic questions he sets for his younger brother, sister, and cousin at Aburi, which he
writes in English. He also gives the order to start in English: 'Ready, go!' The subject matter was important in determining the quantity of English items: J-2 (on soccer) has proportionately more English items (16 out of 78 = 20.5%) than J-4, where he talks about me teaching at Aburi (1 out of 20, not counting 'car' and 'lorry' both of which are borrowed = 5%). The amount of English in his code-switching, of course, depends on the amount of English he knows, and we expect the quantity to grow with him, as it were. Since he does not, at this early stage, have many (or any) complex clauses and sentences in English, we cannot expect the extensive switching associated with adult Akan-English bilinguals.

It is also observed that Joojo switches, given most of the factors discussed in Chapter Four. The one important difference is that the linguistic background of his interlocutors does not constitute an important factor at his age. Most maturer switchers would not switch codes in the presence of my mother (his grandmother), who has had no formal education, and knows no English beyond a few borrowed items. Yet Joojo starts off telling her about the "three days" left before the reopening of his school. It does not draw attention from his sister, Boatema, who understands everything.
But his unguarded choice of "three days" (in English) meets with the appropriate rebuke from grandma.

It would therefore seem reasonable to modify our description of the phenomenon as entirely non-deliberate. The content of normal code-switching itself is not deliberate at any age, but the control is, even if subconscious. The choice of which interlocutors to switch with comes with age or experience.

6.2 SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF AKAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

Considered as a type of language, code-switching, like any other type of language, has potentially an infinite number of functions in the language life of the speaker. In the following section, we look at the social functions of Akan-English code-switching.

The three 'tongues' which the Akan-English bilingual is equipped with are (i) Akan, (ii) English, and (iii) Akan-English code-switching. The choice of one instead of the others is automatically determined by the appropriate sociolinguistic factors (see Chapter Four). All written or prepared language activities may be in either English or Akan, never in normal code-switching. Spoken events of cultural (or indigenous) nature, e.g., rituals, such as the 'pouring of libation', prayers, naming and burial ceremonies, etc., are usually unilingual Akan.

197
Activities that involve at least one person who is not an Akan-English bilingual is properly in unilingual Akan or English. For example, when a non-Akan, e.g., an American, is around, undergraduates may avoid code-switching and speak either (a) unilingual Akan, if they do not want him to understand or participate in the language activity, or (b) unilingual English, if they want him to be involved in it.

Code-switching is reserved for events that are not handled by either unilingual Akan or English. As a third tongue, it emerges naturally when it is situationally the most appropriate. These situations, in which Akan-English code-switching is the most appropriate, are, as noted in Chapter Four, those that would appear to be equally suited for Akan: the interlocutors all have Akan background (but are also all bilingual in Akan and English). The discussion is usually not very formal, and the subject matter often not very indigenous. In fact, according to an earlier study (Forson, 1968), all informal spoken discourses on subjects like economics, education, sports, and party politics involving Akan-English bilinguals use code-switching. If, as a member of a group all of whose members are recognizably (or even presumably) Akan-English bilinguals, one decided to contribute to an informal conversation on, say, a
sporting event in monolingual Akan or English, one would almost certainly draw attention to oneself, and would be open to some form of eye-brow-raising.

On the other hand, if code-switching is used in an inappropriate situation, it meets with similar disapproval. At a meeting of Ghanaians in Los Angeles (Appendix D), which started in Akan-English code-switching, one participant raised a fundamental objection to the use of what he implied to be Akan because not everybody present was Akan-speaking. (Actually, he was the only non-Akan present; he understood and spoke quite a bit of Akan, but would not take chances at the possibility of the language developing into more difficult Akan expressions as the meeting progressed.) Once it was realized that at least one person there (he) was not Akan, it was immediately agreed to hold the meeting in English. Also, under 6.1 (based on Appendix B), we found that code-switching was not suitable when Joojo failed to recognize the monolingual background of his grandmother, and he was appropriately instantly rebuked.

Code-switching, therefore, has a definite and unique role to play in the linguistic life of the Akan-English bilingual--a role that neither unilingual Akan nor English is competent to play. The three tongues--Akan, English, and code-switching--complement one another in
offering the bilingual three distinct language choices for separate categories of language needs.

6.3 ATTITUDES

6.3.1

Even though code-switching is a very wide-spread phenomenon among educated Akans, attitudes towards it are generally negative—ranging from mere toleration at best to downright condemnation and sometimes a denial that the deniers switch. This is the conclusion drawn from an informal (conversation-type) survey conducted as part of the data collection.

Following the recording, a conversation ensued, in which some of the interlocutors were asked about their attitudes towards code-switching. The questions were not as formal as they appear worded below. There were only five—few, simple, and casual enough to be remembered and asked without reference to any document. Responses were expected to be as honest and natural as possible.

The questions usually followed immediately after the speaker's last recallable switched sentence. They took various forms (all in Akan), but they had the following content:

(1) WHAT LANGUAGE were we speaking? (After this question, they were usually reminded of the last code-
switched sentence).

(2) WHO (which group of people) SWITCH MOST?
(3) WHY do they (or anyone) switch?
(4) SHOULD WE stop switching?
(5) CAN WE stop switching?

The responses to the questions have been condensed into the following table (Table 7) below. The words in CAPITALS in the above questions are used as the reference codes (appearing at the top of the table). The table also shows:

(a) the initials of the speaker's name;
(b) the native DIALECT of the speaker;
(c) the AGE of the speaker (estimated to the nearest 5);
(d) the OCCUPATION of the speaker.

Below the table, we explain some of the symbols in the responses and quote (with English translations) a few examples of the way the switchers reacted to code-switching (6.3.3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) Speaker's Initials</th>
<th>(b) Native Dialect</th>
<th>(c) Age (nrst. 5)</th>
<th>(d) Occupation</th>
<th>(1) What Language?</th>
<th>(2) Who Switch Most?</th>
<th>(3) Why?</th>
<th>(4) Should We Stop?</th>
<th>(5) Can we Stop?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EO</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>D/K</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>APM</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>As.</td>
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<td>Teach. Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>JW</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emphasis in Eng.</td>
<td>D/K</td>
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<td>Teach.</td>
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<td>Eng. Med.of Instr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>KsA</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Bad Edu. Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Aky.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp. on Eng. Yes</td>
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<td>JKA</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Trad.</td>
<td>Mxd.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emp. on Eng. Yes.</td>
<td>Prob.</td>
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<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Hist. ties w/Eng.</td>
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<td>As.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Arrogance D/K</td>
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<td>Kw.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tradr.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>EE</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Civ.Sv.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
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<td>Show-off D/K</td>
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<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp. on Eng. Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Speaker's Initi</td>
<td>(b) Native Dialect</td>
<td>(c) Age (nrst. 5)</td>
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<td>(1) What Language?</td>
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<td>(5) Can we Stop?</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Aky.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Arrog.-</td>
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<td>Eng. as med.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Kw.</td>
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<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>w/Eng.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Fa.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Cv.Sv.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
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<td>Prob.</td>
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<td>Fa.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Postm.</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>All,young</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D/K</td>
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<td>Twi</td>
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<td>Bad</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Edu.</td>
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<td>D/K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. StK</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. BD</td>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>Kw.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. RAA</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Storek.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Difft.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. JAY</td>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker's Initials</td>
<td>(b) Native Dialect</td>
<td>(c) Age</td>
<td>(d) Occupation</td>
<td>(1) What Language?</td>
<td>(2) Who Switch Most?</td>
<td>(3) Why?</td>
<td>(4) Should We Stop?</td>
<td>(5) Can We Stop?</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. SKA</td>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. KN</td>
<td>Aky.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Tch. Emp.on</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. EK</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Doct.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Eng. Yes</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. YBB</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Eng. Yes</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. NK</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Ties</td>
<td>w/Eng. Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. EOM</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Trade.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Arrog-</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. KDK</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Stud.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Arrog-</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. SB</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>ance</td>
<td>Eng. Maybe</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. JG</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Trad.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Arrog-</td>
<td>Eng. Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. YQ</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Cv.Sv.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>ance</td>
<td>Bad Edu. Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. TS</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Cv.Sv.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Eng. D/K</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Table 7: (Con't)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Speaker's Initials</th>
<th>(b) Native Dialect</th>
<th>(c) Age (nrst.5)</th>
<th>(d) Occupation</th>
<th>(1) What Language?</th>
<th>(2) Who Switch Most?</th>
<th>(3) Why?</th>
<th>(4) Should We Stop?</th>
<th>(5) Can We Stop?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46. JAK</td>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Show-off</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. TW</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Cv.Sv.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Edu.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. YAbb</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Edu.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Rev.Km</td>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Clegy.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Edu.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. GM</td>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>Twi</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Emp.on</td>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. KwN</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Quick</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Ydf</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>Show-off</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>D/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+54. KB'sMom</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Hsewf.</td>
<td>No Lang.</td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Edu.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. YAm.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Teach.</td>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>D/K</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (1) +54: KB's Mom is the only purely illiterate among the 56 interviewed.
(2) Under 'Occupation' most of the items are abbreviated but quite transparent: Teach(er), Student, Trad(er), CvSv (=Civil Servant), Clegy(men), and Hsewf (=Housewife).
(3) Under Question (4) and Question (5): D/K means 'Don't Know', Prob. means 'Probably'.
6.3.2 Observations

(1) To the question, 'What language were we speaking?', only 3 out of the 56 respondents were able to say they had been 'mixing' (code-switching); and the only unilingual speaker, KB's Mom (#54) said the switchers were speaking 'no language'. When their attention was drawn to the last switched sentence, all 55 switchers agreed they had been switching. This seems to indicate that switchers are generally unaware that they are speaking anything other than their L1.

To this question, it is significant to note that only one out of 56 mentioned Akan as the name of the language: those who claimed to be speaking their L1 (Akan) called it by the name of the dialect--Asante, Akuapem, Fante, Agona, Kwahu--or else the term 'Twi', in the case of some of the non-Fantes. This may be partly due to the fact that the same item used in the question, kasa, is used to mean both 'language' and 'dialect', and the respondents were right in their answers; in actual fact, however, this may be due largely to the fact that the term "Akan" is hardly used in conversations; it is reserved for official use.

(2) Who switch most? There were 46 non-Fantes and ten Fantes interviewed. Of the 46, 27 (=58.69%) indicated that Fantes switched most. No other group of speakers
was singled out like the Fantes. All the ten Fantes claimed that speakers of all the dialects switched, without singling out one group like Fantes were. The remaining 41.31 per cent of the non-Fantes, those who did not single out the Fantes, agreed with the Fantes either that all Akan (bilingual) speakers switched or that the younger generation of Akans switched.

The situation here is that it has generally been assumed, and remarked, in various conversations that Fantes are wont to switch between their dialect and English. But, as we find in Appendix A, and generally in this study (Chapter Five), all Akan-English bilinguals switch, almost equally. The only significant standout in the statistics in Appendix A is that Fantes tend to switch more at an earlier stage in the acquisition of English; after about the secondary school level, the quantity of switching is almost the same, with Asantes, in fact, slightly higher.

(3) Why do we switch? The answers to this question were very varied. On the whole, however, the nature and content of the education system seems to have received the greatest portion of the 'blame' for code-switching:

(i) "the teaching is 'bad'"  (7)
(ii) "the education (system) is 'bad'"  (9)
(iii) "there is too much emphasis on English in our education system."  (17)
(iv) "English as a medium of instruction (is responsible for code-switching)." (2).

Among the other reasons given for code-switching is the historical reason, that the Fantes' early 'ties' with the English (arriving and staying on the coast, the main Fante-land) might have been responsible. A few others attributed the prevalence of code-switching among both Fantes and the young generation to sheer 'arrogance' or 'showing-off'--a commentary on the prestigious position English occupies in the Ghanaian society.

(4) Should we, and Can we, stop Code-switching? Thirteen people were not sure ('didn't know', 'maybe') whether code-switching should be stopped. That represents only about 23 per cent; but nobody replied categorically that it should not be stopped--suggesting a generally negative attitude towards the phenomenon.

However, when it comes to whether it really can be stopped, the responders were a little more realistic and hesitant. Far more people have reservations about the possibility of doing away with code-switching than those who could take definite stands:

<p>| | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes:</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unsure:</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No:</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(5) Can we stop switching?

Yes: 17 = 31%
Unsure: 26 = 46%
No: 13 = 23%
Total: 56 = 100%

The figures seem to suggest that whereas, out of emotional (or, maybe, patriotic) reasons, most switchers find it desirable to keep the languages apart, they believe that, in practice, this is not likely to be achieved.

6.3.3 Sample Quotes

The following comments, selected only for their completeness from the recordings, illustrate how some of the interlocutors reacted to the 4th and 5th questions—whether we should, and can, stop switching. In some cases, they used code-switching to some extent while condemning it (the English items underlined). These statements have not been glossed morpheme-by-morpheme, but the full translation into English is provided after each quotation or dialogue. The numbers in parentheses before the initials of the speakers refer to the relevant items under Table 7 above.

(16) KD: ...Mfantefo. `Obia'a yo', but Mfantefo
       dee wopè saa too much.
F (quoting KD): "but...wọpọ saa too much."

Both: (Laughter)

KD: Sè ìbèdì a' a nono! Wònom nà wọdè baàe, na wọdè asane ysn. (As.)

(Translation:

KD: 'Fantes. Everybody does it, but as for Fantes, they like that too much.'

F: 'but...they like that too much.'

Both: (Laughter)

KD: 'There we are! It was they who brought it, and they have infected us with it.'

(23) FR: Nkàn no, wosè Mfantsefo nko. This time dže 'ibia' a ye--Eswantsefo nà Akyemfo nà adze myínàara. Wọyẹ so a, wónká nọ yiẹ mpo. Wọsè, 'Mẹpẹ dẹe é-kuur-uo? (highlighting both the substitution of /r/ for /l/ in /ku:l/ 'cool', and the EAS). (Fa.)

(Translation:

FR: 'Formerly, it was supposed to be only Fantes. This time (=now), everybody does it--Asantes and Akyems and all the rest. And when they do it, they don't even say it properly. They say, 'I want that which has"cooled"'.

210
(32) **KN:** Obià'a ye. Obià'a. Wu'udi nkom'mó na w'ani abéré à, afei na wo'obédwen hô á-translate-i translate-i every word bia'a à wóbekà? Obià'a ye bi. Édu dèe yéka Twi nko a'a à, .... yèdurù des èse sè yéka à, yéka; yètumi. Wiase hà kása bèn a'å na yèse yéka nè nko a'a. 
*English* koraa yèse Latin hyè à thye mú, èbi niè? *(Aky.)*  

**Translation:**

**KN:** 'Everybody does it. Everybody. When you're busily conversing, are you then going to think and be translating every word you say? Everybody does it some. When we have to speak only Twi, ... when we have to speak it, we speak it; we can. Here in this world, which language is said to be spoken alone (i.e., unmixed)? Even English:isn't it supposed to contain so much Latin?').

**F:** ...Énti wugyé di sè yè-try à yebégyæ a, yebéti mi aygæ?  

(35) **Rev.K:** Ùye mo'mmèránte nè mmabàà à ába na muntumí. Yëbò mmóden à, àdèn nà yéntumí? Wòate Oburoni à rekasa na osè, 'I am going to mé màmè fì' pènî? *(Ap.)*
(Translation:

F: 'So do you think we can stop if we try?'

Rev.K: 'It's you the young men and women who can't. If we try, why can't we? Have you ever heard a white man saying, 'I'm going to my mother's home'?
(with the underlined part quoted in English).

(50) GM: '...Eyi dó, gyàma m'ánò fômèe... Saá kasá nó? Saá kasá à wòde Twí ne Boròfó afra nó? Có me tání yè me awerehów pó. Aboròfó abésée yèn kásá yì korakora. Có yè mmò bó! Mó à mówò Lègon , eyí nà mommó mmóden nýe ho bìribí. (Ap.)

(Translation:

GM: '...This (referring to his switched clause which his attention was drawn to) must have been a slip of the tongue. That kind of talk? That kind of talk in which Twi and English have been mixed up? It's nasty and sad to me... The white people have come to spoil our language entirely. It's pathetic! You at Legon, this is what you should try to do something about...').

212
(53) **YD**: Mfantefô. Wône pë saá dôdo. Wôye wôn ho Aborofosèin à mënté ñësè. Ene wôn nne! Ene sé okôm dë wôn na wônyâ síkà à, **instead** sé wôbêto aðuanë nô, wôse 'butter'! (Kw.)

(Translation:

**YD**: 'Fantes. They like that too much. They behave so much like the English in a way I don't understand. That's why they've had it! That's why when they are hungry and they get money, instead of buying food, they say "butter"!')

(54) **KB's Mother** (monolingual) (Eavesdropped my question to KB about switching): Mô wûra, bisa n' bîmà m'l! Menntsé asé nyonn! Ñýimpa besiaa, ñrekåsa à, onntum nnkà kàsa kôr. Kôr, ebiên, ñnà ñdze Borôfo nenam mû. Nka-nka dé n'anyênkofo wçabërâ n'. Óno adëgyër ñnyi m' koråa: 'Besëe — besëe' dëm a'â! (Fa.)

(Translation:

**KB's Mother**: 'Sir, ask him again for me! I don't understand it at all! Here's a person who can't speak one language (at a time). One, two ... then he mixes it with

213
English here and there.
Especially when his friends come
to visit him. Then there's no
stopping (him) at all: 'Besee --
bese' (imitating English
sounds) -- all the way!').

6.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Based on available evidence from the literature on
the subject of code-switching and from this study, we
come up with a few general observations:

First, that code-switching is the product of bi-
lingualism (or multilingualism) in which the participants
share the same languages in contact;

Second, that (at least) one of the languages has to
be socially more prestigious or a recognizably more
neutral language--a national language, official language
or a lingua franca; and

Third, that, unlike deliberate code-switching, which
may be contrived for a purpose without any constraints,
normal code-switching, with which we have been mainly
concerned, operates within definable social and grammatical
constraints.

In the case of the Akan-English code-switching, the
study specifically shows:
(i) that following British colonialism and the introduction of English in the Ghanaian educational system, formal education implies a knowledge of English, which, in turn, results in bilingualism (L1 and English);

(ii) that normal code-switching does not occur between Akan and other Ghanaian or West African languages (and most probably not between any two (or more) Ghanaian or West African languages);

(iii) that normal Akan-English code-switching is used only when all the participants of the language activity recognize a social norm of a common linguistic background--Akan-English bilingualism with the same or varying levels of competence in English, depending on the amount of formal education or exposure to English;

(iv) that with a setting in which all the speakers understand and use a common local language--Akan--the code-switchers consider themselves as speaking Akan; and

(v) that normal Akan-English code-switching is more likely to be used in informal spoken discourses with relatively non-indigenous subject matter than in language activities that may be described as formal, non-spoken (e.g., written, sung), and/or with typically indigenous subject matter.

The following significant grammatical characteristics of Akan-English code-switching are observed: it is
essentially based on the Akan, rather than the English, grammatical system. The switched utterances show evidence of the Akan tonal, phonological, morphological, and syntactic systems—a support for the speaker's belief that he is speaking Akan. Akan grammatical items, such as bound morphemes, pronouns, relativizers, subordinators, focus markers, articles, and conjunctions, are preferred in all intra-sentential switching. The Akan word order and sentence structure—basic or modified—are generally followed. Only complete—inter-sentential English—sentences, clauses, phrases, or idiomatic expressions may retain the English grammatical system and items.

Both Akan and English lexical items are used, and there is a preference for items which are structurally simpler or more commonly used than their counterparts in the other language.

Even in longer English items (sometimes a series of almost all-English sentences) in these passages, the speaker somehow intuitively reminds us that Akan, rather than English, is the language of the discourse, by occasionally throwing in a semantically empty Akan item, e.g., the article no at the end of a subordinate clause may be the only Akan item in a series of complete English sentences.
The above constraints may be similar to those that occur in code-switching in other communities, subject to language-specific peculiarities that result in special features, e.g.,

(a) the application of the Akan vowel harmony rule to the Akan-English code-switching;

(b) the fact that a switch between a subject pronoun and a finite verb is prohibited in Spanish-English code-switching, whereas it is permitted and indeed most productive in the Akan-English situation may be due to the fact that the subject pronoun may be omitted and inferred from the shape of the verb in certain Spanish constructions. Therefore, the introduction of a Spanish subject pronoun with an English verb, or vice versa, might not follow a single simple rule, could result in complexities, and would probably not sound very Spanish;

(c) in the absence of infinitives (and, therefore, infinitival subjects, complements, objects, etc.) in Akan, Akan-English code-switchers make use of the corresponding se/đe 'that' clauses, where other target languages (here Lis) with infinitives, e.g., Spanish, use them. But infinitival complements are so bound to the finite verbs that they cannot easily be split between two languages, whereas "that" clauses are comparatively more independent and detachable. Therefore, while a switch between a finite verb and an infinitive is
prohibited in Spanish-English code-switching, a similar switch between such a finite verb and a corresponding sɛ/dɛ clause in Akan-English code-switching is permitted;

(d) serialization of verbs, a syntactic strategy which has functions similar to those of infinitival constructions and conjoining of verbs, is found in Akan-English code-switching. It is tempting to predict the same characteristics in code-switching involving other verb-serializing languages like Mandarin-Chinese, Thai, Yoruba, Ga, Ewe, etc.

Code-switching is, therefore, linguistically significant as a 'language' in its own right—the third (or additional) tongue of the bilingual. It is capable of being handled on the same basis as the basic languages which produce it. It can therefore be examined from perspectives similar to those from which other languages are looked at—e.g., with regards to its acquisition, its uses, and some attitudes towards it.

In a single case study, it is found that code-switching is acquired with the acquisition of bilingualism—when the bilingual begins to speak both languages. By contrast with the acquisition of language in general—one-word stage, etc., as reported in, say, Cazden (1972), Bloom (1973), the new switcher uses all he knows in the languages he uses. The new switcher's speech is

218
characterized by almost all the factors and constraints observed in the study, except the recognition of the linguistic background of the other interlocutor(s), which seems to come with maturity. This factor appears to be arguably semi-consciously observed, at any rate, as further evidenced by the situation at the meeting of Ghanaians in Los Angeles (6.2.1 above, Appendix F), in which an objection was raised against Akan (actually code-switching) and a decision was made to use English, because one person, the objector, was not very sure of his Akan.

The major social function of code-switching is its use as the norm for linguistic activities for which neither monolingual Akan nor English may be appropriate because of such factors as a common bilingual background of speakers, subject matter, medium and the degree of formality of the discourse. In addition to this established use, a pedagogical function of code-switching is proposed: Akan-English code-switching may be used, on an experimental basis, for the learning and teaching of Akan as a second language to English-speaking foreigners. The students may begin by learning only the grammatical system and immediately set out to start conversation in such settings as the universities in Ghana or other institutions in predominantly Akan-speaking
areas in the country, where code-switching is observed to be the commonest tongue in informal communication. With time and experience, the new students' vocabulary in the target language, Akan, will increase, they will switch with more appropriate lexical items, and they will then be able to use unilingual Akan along with English and Akan-English code-switching. This could be a quicker and more practical approach to introducing conversational Akan to an English-speaking foreigner than the existing conventional methods. If the experiment succeeds, it may be applied to other bilingual communities where code-switching is widespread.

This last suggestion should meet with some negative reaction from most Akans, judging from the attitudes of switchers and non-switchers alike (6.3 above): a large majority of Akans would object to, or sometimes deny (their) use of, code-switching, when asked about how they think or feel about it. They would generally ideally wish to see the languages kept apart all the time in different situations.

But this does not seem to be an attainable wish. Given that code-switching is used in over 45 per cent of all language activities and over 53 per cent of all spoken communication of some Akan-English bilinguals (Porson, 1968, page 50), it should be taken for what the survey shows it to be: it may be understandably
undesirable (for emotional and patriotic reasons),
but it is realistically inevitable—in fact, normal
and necessary—for practical reasons.
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE DISCOURSES

THREE CONVERSATIONS

The following discourses have been selected to illustrate code-switching by Akans with three different educational backgrounds:

(I) up to Middle (elementary) School,
(II) up to Secondary School (or Teacher-Training Colleges),
(III) up to University.

All the subjects are workers, having left their last educational institutions a number of years earlier. The pieces were selected for the following reasons:

(a) they cover subject-matter areas for which code-switching is typically used: (I) and (III) on politics, (II) on sports;

(b) they are situations in which two, or all three, of the Akan dialects used in the study—Akuapem, Asante, and Fante—are represented reasonably evenly;

(c) the interlocutors in each piece of discourse have similar educational backgrounds, ages, and lengths of experiences in their jobs;

(d) the samples have fairly similar lengths: 249, 207, and 268 words in (I), (II), and (III) respectively;

222
(e) they illustrate a number of the observations made in the study as a whole.
Some analyses and comments follow the samples.
There are obviously quite a few factors that have not been accounted for in this exercise: changing moods of speakers, individual differences in the speakers' speech habits and temperaments (tolerance vs. intolerance, etc.). But on the whole, these do not appear to affect the points being made in this study.

CONVERSATION I

JKD (aged about 25, Asante), KB (about 25, Fante), JA (about 30, Akuapem), discussing the two front-runners in the forthcoming 1969 elections. Place: Kumase, in a friend's house. All the speakers have up to middle school education, and are junior civil servants.

JKD: Mé dé, sáá nkòrófóó yi kóraa, mì-n -hú I FM, DEM people these at all I -NG-see pápa bia'a 'a ò--wo mú. Búsìà ye mmére good any REL he-be in. Busia be soft at dódó. [tu:] soft A'sè obáa. too much. too soft. It' like woman.
As for me, between these people, I don't see the better. Busia is too soft. Too soft. Like a woman.'

Busia if, Gbedema FM he-PF-remain.

223
Yet what can we do? If you don’t choose Busia, you’re left with Gbedema.

JKD: Aòò, Gbédéma dée, àdèn? Saà CPP-fóò a’
Ugh, Gbedema FM, why? DEM CPP-PL REL wònóm a -di sìká yi nyìnáa yi? Aòò!
they PP-eat money this all this? Ugh!
Kumase kóraa dée, ó:-n -nya [wài] kóraa.
Kumase at all FM, he-NG-get one at all.
Aòò, èndèt, ànka yè-de bi-
Ugh, in that case, then we-with PU-
vó:t-u a -mà Busià. Yè-m -ma nò
vote-V SR-for Busia. We-IMP-give him
[çàn],
chance.

’Ugh, why Gbedema? These CPP-folks who have
embezzled all the money? In Kumase, he’ll not
get even one. In that case, we’d vote for
Busia. Let’s give him a chance.’

JA: Eì’ nso sè ò-de sìká nam mú.[pólitiks]
Hey, but ADV he-with money walk in politics
de’, sìká yi a’a. ò- tráï à,
FM, money this only. He- try if,
[nù nòùs] ? Naánó è-kò- [kampeìn]
who knows? The other day he-go- campaign
wo [kénti] ho bìì bìì ; sè o -nya-à
Ashanti there somewhere; ADV he-get-PA
[sopo:t] à’a [fèìn].
support ADV fine.

’Hey, but he’s going through it with money. In
politics, it’s all money. If he tries, who
knows? The other day, he went to campaign
somewhere in Ashanti. He got quite some
support.’
JKD: Edɛn [sɔpˈtəʊˈvə]. Wɔnɔm ɛ wɔ -kɔ -ɛ
What support-V. They REL they-go -PA
nyinaa, wɔnɔm nyinaa, ɛ-n -yɛ sika na
all, they all, it-NG-be money FM
wɔ -ɔ-kɔ-pɛ a-di-ɛ ? Wu -n -nim
they-PR-go-seek SR-eat-EAS? You-NG-know
Asante-fu ntira. Wɔ -bɛ-we wɔ
Ashanti-PL because. They-FU-chew you
[kaiˈʃə]-I a -wie a -[dɪˈspəʊɪnt ɪ] wɔ bia.
cash-V SR-finish SR- disappoint-V you some.
[yu ɗon ˈnɔː ʃɛm] . Wɔ -hwe ɛdeɛ
you don't know them. You-look something
à, wɔ-a -pin hɔ l
when, you-PF-get side!
hear
'What kind of support? All those who went,
wasn't it money they were going to get and
spend? You probably don't know Ashantis.
They'll finish spending all your cash and
disappoint you. You don't know them. (Next
time) you'll get closer when looking at some-
thing!'

KB: Iyi no [ˈyu kan nɛva tɛl] . o-bo-tum
This FM you can never tell. he-FU-can
o-e - yin [wɛn ɔ tʊ: siːts] bi wɔ Ashānti,
he-SR-win one or two seats some in Ashanti,
nà kakra so [frɔm ɛkɔ ʁiʃinəs...] and few too from other regions...
'(In) this (case) you can never tell. He can win
some one or two seats in Ashanti, and few too
from other regions...'

JA: Afɛi ne nkɔrɔfo Volta Region-fɔ nso dɛ,
Then his people Volta Region-PL also FM,
O-wo [hóp] a'a [fain]. Ehó dé, a -
he-has hope ADV fine. There FM, it-
n -hwe a, c-be- [kapɔà] hó nyinàa.
NG-look if, he-FU- capture there all.
'Then (with) his folks from Volta Region--as
for that place, he has quite some fine hope.
There, he'll probably capture all there is
there.'

JKD: Na Anwona-foó no a'a, wónom wò [sí:ts]
But Anlo -PL the ADV, they have seats
ahé ?
how many?

'But, after all, how many seats do the Anlos
(one tribe in the coastal Volta Region) have?'

JA: Ei, [about fóiti:n ci: siksti:n] Ña
Hey, about fourteen or sixteen . Then
o -nyà kakrá wò [plésis láik ákrá: , nóí]
he-gets a few in places like Accra, North
an só ci:] a, sè e-n -ye bad .
and so on if, ADV it-NG-be bad.

'Hey, about 14 or 16. Then if he gets a few from
places like, Accra, (the) North and so on, it's
not bad.

KB: [ðat s rAI: ]. Ædze n' c-n -ye [kol' cíp]
That's right. Thing the it-NG-be 'cold chop'
démbre ye-r'-ka yi o . A -n - hwe a ,
like we-PR-say this ADV. It-NG-look if,
NAL-fo, Gbedema ne nkòr-fo yi , wò -be-
NAL-PL, Gbedema his folks these, they-FU-
sepr-Is-I nyimpa.
surprise-V people.

'That's right. The thing is not as 'cold chop'
(easy) as we're saying, after all. It may be
that NAL, Gbedema's people, may surprise people.'
JKD: Aa, wei dé! Wo a'a hwe [gaاشنتی], B.A.,
Ugh, this FM! You ADV look Ashanti, B.A.,
[ɪʃtɪn]: wọn nom nko a'a wo -bẹ-ye half
Eastern: they alone they-FU-be half
[of total seats]. Mnante-fọc nso --
of the total seats. Pante- PL also--
[sentral ẹn wẹstɪn] né ẹde' yi --
Central and Western and so on these--
wo -kàè sè' wo' -bẹ- [wèst -I] won
you-think that they-FU- waste-V their
[votà] wo CPP-fọc yi hò`? Wei nko
votes at CPP-PL these side? This alone
a'a dé, wo -pè a, ye-m - [bɛ:t-I].

FM, you-like if, we-IMP- bet-V .

'Ugh, as for this! You, look at Ashanti, B.A.
(Brong-Ahafo), Eastern: they alone will be
half of the total (number of) seats (in
parliament). And Fantes—(i.e.) Central and
Western (Regions)—and so on, too. Do you
think they'll waste their votes on these CPP
people? (On) this alone, if you like, let's
bet!'

CONVERSATION II

AS is a Fante civil servant, aged about 30. KM is
an Asante teacher, aged about 30. AS is a product of
secondary school; KM is a Certificate 'A' teacher. After
watching a soccer match, AS, a supporter of the losing
team, leads the discussion. Place: a beer bar.

AS: ...Ndè onọ(a) Hearts wọ -a -n -ye hwee
Today FM Hearts they-TNs-NG-do nothing
kóraa. \( \text{wa}^{\text{t}} \) ! \( \text{E} \) -nya bóil dém a'a,

at all. What ! You've-got ball that ADV,

nà ... c: , m -ára...

then ... ugh, I -FM ...

'As for today, Hearts didn't do anything at all.

What! You've got a ball just like that. Then...

Ugh! As for me...'

KM: Hwan a ?
Who Q ?

'Who was it?'

AS: N -ye Mànà-Áquà bí(b) a? Wu gyaf' ... c: ...
NG-be Mama Aqua NG ? Your friend ... Ugh...

m-aá-yè[so: disappoint] . a'-[drIbùl]
I-PF-be so disappointed . You PF- dribble

nyímpa \( \text{trí:} \) -- \( \text{trí:} \) gud pipùl , ma
people three -- three good people , and

a- ka \( \text{gökìpa} \) , mi-en-yú , nà

it-PF- leave goalkeeper , 'me-and-you' , then

nà a -bc a -kyén.

then you-PF-kick SR-away(c).

'Wasn't it Mama-Aqua? Your friend...Ugh...I'm
so disappointed. You've dribbled (it past) three
people--a good three people--leaving (you and
the) goalkeeper in a 'me-and-you' (situation),
then, then you kick it away!'

KM: Ênti 'kyeré sè' sè è-n -ye såá [göil-u] a
So it mean that if it-NG-be goal-V REL
\( \text{mi:s-I} \) -i' nó ì`, anka Hearts-fo
he-

miss-V-PA-EAS that if, then Hearts-PL

\( \text{yìn-i-l} \) -è , me-boa?

win-V-PA-EAS, I -lie?

'So it means if he hadn't missed that goal,
Hearts would've won, wouldn't they?'
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
'No, no, no! You haven't answered my question. I say, listen; o.k., if he'd scored that one goal—suppose he'd been able to score that goal at that particular time, would Hearts have won or lost?'

AS: Aa, er.. (Hesitation).

KM: Me-se`~ bua . [don dɔ:j ðɛ kwesɪn].
I say answer. don't dodge the question.
Bua , [simpul an ʃɔit] : anka wo -
Answer, simple and short: then they-
ți:n-ĩ-í annásẽ wɔ -a -n - ți:n-ĩ ?
win -V-PA or they-TNS-NG - win-V ?
Wo - (səpɔ:t -t tim) bi na obi
You- support-V team some and somebody
[bi:t-i] wɔn a , e-ye` a ná wɔ -a -
beat-V them if, it-be if then you-TNS-
[sept -I dífí:t-i] nó .
accept-V defeat-V the.

'I say answer. Don't dodge the question. Answer, Simple and short: would they have won or not. If you support a team and some (other team) beats them, you should accept the defeat.'

AS: -n -kyere de` me-n - [astept -i] bi. M'ã
it-NG-show that I -NG- accept-V NG. What
mé-kyere nye de` [at li:st] nse` nkye wo -bɔ -
I - show be that at least ADV then the-play-
ɔ [drɔi] ɔ ; se` [skɔ:-]- dem [goi] no
PA draw ; if he- score-PA DEM goal that
a`, nkye wo -bɔ` -ɔ [drɔi] . Afei só` ,
if, then they-play-PA draw . Then also,
ibi` nyim? Ibi`a nkye o-bè-mà hon -
someone know? Perhaps then it-FU-give them-
[yu kem] - sɔm .HttpSession] ma...
you know - some impetus for...
'It doesn't mean that I don't accept it. What I mean is that at least, then they'd have played a draw(n game); if he's scored that goal, then they'd have played a draw(n game). Then also, who knows? Perhaps it might then have given them, you know, some impetus for...'

KM: [impetus-V] a े-firi he? Nà United-foo

impetus-V REL it-be where? And United-PL from
de r, wò -nya bi a, ye -kyiri?

FM, they-get some if, they-hate?

'Impetus from where? And what prevents United too from getting some of the impetus?'

Notes:
(a) no here is used as a focus marker, in much the same way as dze (3.1.1 above).
(b) 'me-and-you' considered one item (= 'one-on-one').
(c) kyen (Ap: kyene; As: twene) is a verb used as complement after certain verbs, e.g., to(w) 'throw', bi 'kick', twa 'cut', with an adverbial meaning: 'away'.
(d) bi is used as an adverbial particle (exclusively Fante), and only occurs in negative constructions.

CONVERSATION III

AA, an Akuapem (aged about 35), and SKO, an Asante (aged about 35), are both graduate teachers, meeting in Accra in June 1969 for West African Examinations Council assignment. Discussion takes place after dinner at Legon. It is on the forthcoming 1969 general elections.

231
AA: ... Na hena na ɔ-stand wo mo konsituensi and who FM he-stand in your constituency ho? there?

'And who's standing (for election) in your constituency?'

SKO: Yen konsituensi? Me-n -hwɛ... Ye -se
Our constituency? I -IMP-see... they-say
mi-nim deɛ ɔ: - (stand-I-f)? [ɔ:1 ɬ]
I-know who he's- stand-V-EAS ? all I
no; is tàt Busia [pəti] no' na ɛ-ye
know is that Busia's party the FM it-be
[popula] pa'a wo ho'. [as fə jə] deɛ,
popular very be there. as for that FM,
me-ye [vɛɾI sǔç of it]. Wọ -fa bəbiə'a
I-be very sure of it. You-take wherever
ə, en' deɛ [pro-šu] nkọ a'ə. nà wọ -
if, it FM "Pro-Sure" only just FM you-
teɛ - .

hear-EAS.

'Our constituency? Let me see. Do I even
know who's standing? All I know is that
Busia's party is the most popular there.
As for that (=of that), I'm very sure (of it).
Wherever you go, it's only "Pro-Sure" (the
slogan of Busia's party) you hear.'

AA: O, yiw; Mampon-me kurom Mampon ha' yi - nso
O, yes; Mampon-my town Mampon here this-also
sa'a. Wo -n -te [wɔ ɬə pətis] no ho
same. You-NG-hear other parties the about
hwee . Nso obi wọ ho' ə ɔ- stand
nothing. Yet someone be there REL he- stand
ma NAL ... Me-n -hwɛ... mm, me' wɛ]-əfi...
for NAL ... I -IMP-see... mm, I've forgotten...
The given text appears to be a mixture of languages and is not legible upon initial examination. It contains various words and phrases that seem unrelated, making it difficult to provide a coherent translation. If you could provide clearer or more context-specific text, I would be better equipped to assist you.
popular in Volta, Upper and so on.

But you ought to know that it's only here in the Akan areas that they—I mean the Progress (party), you know, are so popular. I don't think they are that popular in Volta, Upper (Regions) and so on.'

SKO: wèi l, me-nim saa de, nànsò sè shá well, I know that though, but then here yí a'a nà [majoriti dë ñë konstituënsia] this just FM majority of the constituencies nò wò : Ašantí, Akuapem, Kwàwu nè adeè the be at: Ashanti, Akuapem, Kwawu and things yí a'a. [àkra:] koraa, Progress wò these just. Accra even, Progress has scopèt a a [fài]. shá koraa deè, support quite fine here even FM, èt-ye è a ëfë [fifthi-fifthi bitwi:n progress it-PR-be SR-be fifty-fifty between Progress an nal].

and NAL.

'Well, I know that, but then, it's precisely here that the majority of the constituencies are, Ashanti, Akuapem, Kwawu, etc. Even in Accra, Progress has quite a good support. Here, it appears to be 50-50 between Progress and NAL.'

AA: Na 'Abaa-Bà-Sè' è?
And 'Abaa-Ba-Sè' what about?

'And what about Abaa-Ba-Se' (slogan of an Accra-based party, more popularly referred to by the Ga slogan, 'Ame Baabà sèè : they'll come back')
Accra-PL party the? They FM, who FM
ô: [vɔ:t-u] a-mâ wôn? Nkran-fô
he-PR- vote-V SR-for them? Accra-PL
wô [taiM-] a wô -de: [vɔ:t-u-ô]
have time-V REL they-with-PR- vote-V-EAS?
of kô:s yù; kant rûi dêm aut dée.
of course you can't rule them out anyway.
ilêkšIn dée, évi rôt kaunts; enti
elections FM, every vote counts; so
Busià-nôm têk-i ëïs fô grânted a,
Busia-PL take-V things for granted if,
wô -be- [rîgret-I] sê yè -bê seki-û
they-FU- regret-V so they-FU- shock-V
wôn!
them!
'The Accra-people's party? Who's going to vote
for them? Do the people of Accra have time to
vote? Of course, you can't rule them out
anyway. (In) elections, every vote counts; so
if Busia and Co. take things for granted,
they'll regret: they'll be shocked!

AA: [wôteva de kês] nô, [ôl ëïs bûn ikwûl]
whatever the case the, all things being equal
nô, me- [bûli:v strongli] sê' Busià wô
no, I-believe strongly that Busia has
[vérî bràlt ñans] sê' s-be- [fɔ:m nêkst
very bright chance that he-FU- form next
govmênt] nô.
government the.
'Whatever the case, all things being equal, I
strongly believe that Busia has a very good
chance of forming the next government.'
SKO: \[\textit{[Let's} \quad \text{hop} \quad \text{so]} \quad \textit{.} \]

Let's hope so then.

'Let's hope so then.'
## Discourse I (Middle School Background)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker (&amp; Dialect)</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Akan(%)</th>
<th>Eng.(%)</th>
<th>No. of Words (%)</th>
<th>English Items as (a)</th>
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<td>JKD (Asante)</td>
<td>223</td>
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<td>2(10%)</td>
<td>(i) 'too soft' (A)</td>
<td>(i)'You don't know them'</td>
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<td>(ii)'Central &amp; Western' (N)</td>
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<td>(ii)'that's right'</td>
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**Discourse II** (Secondary School/Certificate 'A' background)

<p>| AS (Fante) | 227  | 14  | 13(92.9%) | 1(7.1%) | -- | -- |
|           | 228  | 23  | 14(60.9%) | 9(39.1%) | (i)'so disappointed' (A) |
|           | 229  | 35  | 18(51.4%) | 17(48.6%) | (ii)'three good people' (N) |
|           | 230  | 37  | 26(70.3%) | 11(29.7%) | (iii)'in favor of' (PREF) |
|           |      |     |         |         | (iv)'15 to 20 minutes' (N) |
|           |      |     |         |         | (v)'at least' (ADV) |
|           |      |     |         |         | (i)'you see' |
|           |      |     |         |         | (ii)'you know' |</p>
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<th>English Items as (%a)</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
<td>28 (54%)</td>
<td>13 (46.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KM Sub-Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>62 (64.6%)</td>
<td>34 (35.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>135 (65.2%)</td>
<td>72 (34.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adj. Phrases:** 1  
**NP:** 3  
**VP:** 3  
**Adv. Phrases:** 3  
**PREP:** 1
### Discourse III (Graduate Teachers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker (&amp; Dialect)</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>No. of Words (%)</th>
<th>English Items as (a)</th>
<th>Depd. Clauses</th>
<th>Independent Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA (Akuapem)</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6(75%) 2(25%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>(i)'I ought to know his name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>39(78%) 11(22%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25(73.5%) 9(26.5%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>234</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3(100%) --</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>(ii)'you know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8(34.8%) 15(65.2%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AA Sub-Total**  118 | 81(68.6%) | 37(31.4%) | 7 | -- | 2

| SKO (Asante)       | 228  | 39               | 23(59%) 16(41%)      | (i)'as for that' (ADV) | (i)'all I know is that' (ADV) |
|                    | 228  | 28               | 21(75%) 7(25%)       | (ii)'very sure of it' (A) | (ii)'Let them bring it' |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker (&amp; Dialect)</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Akan(%)</th>
<th>Eng.(%)</th>
<th>Phrases</th>
<th>Depd. Clauses</th>
<th>Independent Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27(67.5%)</td>
<td>13(32.5%)</td>
<td>(iii)'majority of the constituencies (N) (iv)'50-50 between Progress &amp; NAL' (ADV)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19(47.5%)</td>
<td>21(52.5%)</td>
<td>(v)'take things for granted'(Vb)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>(iii)'of course you can't rule them out' (iv)'every vote counts' (v)'Let's hope so'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>231</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1(25%)</td>
<td>3(75%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKO Sub-Total</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>91(60.3%)</td>
<td>60(39.7%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>172(64.2%)</td>
<td>97(35.8%)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ., PHR.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMENTS

1. **English Items.**

(a) English **words** appear in the three samples in the following proportions:

Discourse I ('Elementary'): 64 out of 249 = 25.7%;

Discourse II ('Secondary'): 72 out of 207 = 34.8%;

Discourse III ('University'): 97 out of 268 = 35.8%.

There is hardly any difference between the quantity of English words in II and III. At word level, this seems to be the general picture of switching among Akan-English bilinguals with up to secondary school education (see below). But the percentage is much lower at the 'Elementary' level, compared with the other two levels.

Differences become more significant when we compare the types of units switched.

(b) **Phrases**: At the 'Elementary' level, there are eight English phrases, of which six (75%) are noun phrases. This would suggest that bilinguals at this level are in a transitional stage—from 'borrowing' to 'code-switching'. Considering that in almost all cases of borrowing between languages, nouns are the first
and most frequently borrowed items, one could say noun phrases are only the next stage after single-word nouns.

Discourse II ('Secondary') shows a greater variety of phrases. Of the 11 phrases in English, there are three each of noun, verb, and adverbial phrases, and one each of adjectival and prepositional phrases.

In Discourse III, we have more adverbial phrases (5) than any other type. This preference for modified or qualified statements reflects greater care and consciousness, and the avoidance of absolute statements, all of which are signs of linguistic maturity which one would expect at this stage.

(c) Clauses: The English clauses are distributed as follows:

I: 4 independent clauses;
II: 3 independent clauses;
III: 7 independent, 1 dependent clauses.

The differences in the number of participants (I: three speakers versus two for II), subject matter (I: politics versus II: sports), and lengths of passages (I: 249 versus II: 207 words) do not help us to explain the similarity between the number of clauses in I and II. However, given fairly similar factors, we find that there is an increasing use of English clauses at the 'University' level (III): 7 independent clauses and one dependent
clause. This is the general trend in the study and confirms the observation that switching increases with the amount of education and therefore exposure to the use of English that the Akan is given (4.2).

Quite often, the independent clauses take the form of hesitation signals--'you see', 'you know','let's see', etc.--but there are a lot of very meaningful clauses especially at the 'higher' level.

We hardly have any dependent clauses. This is due to our method of analysis. Dependent clauses involving English items are usually introduced with Akan relativizers, pronouns, subordinating conjunctions, etc. They therefore appear in our analysis as VPs, etc., rather than as clauses, e.g.,

( s ) wo-[\text{support-\text{V} time}],... a
(if) you-[\text{support-V team} if (II)
'If you support a team...'

If we were to count these clauses with the Akan dependency morphemes, we would have quite a lot of dependent clauses.

2. **Dialectal Comparisons.** It has often been remarked that Fantes tend to switch more than speakers of other Akan dialects. The study does not completely confirm this. In (I), the three speakers have the following percentages of English items:

(I) JKD (Asante): 18.6%  
JA (Akuapem): 31.9%  
KB (Fante) : 35.3%

244
At the 'Elementary' level, therefore, the Fante speaker seems to be using the most English items in his speech; the Asante speaker, the least. But in (II) and (III), the trend changes with the Asante slightly higher in both cases:

(II) AS (Fante) : 34.2%
      KM (Asante) : 35.2%
(III) AA (Akuapem): 31.4%
      SKO(Asante) : 39.7%

This is fairly much the general trend in the study. Of all the young people (up to about 21 years old) or those with just elementary school background (or equivalent, e.g., secondary school drop-outs), it was found that Fantes used English items most:

Fantes : 413 English words in a total of 1252 words = 33.0%,

Akuapems: 327 English words in a total of 1095 words = 29.8%,

Asantes : 509 English words in a total of 2520 words = 20.1%.

At the 'Secondary' level, the trend changed:

Asantes : 1082/3341 (32.4%)
Fantes : 908/2976 (30.5%)
Akuapems: 756/2708 (27.9%).

University graduates/students:
Asantes : 1678/4584 (36.6%)
Fantes: 1527/4326 (35.3%)
Akuapems: 1272/3820 (33.3%).

It would appear that Fantes tend to switch earlier, but Asantes and Akuapems catch up with Secondary school or higher education. In all the samples, and also according to the above figures, Asante speakers somehow generally appear to contribute a little more than Fante or Akuapem speakers, and that may account for the slightly higher percentage of English items. Perhaps it would be reasonable to suggest that given the same amount of talking, speakers of all three dialects may have almost equal amounts of English items.

3. **Progressive Switching**: Not only does code-switching increase with 'educational age', so to speak; it also seems to increase with the progress of the discourse. Speakers start with few or no English items at the beginning of the discourses. Then the speeches 'warm' into more and more code-switching. Our samples suggest that this increase is not very obvious at the 'Elementary' level, but it proves progressively so as we climb the ladder. The following tables (8a—g) are the graphic representations of the English items in the speeches of the speakers in Discourses I to III.
Table 8: Quantity of English Items in Discourses I-III.

### Discourse I ('Elementary')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Items</th>
<th>+ Passages (page)</th>
<th>+ Passages (page)</th>
<th>+ Passages (page)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Asante)</td>
<td>(Fante)</td>
<td>(Akuapem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Table 8a(i)</td>
<td>Table 8a(ii)</td>
<td>Table 8a(iii)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Discourse II ('Secondary')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Items</th>
<th>+ Passages (Page)</th>
<th>+ Passages (Page)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Fante)</td>
<td>(Asante)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Table 8b(i)</td>
<td>Table 8b(ii)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: (Con't)

Discourse III ('University')

Passages (Page)
(Akuapem)
Table 8c(i)

Passages (Page)
(Asante)
Table 8c(ii)

In this respect, our samples quite well represent the general pattern. Most of the extensive switchings come in the middle or towards the end of discussions and never at the beginning.
APPENDIX B

JOOJO

J-1: January 1967. 6 years 11 months old. Achimota Primary School. 4 months in school.

Joojo: Wo fa Kwaku, e-yè a, ka kyère Mama sè yèn Uncle Kwaku, it-be if, tell Mama that our [tiá] sè obia'a ne [pérènts] mè-bè - teacher say everybody his parents IMP-come- [vìSit] nò, wo'-à-'è ?

visit him, you-PF-hear?

'Uncle Kwaku, if you have the opportunity, tell Mama that our teacher says everybody's parents should come to visit him, o.k.?

Forson: Na e-n -yè nà m-à -bà yi ? Wo màamè, wo But it-NG-be FM I-PF-come this? Your mother, you a'a, e-fi ha kò Tamale...

ADV, it-be here go Tamale...

from

'But isn't this a visit I'm paying you? Your mother, you imagine (the distance) from here to Tamale...'


bring me present even.
F: Wo dé, twén; é-dú so à, wo-a - 'e?
You FM, wait; it-be time when, you-PF-hear?
'You wait; when the time comes, o.k.?'

J (To a friend): Yiee, wu-be-hu! Mama bée- [yIsIt]
Hey, you-PU-see! Mama PU- visit
mé bià !
me some!
'Hey, you'll see! Mama will pay me some visit!'

J-2: February 1967. Achimota Primary School. 7 years old. Visiting him with his brother and sister from St. John's Preparatory School on a week-end.

J: Wofa, dën ni? (pointing at a tape-recorder Uncle, what be this? in briefcase)
'Uncle, what is this?'

F: Wo- fré no tape-recorder
They-call it __________
'It's called a tape recorder'

J: Aáa. Èn-nà wó-ka-sá à, ná a-bá mu no wo-
Yes. it-FM you-talk when, then PF-come in that you-
a - hù? Yën [haußmásta] wó bi . Dá no PF-see?
Our housemaster has some. Day that yë-kó-ß [myúsik le:sín] ð-de ba - ë . (To Nana, we-go-PA music lesson he-with come-PA.
his 4-year old brother)
hwë -e ?
look-PA?
Nana: 'Mm'm.
No.

'no.'

J: Wó-ye mmɔbɔ́ papa. Gyama 'tv' mpo wú-n-
you-be pathetic really. Perhaps 'tv' even you-n-
hù-u bi da. Hwe, yen de, yen [tićés tuu]
see-PA some ever. Look, we FM, our teachers two
kóraa na wó -wó bi. Hiyée, se Osei Kofi né
ADV FM they-have some. Hey, so Osei Kofi his
ho ye hù sei? ön-na s- [skɔ-ɔ́]
self be frightening like this? He-FM he-score-PA
fés goo] no. Hiyée, afei s-[drí I] wó
first goal the. Hey, then he-drill-PA them
nyináa sei. Afei s-[paaI-Í], s-de
call like this. Then he-pass-V-PA, he-with
ma -a [nɔma nai] no; na afei [nɔma nai]
give-PA Number 9 the; and then Number 9
no so, s-san de ma-a no bió. Na
the too, he-return with give-PA him again. Then
s-de [spiíd], na afei Osei Kofi s-ma -a
he-with speed, and then Osei Kofi he-take-PA
né [ʃɔt] so, [stræt]; na, k-da mu
his shot up, straight; and, it-be in

'Poor you! Perhaps you've never even seen a TV
before! Look as many as two of our teachers
have some. Hey, so is Osei Kofi this wonderful?
He scored the first goal. Hey, then he 'drilled'
=dribbled the ball past) all of them like this.
Then he passed it to the No. 9 (=Center-Forward);
and then the No. 9 returned it to him. Then with
speed, he delivered his shot; and it was in it!'
N: Nti Kotoko-fo na wọ -hye-è Heart-fo?
So Kotoko-PL FM they- -PA Heart-PL?
'So was it Kotoko who beat Hearts?'

J: Où, Hearts nso, wọ -hye - è [tùù]. Na afei
0, Hearts too, they-score-PA two . And then
óyì -nom, Kotoko-fo nso, wọ -hye - e , wọ -hye -
this-PL , Kotoko-PL too, they-score-PA, they-score-
eg bi o . Nti, wọ -bọ - drọ: .
PA again. So , they-play-PA draw .
'O, Hearts, too, scored two. Then these people--
Kotoko--too, scored again. So they played a
drawn game.'

J-3: January 1968. 7 years 11 months. On holidays at
Kwanyako, home-town. With his grandma. Boatema,
his 6-year-old sister, is present during discourse.

J: Maa'maame (his grandmother: mother's mother), a-
Grandma
PF-
ka [brii deis] pẹ ná wọ -á - buè yén
leave three days only then they-PP- open our
[s'kuu] o .
school .
'Grandma, only three days more and our school will
be re-opened.'

Grandma: Fá sọ̀ hò ! Me dé fa w' -Àbòr-fo-
Take get up there! I FM take your-English-
scém nó fi mé so. Nà a -kà dén nè
ways the from me on. And PF-leave what and
dén ná wọ -a -bue sùkuu? Nti, me-n -
what then they-PP-open school? So, I- IMP-
ye nó dén ?
do it what?
'Get off with that! Leave me alone with your
English ways! What is left for the re-opening of your school? So what should I do?

J: Na Māmā nṣo ọ-m-fá ọ me (sku: fis) m- ma-

But Mama too she-NG-take-PA-my school fees NG-come-
e yi e’? Yoo, mé-kọ ná wọ - [saak] mé

TNS this what about? Well, I -go and they- 'sack' me
se mé-m -mọ̀̀a fié a...

that I -IMP-come home if...

'But what about Mama too having not brought my school fees? Well, if I go and I get 'sacked' (turned away from school) to come home...'

Boatema: Eí, Joojó, nà wọ a a wu -nìm? Sè ọ-de

Ei, Joojo, but you INT you-know? If she-with
á -bà o. Wọfa Kwakú, Mama a -kyerew wo?
it-come . Uncle Kwaku, Mama PPT-write you?

'Ei, Joojo, do you know? What if she's sent it?
Uncle Kwaku, has Mama written to you?'

F: Mi-n -yá -á letters biá'a?

I -NG-get-TNS ______ any?

'Haven't I got any letters!'

B: A - [tića] -fo nó’ , w’ -anyǒŋko-fo’ nó’, ndedà

PL- teacher -PL the, you- friends-PL the, yesterday
wọn nyináá wọ -ba -a hâ , na wọ -kọ Nkran.

they all they-come-PA here, then you-go Accra.

'The teachers, your friends, all came here yesterday.
You had then gone to Accra.'

F: Wọ -de letérès ba-ẹ?

They-with ______ come?

'Did they bring letters?'

B: Aà , mé-dé, m-à -n -hú dé.

Well, I -PM, I-TNS-NG-see FM.

'Well, as for me, I didn't see that though.'

J: Wọ a’a hwe . [tićeś] yí wọ -ba -e yì,

You INT look. Teachers these they-come-PA ART,
"You, look. When these teachers came, I saw them? If they'd brought letters, would I have seen them?"

F: Eyi nso wu -sù , Joojo? Wo' màame ne [les], This too you-cry, Joojo? Your mother's her letters, fa' a'a z-e -ye Lègon na wò -de ko? Dà bên part INT it-NG-be Legon REL they-with go? Day which na wò [skuul fiis] pa -a hó ? Wo' -pè su FM your school fees pass-PA side? You-like crying gyăngyań dôdo ! unnecessary too much!

'Do you cry about this, too, Joojo? Aren't most of your mother's letters sent to Legon? When were your school fees late? You like too much unnecessary crying?'

J-4: July 1968. Kwanyako. 8 years 5 months. With me and Kwame, my 10-year-old nephew.

J (to me): wò -se wu - [tiic -i] wò Aburi? They-say you- teach-V at Aburi?
'They say you teach at Aburi?'

F: Şhèna ka -e ?
Who say-PA?
'Who said it?'

J: Ė-n -ye Kwàmé a?
It-NG-be Kwame Q?
'Wasn't it Kwame?'

F: Àá . Mè-te Legon, na mé-kè Aburí nso?
Yes. I -stay Legon, and I -go Aburi too
'Yes, I stay at Legon and go to Aburi, too.'
Kwame: Wo a hu? Se me-ka e!
You-PF-see? ADV I-say-PA!
'You see? I told you!'

J: Ei, e-n-de wo -bre papa. Gyama wo wo
Ei, it-FM you-tire very much. Perhaps you-have
\ka\ ma\ mp\ 'car' even?
'car' even?

'Ei, then you really get tired. You probably have a
car?'

F: Mi-nni bi. Me-de lorry na e-k\.
I not some. I-with lorry FM SUBJ-go.
have

'I don't have one. I go by lorry.'

K: Se Aburi na Kwasi ne Adwoa, wo wo ho no?
ADV Aburi FM Kwasi and Adwoa, they-be at there ART?
W\ ma\ ma\ , wo se e-kyere ade wo ho .
Their mother, they-say she-teach something be there.

'Isn't it Aburi where Kwasi and Adwoa are at? I
understand their mother teaches there.'

F: A\ Adwoa koraa, ne ma\ ma\ de no ko sukuu.
Yes. Adwoa even, her mother with her go school.

'Yes, in fact Adwoa's mother takes her to school.'

J: Ei, oyi ketekete yi a?
Ei, this very little ART Q?

'Ei, as tiny as this?'

F: W -a-di mfe mmie\nShe-PF-spend years three.

'She's three years old.'

K: He\ mfe mmie\ na e-k o sukuu yi?
Hey years three and she-go school ART?

'Hey, going to school at three?'

J: He\ , e-y\ l\ papa. \b\ y\ na
Hey, she-be lucky very much. Three years and
ó-k`skúù. ë-bë-ye no dé o! Ne she-go school. It-FU-make her sweetness! Her màame ['tiic-í] no. O -bé-hu aɗe ó, wó- mother teach-V her. She-FU-know something, you-a -hù? Ntí, Nófa Kwaku, wo nà Adwoa ne màame PF-see? So, Uncle Kwaku, you and Adwoa her mother nyinaa mu - ['tiic-í ìseim skúù] ? both you- teach-V the same school ?

'Hey, she's very lucky. Three years and she's going to school! It must make her very excited! Her mother teaching her! She must know a lot (or 'be very smart'), you see? So, Uncle Kwaku, do both you and Adwoa's mother teach in the same school?'

F: Mmm. õno o - ['tiic klas wàan] Na me nso mi-['ti:ʧ] No. She she- teach class one And I too I-teach wà training college hɔ . at __________ there.

'No, she teaches Class 1, and I teach at the 'training college'.'


With me, my two kids--daughter, Adwoa (3 years 11 months), son, Kwasi (2½ years)--and her sister, Boatema, and brother, Nana.

Adwoa: Joojo, bë -hwë ade bi a m-a - [dróù].

Joojo, come-see thing some REL I-PF- draw .

-y d n ?

it-be what?

'Joojo, come see what I've drawn. What is it?'

J: Èi , [staɪ] ! Héù, Adwoa, héna nà ñ- [dróʊ] má -à Hey, star 1 Hey, Adwoa, who FM he- draw give-PA wo ?

you?
'Hey, star! Hey, Adwoa, who drew it for you?'

A: Mé a'a. M-é-tumi a -kyeréw ne din nso.
I INT. I-FU-can SR-write its name too.
(writes 'star' beside the drawing)
'I did it. I can also write it's name.'

J: Boatema, Nana, mo -m -më -hwë.
Boatema, Nana, you-IMP-come-see.
'Boatema, Nana, come see it.'

B: Ei, abofra yi! Anti' Comfort, Adwoa ne nkyeréw
Hey, child this! Auntie Comfort, Adwoa her writing
ye fe bi'a! Nana, wo-be-tum a -kyeréw?
make beauty some! Nana, you-FU-can SR-write?
'Hey, this child! Auntie Comfort, Adwoa's writing
is so beautiful. Nana, can you write this?'

Nana: Kaè, eyi mi-n -tum?
What, this I NG-can?
'What? Can't I (write) this?'

J: Èi, gyama wu -dì [fës] wo sküu?
Hey, perhaps you-'eat' first at school?
'Hey, are you the first (=best) girl in school?'

A: (Giggles).

J: O-keè , afei, me-yë [ticà] wo -a - è ? Me-e -
O-K, now, I -be teacher you-PP hear? I -PR-
be -ma mo nyinàa [we:k]. Mi-wie à, m-ë -
ING-give you all work. I -finish when, I-FU-
hwë nea o -be-di [fës]. (Writes down some addition
see who he-FU-eat first.
questions: 3+1, 4+2+1, 4+4, 2+2, 0+0).
Adwoa, wu -nim eyí -nom?
Adwoa, you-know this -PL?
'O.K., now I'm a teacher, o.k.? I'm going to give you
all some work. After that I'll see who's first.
Adwoa, do you know this?'

257

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APPENDIX C
(CODE-SWITCHING IN SONG)

"Alomo Jack"

1. Jack, [tɔɪm-ʊ̃], na Alomo yi ɣɛ m'Alomo dàdaada.
   Jack, time-V, for Alomo this be my Alomo long time.

2. Alòmo yi , Àlòmo yi , Àlòmo yi , ɔ-ɣɛ̃ m' Alomo
   Alomo this, Alomo this, Alomo this, she-be my Alomo
   dàdaada.
   long time.

3. Mè-ne no nyinaa na ë-hwè me [kabin] ;
I -with him both FM SUBJ-beat my "cabin" ;

4. Me-gye me [jot] a ' , me-ne no a'a na ë-tò .
I -get my "jot" , I -with her ADV FM SUB-buy.

5. Me-gye me [wàks] a ' , me-ne no a’a na ë-
I -get my "wax" , I -with him ADV FM SUB-
hwe' - ë .
   "eat-EAS .

6. Alòmo yi , ɔ-ɣɛ m' Alomo dàdaada.
   Alomo this, she-be my Alomo long time.

7. Eyí na [wan de]i Alomo yi se o' - ñ -yi ne ñ tí
This FM one day Alomo this say she-PR-show her head
   wo [ppp] ;
   at pub ;

8. ɔ-se mì-n - [go] ; me-se mì-n - [go] ;
She-say I -IMP- go ; I -say I - - go ;

9. ɔ-se ɔ -bè- go ; me-se mì-n - go .
She-say she-FU- go ; I -say I - - go .

258
10. Saa ˘tà˘m yi ˚a ˘k˚à me ˘[là˘s] nyinaa
time this then it-leave my last all
˘[fɔ˘i˘sidis];
four cedis;

11. Enti me- [pusi-i] no ˘[tri˘sidis], ˚a ˘ë-
So I - 'push'-PA her three cedis , and it-
ka˚-à me [wɔ˘n sidis].
leave-PA me one cedi.

12. Na me-de˚ hwe -`e me hø˚.
And I -with 'keep'-PA my self.

13. Alómø yi ˘[gɔ˘-o] ˘[p˘-p] yi ˚a , ˘[p˘-p] yi a -[δ˘i]
Alomo this go-PA pub this when, pub this PF-die

14. Alómø yi ˚a -n -yi ne tiri
Alomo this TNS-NG-show her head

15. Enti [heks dei] mi- [gø˘-o] ne [m-ða ðaust] a ,
So next day I - go-PA her mother's house when,
o -n - [dei]
she-NG-day

16. Mi- [gø˘-o] a , o -n - [dei] ; mi- [gø˘-o] a,
I - go-PA when, she-NG- day ; I - go-PA when,
o -n - [dei]
she-NG- day

17. Enti me-se me- e-kò me- [gùis kàbin] m-à -kò-
So I -say I -PR-go my- guys cabin I-TNS-go-
di˚ m-à -wu
eat I-TNS-die

18. M-à -kò-di m-à -wu a me- e- [kam]
I-PF-go-eat I-PF-die when I -PR- come

19. Me-hwësè `Alómø yi ne [gùs] bi te
I -see that Alomo this with guys some sit
corner-side.

20. Anka mi- [pus-i] no [fawed], n'na me-[ta:m-ñ-ñ-e] ADV I - push-V it forward, then I - time-V-PA-EAS

21. Me-hwe se [sma:j bɔ:] bi nso-o-[kam]; I -see that small boy some too PR come

22. Mi-[pus-i-i] no "tana" : ñ-n -kyere [jɔ:]) I - push-V-PA him money : he-IMP-catch jot

23. ma me-n -hwe n -gu m ade só. for me-IMP-'smoke' IMP-put m thing on.

24. Me-sé Alomo n -yi ne tiri à , ñ-se ñ-re - I -say Alomo IMP-show her head when, she-say she-TMS-n -yi'. NG-show.

25. n'na me-[pus-i-i fɔwẽd] ko-'logo'-o' no Then I - push-V-PA forward go- -PA her


27. nna me-pus-i-i me kabin . Then I - push-V-PA my cabin .

28. M-a -di m-a -wú me-hwe me kabin I-PF-eat I-PF-die I- be at my cabin


30. Mi-yí -i me tiri à , me-hwe sè Alomo ne I -show-PA my head when, I -see that Alomo and 'gɔtí'-fo' goti-PL

31. á-yí won tiri. PF-show their head.

260
32. nna wo -logo-o me, wo -de me k-o-hwe-o
Then they-pull-PA me, they-with me go-be -at
'Central Cell'
'Central Cell'

33. [tú: gúd de:s, nó be:1]
  two good days no bail

34. A , wáks [nɔ], [jɔt] kwataa "ni"
  Ugh, wax : no! jot completely out (Hausa).

35. Jack, e-yë ?
  Jack, it-be good?

1. "Jack, take your time, for this Alomo is my long-
  time Alomo.

2. This Alomo, this Alomo: she's my long-time Alomo.

3. Both she and I live in my 'cabin' (apartment);

4. When I get my 'jot' (cigarette), I pay for it with her.

5. When I get my 'wax' (food), I eat it with her.

6. This Alomo is my long-time Alomo.

7. Now, one day, this Alomo said she was going to a pub;

8. She said I should go with her; I said I wouldn't;

9. She said she'd go; I said I wouldn't.

10. By this time all I had left (my 'last' money) was
    four cedis.

11. So I gave her three cedis, and I was left with one
    cedi.

12. Which I kept on me.

13. When this Alomo went to the pub, the pub was dead
    (=closed).

14. This Alomo didn't show up (i.e., didn't come back to me).

15. So the next day, I went to her mother's house; she
    was not in (not

16. Whenever I went, she wasn't in.
17. So I decided to go to my guys' (=friends') 'cabin' to drink "and die" (="drink my head off").
18. I'd gone, drunk my head off, and was coming;
19. I saw this Alomo and some guys sitting at a corner.
20. I nearly 'pushed forward' (=went straight at them), but 'timed'.
21. I saw a certain small boy also coming (along).
22. I gave him "tana" (=money) to get me cigarette for me to smoke over my "thing" (=drink).
23. I (then) told Alomo to come over; she said she wouldn't.
24. Then I went forward (to them), and pulled her.
25. I gave her quite a beating,
26. And then went to my 'cabin'
27. I'd drunk my head off and was in my 'cabin'
28. I heard 'p p p' (the honking of the police vehicle),
29. When I 'showed my head', I saw Alomo and some cops (="gotis")
30. showing up.
31. Then they pulled me, and took me to Central Cell (prison)
32. (For) two good days (there was) no bail.
33. Ugh, (there was) no food, and cigarette was completely out!
34. Jack, is this good?
APPENDIX D
(LOS ANGELES MEETING, JULY 1979)

KW(Chairman): ...[weːl], e-yë me së` yë'n nyináa tùmì
... well, it-make me that we all can
ka` Twi [fàìn] (interruption: inaudible),
speak Twi fine
anaà, Kofi, mè-boa? (inaudible remark;
or Kofi, I -lie?
laughter). [áí ìɪŋk] , -- e-yë me
I think , -- it-makes me
së` --ye-nìm [waí wì: a: hië] ; ènti
that--we-know why we are here; so
no de, ye-nì - west-i` tàìm . Na
that FM , we-NG- waste-V time . And
[laːs] yë-kyerë-è së` ye-pë së` yë-
last we-show -PA that we-want that we-
[blìd strakə`] nó - [në:m] nó , è-
build structure the - name the, it-
yë me së` nnìpà pìì a -n -hù së`
make me that people many TNS-NG-see that
èbì̀́ a [fìːrs _organìsè:sìn] bì `a
probably there's organization some REL
m-à`yë dédeede bi ne ade` , [bàt]
I-PF-make noise some and things, but
organìsè:sìn ] nó a'a no-no. (inaudible
organization the INT be-it.
objection to the use of Akan at the
meeting)...

Yes, Yes me mi-nìm së` obì`a
Yes, Yes I, I -know that everybody
à c-wɔ ha de, yu nɔ:, me a’a
REL he-be here PM, you know, I INT
mi-nim sè obia’a à c-wɔ ha bia’a,
I know that everybody REL he-be here every,
[yu si:], [če: ɔ:| spi:k] [yu no:]
you see, they all speak you know
[ʃats waI] I ast. If Its raIt
that’s why I asked if it’s all right
tu spi:k]
to speak

K (interrupts): ... its not : raIt
    it’s not all right

KW:    Its not : raIt. 0-ke: o-ke;
It’s not all right. 0-k. o.k.;
ʃats faIn. ʃats waI I ast ...
that’s fine. That’s why I asked ...

KM: '...Well, it seems to me all of us can speak Twi
fairly well (interruption), can’t we, Kofi? (remark,
laughter). I think—it seems to me—we know why
we’re here; so, in that case, we won’t waste time.
And the other day (‘last’ time), we decided that we
wanted to build the structure (of the organization).
The name probably didn’t seem to many people to
indicate that there was an organization about which
I’d been making so much noise, and so on, but that
is the organization. (objection)... Yes, yes, I know,
I know that everybody here, you know, I know that
everybody who’s here, you see, they all speak, you
know..., that’s why I asked if it’s all right to
speak...

K (Ewe) (interrupts): ...It’s not all right...

KW: It’s not all right. O.k., o.k.; that’s fine. That’s
why I asked...’
APPENDIX E

(FROM 'MEETING OF KWANYAKO CITIZENS IN ACCRA')

July 1968. LAK and SA are university graduates; KS (about the same age, 30+) is a businessman. Dialect: Agona.

(I) At the Meeting:

LAK: '...én' dě, òpanyin à ò-te aquam ', me-ká ... then, eder REL he-sit in chair, I -say me-de to gua sè , er, è-yè Akwammò I -with put public that, er, it-be Akwamm à ë:-bá yi , yèn [aássiesìn], er, REL it-coming this, our ______, er, anaàsèèkùw à` yè-wò Nkràn há yi , mè-de or group REL we-be Accra here ART, I -with at tò guá sè `yè-n -gyegyè tow sidi put public that we-IMP-collect dues cedi mmien mmien nà yè-m -fɔ̀ n -ko-boà two two and we-IMP-take IMP-go-help [kɔmiti] à wo` -odi hò dwùmá wò féè no . ______ REL they-do side work at home the.

'...So then, Mr. Chairman, I declare publicly (=propose) that, in connection with the up- coming Akwamm (festival) our Association here in Accra should collect dues of two cedis per head to support the committee working on it at home.'

SA: '...Me nso mè-foà nò nsèmmoa. Na mmòmè , sèdì I too I - support him . But rather, cedi mmien à` ø-kae` no dé, è-yè me sè e - two REL he-said ART FM, it-make me that it-

265
sua kakra. Mo a'a mu nim amanfo; be small a little. You INT you-know folks: wo -be-hwe na'nnipa basa basa na wo' you-FU-look and people three only FM they're otua, na aa-yë basaa. Nti m'ankutoo de'a, paying, and PF-be wierd. So me-alone FM if, anka me-se obia'a n -tuà nea o -bé-tum, then I -say everybody IMP-pay what he-FU-can, [bat], ei, na mmom obia'a n -tuà, mm-, but, hey, but rather everybody IMP-pay, mm-, m-ma è-n -suà n -sën siidà miin.' n-let it-NG-be small NG-surpass cedi two. 'I too, I support him (=second his motion). But as for the two cedis he mentioned (=sug- gested), it seems to me it's a little too small. You know our people: you'll find only (some) three people paying. That will then be wierd. So left to me alone, I'd suggest that everybody should pay what he can, but at any rate not less than two cedis.'

(II) After the Meeting: At a beer bar. LK, SA to- gether with three others--me, KS and CB, a lady.

KS: Na wo sojesin ben na wo-de bae
And you suggestion what FM you-with came hühúuhu yi? wo-se obia'a n -tuà so dangerous ART? You-say everybody IMP-pay ahe'? tu' sidis?
how much? two cedis?
'And you, what dangerous suggestion did you make? How much did you say everybody should pay? Two cedis?'
SA: e-n -ye me na me- [se'jest -I-I] . LA na o - it-NG-be me FM I - suggest-V-PA . LA FM he-
[propos -i-i] -- o - [te:bul mo:si:n] no , na
propose-V-PA -- he- tabled motion the, and
me, me- [sekand-I-I] . na me- [sekand-I-I] no
I , I - second-V-PA . And I - second-V-PA when
na me-ye [amendment] .
FM I -made [amendment] .
'I didn't make the (original) suggestion. It was
LA who proposed (it) -- he tabled the motion,
and I seconded it. It was when I seconded it
that I made an amendment.'

KS: [amendment] ben ?
[amendment] what?
'What (kind of) amendment?'

SA: na me-se [tu: si'dis] no , e-n -ye [minimam].
Then I -say two cedis ART, it- -be minimum.
Obia'a tum tua [eni amaunt] bia'a a 5-pe
Everybody can pay any amount any REL he-like
[bat] e-n -se se e-ye[les dan] [tu: si'dis].
but it-NG-fit that it-be less than two cedis .
It can be more a -n -ye saa na se ye-a -n -

TNS-NG-be so and if we-TNS-NG-
nya [inof pip] ma w -a -n - [kontribyut-
get enough people for the-TNS-NG- contribute-
y] a , na sik'a no a'-ye [yul'es].
V if, then money the PF-be useless .
'Then, I said the two cedis should be minimum.
Everybody could pay any amount he could afford,
but it shouldn't be less than two cedis. It
can be more. Otherwise, if we don't get enough
people to contribute, then the money becomes
useless.'

267
Notes: In (I), the speeches at the meeting,

(a) LAK has only two lexical items—the nouns 'Association' and 'committee'—in English. Every effort is made to get the entire contribution in Akan—including notably the round-about translation of 'Mr. Chairman' (panyin a te aquam), 'I propose' (meka mede to qua), Accra, the capital city (Nkran).

(b) SA has practically no English item: When he realizes he has used 'but', he immediately signals and substitutes it with its Akan equivalent nammom. The Akan equivalent of 'second his motion' (foa no ns mmoa) is reserved for such formalized situations.

Only two out of 98 words (about 2%) in (I) are English.

The passage in (II), is almost an exact reporting of the content of the passage in (I). The situation is less formal, and 29 of the 78 words (37%) are in English. Among parallel items in (I) and (II) are the following:

(I)  (II)
de to qua    'suggest'/ 'propose'/ 'table motion'
foa ns mmoa    'second (motion)'
ense se esua sen    'minimum'.

The ease of communicating in code-switching is demonstrated by the presence of hesitation signals _er_ (2) _mm_ (1) in (I), and the absence of them in (II). When SA uses the English item 'but' in (I), he quickly stops and
replaces it with the Akan equivalent na mmom; but when
he uses it in (II) (at the beer bar), he has no apologies.
APPENDIX F

CULLED FROM 'LOW RIDER', JUNE 1979 (p. 12-13)

...Where did Raza end up? Way ahead with no acts of violence, people showing *respecto* for one another and our little *carnalitos y carnalitas* seeing a different way of behaving. In short—coming together in an atmosphere of *carnalismo*. As you can see, La Gente came, Thee Individuals put on a *firme* car show... Even the *policia* behaved in a much better attitude concerning themselves, more with directing traffic and lending assistance... En total, Raza *linda mia*, don't forget that hard work, lots of time and commitment has gone into these happenings... So keep on taking care of your homeboys and homegirls when they get too high, and remember lowndnig *carnalismo* is more than a style, it's *'movimento'*! Que no? En total, *rifamos*!

Notes: 1. *The Spanish items, underlined here, appear in the original unmarked by any special underlining, punctuation, or italicizing.

2. Translations of the Spanish items:

*respecto*: respect
*carnalitos y carnalitas*: (slang) little brothers and sisters
*carnalismo*: (slang) brotherhood
*firme*: firm
*policia*: police

270
En total: In sum
Linda mia: my beautiful
Y: and
'movimiento': movement
Que no?: Isn't it so?
Rifamos: We win.
APPENDIX G
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A number of questions related to Akan-English code-switching emerge from this study. Some of these questions appear to be of immense interest for further linguistic investigation. Below, we make a few suggestions, in the light of some of the questions raised in the study, for further research into the subject of Akan-English code-switching and related situations in Ghana.

Some of these ideas have barely been hinted at, others briefly touched on, in the foregoing discussions. The suggestions here are by no means exhaustive, and it is anticipated that, under careful investigation, they, in turn, may call for still further suggestions. The results of these investigations should benefit both theoretical and applied linguistics.

(I) Code-switching between other Akan dialects and English: The study has mainly looked at code-switching between the Akan language (as a whole) and English. In the process, only three dialects--Akuapem, Asante, and Fante (the written ones)--were referred to. Further studies could be done on code-switching between other specific Akan dialects--Agona, Akyem, Kfawu, etc.--and English. These could be studied in their own right--e.g.,
Agona-English code-switching, Akyem-English code-switching, Kwawu-English code-switching, etc. There could also be a comparative study of these in various combinations.

(II) **Code-switching according to types of linguistic backgrounds and practices:** In most Ghanaian homes, the parents usually share the same Ghanaian language, and frequently the same dialect, but occasionally, they may have different language backgrounds, e.g., two different Ghanaian languages or a Ghanaian language and a non-Ghanaian language. As a result of any of the above, or other reasons, different 'language policies' exist in various homes. Among them are the following:

(i) homes where only English is used by all members;

(ii) homes where both the L1 and English are used by all members;

(iii) homes where the parents speak only English to the children, but the couple use the L1 between themselves; and

(iv) (potentially but unattested) homes where the parents use the L1 (or L1s, in the case of parents with different languages) with the children, but use English between themselves.

A study could be made of the acquisition of, quantity of, and attitudes towards code-switching in each of these situations.
(III) Code-switching by sex and age(-group): This study did not specifically do much about code-switching differences between the sexes and age-groups. It is possible that code-switching could vary significantly with the sex and/or age of the speakers. There could be a study among four basic groups of Akans, for a start, as follows: Akan-English code-switching among

(i) Akan men,
(ii) Akan women,
(iii) Akan boys,
(iv) Akan girls.

A comparison could later be made between the groups.

(IV) Code-switching by generations of Akan-English bilinguals: Before 1950, Ghanaian languages were the medium of instruction for the most part in Ghana's elementary education system (and elementary education was all that most people had: secondary schools and colleges were very rare). Ghanaian languages were taken seriously, and English remained, for the most part, only a subject of instruction.

With the Accelerated Development Plan in the early 1950s, English became both the medium and a subject of instruction, and the emphasis on the teaching, learning, and use of Ghanaian languages was consequently reduced.
A study of code-switching among pre-1950 Akan-English bilinguals, on the one hand, and the post-1950 breed on the other, should reveal interesting characteristic differences in the nature and content of, as well as the attitudes towards, code-switching by representatives of these broad generations.

(V) Code-switching according to different educational levels: In Appendix A, we briefly investigated the code-switching practices of bilinguals with different educational backgrounds: (a) up to elementary school education, and (b) above-secondary school, etc. up to university level. Using Appendix A as a model, a more delicate and complete study can be made of code-switching among Akan on lines, such as

(i) elementary school;
(ii) professional institutions--teacher training, nurses training, etc.;
(iii) technical schools;
(iv) university.

Among the points to be studied will be the varieties in code-switching according to different levels of education and according to specific disciplines or academic interests.

(VI) Code-switching according to subject matter: In Chapter Four, we listed 'subject matter' as one of the chief factors relevant to Akan-English code-switching.

275
We have not, so far, made any distinctions involving various subjects which code-switching typically handles. A study can be made of the differences in code-switching involving, for example, economics, politics, sports, and entertainment.

(VII) Code-switching by location: It has been casually observed that the Akan-English code-switching used on the campuses of the universities has some characteristics which are different phonologically and lexically, at least, from code-switching elsewhere (e.g., at beer bars). A more systematic study of code-switching at locations similar to these—at school, at home, at sports arenas, in the streets, etc.—may reveal differences beyond the subject matter related to these locations.

(VIII) Acquisition: Only one case of the acquisition of code-switching has been considered in this study—that of a 7–8-year-old boy in a boarding school setting. This cannot be said to be representative.

A more systematic and elaborate investigation may be undertaken of the acquisition of code-switching,

(i) by children according to types of schools attended: (a) boarding, (b) day "international", (c) regular day (public); and

(ii) by adults who acquire English late, e.g., on the job.
(IX) Using code-switching in teaching Akan as a second language to speakers of English: We have observed (Chapter Five) that in typical Akan-English code-switching, the Akan grammatical system and items are preferred. Lexical items may be either Akan or English. Therefore, any Akan-English code-switcher believes himself (or expects to be assumed) to be speaking Akan. From this, we have suggested that if we say a person is speaking a particular language (but not others), we are only saying he is using the grammatical system and items of that language, and not necessarily its lexicon.

Based on this, we can propose a pedagogical use for code-switching. English-speaking learners of Akan as a second/foreign language can start off by learning the grammatical system of Akan only, as a first step. They can then start communicating with Akan-English bilinguals. This can be attempted with, for instance, the numerous English-speaking foreigners who, on their arrival in Ghana, first settle for weeks at the University of Ghana, receiving an orientation to Ghana that usually includes an introduction to a Ghanaian language, often Akan.

The rationale behind this proposal is that these foreigners only want conversational Akan (and normal code-switching is only conversational), and the grammatical system and items are smaller and simpler to learn than the lexicon or the entire language.
A sample procedure (subject to modification) would be the teaching of relevant aspects of:

(i) **Akan Phonological System**, e.g.,
   (a) consonant and vowel system;
   (b) syllable structure;
   (c) vowel harmony.

(ii) **Akan Morphology and Syntax**, e.g.,
   (a) the pronoun system—subject, object, possessive;
   (b) the tense/aspect morphemes—
       prefixes: progressive, perfect, future, negative, imperative;
       suffix: past;
   (c) serialization of verbs;
   (d) word order.

(iii) **Rules:**
   (a) all verbs considered as regular verbs;
   (b) use of Akan grammatical items ((i) and (ii) above), except when whole clauses or sentences are in English;
   (c) keeping English plural morphemes with English nouns;
   (d) learning of Akan lexical items, beginning with the most frequently used.
With this approach the English-speaking student of Akan as a foreign/second language can more quickly begin to use the language, gradually increasing his vocabulary and general performance proficiency in Akan.

Such a student can be expected to meet with some problems, just as all learners of new languages do. For example, some of the English lexical items he uses at the beginning may have Akan counterparts that are so common that they would not ordinarily be replaced in code-switching. The imperfections, however, will wear off as the student's vocabulary expands and he gets to observe the constraints and characteristics discussed in Chapter Five.

(X) The suggestions in (I) to (IX) above may be applied to code-switching involving other Chanaian languages and English.

The above suggestions are only a few examples of the possibilities for research into different facets of code-switching in the bilingual setting in Ghana. In this sense, the whole of the present exercise may be regarded as only an introduction to, and a stimulus for the study of, the subject.
ABBREVIATIONS USED

1. Dialects of Akan:
   - Ap.: Akuapem
   - As.: Asante
   - Fa.: Fante

2. Grammatical Items:
   (a) Tense/Aspect:
       - FU: Future
       - PA: Past
       - PF: Perfect
       - PR: Progressive
       - FR: Fronting (including focusing and topicalizing)
       - IMP: Imperative
       - ING: Ingressive
       - NEG (or NG): Negative (including /n-/ and the Fante clause-final particle bi)
       - TNS: Tense (indicating morphemes which express different tenses with the NEG, e.g., a-, re-, –i)

   (b) Others:
       - Anim: Animate
       - Inan: Inanimate
       - EAS: Extra Asante Suffix
       - V: Epenthetic Vowel
       - INT: Intensifier
       - COV: Covered (referring to vowels in vowel harmony)
       - ADJ: Adjective
       - ADV: Adverb
       - DEM: Demonstrative
       - N: Noun
       - Vb: Verb
       - SUB: Subordinating Conjunction

   (Other abbreviations refer to initials of speakers' or authors' names).
A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

Examples in this study are transcribed mostly in the regular orthographies in English and Akan dialects currently in use (with slight modifications where necessary for clarity). In certain sections, broad phonetic transcription is used. In both cases, Akan and code-switched examples are glossed and translated. English portions appearing in code-switching and Akan suffixes attached to them are phonetically transcribed in square brackets and underlined. English items not in phonetic transcription are those that have nothing to do with discussions in phonology and usually do not show any effects of the Akan phonological system.

Tone-Marking: Two tone marks are used: "\" for low, and "/" for non-low.

(a) Low tones at the beginning of utterances are not marked. The first low tone after every non-low tone is marked (\), e.g.,

\Wofa Yaw Asare da ha \nè ho \ .
Uncle Yaw Asare sleep here and there.
'Uncle Yaw Asare sleeps here and there'
in which only ha and ho are non-low tones.

(b) A Non-low tone is either High or Down-step, a high following another high but one step in pitch lower than the preceding one. Both high and down-step are
marked (\`).

(c) Unmarked syllables have the same pitch level as the previous marked syllable. Examples:

(i) me-da wo ase papaapa.
    I -lie you under very much.
    'Thank you very much.'

(in which all the syllables in the last item, papaapa, are equally high, and all the syllables preceding it equally low).

(ii) Ama a -bôw a -fé a -dà .
    Ama PF-be drunk PF-vomit PF-sleep.
    'Ama has got drunk, vomitted and slept.'

(in which 'A-' in 'Ama' is the highest syllable, every succeeding marked syllable is one step lower than the previously marked one(s), but every unmarked syllable is the same height as the preceding one).
FOOTNOTES

1 diglossia: a term used by Fergusson (1959) to describe a relatively stable situation in which bilinguals of certain communities (e.g., Haiti-French, Swiss-German) consistently use two varieties of the same language in different situations: the H ('high') variety is usually used in formal situations, e.g., rituals, and the L ('low') variety in informal situations, e.g., conversations between peers.

2 registers: varieties of language according to social setting—speakers, subject matter, degree of formality, social function, etc. This differs from 'diglossia' in terms of stability: in 'diglossia' a set of roles requires a specific variety with a set of grammar, vocabulary, etc.; but registers are not so stable and depend on a lot more factors than 'diglossia' situations. There are also unlimited registers within most people's repertoire. Registers occur in both bilingual and monolingual speech; 'diglossia' occurs only in bilingual communities.

3 'S-E' 1 to 15: Examples of Spanish-English code-switching quoted from Timm (1975) and Pfaff (1977). The letters 'S-E' do not appear in the original works, and the numbering (1-15) here does not correspond to theirs; it is mine.

4 Akan colors: Akans frequently use English color names because there are only three "indigenous" Akan colors: (a) kɔkɔɔ (F: also mémen) 'red'; (b) tuntum 'black'; (c) fitaa (F: also fufuw; As: also fufuo 'white'). These represent wider spectra than the English translations indicate: (a) generally relatively bright colors (e.g., between yellow and blue/black/white, yellow could be kɔkɔɔ); (b) relatively dark, e.g., blue could be tuntum compared with orange or white; (c) relatively pale, e.g., cream could be fitaa compared with red, but it could also be kɔkɔɔ compared with white.

5 Christaller (1933) is a republication of a work first published in 1931.

6 Hausa: It has often been pointed out in general discussions that Hausa is not a Chanaian language, but rather the language of northern Nigeria and the northern parts of some other West African Countries and that of
countries north of Ghana, e.g., Upper Volta. Since it is the Ll of some people who consider themselves to be, and are generally recognized as, northern Ghanaians, and since it is one of only a few local languages used in radio and television programs, I find it convenient to consider it a Ghanaian language, at least for the purpose of this study.

7 In example b.iv under 3.4.2, 'John' gets an epenthetic vowel: /jɔn-u/. For more on epenthetic vowels, see under 5.1.

8 Day names: Akans are named, among other methods, according to the day of the week they are born on, and their sex. Each Akan has, therefore, one of the following 14 names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Kwasi; As: Akwasi (Kwesi)</td>
<td>Akosua (Esi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Kwadwo (Kodwo)</td>
<td>Adwoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Kwabená (Købená, Ebó)</td>
<td>Abena (also Árabá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Kwakú (Kwékú)</td>
<td>Akuá (Ekuá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Yaw (Kwaw/Ekw)</td>
<td>Yaa (Ába)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>Afua (Efúwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Kwámè (Kwáméná)</td>
<td>Ámá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Items in parentheses are Fante forms.)

9 Rank scale: a term used in Halliday's 'Scale and category' grammar (Kress (ed.) 1976) referring to the five grammatical categories hierarchically arranged, in descending order: the sentence, the clause, the phrase (or group), the word, the morpheme—each higher unit "consisting of" the unit next below it.

10 The negative progressive tense frequently also takes the form of either a negated PAST, e.g., mbae, or a negated PROGRESSIVE, e.g., remba (As: mba). Negation in Akan in general, and of the progressive in particular, is so notoriously unsystematic that it has usually been neglected or only casually mentioned in Akan grammars. Christaller (1933) and Akrofi say the negative for the progressive (Akrofi: ensii kabea) is the same as that of the habitual (Akrofi: mprempren kabea). Thus Akrofi's
paradigm (from his examples, page 63) would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yiw ('Positive')</th>
<th>Ngoo ('Negative')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mprenpren</strong></td>
<td><strong>Onyɛ adwuma</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Habitual')</td>
<td>'He works'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He doesn't work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ensii</strong></td>
<td><strong>Onyɛ adwuma</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Progressive')</td>
<td>'He's working'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He's not working'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is not exactly the case in actual usage in Akuapem today. To the question *ray adwuma? 'Is he working' asked 12 times, I had the following answers:

(a) *ɔ-n ɛ卑ɛ hwee /adwuma (6)
    he-NG-do-PA nothing/work.
(b) ɔ-re-n ɛ卑ɛ hwee /adwuma (5)
    he-PR-NG-do nothing/work.
(c) *ɔ-n ɛ卑 hwee (1)
    he-NG-do nothing.

'He's not doing anything ('nothing')/He's not working.'

The last one (c), confirming Akrofi's claim was from a linguist who had also written grammar books on Akuapem. He didn't reject answers (a) and (b) in a later conversation though.

Rapp (1936) discusses and gives examples of all tenses, but does not mention the progressive.

Welmers (1944) suggests that the progressive tense (in Fante) is negated by a direct N- affixation before the verb root; and has the same form as the negative--future tense; hence his examples (page 55):

"orida 'He's sleeping' onni nda 'He's not sleeping' wobeda 'They'll sleep'"

(A possible typographical error further suggests that in the negative, orida and wobeda have the same subject pronoun; Following Welmers' orthographical system, the negative for wobeda was presumably meant to be given as wonni nda).
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A: Yiw
Yes
'Yes.'

J: Mo nyinaa, mu -m -mu. [redi, go] ! Me-ma mo
You all, you-IMP-work. ready, go ! I -give you
[ten minutes]. (After about four minutes, when all
ten minutes.
have finished), [stop we:k] ! Obia'a n -gyael
stop work ! Everybody IMP-stop!
(Marks)... o-kee, obia'a twa -a ne nyinaa.
o.k., everybody score-PA them all.
Mo -a -yε ade . A'-ka [diktesin]. Obia'a
You-PF-do something. PF-leave dictation. Everybody
m -fa ne [pepa an pensil].
IMP-take his paper and pencil.

'All of you, ready, go! You have ten minutes for it
(After 4 minutes...) Stop Work! Everybody should
stop. (Corrects). O.k. Everybody got all correct.
Well done. We have dictation next. Get your paper
and pencil ready everybody.'

B: Me-e -kɔ-yε ade .
I -PF-go-do something.

'I'm going to do something (=help in the kitchen).''