

Bilingual Code-Switching, An Indication Of First Language Attrition: The Case Of Twi-English Code-Switching Among Students Of Some Ghanaian Schools

Isaac Danquah Darko, M.Phil.

Ghana Technology University College, Ghana

Abstract

This research explores how the contact between English and Twi, the most widely spoken indigenous Ghanaian language, has resulted in infusion of English lexical items in Twi expressions (Twi-English code-switching). Using a computed discourse test from oral recording of naturally occurring speeches, the study analyses how well the educated Ghanaian youth can express his/her Twi-English code-switching in exclusive Twi. With a population of fifty (50) students from ten (10) Ghanaian senior high schools the research reveals that there is lack of competency and fluency in Twi, the ancestral language - Respondents, the majority of who cited Twi as first language were unable to express their Twi-English utterances in exclusive Twi, although Twi has enough lexical items to exclusively express same meanings given by the Twi-English utterances. This research concludes therefore that incompetency is a major contributory factor for the Twi-English code-switching among Ghanaian students. From another angle it could be said that frequent/regular code-switching of Twi and English has gradually lead to decay/attrition in Twi the ancestral language. The Study further proves that incompetent bilinguals can perfectly code-switch depending on the motivations available.

Keywords: Code-switching/mixing, Lexical Borrowing, Ancestral Language, Matrix Language, Embedded Language.

Introduction

Ghana has over 40 indigenous languages belonging to the Gur and Kwa sub-families of the Niger Kordofonian language family (Huber, 2008)

Apart from the indigenous languages which include Twi, Fante, Ga, Ewe, Dangme, Nzema, Dagaare, Dagbani, Kasem and Gonja, Ghanaians, especially the educated ones speak English too. The English language has

been with Ghanaians since the 1950's when the British arrived on the Gold Coast. It is the language of government administration and education – it is the de-facto official language. As an international language, English is prestigious and marks authority, education and refinement. English is spoken as a second language largely by the educated Ghanaian, although those who have not been to school before use some English expressions they have acquired especially through the electronic media. Most educated Ghanaians are therefore bilingual in the indigenous languages and English, the second language which is acquired through formal education. There is a small group of Ghanaians however who acquire English first since that is the language in which their parents communicate with them. They later learn the indigenous languages through friends and other relations. These are usually the children of the elite, and this practice is influencing most urban dwellers.

Ghanaians, like all bilinguals, code-switch, and typical of this is the switch between English and the indigenous languages. Twi is a major variety of Akan, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana. Akan, according to Ansah (2008) is spoken by 40.1% of the population as a first language while many others use it as a second or third language. Twi-speaking educated Ghanaians usually code-switch in Twi and English. This, experts consider as a normal feature of bilinguals, and various factors have been given as motivation. However while code-switching is considered as a feature of competent/proficient bilinguals, experts like Poplack (1980), Nortier (1990), Singh (1995), and Winford (2003) are of the view that it can be indicative of decay or lack of proficiency/competency in a language, especially first/ancestral language – First language attrition.

This research therefore seeks to find out if lack of proficiency or competence in Twi, the ancestral language, is also a motivation for, or cause of the Twi-English code-switching by the educated Ghanaian youth. This is based on the premise that when languages come into contact, the result or outcome could be varying - language shift, language maintenance or language death. Winford (2003: 258) provides as signs of first language death or attrition, reduction in the language's number of speakers and domains of use – 'quantitative attrition,' and show of incompetency by increasing number of speakers – 'qualitative attrition.'

'Qualitative attrition' may however present itself in the form of code-switching where one cannot express meaning without code-switching – code-switching becomes indispensable. This, Hamers and Blanc (1989: 149) consider as "incompetence code-switching." Thus 'Qualitative attrition' is marked by what I would like to refer to as "indispensable code-switching" – meaning cannot be expressed without it. Code-switching may therefore indicate decay in the proficiency or competency in a language – usually the

AL or L1. In other words code-switching could be indicative of language shift or attrition.

As Winford (2003:260) puts it “During the period of primary language shift, L2 elements increasingly intrude into AL encouraged by frequent code-switching and code-mixing. L2 dominance bilinguals are the chief agents of the diffusion of L2 lexicon and structure into the AL”

Ancestral language is the indigenous language of a people. It is usually the L1 of the people. Twi is an ancestral Ghanaian language, while English is a second language.

Statement of the problem

Most educated Ghanaians are bilingual in English and indigenous Ghanaian languages. Like all bilinguals the educated Ghanaian code-switches in English and the indigenous or ancestral language(s). Thus the educated Ghanaian who speaks Twi, for instance infuses his Twi expressions with English words and expressions – code-switching.

Code-switching may be used to fill a lexical gap, when a speaker cannot find an appropriate word or expression, or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translation for the vocabulary needed. It can also be used to exclude someone from a conversation, change the role of a speaker or show confidentiality or anger. Moreover code-switching may show and emphasize group identity or speaker involvement. In some situations however the reasons for code-switching cannot be ascertained. This usually involves intra-sentential code-switching or metaphorical code-switching (code-mixing). This kind of code-switching is a style and a feature of bilinguals who are proficient or competent in both languages that are used in the switch.

However as much as code-switching is a feature of proficient bilinguals, researchers such as Poplack (1980), Nortier (1990), Singh (1995), and Winford (2003) believe it could be a sign of incompetence in one of the languages (the matrix language). The Twi-English code-switching among Ghanaians could therefore be a signal that Twi, the ancestral language is in the process of decay. Most educated Ghanaian speakers of Twi infuse their Twi expressions with English words and expressions, even if the same ideas are possible to express in Twi exclusively. Concerning this result situation of the contact between the indigenous or ancestral languages and the English language, Asilevi (1990:2) observed:

The habit of code-switching in Ewe and English has become an integral part of the communicative performance, and has permeated the informal speech of the bilingual youth, that one can rightly speculate that it will be no distant time when an Ewe native speaker

ought to have some knowledge of English before he can function in his own speech community.

It is worth noting that this situation is not exclusive to the Ewe language. It extends to all the indigenous or ancestral Ghanaian languages including Twi. Twi-English code-switching by the educated Ghanaian youth as much as could be attributed to proficiency, could also be due to difficulty in selecting appropriate Twi lexical items to convey meaning. Thus, in spite of the various social motivations for code-switching, the Twi-English code-switching by the educated Ghanaian youth may be mainly due to lack of proficiency in Twi, the ancestral language. Such information will be revealing and useful in policy formulation and national development.

Purpose of the study

Code-switching is a normal and common feature of bilingual interaction. This according to Muysken (1995) requires high bilingual competence. The bilingual needs to be more competent to code-switch. This notwithstanding, code-switching could be due to lack of proficiency or competence – language decay (Poplack, 1980; Nortier, 1990; Singh, 1995; Winford, 2003). Thus code-switching indicates either the presence or absence of proficiency/competency. This research therefore sought to find whether the Twi-English code-switching by the educated Ghanaian youth is a mark of competency, or decay in Twi, the ancestral language. The finding will inform policy makers and implementers of the situation and way forward so as to take informed decisions.

Research questions

This research acknowledges that bilinguals have various motivations for code-switching. However experts like Poplack (1980), Nortier (1990), Singh (1995), and Winford (2003) believe that just like competency or proficiency, decay of a language could result in code-switching – ‘indispensable code-switching.’ This work aimed to find whether the Twi-English code-switching by the educated Ghanaian youth is that of competent and proficient bilinguals, or that of incompetent bilinguals, and for that reason ‘indispensable code-switching.’

Questions that were asked to ensure successful research included:

- Are the educated Ghanaian youth aware that they code-switch?
- Why do the educated Ghanaian youth code-switch?
- Is difficulty to find appropriate lexical items in Twi a reason for the Twi-English code-switching?
- What perceptions do they have of people who code-switch?

Theoretical norms and review of literature

Code-switching has had many diverse definitions from different scholars who have conducted studies into it. Haugen (1973: 521) defines code-switching as “the alternate use of two languages including everything from the introduction of a single unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more into the context of another language.” It is also “multi-word sequences that are lexically, syntactically and morphologically unadapted to recipient language.” (Poplack, 1988: 97) This could be “the selection by bilinguals of forms from an embedded variety of utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3) According to Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7), code-switching is “the alternate use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation.” It is worth noting that in all the definitions, experts consider one basic point as prerequisite for code-switching: Two or more languages are involved in the same conversation. Code-switching is thus the use of two or more codes in the same context of conversation. This may have variations. It may occur between turns of the same speaker or different speakers. According to Amuzu (1998) switching within a turn takes two forms: the one occurring between monolingual complement phrases of different languages, referred to as inter-sentential code-switching, and the other within a single complement phrase, referred to as intra-sentential code-switching. In intra-sentential code-switching (code-mixing), morphemes from two or more languages co-occur within the same structure of a complement phrase.

According to Winford (2003), although most scholars wouldn't consider the use of different languages in different situations like those found in diglossic speech communities (P. 102), and “interference” (P.109) as code-switching, he (2003: 114) believes that “changing constellation of the components of domain of diglossic situations can lead to varying degrees of code-switching resulting in contact induced changes in both varieties.” (P. 114) and for that reason “it may seem somewhat arbitrary to reserve the term code-switching only for skilled bilingual behavior and exclude phenomena associated with process of shift and second language acquisition.” Indeed code-switching should not be reserved for only proficient bilinguals, since language incompetency, decay or attrition can result in it.

Motivations for Code-Switching

Code-switching has been used by experts to refer to varying types of language mixture. Winford (2003: 102) on this issue claims “code-switching is therefore a cover-term for quite varied types of bilingual and bidialectal language mixture, resulting from quite different social circumstances and motivations.” In his attempt to define it therefore, he asserts that, “in general, then, code switching is taken as referring only to those cases where bilingual

speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn, or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance.” (P.103)

This means that code-switching on the one hand involves switches which occur within the same sentence; a mixture of lexical items from two languages within the same sentence - Intra-sentential code-switching. On the other hand it involves switches that occur between sentences – Inter-sentential code-switching.

According to Winford (2003) the social factors that influence code-switching have basically been studied under three major frameworks: the sociology of language, linguistic anthropology, and social psychology of language choice. Under these frameworks, insight is provided on how social institutions and relationship, interpersonal relationships, goals, interaction types and speech accommodation influence patterns of code-switching. Code-switching can be done to fill a lexical gap. This is usually when a language does not have an appropriate word or expression. The speaker therefore resorts to the language at his or her disposal that has the appropriate word or expression to give the meaning (s)he wants to convey. In some contexts, code-switching is a means to exclude someone from a conversation. In such a situation a speaker switches to a code which disallows some of his hearers to get the message (s)he puts across. One can also code-switch to change his role as a speaker: raise status, add authority, show expertise or refinement. This is usually when one of the languages is considered more prestigious than the others and thus marks one as such. Confidentiality, anger and annoyance may also be expressed through code-switching. Certain concepts, ideas and emotions are best expressed in one language than in the other. In a conversation therefore one quickly switches to the language in which (s)he can better express what (s)he wants to express. On the other hand, one may code-switch to mark and emphasize group identity and speaker involvement – to show that the group shares a common language and that (s)he the speaker is one of the group’s members. This may be done to get favour, be accepted, and be agreed with. Holmes (1992) believes switches often simultaneously serve several functions: they can emphasize the precise message content (affective function) as well as signal ethnic identity (referential function). The type of code-switching for which reason(s) can be identified or assigned, is referred to as situational code-switching. Metaphorical code-switching (code-mixing) according to Holmes (1992) however can be used to draw on different associations of the two codes. Each of the codes represents a set of social meanings and the speaker draws on the association of each code. Code-mixing suggests the speaker mixing codes indiscriminately or because of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social

meanings of the two codes. This is a style of conversation among bilinguals to convey effective meaning and information. Distinction therefore must be drawn between switches involving competent or proficient bilinguals and those that reflect lack of proficiency in a language – switches that are as a result of lack of knowledge of the vocabulary of a language.

Many experts also distinguish code-switching by competent or proficient bilinguals and various kinds of mixture found in imperfect second language acquisition – “bilingual code-switching” and “incompetence code-switching” respectively. According to Hamers and Blanc (1989: 149) “incompetent code-switching” is usually the case of speakers who have acquired a limited functional competence in L2, and thus have to resort to their L1 to compensate for their lack of adequate knowledge in the L2.

This can also be in the case of people who have lost some of their competence in L1 and thus resort to L2 to fill the gaps. Poplack (1987: 72) also provides a distinction between the kinds of mixture associated with fluent bilinguals, from speech errors which involve elements of both languages and which may be properly considered “interference.” Similarly, Winford (2003) believes that it would be arbitrary to reserve the term code-switching only for skilled bilingual behavior and exclude phenomena associated with process of shift and second language acquisition. This indicates the difficulty associated with the description of interlanguage phenomena in the frameworks of bilingual code-switching.

Bilingual code-switching however can be described by rules and constraints similar to those of single language utterances. Single morpheme or single word switches which are associated with (intra-sentential) code-switching is similar to lexical borrowing. In some cases it is not clear whether the use of a word from one language in a sentence made in another language constitutes code-switching or borrowing. The degree of use of an element by monolingual speakers, and the degree of its integration into the structure of the language are the means for distinguishing lexical borrowing from code-switching. However, frequency count alone is not enough, just as morphophonemic integration is, in distinguishing borrowings from code-switching. Both borrowing and code-switching may or may not be morphologically and phonologically adapted to the recipient language (Myers-Scotton, 1993 b). Scholars are thus of different opinions as to what constitutes borrowing on the one hand, and code-switching (single morpheme) on the other. Sankoff and Poplack (1984) provide features of code-mixing and borrowing:

	Borrowing	Code-mixing
No more than one word	+	-
Adaptation: Phonological	± / +	±
Morphological	+	-
Syntactic	+	-
Frequent use	+	-
Replaces own word	+	-
Recognized as own word	+	-
Semantic change	+	-

Linguistically, various principles and constraints regulate (intra-sentential) code-switching.

The Equivalence Based Approach

Under the Equivalence Based Approaches, the Free Morpheme Constraint Predicts that a switch will not occur between a lexical stem and a bound morpheme: “codes may be switched after any constituent provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.” This is however no more the case if the stem has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. Thus “flikeando” – “flipping,” is possible in Spanish-English code-switching, while “runeando” – “running” is not (Winford, 2003).

The equivalence constraint stipulates that switches can occur only at points where the surface structures of the two languages coincide. Sankoff and Poplack (1981) are of the view that the grammar of a code-switch utterance is an independent one which incorporates grammatical rules of the two languages, however, distinct of either. This, Muysken (1997) refers to as ‘Congruent Lexicalization’ where the two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either languages.

The Government Based Approach

The government based approach to code-switching stipulates that mixing cannot occur when there is government relation between elements; mixing is possible only if there is no such relation between elements. The relationship between the head of a construction and its complement is what is referred to as government. For example, a noun is the head of a noun phrase and governs its complements. The government based approach just like the equivalence based approach has its weakness. Some definitions of government are too broad and therefore do not well account for the grammar of code-switching. For instance the free morpheme constraint has in some instances been defied resulting in switches between lexical stems and bound morphemes. E.g.: *a-footballer-fo* (Twi-English), meaning footballers.

The Production-Based Model

The production-based model of code-switching as opposed to the other approaches rather explains which constituents can be switched and why. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model of code-switching is an example of the production-based model. It claims that "code-switching constraints are set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realized" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:6). The MLF model stipulates that one of the languages involved in code-switching sets the grammar for the mixed elements. The language that sets the grammar is the Matrix Language (ML). The matrix language thus sets the morpheme order and the system morphemes. The other language whose elements are infused in the ML is the Embedded Language (EL). Myers-Scotton (1993b:7) provides the assertions of the MLF model as 'interrelated hypothesis:'

The Matrix Language Hypothesis states that the ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for the ML + EL constituents. This means that the morpheme order must not violate ML morpheme order. The system morphemes must come from the ML.

The Blocking Hypothesis states that the ML blocks the appearance of any content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.

The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis. Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under the ML hypothesis or the blocking hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.

The EL implicational hierarchy hypothesis indicates that optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.

In establishing the matrix language, earlier researchers, Doron (1983) and Joshi (1985) suggest a consideration of the first word in a sentence, while others like Klavans (1983) and Treffere-Daller (1991) claim the ML to be the language of the verb. However, such definitions could not be proven in several situations. (Winford, 2003). Myers-Scotton (1993b:68) considers the ML as "the language of more morphemes in the interaction types including intra-sentential code-switching." However she suggests that frequency count be based on a discourse sample rather than single sentences and that, cultural borrowings from the EL must not be counted as part of intra-sentential code-switching. Although all these definitions have their individual weaknesses, all the scholars who propounded them agree that there are some switches in which the ML is difficult to identify based on the criteria. Nortier (1990) therefore suggests that a working definition of the

ML must be based on more than one criterion. These include the first word of the utterance, the syntax of the sentence and the frequency of constituents from each language. If the ML is still doubtful after all these considerations, then it should be assumed that there is none. This is an indication that in some instances identification of the ML is problematic. It further shows that the MLF model focuses mainly on single-morpheme switches – switches that involve system morphemes and those that involve content morphemes. This research focuses on intra-sentential code-switching (code-mixing) which also involves single morpheme switches. The MLF is therefore adopted and applied in analysis of data. In spite of the exceptions to the hypotheses of the MLF and the fact that diverse opinions have been expressed on it, it gives the highest degree of truth in terms of predicting what occurs in intra-sentential code-switching. It gives a thorough examination of intra-sentential code-switching and serves as a basis for investigations in the subject.

Methodology and data collection

The data for this research were obtained from varying sources:

- Listening and analysis of natural speech
- Oral interview recordings
- Discourse completion test (involving transcribed responses of oral interview)

The different sources were used so as to get in-depth and authentic code-switching utterances used by the educated Ghanaian youth. Through stratified random sampling, fifty (50) Twi speaking SHS students were interviewed exclusively in Twi on current issues of football, selection of national team players and banning of mobile phone use by SHS students (Appendix 1). The SHS level was chosen for this research since students at that level have acquired the English language at an appreciable level and yet they are not so high on the academic ladder. Decay at this level would therefore indicate a serious problem since they are the future of the country. If there is decay at this level then by the time they complete tertiary institutions their lack of proficiency in the ancestral language will be grave. To ensure gender balance, 50% of the respondents were boys while the other 50% were girls. The responses to the interview questions, all of which contained Twi-English code-switching, were transcribed and used in a questionnaire for respondents to respond to. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to express the Twi-English expressions exclusively in Twi (Appendix II). This was to assess how respondents are able to express themselves in the ancestral language as much as possible without infusing English words.

Data analysis and discussion

Analysis of the naturally occurring speech of educated Ghanaian youth who speak Twi revealed that most, if not all, code-switch in Twi and English. In the oral recordings all the fifty respondents (100%) responded in Twi-English code-switch even though the questions were asked in monolingual Twi. The English words infused in most of the Twi utterances were not borrowed words, neither were they used to fill lexical gaps in the ancestral language; they were not situational code-switches. This is a clear indication that respondents mixed both languages so that they could express their thoughts. English is a prestigious language which has gained grounds to such a depth that the educated Ghanaian has to resort to it even in speaking the ancestral language. Out of the fifty (50) SHS students who answered the questionnaire five (5) were between the ages of ten and fifteen years (10 – 15 yrs.), forty-one (41) were between the ages of sixteen and twenty (16 – 20 yrs.), while four (4) were between twenty-one and twenty-five years (21 – 25 yrs.). They represent 10%, 82% and 8% respectively.

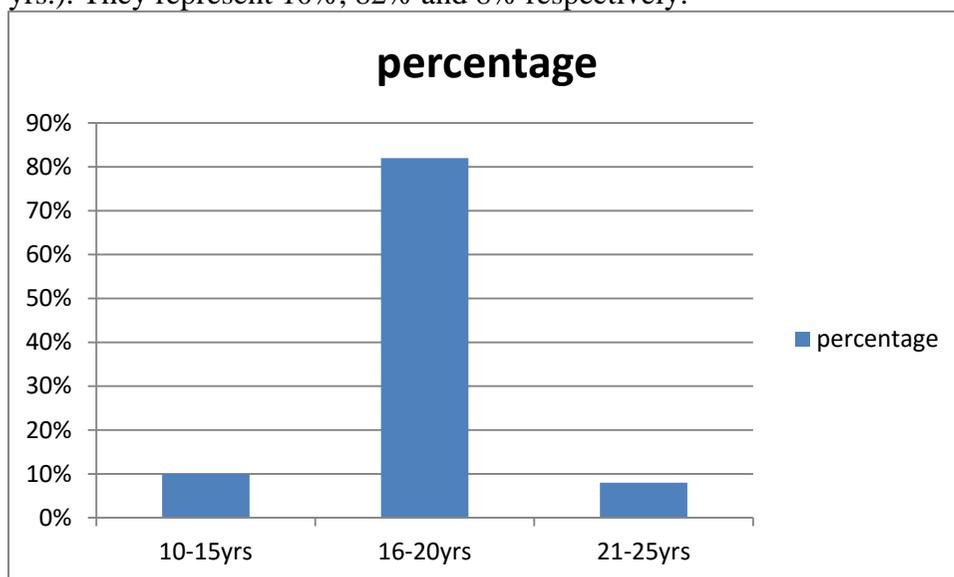


FIGURE 1 Frequency of ages of respondents

This shows that most of the respondents were in their teens, ages at which they should exhibit language proficiency. The majority acquired Twi as their first language, studied and obtained a pass in it at the BECE (Fig. 3 & 4). 84% acquired Twi as first language, 76% studied it at the J.H.S and 70% grew up in Twi (Akan) communities. They must therefore be among the educated of their age group who are proficient in Twi.

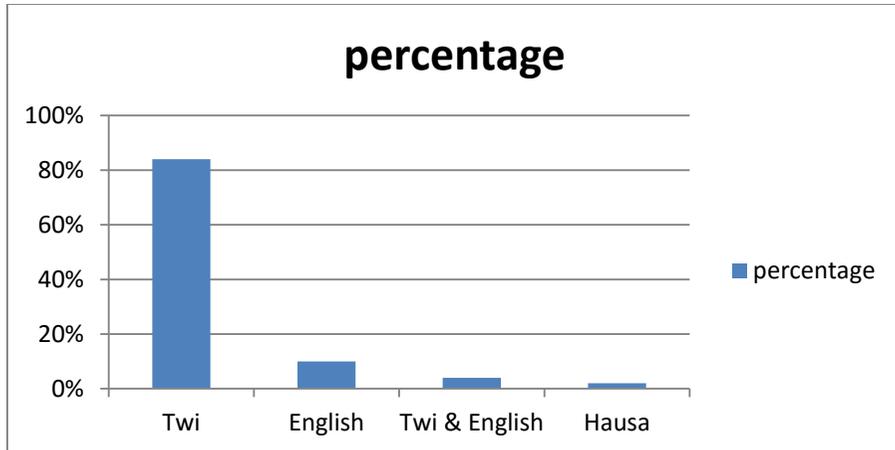


FIGURE 2 Frequency of respondents' first language

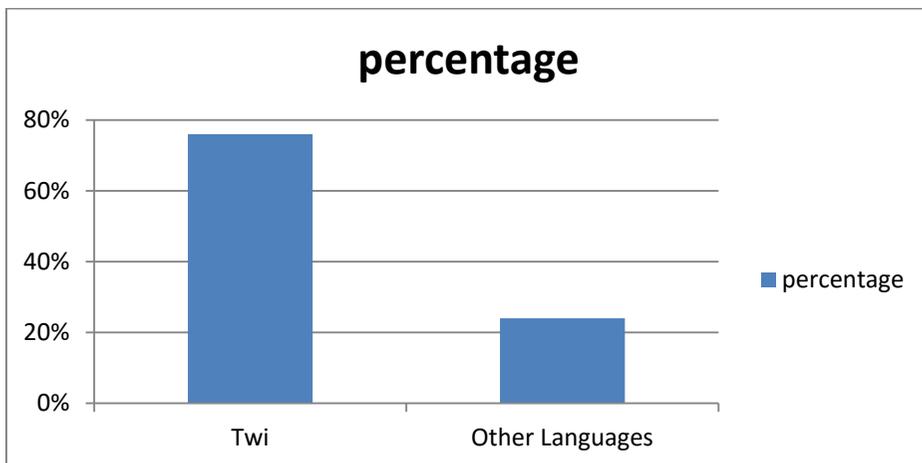


FIGURE 3 Frequency of Ghanaian language studied in basic schools

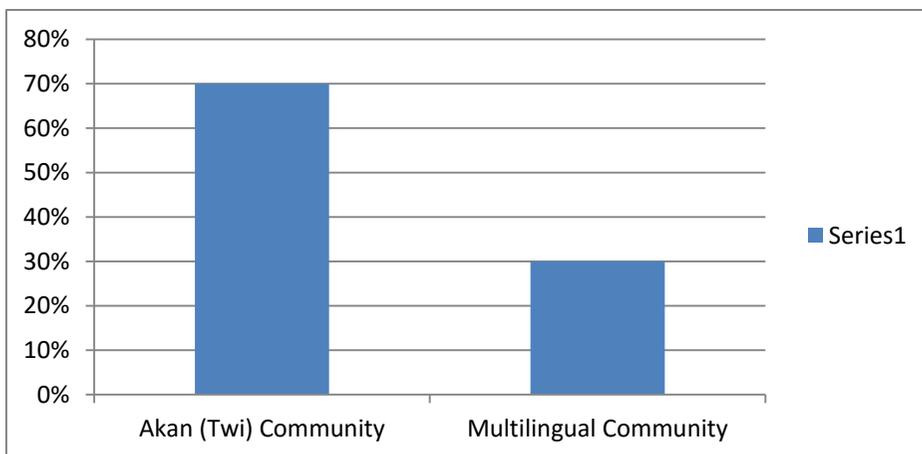


FIGURE 4 Frequency of language community in which respondents grew up

While 58% of respondents cited Twi as the language they are most fluent in, 14% cited English, and 28% claimed to be fluent in both Twi and English. However, even though 52% of respondents were able to restate most of the Twi-English code-switches in exclusive Twi, they found it extremely difficult. They spent unduly more time to think, recall and guess what Twi lexical items to use in place of the infused English items. They could not communicate effectively in exclusive Twi. This portrays lack of fluency and proficiency. The remaining 48% could not restate most of the Twi-English code-switches in exclusive Twi. 90% claimed awareness of their code-switching and admitted that they had difficulty (lack of competence or proficiency) in selecting appropriate words in Twi to convey meaning. Apart from lack of competence and proficiency, respondents gave other reasons for the Twi-English code-switch. It is a means to make utterances shorter, since a clause or phrase in Twi may be expressed by just a word in English. It is also used to raise one's status (to show off). In addition, the Twi-English code-switch is the language they have been bequeathed with. It is also a style or fashion. Some also infuse English words in their Twi utterances to fill lexical gaps in Twi and for accuracy sake, since the Twi words they know may not convey that exact meaning they want to put across. While some perceive Twi-English code-switching as a normal sign of educated speakers, the majority perceive it as a sign of incompetence in the ancestral language.

Conclusion

This research, acknowledging the social motivations for code-switching, aimed to find out if the Twi-English (intra-sentential) code-switching among educated Ghanaian youth, involves proficiency and competence in both languages, or lack of proficiency and competence in Twi the matrix and ancestral language. The data for the research were obtained from naturally occurring speeches of respondents through oral recordings. The transcription of the oral recordings was put into discourse test for respondents to answer. This revealed that the educated Ghanaian youth who speaks Twi codes-witches in Twi and English. The Twi- English code-switching is done for various reasons. Chief amongst them is lack of fluency and proficiency in Twi. English is prestigious and it is the language for education so the educated Ghanaian youth is more attached to it making him/her find it difficult to express him or herself without it. 10 % of respondent speak English as first language. Even though 84% has Twi as first language while 58% has it as the most fluently spoken language, they admitted having difficulty in selecting appropriate Twi lexical items to convey meaning. They therefore resort to English lexical items to enable them express their thoughts and feelings, hence the Twi-English code-

switching. It must then be that the 58% of respondents' claim of Twi as the most fluently spoken language refers to the Twi-English code-switching rather than monolingual Twi. They are neither fluent in monolingual Twi nor English. The Twi-English code-switching has become another tongue which is transmitted from one generation to another. It is not the preserve of competent bilinguals in Twi and English. The danger however is that in a formal context where it is expected to use as much as possible a monolingual language, it becomes extremely difficult to express one's self. Another revelation from this research is that the Twi-English code-switching is perceived as a normal language or style of the educated Ghanaian youth – showing refinement. This even convinces the uneducated to also use some Twi-English expressions so as to raise their status in some situations. Although Twi-English indicates lack of competence in monolingual Twi, it is considered as a sign of refinement and indicates that one is not 'local.' The youth fancy this; they are so much attached to it and their disuse of monolingual Twi has led to loss of Twi lexical items that are usually substituted with English items. This problem the research reveals stems from the negative attitudes to the indigenous languages. If steps are taken by all Ghanaians to change the negative attitude the case of Twi-English code-switching due to lack of proficiency in Twi will cease. The educated Ghanaian would be a competent and skillful bilingual who can express him or herself in monolingual Twi or English, as well as Twi-English code-switch which becomes a "3rd tongue."

References:

- Amuzu, E. K. (1998). *Aspects of Grammatical Structure in Ewe-English Codeswitching*. MPhil Thesis, University of Oslo, Norway.
- Ansah, G. N. (2008). "Linguistic Diversity in the Modern World. Practicalities and Paradoxes." *The International Journal of Language, Society and Culture* 26: 1-8.
- Asilevi, F. (1990). *English-Ewe Code-Mixing in Conversational Discourse: A Case of English as a Second Language in Ghana*. M. A. Disertation, University of Ghana.
- Doron, E. (1983). On a Formal Model of Code-switching. *Texas Linguistics Forum* 22, ed. by Mary Dalrymple, Edit Doron, John Goggin, Beverly Goodman and John McCarthy, 35-59. Austin, TX: University of Austin, Department of Linguistics.
- Hamers, J.F. & Blanc, M.H.A. (1989). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugen, E. (1973). Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report 1956-1970. *Current*

- Trends in Linguistics X. Linguistics in North America*, ed. by T. A. Sebeok, 505-91. The Hague: Mouton.
- Holmes, J. (1992). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. New York: Longman.
- Huber, M. (2008). Ghanaian English phonology. In *Varieties of English, vol. 4: Africa, South and South East Asia*, ed. R. Mesthrie, B. Kortmann and E. Schneider, 67-92. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Joshi, A. (1985) Processing of Sentences with Intrasentential Codeswitching. *Natural Language Parsing. Psychological Computational and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. by David R. Dowty, Lauri Karttunen and Arnold M. Zwicky, 190-205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klavans, J. L. (1983). "The Syntax of Code-switching." *Proceedings of the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*. Vol. 18. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Milroy, L. & P. Muysken. (1995) (eds.) *One Speaker, Two Languages, Cross-disciplinary Perspective on Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, P. (1995). Code-Switching and Grammatical Theory. In Milroy & Muysken P. (eds), *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, P. (1997). "Code-mixing: Constraints and Strategies." Paper Presented at *the First International Symposium on Bilingualism*, held in Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K., April 1997.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993a). *Social Motivations for Code-Switching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1993b). *Duelling Languages. Grammatical Structures in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Nortier, J. (1990a). Dutch-Moroccan Arabic Code-Switching among Moroccans in the Netherlands. Dordrecht: Foris
- (1990b). Code-switching and borrowing. Paper presented at the Workshop on Ethnic Minority Languages, Gilze-Rijen
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in English y Termino en Espanol: Towards a Typology of Code-switching. *Linguistics* 18. 581-618.
- (1987). Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities. In E. Wande, J. Anward, B. Nordberg, L. Steensland, and M. Thelander (eds), *Aspects of Bilingualism: Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism, 1984*. Uppsala: Borgström, Motala, 51-76.

..... (1988). *Conséquence Linguistiques du Contact de Langues: un Modèle d' Analyse Variationniste*. Langue et Société

..... & D. Sankoff. (1984). Borrowing: the synchrony of integration. *Linguistics* 22

(1) 99-135. Sankoff, D. & S. Poplack. (1981). A Formal Grammar for Codeswitching. *Papers in Linguistics: International Journal of Human Communication* 14(1). 3-45.

Singh, R. (1995): *Linguistic Theory, Language Contact, and Modern Hindustani: The Three Sides of a Linguistic Story*. New York: Peter Lang.

Trffers-Daller, J, (1991). "Towards a Uniform Approach to Code-switching and Borrowing." In *Papers for the Workshop on Constraints, Conditions and Models*. (Held in London, 27-29 September 1990) Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. 259-277.

Winford, D. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Blackwell Publishing.

APPENDICES

Interview Questions

1. Sen na wo hu Black-Stars mmødenmø wø akansie a wøn ne Holland sii no mu?
How do you assess Black-Stars' performance in their match against the Dutch national team?
2. Den asem na wo beka afa Laryea Kingston a onka Black-Stars ho no ho?
How do you consider the exclusion of Laryea Kingston in the Black-Stars team?
3. Den asem na wo beka afa asukuufo a yabra wøn wø mobile phone kita no ho?
What is your opinion on the banning of mobile phone use by students?

Questionnaire

Please tick or provide an answer if applicable.

- A.
1. Name:
 2. Age: 10yrs. – 15yrs. [] 16yrs. – 20yrs. [] 21yrs. – 25yrs. []
 3. Sex: Male [] Female []
 4. What language did you first acquire?
 5. What language(s) do you speak fluently?
 6. What ethnic group do you belong to?
 7. In what district or region were you brought up?
 8. What Ghanaian language did you study at J.S.S?
 9. What was your grade in the Ghanaian language?
- B. Now attempt to express the following in Twi exclusively:
1. *ɔye obi a o-support-i others ma wøn score goals.*
.....
 2. *emma wøn ntumi n-focus their attention on ade a wøn resua no so.*
.....
 3. *Se eye loud a e-distract other people's attention.*

-
- 4. Se ŋka ho a, otumi *motivate-i team* no.
.....
- 5. Nne mmōdenmō no ye *far more better than last week* de no.
.....
- 6. Nne de *they played according to plan*.
.....
- 7. Metee se ŋka ho no eyee me yaw pii, *because he is one of my favorites*.
.....
- 8. Na anka eye opportunity a ode be prove se ŋye good player.
.....
- 9. ebe affect-i ne dreams for the future.
.....
- 10. Se ŋntaa mmō *matches* no nye *enough excuse to drop him*.
.....
- 11. emmoa *both teachers ne students to concentrate on education very well*.
.....
- 12. *Though ŋye junior player w'acquire knowledge* no paa.
.....
- 13. Anka yeeka *first eleven* no a, *he is included*.
.....
- 14. Etumi boa ma obi *link ne parents*.
.....
- 15. Saa asem no de eye *very debatable*.
.....

- C.
- 1. Are you aware that you mix your Twi expressions with English words?
Yes [] No []
 - 2. Do you mix Twi expressions with English words because you find it difficult to select appropriate Twi words to convey the meaning you want to put across?
Yes [] No []
 - 3. What other reason(s) would you give for mixing Twi with English?
.....
.....
.....
 - 4. Are you aware that most Ghanaian Twi speakers mix Twi with English words?
Yes [] No []
 - 5. Do they mix Twi with English words because it is difficult for them to select appropriate Twi words to convey meaning?
Yes [] No []
 - 6. What are other reasons for which you think they mix Twi with English?
.....
.....
.....
 -7
 - 7. What is your perception of people who mix Twi expressions with English words?
.....
.....
.....