

**EWE-ENGLISH CODESWITCHING:  
A CASE OF COMPOSITE RATHER THAN CLASSIC  
CODESWITCHING**

**by**

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Except where it is otherwise acknowledged in  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a detailed investigation of grammatical structures in Ewe-English Codeswitching (CS). It assumes Myers-Scotton's ideas of *Matrix Language* (ML) and confronts the question *What is the ML in mixed constructions in Ewe-English CS?* In an attempt to answer this question, in relation to various types of mixed constructions, the study explores two types of ML hypothesis: the Ewe-only ML hypothesis and a composite ML hypothesis. The two hypotheses share common assumptions and subtle similarities but differ with regard to a few crucial theoretical considerations that by and large determine which of the two adequately and satisfactorily answers the research question.

The Ewe-only ML hypothesis says that Ewe-English CS is a case of *Classic CS*: Ewe lexemes project slots in Ewe grammatical frames into which English counterparts selected for CS are inserted. The composite ML hypothesis, on the other hand, says that Ewe-English CS is a case of *Composite CS*: English lexemes project their own slots in Ewe grammatical frames, in conformity with Ewe grammatical procedures. The study shows that the composite ML hypothesis answers the research question more satisfactorily. This finding represents a departure from the traditional way of looking at Ewe-English CS as Classic CS. It raises questions about the usefulness of notions like “matching lemmas”, “compromise strategies” and “Generalized Lexical Knowledge” (Myers-Scotton 2002) for Ewe-English CS as well as for CS from some other communities in post-colonial Africa.

Chapter 1 contains introductory material about the Ewe speech community and the language and about the type of CS data to be analyzed and the methodology used in collecting them. Chapter 1 is also a detailed review of background literature on the Matrix Language Frame model and the issues around which this dissertation will turn. Chapters 2 to 5 deal exclusively with CS grammatical analysis. Chapter 2 examines the nature of mixed copula constructions, Ewe-based constructions in which English-origin nonverbal predicative elements occur. Chapter 3 deals with mixed adnominal possessive constructions, Ewe-based constructions in which English-origin possessum nominals occur. Mixed Verb Phrases are discussed in Chapter 4 while Chapter 5 deals with the nature of morpheme distribution in mixed Noun Phrases. In Chapter 6, we turn to sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic issues in a bid to account for the speakers' motivations for using CS as pervasively as they are found to do. Concluding remarks appear in Chapter 7. Here the implications and significance of the study—especially the finding that Ewe-English CS is a case of Composite rather than Classic CS—are outlined. Areas in need of further research are also identified.

## ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

Addr	=	Addressive
aFOC	=	Argument Focus
ADJ	=	Adjective
AdvS	=	Adverbial Suffix
APC	=	Adnominal Possessive Construction
ASSOC	=	Associative
CARD	=	Cardinal
CL	=	Class
CLS	=	Clause
COMP	=	Complementizer
Conse	=	Consecutive
CP	=	Projection of Complementizer, Complement Phrase
CS	=	Codeswitching
DEF	=	Definiteness Marker
DEM	=	Demonstrative
FOC	=	Focus Marker
FUT	=	Future
HAB	=	Habitual
INDEF	=	Indefiniteness Marker
INT	=	Intensifier
INGR	=	Ingressive
LOG	=	Logophoric Pronoun
MASC	=	Masculine
N	=	Noun
NEG	=	Negative
NP	=	Nominal Phrase
NPRES	=	Non-Present
ORD	=	Ordinal
PAST	=	Past Tense
pFOC	=	Predicate Focus
PL	=	Plural Marker
por	=	Possessor
posm	=	Possessum
poss	=	Possessive Linker or Bridge System Morpheme

POT	=	Potential
PRES	=	Present Tense
PRO	=	Pronoun
PROG	=	Progressive
pt	=	Particle of uncertain grammatical function
Purp	=	purposive
Q	=	Question Marker
QT	=	Quantifier
RED	=	Reduplicative
REL	=	Relativiser
REP	=	Repetitive
sg	=	Singular
SUBJ	=	Subjunctive
TAM	=	Tense, Aspect and Mood
TP	=	Topic Marker
VP	=	Verb Phrase
∅	=	An element is omitted
1, 2, 3	=	First-, Second-, and Third- Persons.
[ ]	=	A Syntactic Constituent
{ }	=	An Embedded Constituent
(X)	=	X is optional
(*X)	=	Unacceptable if X included
*(X)	=	Unacceptable if X omitted
cf.	=	cofer
e.g.	=	for example
etc.	=	et cetera
i.e.	=	that is
lit.	=	literally

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The study defines codeswitching as the interaction of two grammars in a constituent frame. It is mainly concerned with grammatical aspects of Ewe-English Codeswitching. Its orientation is clearly theoretical. In Amuzu (1998), I employed Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993a) in analysing Ewe-English CS structures. In that study, I concluded that the codeswitching (CS) structures conform to the model's stipulations regarding what is termed "Classic CS". However, recent developments in the model (particularly the introduction of two new sub-models, the Abstract Level model and the 4-M model) have changed my views drastically. In this study, I make a case for viewing the CS structures as "Composite CS" structures instead.

My new position comes up against some assumptions central to the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model that make it almost anomalous to say that bilinguals like Ewe-English bilinguals use Composite rather than Classic CS. I will, however, demonstrate that the anomaly is rather with those assumptions and that Ewe-English bilinguals are not the only ones with their kind of bilingualism who use Composite CS. The MLF model and related literature are presented in section 1.4 where I also introduce what constitutes my shift of viewpoint. Section 1.5 outlines issues to be debated in subsequent chapters.

The study's interest in grammatical theory as applied to CS will not stop at exploring the MLF model. Some sections will be devoted to demonstrating that approaches that do not assume the notion of "matrix language" for CS constituents—such as the approach proposed by Shona Poplack—fail to adequately explain the nature of CS structures found in Ewe-English CS.

I also devote a chapter (Chapter 6) to exploring possible explanations for the speakers' (pervasive) use of CS.

### 1.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF EWE-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

Ewe [əβə] belongs to a sub-group of Kwa languages called *Gbe* that are spoken in Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. Of the *Gbe* languages, only Ewe is spoken in Ghana. Ewe is also spoken in Togo, but the present study concerns CS involving dialects of Ewe spoken in Ghana. The other languages in the *Gbe* cluster are Gen [gě] which is spoken in Togo, Aja [adʒa] and Xwla-Xweɖa [x<sup>w</sup>lax<sup>w</sup>ela] which are spoken in Togo and Benin and Fon [fɔ̃] or

Fongbe which is spoken in Benin and Nigeria<sup>1</sup>. Speakers of Ewe, the second largest ethnic group in Ghana following the Akan group, constitute approximately 13% of the country's population. Most of them, especially those who live outside their homeland (Volta Region), speak at least one more Ghanaian language, notably Akan.<sup>2</sup>

In Ghana the acquisition of English is “strongly associated with formal education and its use with the local arms of the national administration, and with government and international institutions...” (Dakubu 2000: 18).<sup>3</sup> This situation is largely the result of the fact that English is the official language and, presently, the sole medium of instruction from Primary 1.<sup>4</sup> Level of education may therefore be considered as an important index of a Ghanaian's length of exposure to the English language (although his/her level of proficiency in the language may be influenced by other factors as well). Following Forson (1979 and 1988), I consider Senior Secondary School (SSS) or equivalent education—approximately High School education—to be high enough for a Ghanaian to have been exposed long enough to English to speak it reasonably fluently. I call qualified Ewe speakers “Ewe-English bilinguals”.

Previous studies are agreed that Ewe-English bilinguals have native-level fluency in the grammar of Ewe. For instance, Asilevi (1990), who was highly critical of their vocabulary knowledge of Ewe, stopped short of saying that they are non-fluent in the grammar as well (see section 6.4.1, present study). Dzameshie (1994 and 1996) writes glowingly about their grammatical competence in both Ewe and English indicating, for instance, that their CS is “a reflection of [their] dual communicative competence..., [their] tacit knowledge of the grammaticality and acceptability of utterances in the two languages” (Dzameshie 1996: 9). Amuzu (1998) shares Dzameshie's view. Concerning the bilinguals' use of CS, these studies found (as other studies of CS in Ghana<sup>5</sup> also did about other codeswitchers) that they use it pervasively in in-group interactions. We take up the issue of motivations for CS in Chapter 6.

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<sup>1</sup> See Ameka 1991 for a map of the region.

<sup>2</sup> A report from a survey of 381 Ewe-English bilinguals regarding their bilingualism and language socialization patterns appears in Appendix 2. The questionnaire that was administered to them is reproduced in Appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, there are a few people who acquire fluency in English informally because they find themselves in home networks in which English is the dominant language. Classic examples of such people are young house-holds from ethnic backgrounds other than those of their host families who need to acquire English as the main language of daily interactions at home.

<sup>4</sup> Until mid 2002, Ghanaian languages were used in most primary schools as medium of instruction in Primary 1 – 3, but even at that time some schools, especially schools in parts of multilingual Accra, used English for formal instruction from Primary 1.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Forson 1979, 1988 and Mensah 1992 on Akan-English CS; and Nartey 1982 on Daŋme-English CS, etc.

## 1.3 TYPES OF DATA CONSIDERED

### 1.3.1 Primary data (Out-group data)

#### 1.3.1.1 Introduction

The previous studies of Ewe-English CS have relied exclusively on data gathered in in-group interactions of the bilinguals. This was done largely for two reasons: (a) because of the belief that the bilinguals used CS pervasively *only* in in-group interactions and (b) because it was easy to obtain naturally-occurring recordings of such interactions (see e.g. Amuzu's 1998 experience). My pre-fieldwork feeling was that the assumption in (a) was untested and probably incorrect. The primary data I sought during my three-month fieldwork in Ghana (January-April 2002) were, therefore, of the out-group type. My plan was to obtain recordings of the bilinguals' verbal behaviour patterns during interactions with members of their out-group, Ewe speakers who are not educated and therefore speak little or no English. The rationale was not only to test the assumption in (a) above; I hypothesized that such data would provide a more balanced picture of the verbal behaviour of the bilinguals than we knew.

#### 1.3.1.2 Why interview rather than naturally-occurring out-group data

When I headed to Ghana to commence my fieldwork, my plan was to use my questionnaire survey to identify Ewe-English bilinguals (EEBs) who were living with out-group relatives. Questions (3f) and (3g) in the questionnaire and the invitation at the end of it for respondents to provide their names and contact details were meant to lead me to the relevant EEBs. However, I found after four weeks of the survey that only a few who indicated that they were living with out-group relatives provided their names (the majority were domiciling on school campuses). Of these, still fewer provided useful contact details. I managed to reach only five of them but found to my dismay that only one was willing to go ahead with my plan to use them as subjects.

At the time I was mid-way through the survey in Accra, which means that the possibility existed that I would find additional subjects by and by. But I knew that I needed then to begin the primary data collection, so I was becoming impatient. It was at this juncture that the value of Muysken's (2000) call for experimentation in CS data collection dawned on me.<sup>6</sup> I realized that if I was going to gather enough data of the out-group type

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<sup>6</sup> Muysken (2000) described a field that was characterized by twenty years of copious documentation of CS in mostly in-group interactions by bilinguals around the globe and recommended that:

It is tentatively suggested that the taxonomic stage of the gathering of large bilingual corpora has reached the limits of its usefulness, and that new, both

and still have time to transcribe them, then I needed to quickly convene interviews between eligible subjects and Ewe speakers who qualify as out-group members, whether they were the subjects' relations or not. The interviews resulted in more than 20 hours of data, from ten subjects in Accra and five at Akatsi (in the Volta Region).

### *1.3.1.3 Out-group collaborators*

Through friends I made contact in Accra with an elderly woman (approx. 85 years of age) and with a slightly younger couple willing to act as collaborators in the Accra interviews. I also found another collaborator (a woman in her late seventies) in Akatsi for the interviews conducted there. The key qualification of these four was that they were illiterates and could not speak English. However, I found during the interviews that although they could not use CS themselves they were exposed to it through years of communication with EEBs. Each collaborator received orientation on what the interviews would be about, i.e. language use patterns of 'the young ones'. Their main role was to serve as attentive addressees who asked questions and sought clarification. The eighty-five-year-old Accra collaborator participated in four interviews while the couple (one per interview) participated in the remaining four Accra interviews. The collaborator in Akatsi was present in all five Akatsi interviews.

### *1.3.1.4 Interviewers*

While giving orientation to the collaborators, I realized that they would need an interviewer to lead the discussions, which would, beside familiar topics, involve such topics as the economy of Ghana, politics, the computer, etc. I disqualified myself for the role because being a regular user of Ewe-English CS I knew that my (lead) participation was going to handicap my primary objective of creating a monolingual, i.e. Ewe-only, mode (Grosjean 2001) for each interview.

The only option, then, was for me to seek the services of an interviewer. I was fortunate to find two very able personalities—one in Accra and another in Akatsi—for the role. Suffice it to say that the key criteria that led me to them were (a) their ability to speak Ewe without codeswitching and (b) their prior records as professional interviewers and public speakers. The Accra interviewer, aged 35, was the host of a radio (phone-in) talk show that he conducted in Ewe and the Akatsi interviewer, a retired schoolteacher, was

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historical and experimental techniques are needed in subsequent code-mixing research. (Muysken 2000: 34, emphasis added).

He did not outline any methodology for the experimentation.



renowned throughout southern part of the Volta Region for performances of his own Ewe poetry.

*1.3.1.5 Subjects*

Ten subjects were interviewed in Accra and another five in Akatsi. The respondents were picked from the survey population on the basis of their backgrounds. I tried to have representations of two broad types of EEBs. In one group were male and female EEBs whose responses to questions 17-21 showed that they could be regarded as fluent in Ewe and that they did not like using CS. The other group comprised male and female EEBs who thought they did not speak Ewe well enough to avoid using CS. The purpose of the division was to obtain data that could form the basis of systematic comparison of speakers' CS behaviour patterns. The following table presents the range of the subjects' ages and gender:

TABLE 1.1: SUBJECTS' AGES AND SEXES

Count			GENDER		Total
REGION			F	M	
accra	AGE	15-24	1		1
		25-39	5	3	8
		40plus		1	1
		Total	6	4	10
volta	AGE	15-24	1	1	2
		25-39	1	1	2
		40plus	1		1
		Total	3	2	5

I decided to concentrate on the 25-39 year olds because they were more exposed to English than younger Ewe-English bilinguals and were better represented in the survey than older ones. The disparity between the numbers of Accra vs. Akatsi subjects reflects the difficulties I faced in organizing the interviews. For instance, if one team player was absent, an interview had to be called off. It was easier to re-convene interviews in Accra because I stayed there during the fieldwork.

Each subject was given orientation about what to expect in the interviews. For instance, the questionnaire had already made them aware that I wanted to know about their Ewe language socialization patterns. I told them matter-of-factly that in the interviews they were expected to aim at using Ewe without codeswitching since their principal addressee was going to be an elderly person who would not understand their English. They also were told that beside the elderly person and me there would be an interviewer whose job it would be to guide discussions. A more detailed sociolinguistic profile of each respondent appears in Appendix 3.

### 1.3.1.6 *Topics discussed*

The received opinion in the CS literature, both from Ghana and elsewhere, is that the type of topic codeswitchers discuss determines by and large the amount of CS they produce. For example, Forson (1988: 185) suggests that Akan-English bilinguals and other bilinguals in Ghana normally use CS pervasively only when they talk about foreign-origin concepts. He notes specifically that the bilinguals suppress CS, even in in-group interactions, when discussing indigenous concepts. It was therefore a welcome opportunity to test this hypothesis in the interviews. With the able assistance of the Accra interviewer, I scripted topic areas to concentrate on and the order to follow. The topics ranged from traditional marriage vs. wedding ceremonies, domestic issues such as husband-wife relations and child rearing, social issues and politics, to the advent of computers and the Internet.

### 1.3.1.7 *Interview setting and format*

Except for one interview where two subjects participated, each interview had one subject only. All the Accra interviews took place at the home of the participating collaborator. I would set my recorder on a table around which all four of us (collaborator, interviewer, subject and this researcher) sat. The interviewer would spend a few minutes introducing the topics to be discussed. The text of one such introductory remark, as well as the full text of the interview at which it was made, appears in Appendix 4. The duration of an interview was one to one and a half hours.

The interview format was for the interviewer to ask subjects questions and for the subjects to address their responses to the collaborator. However, as the text in Appendix 4 shows, this rigid plan was hardly followed. Heated ‘naturally-occurring’ debates often ensued no sooner than the proceedings had commenced. The interview-like nature of interactions is discernible only in the interviewers’ input and occasionally mine: we would occasionally shift an ongoing debate to a new topic with pointed questions. The interviewers also used various prompting strategies to regularly remind interviewees that CS should be avoided because of the presence of the collaborator.

### 1.3.1.8 *Referencing examples taken from the primary / out-group data*

The following convention is used for referencing an example that comes from an interview:

Mé-nyé force be wó a-va yi church be wó a-va wó wedding o  
3sg-NEG COP 3PL SUBJ-come go COMP 3PLSUBJ-come do NEG  
‘It is not compulsory for one to go to church for the purpose of doing wedding.’  
(AMI-Accra-REC1: sn248)

Beneath this example is provided the code name of the subject (AMI) followed by the region of survey and recording/interview index. The Serial Number (sn) of the utterance comes last.

### 1.3.2 Secondary data (In-group data)

The secondary data comprise mainly citations of data from previous studies, namely Asilevi (1990), Amuzu (1998, 2002) and Nortsu-Kotoe (1999). These examples, which were obtained exclusively in in-group contexts, are referenced following standard convention as with the following example from Asilevi:

Mia teḡu a- nɔ in position a- entertain mia fe client-wó le both sides  
 1PL can SUBJ be SUBJ 1PL poss -PL be  
 ‘We would be in position to entertain our clients on both sides.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 74)

Also cited as secondary data are instances of CS that I heard and noted on the spur of the moment during conversations with my wife and other EEBs in Canberra. I took most of these written data during pre-fieldwork times, i.e. before mid-January 2002. I would grab a pen and jot down a CS construction or two that someone uttered (with the person’s permission). The habit earned me the title “scribe” in those days. These examples, sparingly used in the study, are referenced only with the city tag “CANBERRA” to shield individuals’ identities as promised them. One such example is the following:

Sydney nyɔnu áǎé stab é-fe ahiavi kple bread knife.  
 Sydney woman INDEF 3sg-poss lover with  
 ‘A Sydney woman stabbed her lover with a bread knife.’  
 (CANBERRA)

### 1.3.3 Use made of the out-group vs. in-group data

I complement instances of CS in the primary data (i.e. the out-group data) with instances of CS from secondary sources (i.e. the in-group data) in grammatical analyses in Chapters 2 to 5 in which I aim to demonstrate the nature of the Composite Matrix Language mechanism I identify with Ewe-English CS. By choosing freely from both the out-group and in-group types of data, I seek to make the point that there are no qualitative grammatical differences between CS structures that bilinguals use in informal in-group interactions and the CS structures they use in (semi)formal interactions in which out-group members are present.

The possibility exists for the out-group data to be used to investigate qualitative structural variations in the CS of different individuals, e.g. subjects who used CS pervasively in the interviews (interpreted as a sign of lack of communicative competence in Ewe) and the CS of subjects who do not. However, this possibility will not be explored in the study. Also, I will not attempt any quantitative analysis of instances of various CS structures found in the out-group data. The focus throughout the study will be, as noted, to explain the nature of grammatical constraints that govern morpheme distribution in CS structures, i.e. make the case for viewing the structures as Composite rather than Classic CS structures. Language use patterns of participants in the interviews (such as patterns related to the question of lexical access during CS) are, however, explored in Chapter 6, where we deal with factors that motivate CS in Ghana.

## 1.4 THE MATRIX LANGUAGE FRAME MODEL AND RELATED LITERATURE

### 1.4.1 Concepts and assumptions

#### 1.4.1.1 *What does it mean for a construction to have a “Matrix Language”?*

The Matrix Language Frame model is the theoretical stance that there is a matrix language in all constituents (to be precise, Projections of Complementizer / CP<sup>7</sup>) that are bilingual. As such, the model is not meant to be used for analyzing monolingual CPs. A matrix language (ML) is the source of the abstract grammatical frame for the bilingual CP. What this means is that the ML “includes specifications at three [abstract] levels of grammatical structure... (lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization patterns)” (Myers-Scotton 2001: 32). They provide specifications which form the bases upon which slots are projected for permissible surface-level morphemes in the bilingual CP.<sup>8</sup>

There are two types of ML, i.e. two types of codeswitching (CS) mechanisms. In one type, which is characteristic of *Classic Codeswitching*, abstract grammatical structures of bilingual CPs are derived from only one of the languages participating in the CS. A

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<sup>7</sup> The CP is the highest unit projected by lexical items, i.e. the highest level in a tree of syntactic structures (e.g. NP, VP, etc). It is headed by the complementizer (COMP). Myers-Scotton (2002: 54) defines the CP as “a syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus the additional syntactic structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and logical form of that clause”. It is argued that the CP is a more exact / unambiguous unit of analysis than both the “clause” and the “sentence”.

<sup>8</sup> The notion that the ML is a “morphosyntactic abstraction” (Myers-Scotton 2001: 32) entails certain key assumptions about language production and about the nature of lexical structure. These assumptions and others are discussed in subsequent subsections.

convention of the model is to name this ML type after the language that serves as its source (and the convention in the present study is to call such an ML a “one-language ML”, e.g. “Swahili-only ML” for Swahili-English CS). This convention is, however, not without problems. Myers-Scotton (2001) has stressed that

...equating the matrix language with *a language* is inexact in that the matrix language *exists* only as a morphosyntactic abstraction. In contrast, languages *exist* as full linguistic systems when they are realized as their dialects. (Myers-Scotton 2001: 32, emphasis in the original)

The other language in the bilingual CP is called “Embedded Language” / EL. Within the Classic CS framework, the EL is said to be restricted by CS constraints—e.g. notably the System Morpheme Principle and Morpheme Order Principle—to contribute only lexical material for insertion into slots in mixed CPs framed by the ML.

The distinction between the concept of ML and the concept of “language” (or its variety/dialect) is clearer with respect to the other type of ML, the composite ML, which is associated with Composite CS. This type of ML is a composite of abstract grammatical structure from more than one source variety in the CS contact.

There are three distinguishable types of constituents within the bilingual CP:

- (a) *Mixed constituent*, i.e. a constituent with morphemes from both the ML and the EL
- (b) *ML island*, i.e. a well-formed ML constituent that is realised as a part of a mixed constituent, and
- (c) *EL island*, i.e. a well-formed EL constituent that is realised as a part of a mixed constituent.

ML islands and EL islands may be phrasal categories within the mixed CP: Noun Phrases, Verb Phrases, Adjective Phrases, Adverb Phrases, a relative clause, etc.

A CP achieves its bilinguality if it contains at least a mixed constituent (i.e. Type 1 above) or an EL island (i.e. Type 3). Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 91) illustrate the three types of constituents within bilingual CPs with the following two examples:

- (1a) Ena pa-ka-khal-a ngati [pa-Friday] a-ma-ngo-tumis-a  
 Some LOC-CONDIT-stay-FV like LOC-Friday 3s-HAB-CONSEC-send-FV  
 [ti-ma- message ta chondchi]  
 DIM-CL6/PL- message DIM-like.this  
 ‘When it’s Friday, (some people) like posting such messages’  
 (Chichewa/English corpus 7.2; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 91)

(1b) Hata siyo                    mwezi jane.                    I-li-ku-w-a                    [early this month].

Even NEG[COP] month yesterday. CL9(it)-PST-INF-BE-FV

‘...Not even last month. It was early this month.’

(Swahili/English: Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 174; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 92)

In example (1a), from Chichewa-English CS, two EL (i.e. English) nouns *Friday* and *message* occur singly in mixed NPs in which they are accompanied by ML (i.e. Chichewa) grammatical morphemes (system morphemes<sup>9</sup>): the locative *pa* appears with *Friday* and the diminutive marker *ti-* and the noun class cum plural marker *ma-* appear with *message*. In example (1b), from Swahili-English CS, early this month is an EL (English) island that occurs as a predicate in a CP with a Swahili copula. All the morphemes in the English phrase come from English and they occur within the phrase in accordance with the grammar of English. It is called “EL island” because it occurs as a part of a larger mixed CP, the Swahili-based copula construction. In the two examples, the non-bracketed segments represent various kinds of ML islands.

The following Ewe-English CS utterance, taken from Asilevi (1990), illustrates all three types of CS constituents.

(2) [Sent1] In fact lá, mele sure kokoko be Auntie Maggie-e report-ø -m ná Uncle-a. [Sent2]

How on earth can it be be Uncle ná- get to know of all the times-siwó nyemedo afe me o?

[Sent3] Even kura lá, time siwó wòno trek le north kple esi wòva yi home le old-lady fe

doleyi me hã, could you believe it be Uncle teɲu list days-wó si ke nyemedo afe me o a?

[Sent1] In fact, I am very sure that it was Auntie Maggie who reported me to Uncle. [Sent2]

How on earth can it be that Uncle could get to know of all the times when I didn't sleep at

home? [Sent3] Even, the times when he was on trek in (the) north (of Ghana) and when he

came and went (to) home(town) during old-lady's illness too, could you believe it that Uncle

could list the days on which I didn't sleep at home?

(Asilevi 1990:106; bracketed numbering and translation added)

Instances of Type 1 constituents (i.e. “mixed constituents”) in the utterance are:

- Two sentence-initial English adverbs that are marked by the Ewe topicalizer *lá*: in fact lá and even kura lá

<sup>9</sup> The content morpheme – system morpheme distinction, which is central to discussions within the model, is presented in §1.4.1.5 under the 4-M model. Suffice it here to note that content morphemes are such elements as nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives and system morphemes are grammatical elements like verbal affixes, case-markers, etc.

- The entire copula construction mele sure kokoko (see Sentence 1) in which the English adjective **sure** is the complement of the Ewe existential copula *le*
- The English verb with a zero inflection, report-Ø, which is understood in Ewe morphosyntax as non-present (NPRES)
- teju list in which the English verb **list** occurs with the Ewe auxiliary verb *teju* ‘can’
- English nouns with or without Ewe modifiers, which are embedded in otherwise Ewe CPs (**uncle, time, trek, north, home** and **days**).

The second CP of Sentence 2<sup>10</sup>, be uncle ná- get to know of all the times-siwó nyemedo afe me o, achieves its bilinguality by two means: first by the appearance of the Ewe subjunctive morpheme *na-* on the main verb **get** in the English phrasal predicate get to know of ... (i.e. the VP is a mixed VP), and second by the modification of the English NP the times by the Ewe relative clause, siwó nyemedo afe me o ‘when I didn’t sleep at home’ (i.e. the entire object NP is a mixed NP). However, within both the mixed VP and the mixed NP, we also find examples of islands from both English and Ewe (the Types 2 and 3 CS constituents). In the mixed VP there is an English island get to know of and in the mixed NP there is an English island the times as well as an Ewe island, the relative clause siwó nyemedo afe me o. Similar observations may also be made about constituents found in Sentence 3.

#### 1.4.1.2 Outline of the remainder of this section

The notion of ML entails a number of assumptions that need to be understood before we examine hypotheses of the MLF model and assess how they are employed in CS data analysis. Therefore, I devote the remainder of this introductory section to presenting the key assumptions. I also discuss the two sub-models of the MLF model (the Abstract Level model and the 4-M model) in this section. This means that we shall not be returning to the subjects of the ML and how it is used in carrying out CS analysis before §1.4.2. In §1.4.2, I explain further the hypotheses of each ML type and provide evidence for them through reviews of the relevant literature. The issue of whether the ML in Ewe-English CS is a one-

<sup>10</sup> Notice that the first CP of this sentence (‘how could it be...’) is a unilingual English CP. Therefore, the Matrix Language vs Embedded Language opposition does not apply to that CP. It does have an *inter-sentential* (or correctly, inter-CP) relationship with the second CP (this second CP is be uncle ná....).

language (Ewe-only) ML or a composite ML—which is the primary issue around which this dissertation turns—is introduced in §1.4.3.

#### 1.4.1.3 *Assumptions about language production and the nature of lexical structure*

The MLF model derived motivation for its assumptions about the nature of language production from Levelt's (1989) psycholinguistic model of language production. The assumption in Levelt (1989) is that language production proceeds in a modular fashion involving three functions, which are aptly described as follows in Clyne (2003):

1. Conceptualizer – which generates messages, selecting information (micro-planning) and deciding on speech acts, on the marking of given and new information, and the assigning of topic and focus (microplanning);
2. Formulator – which encodes; and
3. Articulator – which executes phonetic planning through neuromuscular instruments

(Clyne 2003: 194)

Operations are assumed to be lexically driven because *lemmas* supporting content morphemes are supposed to play crucial roles. A speaker's need to

- a. express pre-verbal concepts leads him to
- b. activate lemmas supporting particular content morphemes, which impose certain abstract grammatical structure requirements on the environments in which the content morphemes may occur, which requirements
- c. result in the projection of particular slots in which the content morphemes eventually occur.

Item (a) expresses the function of the Conceptualizer in the speaker's brain, (b) the function of the Formulator and (c) that of the Articulator.<sup>11</sup> As noted, lemmas supporting content morphemes play crucial roles in the operations. So, what are lemmas?

Lemmas, which are stored in the mental lexicon, are non-phonological sets of information about surface-level elements in a language. They are necessarily language specific. According to Myers-Scotton,

The lemmas contain lexical rules and these rules contain all the necessary information to realize surface constructions. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 14)

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<sup>11</sup> Myers-Scotton, however, recognizes four stages of abstract level operations: *Conceptual Level* (=Conceptualizer), *Lemma Level* (=Lexicon), *Functional Level* (=Formulator) and *Surface Level* (=Articulator). The Lexicon discharges some of the functions of Levelt's Formulator (see §1.4.1.4 for details in her Abstract Level model).



The information about a morpheme consists of three interrelated levels of abstract lexical structure, which make up the lemma supporting the morpheme. They are: (i) the morpheme's *lexical-conceptual structure*, i.e. details about its semantic and pragmatic representation; (ii) the morpheme's *predicate-argument structure*, i.e. its syntactic properties (namely details about the subcategorization frame in which the morpheme may occur); and (iii) the morpheme's *morphological realization pattern*, i.e. specifications about language-specific devices like word order restrictions, agreement, tense / aspect marking system, case marking system, etc that may be used to signal the morpheme's relationship with other morphemes in the construction in which it occurs.

These assumptions about the nature of language production and the nature of lexical structure are central to understanding the Abstract Level model, one of the two sub-models of the MLF model, which I present in §1.4.1.4. The above discussion also assumes a distinction made between content morphemes and grammatical elements (i.e. system morphemes). The specifics of that distinction and the details of characteristics of each morpheme type will be given when we discuss the 4-M model, the second sub-model of the MLF model, in §1.4.1.5.

#### 1.4.1.4 *The Abstract Level model*

The Abstract Level model is based on Levelt's (1989) assumption, presented above, that speech production is not syntactically, but rather lexically driven in the sense that the need to express pre-verbal concepts leads to the mostly unconscious choice of particular lexical items that impose certain abstract grammatical requirements on their environment, hence syntax. The model tracks how language production involving two languages proceeds in this modular fashion across four—instead of Levelt's (1989) three—stages of abstract operation. Myers-Scotton introduces the lemma level (the level of the Lexicon), to which she ascribes some of the functions Levelt ascribes to the Formulator (see table below). Importantly, the model also tracks how the different levels or sub-parts of lemmas supporting lexical items—lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure, and morphological realization pattern—become relevant at different levels of the language production.

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 105), writing about what may be called the “linguistic” levels of language production (lemma-functional-surface), let us know that “the first-two of these levels are based on Rappaport and Levin [1988]; the third relies heavily on Talmy [1985]”. Table 1.2 is a sketch of the processes. It is an adaptation of sketches presented in Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995 and 2001) as well as in Myers-Scotton (2002).

TABLE 1.2: THE ABSTRACT LEVEL MODEL

### **The Conceptual Level (Level of the Conceptualizer)**

- At this level, speakers make selections encapsulating the conceptual structures they wish to convey. What this means is that, pre-verbally, speakers make decisions regarding what their intentions are. Such pre-verbal speaker-intentions (which consist of universally available semantic and pragmatic information) are conflated as specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles, or SP feature bundles, which are necessarily language-specific.
- If discourse includes CS, then the ML for mixed constructions is selected.
- Information is sent to the Lexicon

### **The Lemma Level (Level of the Lexicon)**

- The language-specific SP feature bundles activate entries in the mental lexicon called lemmas, which support the realization of actual surface lexemes. Specifically, the SP feature bundles activate lemmas supporting content morphemes. These lemmas may also *indirectly-elect* or point to lemmas supporting system morphemes that are needed to complete their lexical-conceptual structure (termed, under the 4-M model to be presented below, “early system morphemes”). For instance, at the conceptual level the lemma underlying the verb ‘look’ may in turn point to the early system morpheme ‘into’ (as in ‘look into’) so as to satisfy the speaker’s intention, which contrasts with such other intentions as those captured in ‘look’, ‘look for’, ‘look after’, ‘look up to’, ‘look forward to’, etc. Another example is that a noun lemma may point to the lemma supporting the plural, an early system morpheme, for it to complete the conceptual saliency of a pluralized entity, which the noun is selected to represent.
- The language-specific lemma supporting a content morpheme, and where applicable an early system morpheme, sends directions to the *formulator* (a kind of “control centre” in actual online production) at the functional level regarding details of abstract lexical structure that need to be spelt out when the content morpheme is realized in surface surface.

### **The Functional Level (Level of the Formulator)**

- The formulator interprets the language-specific abstract lexical structure information about the content morpheme, which comprises the already salient lexical-conceptual structure and the two other sub-parts of lemma structure: predicate-argument and morphological realisation pattern.
- Concerning predicate-argument structure, the formulator maps thematic structure onto grammatical relations. For instance, it determines how many arguments a verb takes, what thematic role the verb assigns each argument and then maps the grammatical relations among these elements.
- Concerning morphological realisation pattern, the formulator determines what language-specific devices for word order, agreement, tense / aspect / mood marking, case marking, negation, etc are suitable for expressing the morpheme’s grammatical relations with other morphemes. Crucially, “late system morphemes”—structurally-assigned system morphemes—are selected at this level to furnish the content morpheme’s morphosyntactic requirements.
- Information is sent to the Articulator at the positional level.

### **The Positional / Surface Level (Level of the Articulator)**

- Morphophonological realizations take place: i.e. surface structure after move-alpha, agreement inflections, etc as well as the production of phonetic forms.

The following discussion from Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) explains further the roles that lemmas play in language production as captured above in the Abstract Level model:

What follows develops our view of lemmas and their relation to lexical entries. First, they are not concrete; that is, they are not lexical items with subcategorization features. Rather, they support such items. In order for this to be so, what is their nature? Each one includes the specific bundling of semantic and pragmatic features that encodes the lexical-conceptual structures that represent the speaker's communicative intentions. They also include information as to how these intentions are grammatically realized in a sentence. An example of such morphosyntactic information is lexical category (e.g. Noun vs Verb) or grammatical gender. Note that such categories are not what speakers select at the conceptual level; rather, speakers are dealing in terms of notions such as "thing" or "process." This information (predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation patterns) is something of a default choice; that is, selecting features in the conceptualizer that become a specific semantic/pragmatic bundle in language X entails selecting the predicate-argument structure and its morphological realizations associated with this bundle in language X. Thus, lemmas are what link conceptual intentions (=semantic and pragmatic features) to the predicate-argument structures and morphological realisation patterns of a specific language. (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995: 988, emphasis added).

#### *1.4.1.5 The 4-M model*

The 4-M model explains "how morpheme distributions relate abstract entries in the mental lexicon to surface structures in CS" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a: 3).

The 4-M model recognizes four types of morphemes: (1) content morphemes, (2) early system morphemes, (3) late bridge system morphemes, and (4) late outsider system morphemes. Three features are used in this classification, namely

- (i) [ $\pm$  conceptually activated]
- (ii) [ $\pm$  thematic role assignment]
- (iii) [ $\pm$  referring to grammatical information outside of its maximal projection, i.e.  $X^{\text{Max}}$ ]

##### *1.4.1.5.1 The feature-based classification*

With the feature [ $\pm$  conceptually activated], morphemes are classified as to their status with respect to conceptual activation. Having a plus reading for this feature is not only an

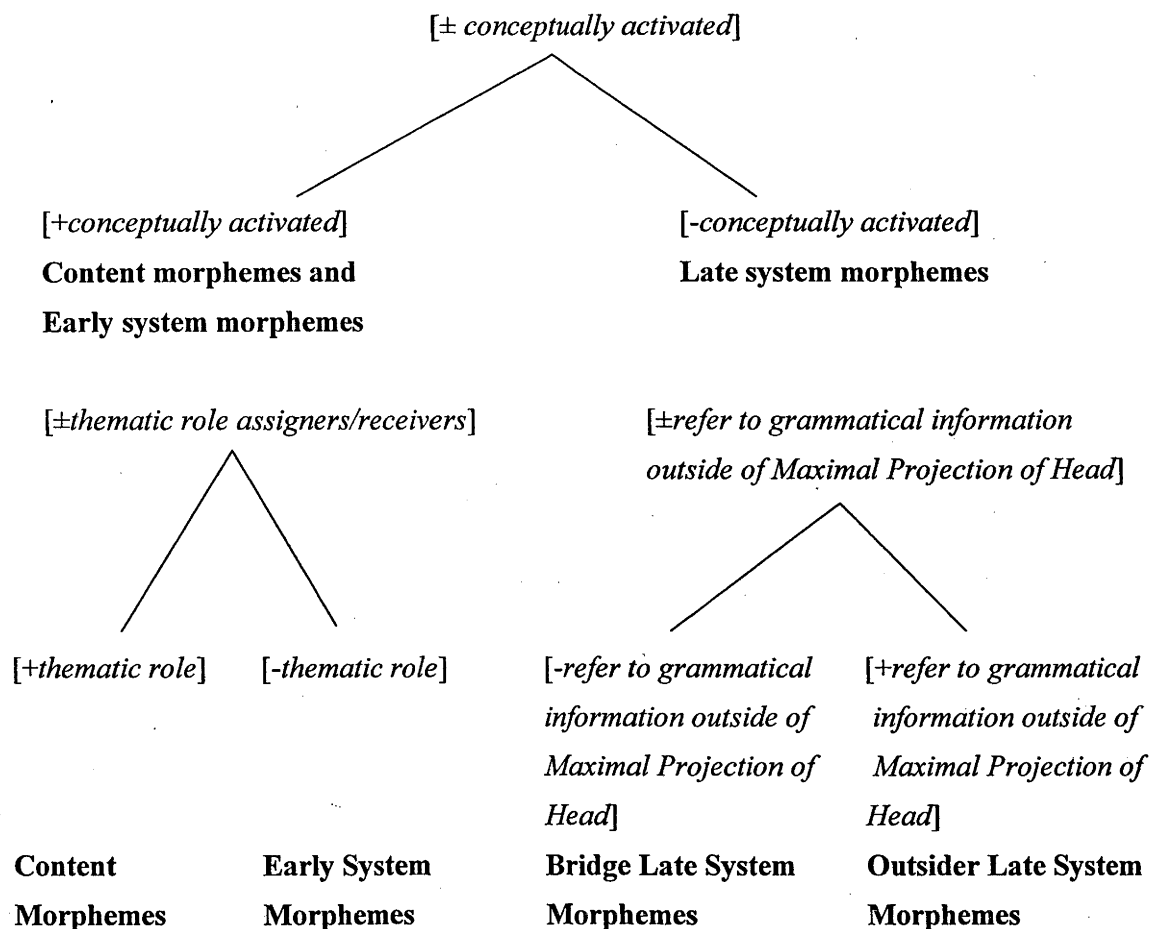
indication that a morpheme is semantically and pragmatically salient at the lemma level; but it also is an indication that all of the information necessary for the form of the morpheme is available at this lemma level. As shown in Figure 1.1 below, this feature separates content morphemes and early system morphemes from two types of system morphemes, which have minus setting for the feature because their forms are selected later in language production, at the functional level. I will return to the relevance of this feature when I discuss content morphemes and early system morphemes.

The feature [ $\pm$  thematic role assignment] marks the distinction made between content morphemes and all system morphemes. Content morphemes have a plus setting for this feature but system morphemes do not. It is therefore the feature which marks the distinction between content morphemes and early system morphemes, which, as indicated, share the feature of [ $\pm$  conceptually activated] with the content morphemes.

The feature [ $\pm$  referring to grammatical information outside of its  $X^{\text{Max}}$ ] classifies morphemes according to how their forms participate in building larger constituents (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a: 3; 2001: 98ff). As indicated in the table, this feature is relevant only in distinguishing among grammatical elements, i.e. late system morphemes. Late bridge system morphemes have a minus setting for this feature while late outsider system morphemes have a plus setting for it.

The above classification of morphemes is captured in the figure below, from Myers-Scotton (2002: 73):

FIGURE 1.1: 'FEATURE-BASED CLASSIFICATION OF MORPHEMES IN THE 4-M MODEL' (MYERS-SCOTTON 2002: 73)



#### 1.4.1.5.2 Content morphemes

Content morphemes either assign or receive thematic roles. They are therefore the only morphemes that have a plus reading for the feature [± thematic role assignment]. Typical content morphemes that assign thematic roles are most verbs<sup>12</sup> and some prepositions. Typical thematic role receivers are nouns, non-clitic pronouns and attributive adjectives. Content morphemes also constitute the primary type of morphemes that have a plus reading for the feature [± conceptually activated]. This means that they become semantically and pragmatically salient at the lemma level. They are described as “the direct link between a speaker’s intentions and linguistic units” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a: 3) because their conceptual activation leads to the activation of other aspects of their lexical structures—predicate-argument structures and associated morphological realization patterns—and ultimately to the building of the grammatical structures in which they appear. They have a

<sup>12</sup> Copulas, for example, are verbs that do not assign thematic roles. Rather, they are late bridge system morphemes.

minus reading for the third criterion, the feature [ $\pm$  referring to grammatical information outside of its  $X^{\text{Max}}$ ] because of reasons that will become clear in the discussion of late outsider system morphemes.

In the following sentence, the transitive English verb *kill* assigns the role of Agent to its subject noun *man* and the role of Patient to its object noun *snake* while the preposition *with*, also a thematic role assigning content morpheme, specifies the role of Instrumental to its object noun *club*:

The man killed the snake with a club.

The system morphemes in the example (i.e. the past tense morpheme *-ed* and functional elements, *the*, and *a*) neither assign nor receive thematic roles.

#### 1.4.1.5.3 Early system morphemes

Like the other two types of system morphemes, early system morphemes have minus reading for the feature [ $\pm$  thematic role assignment] and do not participate in the thematic role grid of a CP. However, like content morphemes, they are conceptually activated at the lemma level (i.e. have a plus setting for the feature [ $\pm$  conceptually activated]). According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a: 3), an early system morpheme is *indirectly-elected* when a content-morpheme lemma “point to” it. An example of indirectly-elected early system morpheme is *up* in the following sentence:

Bora chewed up the new toy.

(Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a: 4)

The analysis is that the lemma underlying *chew*, which is directly-elected at the lemma level, in turn indirectly-elects or points to the lemma supporting *up*, also at the same lemma level. It is the combination of these two (*chew up* as opposed to *chew*) which then captures the essential concept that the speaker intends to convey. Content morphemes plus the early system morphemes they occur with constitute single lexical units.

#### 1.4.1.5.4 Late system morphemes

There are two remaining types of system morphemes which do not have a plus reading for the feature [ $\pm$  conceptually activated]—and are therefore not activated *early* in language production. That is why they are called “late system morphemes”. They are late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes. Instead of conveying essential conceptual structure, they are only essential in building the structure of larger constituents. That is, they indicate relationships in the mapping of conceptual structures onto phrase

structures. They are therefore said to be “structurally-assigned” as opposed to content morphemes and early system morphemes which are “conceptually assigned”.

Late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes are distinguished on the basis of how their forms participate in building larger constituents, i.e. on the basis of the feature [ $\pm$  referring to grammatical information outside of  $X^{\text{Max}}$ ]. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a: 4) write concerning these two system morpheme types that

One type of late system morpheme unites morphemes into larger constituents, showing their hierarchical relationship. These are called “bridges”. The other late system morpheme also integrates morphemes into large constituents, but, in addition, it shows coindexical relationships across maximal projections. Such late system morphemes are “outsiders”; their form depends on information outside of the maximal category projected by their own lexical head. That is, all of the information for the form of such outsider morphemes is only available when the formulator sends direction to the positional/surface level for how the larger constituent (the CP) is unified.

The difference between *late bridge system morphemes* and *late outsider system morphemes* is that while the grammatical relevance of bridges is limited to the immediate phrasal category in which they occur, the grammatical relevance of late outsiders goes beyond the immediate phrasal category in which they occur. Thus, bridges have a negative reading for the feature [ $\pm$  referring to grammatical information outside its  $X^{\text{Max}}$ ] while outsiders have a plus reading for this feature.

A typical bridge morpheme is the English possessive marker *-s*, as in

The boy's father loves playing golf  
or its prepositional relative “of”, as in

The father of the boy loves playing golf.

The relevance of these possessive morphemes is limited to their maximal projections, the adnominal constructions the boy's father and the father of the boy respectively. Bridge system morphemes are said to ‘create’ their maximal projections (see Myers-Scotton 2001: 98ff).

A typical outsider system morpheme is the English third person present tense form *-s*. Although it relates grammatically to its verb (*love*) in both examples above, its form depends on and agrees with a unit outside its maximal projection (the VP), the subject NP (the boy's father) with which it is coindexed. Myers-Scotton (2002: 248) describes

the role of late outsider systems metaphorically thus: “outsider system morphemes are important as the cement holding the clause together because they are coindexed with elements outside their immediate maximal projection”.

## 1.4.2 The Classic CS vs Composite CS distinction

### 1.4.2.1 Introduction

As noted in §1.4.1.1, a matrix language (ML) is thought of as the source of abstract grammatical specifications (regarding lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization patterns) that inform the projection of slots for permissible surface-level morphemes in the bilingual CP. We have indicated that there are two types of ML and that the difference between them is whether only one of the languages participating in CS (called ‘one-language ML’) serves as the source of the abstract specifications or whether the abstract specifications come from two or more languages (that constitute a ‘composite ML’).

In §1.4.2.2 I will discuss the one-language ML, which is characteristic of Classic Codeswitching and in §1.4.2.3 we will return to the composite ML, which is associated with Composite CS. Basically, the two sections are reviews of the relevant literature on these two types of CS with a focus on the methodology used for analyzing CS data.

### 1.4.2.2 Classic CS

#### 1.4.2.2.1 The One-Language ML hypothesis

Users of Classic CS are deemed to have “full access to the morphosyntactic frame of one of the participating languages that becomes the Matrix Language and anywhere from limited to full proficiency in the grammar of the other language” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 25; see also 105 and Myers-Scotton 2001: 52). Because of their grammatical competence in their target ML, which is typically their mother tongue or L1, Classic CS users are expected to produce mixed constituents that conform to the grammar of this language. Myers-Scotton (2002) notes that

The Matrix Language – Embedded Language opposition refers to linguistic competence—in the sense that, psycholinguistically, the bilingual’s two or more languages do not achieve equal activation in bilingual speech. Decisions (largely unconscious) made at the prelinguistic conceptual level result in one language dominating (the Matrix Language sets the grammatical frame of such speech). The less dominant language (the Embedded Language) participates largely by



supplying lexical elements that are integrated into that frame. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 16)

The way that the ML constrains abstract grammatical structures of mixed constituents has to do with the modular nature of language production and the abstract and complex nature of lemmas supporting morphemes (see §1.4.1.3 and the Abstract Level model in §1.4.1.4), as well as with the fact that there are four types of morphemes (see the 4-M model in §1.4.1.5). The one-language ML mechanism, as Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2002) outlines it, may be presented as follows:

- (I): The One-Language ML Hypothesis
  - (i) Once the lemma supporting an EL content morpheme is selected at the lemma level to express a pre-verbal intention,
  - (ii) That lemma is checked for congruence with the lemma supporting the ML counterpart of the EL morpheme at the three levels of abstract lexical structure—lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. One of two things happens:
    - (a) *The two elements are determined to be sufficiently congruent:* so, the morphosyntactic frame meant for the ML content morpheme (at the functional level) is used for realizing the EL content morpheme at surface structure. That is, the EL morpheme is fully integrated / inserted into a slot projected by its ML counterpart. The System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle (see below) are instrumental in the functional level processes. This CS pattern is discussed in §1.4.2.2.2.
    - (b) *The two elements are determined to be not sufficiently congruent:* a compromise strategy is activated and used with the result that the EL content morpheme is not placed in a slot projected by its ML counterpart; rather, it is realized as a bare form or as a part of an EL island. These CS patterns are discussed in §1.4.2.2.3 and §1.4.2.2.4 respectively.

The System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle, which constitute the ML Hypothesis of the MLF model, are:

*The Morpheme Order Principle:* In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface relations) will be that of the ML.

*The System Morpheme Principle:* In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e., which participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the ML. (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 82)

As indicated in both (ii-a) and (ii-b) above, congruence is considered important in Classic CS. Congruence between cross-language categories is assumed to be determined mainly by the linguistic properties of the elements, i.e. the nature of the three sub-parts of lemmas supporting the elements. The degree of congruence may be *complete* (if there is a match in the details of their three sub-parts; *partial* (if there is a match across some of the details in the sub-parts) or *absent* (if there is no match).<sup>13</sup> Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) stress, however, that complete congruence between cross-linguistic lemmas is rare. They, for instance, state that the lemma supporting a lexical entry in one language that refers to even an easily accessible, concrete entity like “*nose*” might not match the lemma supporting a corresponding lexical entry in another language completely “because of pragmatic considerations” (p.988). They also point out that lemmas supporting lexical items that code “more complex and less concrete” ideas or processes may be even less regularly congruent cross-linguistically because of “the semantic and pragmatic features associated with them”. Complete cross-linguistic congruence across all three sub-parts of EL and ML equivalent lemmas is therefore not considered a mandatory measure of congruency. Instead, the proponents of the model talk about “sufficient congruency”, which means anything between complete to partial congruency as defined above.

The following section reviews the relevant literature to show how the one-language ML hypothesis and its underpinning assumptions are employed in analyzing Classic CS data.

1.4.2.2.2: *Fully integrated EL content morphemes*

The Swahili-English CS example below illustrates full morphosyntactic integration of an EL (English) verb following the procedure detailed under (i) and (ii-a) above. *Come* is analysed as having been inserted into a slot projected by Swahili / ML verb counterpart *-j-* ‘come’ (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106):

(3) Leo si-ku- come ma ø- book-s z-angu

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<sup>13</sup> This view of congruence has been criticised by some scholars including Sebba (1995, 1998), as being too rigid and as leaving the impression that bilinguals are necessarily objective when checking congruence. Sebba posits a view of congruence that anticipates that bilingual speakers may choose to be subjective about the degree of congruence that exists between properties of categories of their languages. His view is discussed in §6.4.2.

today 1s/NEG-PST/NEG-come with CL10/PL- book-PL CL/PL-my

“Today I didn’t come with my books”

(Swahili/English: Myers-Scotton 1993a; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106)

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) posit that

...English *come* occurs because it is projected from an EL (English) lemma in the mental lexicon that matches with an ML counterpart (Swahili *-j-* ‘come’) sufficiently at all three levels of abstract lexical structure (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106, underlining added).

The analysis is that: (i) once the lemma supporting *come* is selected, (ii) it is checked for congruence with its Swahili counterpart *-j-* at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and is determined to be sufficiently congruent with it<sup>14</sup>; consequently, (iii) grammatical structure meant for *-j-* is built for *come* and (iv) *come* is duly inserted into that structure. This explication is detailed in Table 1.3 below<sup>15</sup>:

TABLE 1.3: FULL INTEGRATION OF EL CONTENT MORPHEMES IN ML MORPHOSYNTACTIC FRAMES

- **Stage 1 - The Lemma Level:**<sup>16</sup> When a speaker selects an EL content morpheme (e.g. the English verb *come* in (3) above) during Classic CS, he also selects a one-language ML (here Swahili) to frame abstract grammatical structures of the mixed CPs. The following language production processes take place at the lemma level to initiate the building of a fitting grammatical environment for EL content morpheme to occur in:
- The lexical-conceptual structure sub-part of the lemma supporting the EL content morpheme (henceforth *come*) is activated; i.e. the action / event it encodes becomes salient. This lexical-conceptual structure information as well as information about its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern information are communicated to the formulator at the functional level. At the same time, full

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<sup>14</sup> The writers state in a footnote (p.106) that

The only way in which *come* is not well integrated into the Swahili frame is that it lacks the final vowel that Swahili phonotactics require (i.e. /kʌmə/ vs what actually occurs: /kʌm/). One reason its absence does not seem to disrupt CS is that “final vowel” is never a separate morpheme in Swahili, but only part of a discontinuous morpheme. (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106)

<sup>15</sup> The Table is not from the literature; it is my understanding of the literature concerning the issue of full integration of EL content morphemes in ML frames.

<sup>16</sup> I call the lemma level ‘Stage 1’ here and in subsequent tables following. Actually (see Table 1.13), the first stage in language production is the Conceptual Level, which I assume here because it is pre-linguistic.

abstract lexical structure information about the ML counterpart (here, *-j-* ‘come’) is also communicated to the formulator.

- **Stage 2 - The Functional Level:** The formulator checks the *degree of congruence* between *come* and *-j-*, with the following results:
  - The two are treated as sufficiently congruent because (a) they encode an identical action/event concept, i.e. they have a similar lexical-conceptual structure; (b) they are *verbal* predicative elements that take one argument, i.e. they have a similar predicate-argument structure and (c) they are reasonably congruent in their morphological realization since, for example, they similarly require TAM marking as late system morphemes<sup>17</sup>.
  - Because Swahili is the language in control of functional level processes, the System Morpheme Principle ensures that only Swahili supplies the required verbal morphology in the mixed VP in (3). Also, the Morpheme Order Principle ensures that Swahili word order is used in the mixed CP (see for example the occurrence of the Swahili verbal inflections relative to *come*).
- **Stage 3 - The Positional or Surface Level:** *come* is routed into the slot intended for *-j-*.

Full integration of an EL content morpheme in ML structure need not take place only if there is an “actual” ML counterpart (like *-j-*) with which the EL morpheme is congruent. An EL content morpheme for which there is a lexical gap in the ML lexicon, i.e. an EL content-morpheme lemma for which “no existing ML lemma is a ready-made counterpart” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 1015), may also be fully integrated into a CS slot. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995: 989ff) argue that speakers depend on their “undifferentiated ML lexical knowledge”—a notion renamed “Generalized Lexical Knowledge” (Myers-Scotton 2002)—to guide them in using such EL content morphemes. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995: 989ff) explain that

...because in all languages it is possible to express all semantic and pragmatic intentions (while at the same time actual lexicalization patterns differ cross-linguistically), we propose that these intentions, located in the conceptualizer, must “be available” to all languages for configuring new lemmas. When these intentions are conflated into a “bundle,” they can combine with the undifferentiated lexical

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<sup>17</sup> See §1.4.2.2.4 for a different situation when English verbs are checked for congruence regarding TAM marking with their Arabic counterparts.

knowledge present in the mental lexicon. This lexical knowledge includes universal as well as language-specific “default” information about predicate-argument structures and morphological realization patterns. Universal default aspects of lexical knowledge cover such matters as the unmarked syntactic treatment of nouns and verbs. Language-specific lexical knowledge includes information about the unmarked syntactic realization of thematic roles (e.g. how experiencer is encoded) and the morphosyntactic treatment of these roles. (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 190)

In the following quote, Myers-Scotton (2002) clarifies the mandatory nature of checking congruence in Classic CS and reiterates the notion that the ML counterpart of an EL content morpheme need not be an actual ML content morpheme, that it may be speakers’ Generalized Lexical Knowledge of their ML:

...when the Embedded Language lemmas underlying all Embedded Language content morphemes are selected to convey the speaker’s intentions, they must first be checked for sufficient congruence with the Matrix Language. This checking is either with an actual Matrix Language counterpart in the mental lexical or with Generalized Lexical Knowledge for the relevant language in the mental lexicon. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 130, emphasis added)

Thus, the expression “ML counterpart” of a fully-integrated EL form need not be understood as referring to only ML morphemes that may be adduced.<sup>18</sup>

The distinction of morphemes into four types by the 4-M model has a direct impact on how the MLF model is used in explaining the distribution of ML and EL morphemes in mixed constituents. In example (4), from Shona-English CS, the English (EL) early system morpheme **up** accompanies the verb **catch** into the Shona-based mixed construction just as the EL plural morpheme **’s**, which is also as an early system morpheme<sup>19</sup>, accompanies the noun **lesson** into the mixed construction:

- (4) va-no-nok-a                      ku-it-a      **catch up** mu-ma-                      **lesson-s**  
 CL2/PL-HAB-be-late-Fv      Inf-do-Fv                      CL18-CL6/PL-lesson-PL  
 ‘...they are late to catch up in [their] lessons.’  
 [Note: Fv= final vowel]  
 (Shona-English; Myers-Scotton 2001: 51-52)

Unlike the EL early system morphemes, all late outsider system morphemes in (4) come from Shona (the ML). For instance, it is Shona verbal morphology that is used with **catch**

<sup>18</sup> See §4.2.3 for my reservation about this situation.

<sup>19</sup> For explanation as to why the pluralizer is classified as an early system morpheme, see §5.6.2.

**up** and it is also Shona noun class indicators *mu* and *ma* that appear on **lessons**. This pattern conforms to the stipulations of the System Morpheme Principle, which blocks the EL counterparts of these ML late system morphemes from appearing in mixed CPs.

#### 1.4.2.2.3 EL bare forms

EL bare forms are content morphemes that “occur in a mixed constituent frame prepared by the ML, but ... missing some or all of the required ML system morphemes” (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106). The hypothesis is that a bare form so occurs because it is insufficiently congruent with its ML content morpheme counterpart. Let us consider example (5) in which an English (EL) nominal bare form **strike** appears in a Swahili matrix VP structure:

- (5) Mbona        ha-wa        worker-s wa        East African Power Lighting  
 and why    DEM-cl.2 workers Cl.2-ASSOC  
  
 wa-ka-        enda strike  
 3PL-CONSEC-.go    strike  
 “Why did these East African Power and Lighting workers go [on] strike?”  
 (Swahili-English; Myers-Scotton 1997: 157)

The example illustrates the claim that in Classic CS an EL content morpheme that is not sufficiently congruent with its ML counterpart may occur singly *but* not in a slot fully associable with the ML counterpart. Myers-Scotton (1997) describes the English noun **strike** as a bare form because it lacks required Swahili and English late system morphemes, i.e. it “receives neither the [Swahili] system morpheme marking locative case-marker *ni-* for Ground nor the one in English (a preposition heading a PP complement encoding both Path and Ground [i.e. *on*])” (Myers-Scotton 1997: 157). That is, **strike** is bare because of incompatibility between the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern of **go**, as used in ‘to go on strike’, and the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern of the Swahili verb equivalent *enda*, which appears in the example. *Enda*, like any Swahili motion verb, assigns the thematic role of Path (both physical and metaphorical) to its object and requires that the object be case-marked accordingly by the postposition *ni*. **Go** on the other hand does not only assign the role of Path to its object; it additionally assigns the role of Ground to it. It is the preposition **on** that signals this thematic role complex. **Strike** ostensibly evades being blocked by missing both system adpositions.

Whereas example (5) illustrates an insufficiently congruent EL content morpheme that appears as a ‘bare form’ from the standpoint of both the EL and the ML, the following

example, from Japanese-English CS, illustrates an EL content morpheme that is a bare form from the standpoint of the EL grammar (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 1003).

(6) i. \**Watashi wa Waseda-kara graduate shimashita*  
 1sg TP from did

ii. *Watashi wa Waseda-(o) graduate shimashita*  
 ACC did

‘I graduated from Waseda [University].’

(Japanese-English; Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 1003)

The English verb *to graduate* would require that its Source NP be the object of the preposition *from*; e.g. [graduate from + NP]. The Japanese counterpart of this verb expresses the notion of Source without a prepositional / postpositional phrase (i.e. the English and Japanese verb counterparts are incompatible in terms of their morphological realization patterns). In (6i), *graduate*, which occurs in an otherwise Japanese grammatical environment, appears with *kara*, the Japanese counterpart of *from*. This CP is judged (following the original source, Azuma 1993) to be ungrammatical. In (6ii), *graduate* occurs without *kara* and is judged to be grammatical. The writers argue that the verb in the acceptable example is “bare” from the standpoint of English (the EL) because of the absence of *from*, which is crucial in English for signifying ‘Waseda University’ as the Source of the graduation event. They explain that the verb occurs without *kara*, the Japanese counterpart of *from*, because Japanese - and not English - was framing the mixed CP as a one-language ML. Specifically, *graduate* so occurs because its morphological realization conforms with the directions sent to the formulator by the lemma supporting the Japanese verb counterpart, which does not require the use of a preposition / postposition to express Source.

Another type of bare forms that is regularly exemplified is the so-called *do-construction*. This construction consists of the ML verb encoding a ‘do’ verb (or a similar auxiliary verb) inflected with all the requisite ML system morphemes (tense/aspect, agreement, etc) appearing with an uninflected EL content verb (often the infinitive) as in example (7).

(7) *Avan enne confuse paNNITTaan*  
 he me do-PAST

‘He confused me.’

(Tamil / English; Annamalai 1989: 51, cited in Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 1005)

The explanation given by Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995:1005) for this type of bilingual verbal construction is:

[T]he structural properties of verbs (what constitutes an inflectible stem) are such that when these languages are MLs, these properties block the occurrence of an EL verb with ML inflections. Thus, if an EL verb best satisfies the speaker's intentions, a compromise strategy is to place it in a frame projected by the ML auxiliary taking all verbal inflections.

#### 1.4.2.2.4 EL islands

An "EL island" is a multi-morphemic category from one language (e.g. a well-formed phrasal or clausal category of one language – the EL) that occurs as a CS unit in a mixed CP framed by another language - the ML. Various factors are said to prompt the appearance of EL islands in Classic CS. The key ones are illustrated below.

Typical examples of EL islands are those that result from insufficient congruency between cross-linguistic content-morpheme lemmas. Regularly cited in this connection are instances of English Inflection Phrase (English IP) EL islands in Arabic-based mixed CPs. Example (8) is an illustration in Arabic-English CS. The EL island (underlined) is an English IP that occurs as part of the CP introduced by the Arabic COMP *innu*.

- (8) ʔawal ma šaf-ha bayyan innu he liked her  
first when see/PERF/3M-3F seem/PERF/3M that  
"[at] first when he saw her, it seemed that he liked her"  
(Arabic-English: Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 109)

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 109) argue that generic differences exist between the lemmas supporting Arabic and English verbs and that those differences are what directly cause the use of English IP islands when Arabic is the ML of a mixed CP. In other words, lemmas supporting Arabic verbs and lemmas supporting English verbs are incompatible with regard to the nature of information that becomes salient at the lemma level when their lexical-conceptual structure sub-parts are activated. In the case of the Arabic verb, it is claimed that the verb lemma points to the lemma supporting a tense/aspect morpheme at the lemma level. Myers-Scotton and Jake write: "an Arabic verb does not 'exist' as a verb, even at the lemma level, without the specification for tense/aspect. Tense / aspect in Arabic is bundled with the semantic and pragmatic feature complex activating the verb lemma itself" (2001: 109). Tense / aspect morphemes in Arabic are therefore indirectly elected early system morphemes. In contrast, tense / aspect morphemes for English verbs only get



activated at the functional level as part of the verbs' morphological realisation patterns. Tense/aspect morphemes in English are therefore late outsider system morphemes compared with their Arabic counterparts.

Based on these cross-linguistic verb lemma distinctions, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 110) give the following explanation for the example cited as (8) above:

[...] when a speaker's intentions 'select' an English verb in an Arabic-framed CP, an impasse results because the English verb does not meet the requirements of the Arabic frame – that tense/aspect *already* be specified [in the verb's lexical-conceptual structure]; therefore, the English verb cannot receive Arabic verbal inflections. The solution is to 'realize' the English verb in an EL island, that is, as a verb with English verbal morphology. The final result is a constituent completed entirely in English, i.e. an IP EL island.

Examples (9a) and (9b), also from Swahili-English CS, illustrate how EL islands presumably result. Example (9a) shows that the Swahili pronoun *wewe* 'you' may not occur as object to the English preposition *for*. By contrast, in (9b), *you* is acceptable in the English PP island in which it is the object of *for*.

- (9a) \*Nikamwambia anipe rushusa niende ni-ka-check for wewe.  
 1s-consec-check for you  
 "And I told him he should give me permission so that I go and check for you."
- (9b) Nikamwambia anipe rushusa niende ni-ka-check for you.  
 1s-consec-check for you  
 (Swahili/English: Myers-Scotton 1993a: 124)

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 123) attributes the unacceptability of (9a) to lack of congruence between *for* and its Swahili counterpart. While *for* in its use here is a content preposition because it assigns the thematic role of Beneficiary to its object<sup>20</sup>, its Swahili counterpart is a system preposition, "the suffix in the verbal assembly, realized as *-i-* or *-e-*", (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 123). She notes that this morpheme is called 'applied form' and that its presence "simply 'spells out' the beneficiary", as in the following example where it introduces *a* (3sg), the BENEFICIARY:

<sup>20</sup> In the CP '...I can go and check (it) for you', it is *for* that assigns thematic role of Beneficiary to *you*, not the verb *check*.

(9c) Labda yeye hana vitabu vyake father a-li-m-buy-i-a ....

3sg-PAST-3sg/OBJ-buy-APPL-INDIC

'Maybe he doesn't have his books [which his] father bought for him...'

(Myers-Scotton 1993a: 123)

Because *for* is thus functionally incongruent with its Swahili counterpart, its occurrence in the EL island PP (i.e. for you in (9b)) is what allows it to project its own content-preposition slot.

The third common type of EL islands comprises EL idiomatic expressions and adjuncts. An example is the occurrence of the EL adjunct phrase early this month in example (10); it occurs in a slot in which an equivalent Swahili time adjunct phrase may also occur (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a: 27).

(10) Hata siyo mwezi jana, I-li-kw-w-a **early this month.**

Not even last month. Cl.9-past-infin-cop-fv

'Not even last month. It was early this month.'

Note: fv= final vowel in this and other Swahili examples

(Swahili-English: Myers-Scotton 1993a [1997]: 147; 2001: 27)

### 1.4.2.3 Composite CS and convergence

#### 1.4.2.3.1 Composite CS

Like Classic CS, Composite CS is also characterized by the overt realization of morphemes from at least two languages in the structure of a constituent. However, as noted, it differs from Classic CS in that the abstract morphosyntactic frame of bilingual CPs is derived from more than one source language. I discuss this notion in detail shortly. Composite CS is hitherto documented only in the case of bilinguals who had less than full access to the desired ML (e.g. imperfect bilingual L1 acquisition, child L1 attrition in language shift to L2). Accordingly, Composite CS users are described typically as speakers who "do not have sufficient access to the frame of a target matrix language to employ it consistently / completely in their codeswitching" (Myers-Scotton 2001: 52). The most elaborate description that has appeared so far of Composite CS users is the following:

Composite codeswitching occurs in such phenomena as language attrition and shift. It occurs when speakers—because of psycholinguistic or socio-political factors—do not have full access to the morphosyntactic frame of the participating language that is the desired source of the Matrix Language. Or, possibly the notion of a target Matrix Language is not clear to the speakers themselves. The result is

that a composite Matrix Language frames the bilingual CP. Thus, in effect, composite codeswitching necessarily entails convergence. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105, underlining added)

In the preceding quote, two points (underlined) were made without elaboration (and were not subsequently revisited elsewhere by Myers-Scotton to the best of my knowledge). They point to other factors apart from attrition and shift that could cause bilinguals to experience a lack of full access to their ML such as leads them to use Composite CS. Because the points underlined have not been elaborated, it is an open question as to who these other bilinguals are (I will discuss my views in relation to the underlined points in §6.4 and §6.5 and in the concluding chapter).

I will now turn to the nature of the composite ML. The following statement, from Myers-Scotton (2001), provides what is needed to understand this notion:

[In Composite CS] abstract lexical structure from more than one variety is involved in building the frame... The abstract level model provides for a composite outcome because it is based on the premise that levels of structure can be split and recombined, that is, one level – or parts of one level – may come from one variety and other levels – or their parts – from another variety. The result is a composite matrix language. (Myers-Scotton 2001: 52)

What is implied is, for instance, that the projection of a slot for a content morpheme from Language A may involve inputs from the Language A lemma supporting that content morpheme as well as inputs from the lemma supporting its Language B counterpart. Bolonyai (2000: 86) expressed this idea succinctly:

In a composite ML, three levels of abstract lexical structure supporting surface lexemes can be split and recombined. The splitting and recombining of abstract lexical structure entails, for example, that in a lemma from one language, information specified at any level of the abstract lexical structure may be substituted for by corresponding abstract features from the lexical structure of the second language.

The following example from Bolonyai (1998), cited in Myers-Scotton (2001), illustrates the composite ML mechanism<sup>21</sup>:

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<sup>21</sup> The example is attributed to “a Hungarian child whose L1 is Hungarian, but who is growing up in the United States, with English becoming her dominant language” (Myers-Scotton 2001: 52).



different from those that are said (see 1.4.2.2.3) to cause fluent adult codeswitchers to produce bare forms.<sup>22</sup> According to her

[...] bare forms produced by the Russian children are caused by convergence at the level of morphological realisation patterns and not solely by incongruence of the two languages (Russian and English) involved in production, as is often assumed.  
(p.10)

Schmitt argues that an adult speaker of Russian would not use the bare form in his Classic CS because there is sufficient congruence between **heaven** and the Russian counterpart *ray* that should allow **heaven** to occur in a slot projected by the lemma supporting *ray*. She also notes that

[...] any proficient speaker of Russian would be able to select the appropriate prepositional case and mark it with affix *-e* producing the form *v heaven-e* 'in heaven' which would satisfy the requirements of the MLF model. Thus, incongruence in this case does not provide a sufficient explanation for the lack of the case marker (p.23).

The import of her argument is that because of the child's waning ability in Russian in favour of English, "the level of activation of the EL [English] rises so that it competes with the ML [Russian] in projecting the frame" of the mixed PP (p.24). **Heaven** emerges as a bare form because it comes into the Russian grammatical structure with part of its own morphological realization pattern, which includes no suffix slot for the *-e* postposition:

When this speaker brings .... **heaven** into the Russian frame, he also brings along parts of its morphological realization pattern (p.24).

#### 1.4.2.3.2 Convergence

Convergence differs from Composite CS in only one respect – its superficially monolingual outlook. Only one language supplies *all* the morphemes that appear in Convergence CPs. The bilinguality of Convergence structures is therefore subtle. However, like Composite CS, evidence of Convergence "may be observed in the presence or absence of slots in the grammatical frame" of the CP in question (Schmitt 2000: 19). Let us examine the following example, from Schmitt (2000), which was also produced by an immigrant Russian child living in the US.

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<sup>22</sup> Recall that insufficient congruence between an Embedded Language content morpheme and its Matrix Language counterpart is what is taken to be the main cause of bare form production in Classic CS.

- (13) i I on smotre-*l*                            chez knig-u                            (Child’s Russian)  
and he look-SG/MASC/PAST through book-ACC/FEM/SG
- ii: I on prosmotre-*l*                           knig-u                            (Standard Russian)  
and he PERF-look-SG/MASC/PAST book-ACC/FEM/SG  
‘And he looked through the book.’  
(Russian-English Convergence; Schmitt 2000: 20)

Schmitt (p.20) points out that the preposition *chez* ‘through’ – an early system morpheme - is inserted unnecessarily into the grammatical frame in (13-i): the Russian verb (*pro*) *smotret* ‘to look (through)’ does not require a preposition. The reasoning is that were this child using only Russian abstract grammatical structure, he would not have used the preposition *chez* because no slot would have been projected for it by the lemma supporting the Russian verb *smotret*. On the other hand, the English verb ‘look (through)’, with which *smotret* is conceptually congruent, projects a slot for the early system morpheme or preposition ‘through’ beside another slot for its object NP. The appearance of *chez* along side the Russian verb, therefore, shows that the child has mapped the English predicate-argument structure of ‘look through’ onto Russian and has inserted the Russian prepositional equivalent of ‘through’ into the alien preposition slot.

Convergence may also be due to a restructuring of the predicate-argument structure of the CP under the influence of the morphosyntactic frame of another language. This is exemplified in example (14):

- (14) Mash-a                    nрав-itsya                    igr-u                            (Child’s Russian)  
Mary-NOM/FEM/SG like-3SG/PRES/RFLX game-ACC/FEM/SG
- Mash-e                    nрав-itsya                    igr-a                            (Standard Russian)  
Mary-DAT/FEM/SG like-3SG/PRES/RELX game-NOM/FEM/SG  
‘Mary likes the game.’  
(Russian-English Convergence; Schmitt 2000: 21)

According to Schmitt (p.20), the child-speaker’s seemingly monolingual Russian CP shows convergence to English: the predicate-argument structure of the English verb *like* is mapped onto the Russian verb counterpart *nравitsya* ‘be pleasing’ although Russian provides the morphological realisation patterns in the CP. She points out that in Standard Russian, the verb *nравitsya* assigns two thematic roles: an external thematic role of Theme to its grammatical subject (the thing / person being liked) and an internal thematic role of Experiencer to its grammatical object (the person doing the liking). In English, on the other hand, the assignment of thematic roles is reversed: the verb ‘like’ assigns the

thematic role of Experiencer externally to its grammatical subject (the person doing the liking), and an internal thematic role of Theme to the grammatical object (the thing/person being liked). It is the English predicate-argument structure that is found in (14). Schmitt (p.21) states:

... *masha* receives the external thematic role and is assigned the nominative case as the subject instead of the appropriate internal thematic role and the dative case of the indirect object, while *i gr-u* 'game' receives the internal role of theme and is assigned the accusative case of the indirect object instead of the Russian-appropriate external thematic role marked by the nominative case.

Schmitt then points out that despite the fact that predicate-argument structure is mapped from English, Russian provides the morphological realization pattern by projecting the necessary slots for case marking. Continuing, she says: "While the case markers are wrong for standard Russian due to improper thematic role assignment, the markers themselves are present and come from the intended ML, thus fully supporting the predictions of the MLF model" (p.21).

Elsewhere in some other speech communities, adult speakers who are experiencing attrition also employ a composite ML in framing the structure of mixed CPs they produce. For instance, Myers-Scotton (1998a: 220ff) cites Fuller's (1996) data as showing that a composite ML is used for framing the structures of CPs in Pennsylvania German (PG), spoken by the descendants of German immigrants in Pennsylvania, USA. According to Fuller (as reported by Myers-Scotton 1998a: 220), although they speak English, they live "in religious communities as isolated as possible from mainstream Americans". This situation coupled with their loss of regular contact with Standard German speaking people has led to their use of their version of German (i.e. PG). Discussions of the nature of the structures of CPs in PG are similar to those given by Schmitt (2000) concerning the Russian children's speech. In example (15), all morphemes come from German, but the structure is said to reflect convergence to English at two levels of abstract lexical structure.

- (15) PG: Mer *hab-e*            da            auf-ge-waschs-en  
           We have-1PL    there    up-PART-grow-PART
- SG: Wir sind    da            auf-ge-wachs-en  
       We be/PL    there    up-PART-grow-PART
- 'We grew up there.'
- (Myers-Scotton 1998a: 221)

Myers-Scotton (1998a) explained that the morphological realisation pattern of the English *have* has been transferred to the German *haben* so that it is used as an auxiliary for the perfective whereas German would historically have required *sein* 'be' for verbs of motion or change of state. By occurring where *sein* would have been appropriate in standard German, the use of *haben* additionally "reflects the neutralization of the lexical-conceptual level of specification in main verbs as requiring either *haben* or *sein*" (Myers-Scotton 1998a: 221). She notes that speakers of PG show no variation between using *sein* and *haben* in constructions exemplified by (15).

### 1.4.3 Some Classic CS communities and Composite CS communities

As indicated in §1.4.2.2, Swahili-English CS is presented in Myers-Scotton (1993a) and (2002) as a typical case of Classic CS. Swahili is not the mother tongue of Swahili-English codeswitchers in Kenya. It is however their lingua franca and national language, so the speakers are said to be generally highly proficient in it. English is the language of formal education in Kenya. Myers-Scotton observes that the codeswitchers' full grammatical fluency in Swahili enables them to use Swahili grammar robustly as one-language ML of their mixed constituents.

Like Swahili-English codeswitchers, codeswitchers elsewhere who have full command over the grammar of their target ML are all expected to use their target ML as one-language ML in their CS. For instance, the CS of other post-colonial educated Africans is classified as Classic CS because they arguably have full command over the grammars of their mother tongues / target MLs. Some examples of this classification include Myers-Scotton's (1993a and 2002) treatment of Ewe-English CS, Akan-English CS and Ga-English CS, which are spoken in Ghana; and her (2001 and 2002) treatment of Fongbe-French CS spoken in Benin. Other examples are her (2002) treatment of Wolof-French CS spoken in Dakar and Yoruba-English CS spoken in Nigeria and Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton's (1998) treatment of Zulu-English CS spoken in South Africa. The CS of educated peoples in other post-colonial settings outside Africa is also classified similarly. Some such settings are India, Singapore and Malaysia.

CS data from members of immigrant speech communities in Europe and North America are classified using a wider set of criteria. At one level, such data are discussed in terms of judgements about the speakers' level of fluency in the abstract grammar of their target ML, normally their L1. But at another level, unlike data from post-colonial settings<sup>23</sup>,

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<sup>23</sup> The post-colonial bilingual codeswitchers studied normally live in their native speech communities.



these data are perceived against the historical background of the immigrants. References are often made to their membership of any of three active (i.e. living) 'generations' - a first generation, an intermediate generation and a second generation. In cases of longer migration history, a third generation is mentioned (for instance, speakers of Pennsylvania German spoken in the US), whose first generation relatives are now ancestors. Members of much longer migration history do not often receive specific labels.

In sociolinguistic terms, members of each generation are usually considered to be homogeneous. *First generation* immigrants are normally people who were adult speakers of their L1 at the time of arrival in the new country of residence. They are usually assumed to be fluent in their L1 and, therefore, to use its morphosyntactic frame consistently as a one-language ML in framing the structures of bilingual CPs they produce. That is, first generation immigrants are generally taken to be users of Classic CS. People who were younger at the time of migration but old enough at the time to use their L1 fluently are often labelled the *intermediate generation*. They are often considered more fully integrated into the host speech community than their first generation siblings / parents. They too may be seen as users of Classic CS on account of their fluency in both their L1 and the host speech community's language. But some of them, precisely because of their acculturation to their L2 and subsequent loss of full proficiency in the abstract grammar of their L1, are said to use Composite CS instead. Finally, people who were either very young at the time of migration or were born in the host country and are more dominant in their host speech community's language normally constitute a *second generation* of immigrants. The bilingual speech of members of this generation often gets classified as Composite CS on account of their loss or lack of fluency in the abstract grammar of their L1.

Some studies of CS in immigrant speech communities that were carried out in the MLF model tradition are: Turker (2000), on Turkish immigrants in Norway; Schmitt (2000), on Russian immigrants in the US; Bolonyai (1998 and 2000), on Hungarian immigrants also in the US; and Fuller (2000) on Pennsylvania German spoken in the US. Both Schmitt and Bolonyai's works concentrate on the CS of immigrant children whom they consider to be users of Composite CS. Some reports of Schmitt's analysis appear in §1.4.2.3. Turker's is a comparative study of the CS structures used by intermediate and second-generation Turkish immigrants in Norway. Unlike any other researcher within the MLF model tradition, Turker thinks that some of her subjects simultaneously employ both types of CS. Her work could thus be seen as unique because the proponents of the model

and others who use it see Classic CS and Composite CS as *mutually exclusive* with regard to any specific speaker.

#### 1.4.4 Ewe-English bilinguals and their CS

##### 1.4.4.1 Introduction

Given the generally high level of fluency that Ewe-English bilinguals have in Ewe grammar<sup>24</sup>, one would, following claims about speakers who use Classic CS, expect them to use Ewe as a one-language ML. This is indeed the claim in Myers-Scotton (1993a and 2002) and Amuzu (1998). I agree with the judgment that Ewe-English bilinguals have native-level grammatical fluency in Ewe, but I believe that they do not go on to use Ewe as a one-language ML as is expected of them. As noted, this dissertation turns mainly around this position that despite their grammatical competence in Ewe, Ewe-English bilinguals do not go on to use Ewe as a one-language ML. Now, what are the main points of departure from the position held in previous studies? The central points of departure revolve around these two parallel hypotheses:

- (a) The position in previous studies: Ewe functions as a one-language ML in Ewe-English CS; so, English content morphemes may only occur as fully integrated CS forms in slots projected by their Ewe counterparts, with which they must, as a prerequisite, be sufficiently congruent. If an English content morpheme is not sufficiently congruent with its Ewe counterpart (be it an actual morpheme or a lemma stored as Generalized Lexical Knowledge of Ewe for such a morpheme), the English morpheme is realized as a CS form via a compromise strategy in a bare form construction or EL island.
- (b) The position in this study: The ML is composite, comprising abstract grammatical structure from English and Ewe; English content morphemes occur as fully integrated CS forms in slots that they project in Ewe-based bilingual CPs. No congruence checking between the English content morphemes and their specific Ewe counterparts is required.

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<sup>24</sup> See §1.2 for comments from previous studies regarding the level of grammatical competence of Ewe-English bilinguals. Examine too KOFI's speeches in Appendix 4: although as can be seen he is a pervasive user of CS, his Ewe grammatical constructions were well-formed in Ewe.

#### 1.4.4.2 *The Ewe-only ML hypothesis*

The hypothesis in (a) above is a summary of the one-language ML hypothesis in (I) in §1.4.2.2.1. I repeat that hypothesis as the Ewe-only ML hypothesis below for reference purposes:

(II): Ewe-only ML hypothesis

- (i) Once the lemma supporting an English content morpheme is selected at the lemma level to express a pre-verbal intention,
- (ii) That lemma is checked for congruence with the lemma supporting the Ewe counterpart of the English morpheme at the three levels of abstract lexical structure—lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. One of two things happens:
  - (a) *The two elements are determined to be sufficiently congruent*: so, the morphosyntactic frame meant for the Ewe content morpheme (at the Functional level) is used for realizing the English content morpheme at Surface structure. That is, the English morpheme is fully integrated / inserted into a slot projected by its Ewe counterpart. The System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle (see §1.4.2.2.1) are instrumental in the functional level processes.
  - (b) *The two elements are determined to be not sufficiently congruent*: a compromise strategy is activated and used with the result that the English content morpheme is not placed in a slot projected by its Ewe counterpart; rather, it is realized as a bare form or as a part of an English/EL island.

#### 1.4.4.3 *The composite ML hypothesis for Ewe-English CS*

The composite ML mechanism introduced in (b) in §1.4.4.1 is, in important ways, different from the one discussed in §1.4.2.3, as I now explain.

The composite ML mechanism discussed in §1.4.2.3 is one that is characterized by the fact that EL content morphemes (often) retain not only their lexical-conceptual structure and predicate-argument structure but also aspects of their morphological realization patterns, which may be inconsistent with the grammar of the ML. For instance, in (11) we saw that *school* retained its lexical-conceptual structure and predicate-argument structure (it is locative instead of being actor) and accordingly lacked the Hungarian *-s* suffix for actor. The use of *school* as a CP-final unit instead of as a CP-initial unit is also not Hungarian, and Bolonyai (1998) notes that that too results from English grammatical

influence. The composite ML that I posit for Ewe-English CS does not anticipate any such startling convergence at the level of morphological realization patterns, because Ewe is expected to control the morphological realization patterns of English elements in CS structures as robustly as a one-language ML in Classic CS would. The reason why the ML is best described as a composite ML—rather than as Ewe-only ML—is that it is the English-origin abstract lexical structure information about an English content morpheme (not the abstract lexical structure about its Ewe counterpart) that forms the basis upon which a CS slot is projected in an Ewe structure for that English content morpheme.<sup>25</sup> The hypothesis may be formalized as follows:

(III) The composite ML hypothesis:

- (i) While **English** provides --- from the lemma level --- abstract lexical structure information (i.e., lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation pattern information) about each English content morpheme selected during CS,
- (ii) **Ewe** provides --- from the functional level --- the morphosyntactic means (i.e. morpheme order and late system morphemes) with which the formulator creates for the English content morpheme a slot that expresses its abstract lexical structure features.

What is expected is for each English content morpheme to occur in the kind of slot where Ewe content morphemes with similar abstract lexical structure features occur (i.e. regardless of whether the direct Ewe counterpart of the English content morpheme also occurs in that slot or not).

My rendering of the division of labour between Ewe and English in the hypothesis above is novel, a fact that needs to be borne in mind because of conventions I use in analyses of data in later chapters. Proponents of the MLF model do not talk about languages controlling levels of language production as I do in this hypothesis. The quotes from Myers-Scotton (2001) and Bolonyai (2000) in §1.4.2.3.1 imply that for them the projection of a CS slot for an EL content morpheme during Composite CS has to do with the splitting of levels of abstract lexical structure between cross-language lemmas. That is, we are to understand that the projection of a CS slot for a content morpheme from Language A involves inputs from the Language A lemma supporting that content

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<sup>25</sup> Recall that where one-language ML operates, the expectation is for the lemma supporting the ML counterpart of a given EL content morpheme to form the basis upon which CS slot is projected for that EL content morpheme.

morpheme as well as inputs from the lemma supporting its Language B counterpart. I do not ascribe to this view of a composite ML mechanism for Ewe-English CS for the simple reason that I reject the view that congruence checking between English and Ewe content morpheme counterparts is a prerequisite to CS involving Ewe and English. My hypothesis only anticipates that linguistic properties of a selected English content morpheme would be checked so that it is accorded the kind of distribution given to Ewe morphemes with similar linguistic properties. I mentioned above that an English content morpheme's distribution need not be similar to that of its Ewe counterpart unless, of course, the two share linguistic properties. I would therefore redefine the concept of Generalized Lexical Knowledge (GLK) to exclude the distinction between specified and unspecified ML lemmas. For me, Ewe-English codeswitchers activate English-origin content-morpheme lemmas and use their GLK of Ewe to satisfy grammatical requirements contained in those lemmas as they search for Ewe-based CS slots for the English lexemes.

The division of labour captured for Ewe and English in my hypothesis may be novel in the sense mentioned above, but it is in line with the Abstract Level model. The hypothesis appeals to the assumption in the Abstract Level model that the activation of abstract lexical structure of a morpheme takes place at the lemma level. It then stipulates that English unilaterally serves as the source of such information when it comes to English content morphemes that are selected during Ewe-English CS. The hypothesis also assumes (again in line with the Abstract Level model) that it is at the functional level that abstract lexical structure information is utilized—by the formulator—in building grammatical structure; it then stipulates that the formulator deploys only Ewe morphosyntactic procedures in doing its job.

## **1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE REST OF DISSERTATION**

Given my aforementioned position that Ewe-English CS constructions are Composite rather than Classic CS structures, chapters devoted to elucidating the nature of aspects of CS grammatical structure (2 to 5) are organised to reflect this theme. First, background discussions of CS structures relevant to a chapter are provided with in-depth insights from both monolingual Ewe and English. This is followed by explorations of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis (for the Classic CS case) and the composite ML hypothesis. Chapter 2 deals with mixed copula constructions, Ewe-based constructions in which English-origin nonverbal predicative elements occur. Chapter 3 deals with mixed adnominal possessive constructions, Ewe-based constructions in which English-origin possessum nominals occur. Mixed Verb Phrases are discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 turns to the nature of morpheme

distribution in the mixed Noun Phrase. Chapter 6 concerns motivations for CS in the Ewe-English speech community and Ghana. A conclusion to the dissertation appears in Chapter 7. Here the implications and significance of this study are discussed and areas in need of further research are identified.

#### **1.6 NOTE ON SELF-REFERENCE: HE (AMUZU 1998, 2002) vs. I (PRESENT STUDY)**

I have opted to use the following approach to reporting views I held vs. views I currently hold. There is constant need to present the view I expressed in Amuzu (1998, 2002) that Ewe-English CS structures are Classic CS structures that are constrained by Ewe-only ML. In order to encourage the reader to recognise my departure from that view, I use the first person singular (i.e. 'I / my') only for expressing the view I stand by in this study. I discuss Amuzu (1998, 2002) as if they were authored by a third person (i.e. 'he / his'). However, I also explore conventional means of reporting discredited former views.

## CHAPTER 2: NONVERBAL PREDICATION IN EWE-ENGLISH CS

### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with mixed CPs in which English-origin nonverbal predicative expressions (locative expressions, adjectivals, and coreferential nominals) occur as complements of Ewe copulative elements. The English expressions retain their abstract lexical structure features in Ewe-based grammatical environments, and it is shown that their distributions are better explained by the composite ML hypothesis (§1.4.4.3) rather than in terms of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis (§1.4.4.2). But from the present reading of Myers-Scotton's framework, it is the Ewe-only ML hypothesis that is expected to apply.

The chapter commences with a "Background" section in which I discuss distributions of English predicative nonverbal elements in monolingual English structures. The section also discusses strategies used in monolingual Ewe to predicate the concepts that the English nonverbal predicates encode. Section 2.1 provides a quick glance at the patterns of CS in the data. Section 2.2 reviews previous accounts of the CS patterns, which were based on Ewe-only ML hypothesis. My composite ML account follows in §2.3. In §2.4, I discuss evidence from Akan-English CS and Fongbe-French CS to show that they too exhibit the strategies used in Ewe-English CS and that they too are consistent with my composite ML account. Concluding remarks are made in §2.5.

### 2.1 BACKGROUND: ENGLISH AND EWE STRUCTURES

#### 2.1.1 Distributions of nonverbal predicates in English

In English, the copula *be* and certain verbs that have some of the qualities of copulas (known as 'quasi-copulas' or 'semi-copulas') are used to enable nonverbal expressions to function as predicates. I will discuss first the copula *be*, largely from the perspective of Lyons (1977).

##### 2.1.1.1 *The copula be*

Lyons (1977) notes that *be* performs the pivotal "syntactic function" (p.471) of connecting a nonverbal predicative expression to a subject-NP. The nonverbal element may be a coreferential nominal, a property-denoting nominal / adjective, a locative expression, or a possessor nominal:

(1a) The chairman is Paul Jones [NP + Cop + NP]

- (1b) He's a clever boy / He was very intelligent [NP + Cop + NP/ADJ]  
 (1c) They were in the artic ... [NP + Cop + Loc]  
 (1d) This bicycle is John's [NP + Cop + Poss]

(Lyons 1977: 470)

In each of these structure types, *be* performs a different copulative function. According to Lyons (p.469), the functions are *equative* in (1a), *ascriptive* in (1b), *locative* in (1c), and *possessive* in (1d).

Regarding examples (1a) and (1b), Lyons writes:

[t]he semantic distinction between equative and ascriptive structures is that the former are used, characteristically, to identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another and the latter to ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property. (Lyons 1977: 472)

What must be noted for the sake of clarity is the semantic difference between the nature of the referent of the coreferential nominal in the equative structure and that of the coreferential nominal in the ascriptive structure. While in the equative structure the referent of Paul Jones is definite<sup>26</sup> / specific / identificational, the referent of a clever boy in the ascriptive structure is generic, and thus property-assigning, with respect to the subject-NP.

A locative complement of *be* (locative adverbial, e.g. in the artic in (1c) relates to the question 'Where is X'; i.e. it says "of the referent of a [subject] nominal that it is located in a certain place" (Lyons, p. 475). Lyons cautions against confusing locative complements of *be* with place-referring nominal complements of *be* which are coreferential with their subject-NPs. A place-referring nominal, such as the capital of England in:

- (2) London is the capital of England

occurs in an equative rather than locational structure.

Lyons defines the term 'possessive' broadly. He perceives the notion as it is "traditionally employed by some linguists" as "somewhat misleading" because "it suggests

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<sup>26</sup> The distinction between "definite" and "generic" reference is aptly captured in Chafe (1975: 187ff). Chafe (1975) states that the meaning of definite is that the "speaker assumes that the hearer knows the identity of a particular member of the class or a particular instance of the substance" (p.188). That is, a definite noun refers to a particular instance of a class or substance. A generic noun, however, refers to "an entire class or an entire substance" (p.188).



that the basic function of the so-called possessive construction ... is the expression of possession or ownership” (p.473). He argues that

[g]enerally speaking, however, a phrase like ‘X’s Y’ means no more than “the Y that is associated with X”; and the kind of association holding between Y and X is frequently one of spatial proximity or attachment. (Lyons 1977: 474)

He would therefore regard the “so-called possessive expressions [e.g. This bicycle is John’s] ... as a subclass of locatives” (p.474).

An important aspect of Lyons’ analysis of the English copula *be* is what he says regarding the nature of its category. According to him:

[T]he reason why the English lexeme *be* is classified as a verb is simply that with respect to concord and the realization of tense it is pivotal in the way that transitive and intransitive verbs are pivotal... It is a meaningless lexeme whose syntactic function it is to convert whatever it combines with into a verbal (i.e. predicative) expression. (Lyons 1977: 471, emphasis added)

This view of the copula is echoed in Hengeveld’s (1992) work, as the following summary in Pawley (2000) indicates:

In his extensive study of non-verbal predication, Hengeveld (1992: 32) describes a copula as a semantically empty form that links a subject NP with a non-verbal predicate that says what a subject is identifying or characterising in some way. Copulas may be non-verbal but are often realised as dummy verbs, which carry verbal inflections such as tense, aspect or mood, but otherwise make no independent contribution to the meaning of a sentence, e.g. English ‘be’ in *Peter is President, John is a farmer, Millie is charming.* (Pawley 2000: 303-304, emphasis added)

Hengeveld suggests that a copula depends on other elements of structure for its “meaning” (i.e. its function, in Lyons’ terms). Hengeveld, cited in Pawley (2000: 303-304), argues that

the shades of meaning [functions] often attributed to a copula can be traced back to the other characteristics of the sentence, such as the nature of the non-verbal predicate and its arguments. (Hengeveld 1992: 32, emphasis added)

In pointing to ‘characteristics’ of the nonverbal predicate and its arguments as the determiners of the copulative function that *be* performs in a construction, Hengeveld seems to be expressing a view which is consistent with how Myers-Scotton’s 4-M model ‘sees’

copulas. In terms of the 4-M model, the English *be* is a multi-morphemic unit that comprises a late bridge system morpheme and a late outsider system morpheme<sup>27</sup>.

- *Be* is a bridge system morpheme whose form becomes available at the functional level to satisfy requirements by a given nonverbal element for a verb-like link to the subject NP. When *be* supports an adjectival predicate or property-denoting nominal predicate, it says that that predicate ascribes a certain quality to the subject entity. When it supports a locative predicative element, it says that that element is the location of the subject entity. *Be* is equative if a definite and co-referential nominal requires it to bridge it with the subject. In this case, it says that the predicate is the same entity as the subject entity.
- *Be* is also a late system morpheme. This is because its form varies depending on subject-verb agreement. As noted, it is the function of a late outsider system morpheme to refer to information outside its maximal projection, and *be* does this by referring to number (is/are) and / or person (am/are) of the subject-NP.

#### 2.1.1.2 English quasi-copulas or semi-copulas

English also uses verbs that have some of the qualities of copulas (namely quasi-copulas / semi-copulas) to enable nonverbal expressions to function as the main predicates. Pawley (2000), touching generally on semi-copula elements, states that

They are often verbs that have some independent meaning of an aspectual, modal or perceptual sort, e.g. *become, remain, prove, seem, stand, taste*, or Spanish *ser* and *estar*, but which otherwise enable a nonverbal lexeme or phrase to act as a main predicate... (Pawley 2000: 304)

In terms of the 4-ML model, what Pawley implies is that such verbs are multi-morphemic, that they are supported in part by a content- (i.e. verb-) lemma and in part by a late bridge system lemma. The English examples that Pawley (p.304) provides are:

- (3a) The young soldier became/proved/seemed/stood/remained a hero
- (3b) It seemed/stood/... became firm.

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<sup>27</sup> See §1.4.1.5.5 for a discussion of late system morphemes.

## 2.1.2 Distributions of nonverbal predicates in Ewe

Ewe differs from English in that its lone copula (*nyé*)<sup>28</sup> is restricted to only two of the four copulative functions identified with *be*<sup>29</sup>. Its functions are equative and ascriptive. However, the language has various strategies for predicating the kinds of concepts that are not expressible in *nyé*-constructions. Notable among these strategies are the use of the locative verb *le* plus locative expressions (to predicate locations of subject entities), the use of *le* plus quality-encoding elements that are syntactically adverbs (to ascribe qualities to subject entities), and the use of inchoative property-denoting verbs, e.g. *nyó* ‘be good’ (also to ascribe qualities to subject entities). We will take them in turns.

### 2.1.2.1 *Nyé*-constructions

As is typical of copulas, *nyé* is a semantically empty bridge system morpheme that depends, for the determination of its function, on the lexical structure of its complement. It takes only coreferential nominals as complement, and it is ascriptive if that nominal complement is generic but equative if it is identificational:

- (4) Wó- dzu-i            bé            é-dada            nyé adzetó o.            (Ascriptive)  
3PL insult-3sg saying 3sg-mother COP witch NEG  
‘They insult him saying his mother is a witch.’
- (5) Nutsu-ma-e            nyé zimenóla            ná            mí            (Equative)  
Man-that-FOC COP Chairperson DAT 1PL  
‘That man is the chairperson for us.’

*Nyé* is ascriptive in (4) because *adzetó* ‘witch’, which is coreferential with the subject-NP *é-dada* ‘his mother’, refers to the class of witches and assigns attributes of this class to *é-dada*. In (5), *nyé* is equative because it identifies *zimenóla* ‘chairperson’ as one and the same entity as the subject, *nutsu-ma* ‘that man’. Morphosyntactic distinction is made between the subject nominals in the construction types in (4) and (5). In the equative structure in (5), the copular subject is required to be marked for focus (i.e. take the *e* focus suffix, as with *nutsu-ma* in that example. Subject focus is not necessary in the ascriptive structure in (4); e.g. *e* is not required after *é-dada* ‘his mother’ in that example. This

<sup>28</sup> As we shall find, other copulative elements in Ewe, notably *le* ‘be (located) at’, are semi-copulas.

<sup>29</sup> Comparison is to be consistently made between Ewe and English since we are concerned with the grammatical contact of the two languages within the constituent CP.

distinction is demonstrated in the absence of *e* with ‘Kofi’ in the ascriptive structure in (6a) vs. its presence with ‘Kofi’ in the equative structure in (6b)<sup>30</sup>:

(6a) Kofi nyé lã ló

Kofi COP animal pt

‘Kofi is a fool! / Kofi is stupid!’

(6b) Me nyá be Kofi-e nyé-na ame mamle-to dzó-na

1sg know COMP Kofi-FOC COP-HAB person last-one leave-HAB

‘I know that it is Kofi who (always) leaves first.’

We should note that *nyé* performs only one shade of the ascriptive functions that Lyons (1977) identifies (see example 1b above on the English *be*). *Nyé* is used for ascriptive copulative function only when the complement is a generic coreferential nominal, as we already noted in (5) and (6a) above. It does not take as complement such quality-denoting elements as vevi-e ‘important-AdvS’ and kpui-e ‘short-AdvS’, which are syntactically adverb elements, details of which appear in the next section:

(7a) E-gblo ná-m be e- \*nyé vevi-e

1sg-say DAT-1sg COMP 3sg- COP important-AdvS

‘He said to me that it is important.’

(7b) Ati-a \*nyé kpui-e

Tree-the COP short-AdvS

‘The tree is short.’

### 2.1.2.2 *Le*-constructions

*Le*, which is glossed as ‘be at’ in Ameka (1991) and as ‘be located’ in Essegbey (1999), is analyzed by these studies as a locative verb (see also Duthie 1996). While this analysis is useful, I think it over-simplifies the functions of *le*. *Le* is more than just a locative verb; it is a semi-copulative unit that doubles locative verb functions with ascriptive bridge system morpheme functions. It occurs in two types of constructions. In one type, it is transitive (it takes a locative expression as direct object; Essegbey 1999) and in the other type it is an intransitive verb that requires an obligatory quality-encoding adverbial complement.

<sup>30</sup> Note too that in (6b) *nyé* takes the habitual marker, i.e. *nyé* exhibits the inflection bearing property of copulas.

In the two-place *le*-construction, the subject is typically an entity whose location is specified (i.e. it is Theme), and the object is typically the entity in terms of which location is specified (i.e. it is Location). The Location argument may be expressed as an NP (e.g. *agble* ‘farm’ in 9a) or, alternatively, it may be expressed as a postpositional phrase<sup>31</sup> (e.g. *afe-a megbe* ‘house-the back\_part\_of’ in 9b):

(9a) Ama le \_\_\_\_\_ agble  
 Ama be.atPRES farm  
 ‘Ama is at (the) farm.’

(9b) Ama le \_\_\_\_\_ afe-a megbe  
 Ama be.atPRES house-the back\_part\_of  
 ‘Ama is at the back of the house.’

The *le*-form in both examples is the verb’s present tense form; *nɔ* is its inflection bearing form, as used in (15b) further below.

The spatial relation expressed by *le* ‘be at’ sometimes translates as a possessive relation: e.g. (10a) encodes possession while (10b) does not:

(10a) Ga le \_\_\_\_\_ Kofi si  
 Money be.atPRES Kofi HAND  
 ‘Kofi has money’ [lit: there is money in Kofi’s hands]  
 (Ameka 1991: 206)

(10b) Ga la le \_\_\_\_\_ Kofi si  
 Money the be.atPRES Kofi HAND  
 ‘The money is with Kofi.’ [lit: the money is in Kofi’s hands]  
 (Ameka 1991: 207)

Both examples contain the postpositional phrase object Kofi si ‘Kofi HAND’, an expression that is typically construed as possessor (POR). These examples differ syntactically in respect of only the subject / Theme: while it is non-definite in (10a), it is definite in (10b). Ameka (1991) points to this distinction in his explanation of the interpretation given to (10b):

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<sup>31</sup> Postpositions, e.g. *megbe* ‘back part of, behind’, have been described as “‘substantives of place’ [that] occur with noun phrases and indicate a region of the latter” (Essegbey 1999: 50, emphasis added). It is in the same vein that Ameka (2003) says that they “denote axial parts or regions of objects” (p.21). They are therefore conceptually (rather than grammatically) related to their NPs.

When the possessum nominal [e.g. *ga* 'money'] is definite, the message of the construction tends to be one of temporary and specific possession. Such constructions have the inference that the POR [e.g. 'Kofi'] is not the normal owner but just a custodian of the specific item (presumably for someone else which is determined by extra-linguistic factors). Such constructions may be glossed as 'the Y is with X' rather than 'X has Y'. This interpretation is induced by the specific and definite nature of the nominal that fills the possessum slot. (Ameka 1991: 207)

The claim then is that the sentence in (10a) attracts an 'X has Y' interpretation because the possessum nominal is non-definite and thus compatible with being thought about as a permanent possessum. However, in certain contexts a construction such as (10b), with a definite nominal in the possessum slot, may be glossed as 'X has the Y' rather than 'Y is with X'. Example (11) illustrates this possibility:

- (11) Agbalẽ yeye la le                      Kofi sí  
 Book new the be.atPRES Kofi HAND  
 'Kofi has (a copy of) the new book.'

In this context, the underlined possessum nominal refers to a sample or specimen of a specified entity.

The distribution of *le* in the examples discussed so far shows that although *le* is first and foremost a spatial relation verb, the interpretation given to a construction in which it occurs depends on the abstract lexical structure details of its arguments (e.g. the semantic and pragmatic features of the arguments). This behaviour is similar to the behaviour of the English verbs that Pawley (2000) lists as semi-copula verbs (§2.1.1.2). I shall treat *le* accordingly as semi-copula in this study. That is, I see *le* as a multi-morphemic element that is supported in part by a verb lemma which takes care of its spatial relation verb function and in part by a late bridge system lemma which allows it to serve as a link between two, more principal, elements of structure. Further support for this view comes from the verb's distribution as an intransitive verb in constructions that contain quality-encoding deadjectival adverbials and ideophonic adverbs. Brief notes on what deadjectival adverbials and ideophonic adverbials are is in place at this point.

Several Ewe adjective elements may be adverbialised by the suffixation of *-e* (AdvS); cf. Duthie (1996) and Ameka (1991). The *-e* suffix is what is used in the Anlo dialect; its variant, *d̥e*, is used in some other dialects. The table below exemplifies some adverbials that have been derived from attributive adjectives:

TABLE 2.1: *DEADJECTIVAL ADVERBIALS*

ADJ form	e.g.	ADV form	e.g.
Kpui 'short'	dɛvi <u>kpu</u> i ma child short that 'that short child'	Kpui-e Short-AdvS	E gblɔ nya <u>kpu</u> ie 3sg say word shortly 'He spoke briefly'
Sese 'hard'	Ame <u>sese</u> aɖɛ Person hard INDEF 'a strong person'	Sesi-e Strong-AdvS	Kofi ʃu du <u>sese</u> Kofi run race strongly 'Kofi ran quickly'
Vevi 'important'	Nya <u>vevi</u> eve Word important two 'two important issues'	Vevi-e Important-AdvS	Me tso do-a <u>vevi</u> o 3sg.NEG take work-the important NEG 'She didn't attach importance to the work'
Dzi 'red'	Anyigba dzi Earth red 'red earth'	Dzi-e Red-AdvS	Nye asi me wo <u>dzie</u> 1sg hand inner_region do redly 'My palm has turned reddish.'
Vi 'small'	xo vi ma house small-that 'a small house'	Vi-e Small-AdvS	Mí u u <u>uotru</u> -a vie 1PL open door-the little 'Let us open the door a little'

As noted, Ewe also has a host of ideophonic morphemes which function as attributive adjectives and (sometimes with final vowel lengthening) as adverbs. For example, *legbee* 'long' and *lokpo* 'thick' are attributive adjectives in:

(12) Ka legbe aɖɛ  
Rope long INDEF  
'A long rope'

(13) Ati lokpo ma  
Stick thick that  
'That thick stick'

but they are adverbs in:

(14a) Ama dra afo legbee  
Ama stretch foot long  
'Ama stretched her feet out (conspicuously)'

(14b) Ama ká te-a lokpo lokpo<sup>32</sup>

Ama cut yam-the thick thick

'Ama has cut the yam into thick pieces.'

In Ewe, one of the strategies by which the quality of a subject entity is predicated is to use the locative verb *le* plus a quality-encoding deadjectival adverb / ideophonic adverb. Examples (15a and 15b) contain deadjectival adverbs and (16a and 16b) contain ideophonic adverbs:

(15a) E-gblo ná-m be e- le \_\_\_\_\_ vevi-e

3sg-say DAT-1sg COMP 3sg- be.atPres important-AdvS

'He said to me that it is important.'

(Duthie 1996: 38)

(15b) Nye me nyá be akplo-a á-no \_\_\_\_\_ kpui-e ala o

3sg NEG know COMP table-the POT-be.at short-AdvS as\_such NEG

'I didn't know that the table would be this short.'

(16a) Ka ma wó le \_\_\_\_\_ lɛɛ akpa

3sg that PL be.atPRES thin extreme

'Those ropes are too thin.'

(16b) Kofi fe fodo no \_\_\_\_\_ loboo

Kofi poss stomach be.atNPRES large\_and\_round

'Kofi's belly was large and round.'

Despite the fact that in these sentences *le* functions as an intransitive verb that requires its obligatory complements to be adverbials (such that even adjectives are converted to adverbs in the function), it also reflects a semi-copulative character. That is, each adverbial complement ascribes a certain quality to the subject via the link provided by *le*. This pattern is reminiscent of what we noted earlier in English where English predicative adjectives ascribe their qualities to the subject of *be*. We shall return to the relevance of this similarity between *le* and *be* when we discuss mixed *le*-constructions involving English predicative adjectives.

### 2.1.2.3 Other strategies for predicating quality in Ewe

*Le*-constructions involving deadjectivalised and ideophonic adverbial complements are not the only means by which qualities of subject-NPs are predicated. We have already

<sup>32</sup> A characteristic of ideophones is to reduplicate if describing more than one entity. In this case *lokpo* 'thick' describes more than one piece of yam.



discussed *nyé* plus generic coreferential nominals as one strategy. In this subsection, we discuss three other strategies for predicating quality.

One of the strategies is the use of the verb *wɔ* ‘do, make’ with “any nominal or adverbial word that has a quality component in its meaning” (Ameka 2001: 27). In the following example, a property-denoting nominal (*tsi* ‘water’), a deadjectivalised adverb (*túkúí-dé* ‘small’) and an ideophonic adverb (*legbee* ‘long’) respectively function as complement of *wɔ* to give a predicative quality interpretation:

- (17) E-wɔ tsi / túkúí-dé / legbee  
 3sg-do water small-AdvS long  
 noun adverb ideophonic adverb  
 ‘It is watery / small / long.’  
 (Ameka 2001: 27)

A similar pattern is displayed in the following example:

- (18) E-wɔ ke / ba / nogoo / sue  
 3sg-do sand mud round small  
 ‘It is sandy / muddy / round / small.’  
 (Ameka 1994a: 71)

*wɔ*, in these contexts / structures, functions as a semi-copula, i.e. in much the same way that *le* ‘be at’ functions as a semi-copula in examples (10) to (16) above. It is a multi-morphemic unit that is supported by two lemmas. On the one hand, it is supported by a verb lemma that says that its subject has undergone a change of state/quality and, on the other hand, it is supported by a late bridge system lemma that enables its form to serve as a link between the subject NP and the complement expression that encodes the ‘new’ state/quality. In my opinion, the English verb that is most appropriate as the translation of *wɔ* in (17) and (18) is the semi-copula *become*, not *be*. Consider my translation of the following example:

- (19) Afe-a me wɔ gbe / kpé  
 House-the inner\_region do grass stone  
 ‘The house has become weedy / rocky.’

What (19) says is that the subject has a quality that it did not have previously. Using *be* in the translation, following Ameka, does not capture this property. From the perspective of English, therefore, *wɔ* differs from *le*, which correlates well with *be*.<sup>33</sup>

*wɔ* also differs from *le* in that *le* cannot take property-denoting nominals.

Consider the unacceptable patterns in (20) below which is a version of (18) above:

- (20) E-le                    \*ke / \*ba / nogoo / sue  
       3sg-be.atPRES sand    mud    round small  
       ‘It is sandy / muddy / round / small.’

In this version, note that *le* only takes the adverbs, *nogoo* (ideophonic adverb) and *sue* (deadjectival adverb), which is in keeping with its distribution. Thus, *le* is in paradigmatic relation with *wɔ* only where property-encoding adverbs are concerned.

The second strategy for predicating qualities is the use of inchoative property-denoting verbs such as *nyó* ‘be good’ in (21a), *tralaa* ‘tall-lanky’ in (21b) and *kɔ* ‘be tall’ in (21c); this fact, I believe, is important in explaining the predominance of *le*-constructions with English predicative adjectivals in the CS data to be discussed in the following sections:

- (21a) *Ɖevi lá        nyó*  
       child DEF    be-good  
       ‘The child is good.’  
       (Ameka 2001: 37)

- (21b) *Nútsu la    tralaa*  
       man    the thin-tall  
       ‘The man is tall and thin ?lanky (sic).’  
       (Ameka 2001: 36)

- (21c) *Ɖevi    sia    kɔ-kɔ-gé        gbeaɖegbe a*  
       Child this REP-big-INGR some\_day Q  
       ‘Will this child become tall some day?’

The other strategy for predicating qualities of subjects is the use of lexicalized VPs<sup>34</sup>. Examples of these include the following underlined phrases:

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<sup>33</sup> This fact, I believe, is important in explaining the predominance of *le*-constructions with English predicative adjectivals in the CS data to be discussed in the following sections.

(22a) Ðevi sia dze tugbe ηuto  
 Child this hit beauty very\_much  
 ‘This child is very beautiful’

(22b) Awu ma -wó xɔ \_\_\_\_\_ asi  
 Shirt that PL receive market  
 ‘Those shirts are expensive’

(22c) Agba-wó fo \_\_\_\_\_ di  
 Plate-PL strike dirt  
 ‘The plates are dirty’

### 2.1.3 CS patterns at a glance

Presented below is an example of each type of English nonverbal predicative element in mixed CPs.

The underlined structures in (23) and (24) are two different types of mixed *nyé*-constructions. The structure in (23) is ascriptive, because *witness*, the complement of *nyé* (COP), is a property-encoding / generic coreferential nominal:

(23) Me ga hĩa be na-yi ame aɖe dzi-gé be  
 1sg REP need COMP 2sg.SUBJ-go person INDEF search-INGR COMP  
 ne nyé witness ná ye o  
 SUBJ.3sg COP DAT LOG NEG  
 ‘It is no longer necessary for you to go to look for someone to be a witness for you.’  
 (KWAME-Accra-REC8: sn1314)

Example (24) is, on the other hand, an equative structure in which *computer* has been identified as the same entity as the subject entity, the question expression *nu-ka* ‘thing-WH’:

(24) Fifia wó- be nane va wó-be computer; Nu-ka-e nyé computer a?  
 Now 3PL say something come 3PL-say Thing-WH-FOC COP Q  
 ‘Now, there is this new thing they call a *computer*. What is *computer*?’  
 (ATTA-Accra-REC6: sn935)

The occurrences of *nyé* in the ascriptive and equative constructions are in keeping with its distribution in monolingual Ewe, as we saw in §2.1.2.1. With regard to the equative

<sup>34</sup> I use the term “lexicalised phrase” in the sense in which Chafe (1994: 113) used it: “conventional collocations that are already established in the speaker’s repertoire”.

structure in (24), note that like Ewe versions, the subject of *nyé* bears the focus marker *-e*. As expected, this marker is not present in the ascriptive structure in (23).

Two other types of English nonverbal predicative elements occur in the underlined structures in (26) and (27), which are mixed *le-* (be at) constructions. In (25), the English locative expression **classroom** occurs as the object of *le* to predicate the location of the subject entity, a pattern reminiscent of the occurrence of Ewe locative elements in that context:

- (25) Né wó **teachers-wó** gbó kpó-mí nyuie a, **teachers-wó á-nó classroom**  
 If 3PL PL side see-PROG well TP PL POT-be.at  
 á-fia nu  
 POT-teach thing  
 ‘If they give incentives to teachers, teachers will be in the classroom and teach.’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn318)

The complement of *nó* (the inflection-bearing form of *le*) in (26) is an English predicative adjective, which ascribes the quality it encodes to the subject:

- (26) Mé le **necessary** be...  
 3sg.NEG be.atPRES COMP  
 ‘It is not necessary that...’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn252)

This pattern is also in keeping with the distribution of quality-encoding elements in *le-* constructions in monolingual Ewe. The difference though is that the pattern does not conform with the Ewe-internal rule that *le* takes deadjectivalised adverbials instead of the adjective forms from which they have been derived: note that **necessary**, in the example, does not have the adverbializing suffix *-e*.

While the CS patterns seem to resemble patterns in monolingual Ewe, one can say that they also mirror patterns in monolingual English constructions in which **be** is copula. For instance, each type of English CS nonverbal element in the examples cited above retains its abstract lexical structure features as it occurs as a complement of *nyé* / *le*. For instance,

- a generic coreferential English nominal found in the complement of *nyé* slot predicates a quality to the subject in the same way that it would have predicated its quality to the subject of **be**

- an English identificational coreferential nominal is equated to the subject of *nyé* just as it would have been equated to the subject of *be*
- an English locative complement of *le* encodes the location of the subject of *le* in the same way it would have functioned in a *be*-construction, and
- an English predicative adjective ascribes its quality to the subject of *le* as it does to the subject of *be*.

From the scanty data presented above, therefore, it appears that each language makes certain inputs towards the patterns of morpheme distributions in the mixed constructions as well as to the interpretations of the constructions. A major endeavour in the chapter is to investigate the nature of each language's input, and the limitations, in the production of the mixed constructions. In pursuing this endeavour, I will be particularly concerned with the fact that the concepts expressed in some mixed constructions (e.g. mixed *le*-constructions involving English predicative adjectives) are expressed in very different construction types in monolingual Ewe.

## 2.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

### 2.2.1 Myers-Scotton (1993a)

#### 2.2.1.1 Introduction

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 150-151) considers only one of the four construction types introduced in §2.1.3 above, i.e. the mixed *le*-construction that involves English adjectival complements. Her position, which is based on the assumption that Ewe-English CS is Classic CS, is that an Ewe-only ML frames the mixed *le*-constructions. The formulation in (I) below, reproduced from §1.4.4.2, is my understanding of what the Ewe-only ML hypothesis is:

**(I) The Ewe-only ML hypothesis:**

- (i) Once the lemma supporting an English content morpheme is selected at the lemma level to express a pre-verbal intention,
- (ii) the said lemma is checked for congruence with the lemma supporting the Ewe counterpart of the English morpheme at the three levels of abstract lexical structure: lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. One of two things happens:

(a) *The two elements are determined to be sufficiently congruent:* so, the morphosyntactic frame meant for the Ewe content morpheme (at the Functional level) is used for realizing the English content morpheme at Surface structure. That is, the English morpheme is fully integrated / inserted into a slot projected by its Ewe counterpart. The System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle (see §1.4.2.2.1) are instrumental in the functional level processes.

(b) *The two elements are determined to be not sufficiently congruent:* a compromise strategy is activated and used with the result that the English content morpheme is not placed in a slot projected by its Ewe counterpart; rather, it is realized as a bare form or as a part of an English/EL island.

The hypothesis anticipates that granted that the English content morpheme (here predicative adjective) has an equivalent in Ewe—one that it is sufficiently congruent with – it would occur in the kind of slot in which the equivalent occurs in an Ewe structure. As will be shown in the section, all English predicative adjectives in Ewe-English CS occur in the complement of *le* slot. An important aspect of Myers-Scotton (1993a) is how it relates this fact to the question whether each CS slot may be traced to an Ewe equivalent of an English CS adjective, some of which are inchoative property-encoding verbs or verbal expressions (see §2.1.2.3).

#### 2.2.1.2 *Explicating the hypothesis*

As we found in §2.1.2.2, Ewe quality-encoding elements that occur in the complement of *le* slot are elements we have called deadjectival and ideophonic adverbs. For example, the Ewe counterpart of **important** in (27a) is a deadjectival adverb, namely *vevi-e* ‘important-AdvS’ in (27b):

(27a) Eyata as for asige lae, e-le **important** (Ewe-English CS)  
 So ring TP, 3sg-be.atPRES  
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important’  
 (GEORGINA-Accra-REC9: sn1526)

(27b) Eyata as for asige lae, e-le *vevi-e* (Anlo Ewe version)  
 So ring TP, 3sg-be.atPRES important-AdvS  
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important’

The slot in which **important** occurs is analogous to the slot in which *vevie* occurs, and from the perspective of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis in (I) above, this is not coincidental. We are to see the pattern in (27a) as evidence that the lemma supporting *vevie* has

something to do with the slot that *important* occupies. The analysis is that: (i) once the lemma supporting *important* is selected, (ii) it is checked for congruence with its Ewe counterpart *vevi* at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and is determined to be sufficiently congruent with it<sup>35</sup>; consequently, (iii) grammatical structure meant for *vevi* is built for *important* and (iv) *important* is duly inserted into that structure. I detail this explication in Table 2.2 below:

TABLE 2.2: EWE-ONLY ML ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES (E.G. *IMPORTANT*) IN MIXED LE-CONSTRUCTIONS

- **Stage 1 - The Lemma level:**<sup>36</sup> When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (such as *important* in 27a) during Ewe-English CS, he also selects Ewe as the sole ML of the mixed construction being produced. The following language production processes take place at the lemma level to initiate the building of a fitting grammatical environment for *important* to occur in:
  - The lexical-conceptual structure sub-part of the lemma supporting *important* is activated; i.e. the quality it encodes becomes salient. This lexical-conceptual structure information as well as information about the morpheme's predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern information are communicated to the formulator at the functional level. At the same time, full abstract lexical structure information about the Ewe counterpart (*vevi-e*) is also communicated to the formulator.
- **Stage 2 - The Functional Level:** The formulator checks the *degree of congruence* between *important* and *vevi-e*, with the following results:
  - The two are treated as sufficiently congruent because (a) they encode an identical quality concept, i.e. they have a similar lexical-conceptual structure; (b) they are *non-verbal* predicative elements, i.e. they have a similar predicate-argument structure and (c) because non-verbal, they require for their morphological realization a *verbal* bridge system morpheme, a copulative element with an ascriptive function, to connect them to their subject NP.

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<sup>35</sup> The absence of the adverbialiser *-e* on *important* is, however, an indication that *important* and *vevi-e* differ in terms of word class despite matching in terms of lexical-conceptual structure. This difference in their morphological realizations shall be revisited in §2.2.1.3.1.

<sup>36</sup> I call the lemma level 'Stage 1' here and in subsequent tables following my convention in Chapter 1. Actually, the first stage in language production is the Conceptual Level (see Table 2.1), which I assume here because it is pre-linguistic.

- As the language in control of functional level processes, Ewe supplies the required copulative element, which is the semi-copulative locative verb *le* (§2.1.2.2). The System Morpheme Principle ensures that only Ewe supplies the copula and also any tense-aspect-modal (TAM) morphemes that are required (as we find in 29 and 30 below). The Morpheme Order Principle also ensures that Ewe morphosyntactic procedures are deployed in framing the mixed constructions.
- **Stage 3 - The Positional or Surface level:** *Important* is routed into the slot intended for *vevi-e* in the *le*-construction.<sup>37</sup>

Another English adjective that fits the explication in Table 2.2 is *short*, whose Ewe equivalent (the deadjectival adverb *kpui-e* ‘short-AdvS’) also occurs in the complement of *le* slot. Compare the slot of *short* in (28a) with that of *kpui-e* in (28b):

(28a) Me        kɔ be    abati- a    le        short akpa o    a?        (Ewe-English CS)  
 2sg.NEG see COMP bed- DEF be.atPres    much NEG Q  
 ‘Can’t you see that the bed is too short?’  
 (CANBERRA)

(28b) Me        kɔ be    abati-a    le        kpui-e        akpa o    a?        (Anlo Ewe)  
 2sg.NEG see COMP bed-DEF be.atPres short-AdvS much NEG Q  
 ‘Can’t you see that the bed is too short?’

As mentioned in Table 2.2, the System Morpheme Principle ensures that only *le* is used in mixed constructions involving English predicative adjectives, because Ewe is the language in control at the functional level. Further evidence for that assumption, as also noted in the table, is the fact that only Ewe TAM may accompany *le* in CS structures. This is illustrated in the following examples:

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<sup>37</sup> As noted in §2.1.2.3, *wɔ* ‘do, make’ is also used as an ascriptive semi-copula morpheme. But *wɔ* is a process verb with semantics that is close to that of English *become*. It may be argued that the reason why *le* is favoured for linking English predicates to subject NPs is that it is closer in function to *be* than *wɔ* is. Indeed, the use of *wɔ* with English predicative adjectives is restricted to those that may easily be construed as states resulting from a change, e.g. colour adjectives (one may hear *e-wɔ red* ‘it has become red’) and *e-wɔ beautiful* ‘she has become beautiful’. No one would say \**e-wɔ important* for ‘it has become important’. I would rather say *e-va nɔ important* ‘it became important’.



(29a) E-le be na- nɔ ready

3sg-be.atPRES COMP 2sg.SUBJ-be.at

'You have to be ready.'

(ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn126)

(29b) By tomorrow la amɔ ma nɔ-nɔ -gé fermented akpa ná ɔɔɔ

TP dough that RED-be.at-INGR too\_much DAT eating

'By tomorrow, that dough is going to be too fermented for consumption.'

(CANBERRA)

In (29a), the subjunctive *na* occurs with *nɔ*, the inflection bearing form of *le*, and in (29b) *nɔ* duly reduplicates to take an aspectual form, *gé* (INGR). And in (29c), it is the Ewe negation marker *me* that is used in the underlined, where an adjectivally-used NP appears in the complement slot of *nɔ* 'be.atNPRES' (the non-present tense in Ewe is null):

(29c) Nyɔnu áɔé nɔ du -a me tsã,

woman SPEC1 sit town-DEF in formerly,

mé nɔ mentally sound o.

3sg.NEG beNPRES NEG

'There used to be a woman in the town who was not mentally sound.'

(Essegbey 1999: 238)

Needless to say, it is Ewe morpheme order that is employed in these structures. For instance, an intensifier precedes its head in English but in (29b) *akpa* 'too much' follows *fermented* in accordance with the Ewe pattern.

### 2.2.1.3 Problems

The above account of the nature of the processes involved in the distributions of English adjectives in mixed *le*-constructions has two empirical problems:

- As noted earlier, some English predicate adjectives that occur as complements of *le* do not have Ewe equivalents that can be traced to the CS slots. Ewe counterparts of such English adjectives are inchoative property-encoding verbs or larger verbal expressions (§2.1.2.3).
- The English adjectives do not bear the adverbializer *-e*, which Ewe property-encoding adjective words obligatorily bear in the complement of *le* slot (§2.1.2.2).

2.2.1.3.1 Adjectives whose Ewe equivalents are verbal elements

Illustrating the problem; Myers-Scotton (1993a) notes, for instance, that although the English adjectival phrase very observant occurs as a complement of *le* in the example cited here as (30a), its Ewe equivalent, the verbal expression lé<sup>38</sup> ŋku de nu ŋú in (30b), has nothing to do with the CS slot:

- (30a) Wo ŋuto e-nya be nye me le very observant o  
 2sg self 2sg-know that 1sg NEG be.atPRES not  
 ‘You yourself know that I’m not very observant.’  
 (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 151)

- (30b) Wo ŋuto e-nya be nye me- lé-a ŋku de nu  
 2sg self 2sg-know that 1sg NEG-fix-HAB eye ALL thing  
nu tutu o.  
 part exactly not  
 ‘You yourself know that I’m not very observant.’  
 (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 151)

Other examples may be adduced to illustrate this problem. Examples (31) and (32) illustrate English adjectives whose Ewe equivalents are inchoative verbs that are, therefore, unrelated to the CS slots (the Ewe verb equivalents appear in the ‘b’ versions of the examples<sup>39</sup>):

- (31a) Mé le necessary be...  
 3sg.NEG be.atPRES COMP  
 ‘It is not necessary that...’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn252)

- (31b) Mé hĩa be...  
 3sg.NEG need COMP  
 ‘It is not necessary that...’

- (32a) Esi wó-de asi de-vi-a ŋu wo- le free nenema a...  
 Since 3PL-remove hand child-the side 3sg be.atPRES as\_such TP  
 ‘Since they allowed the child to be so free...’  
 (KUMA-Accra-REC2: sn465)

- (32b) Esi wó-de asi de-vi-a ŋu wo- vo nenema a...

<sup>38</sup> As Myers-Scotton (1993: 151) notes, this morpheme is different from the copula *le* as is evident in their tone difference. It means ‘to fix, glue’.

<sup>39</sup> Most of the sources of these examples are speakers of the Anlo dialect of Ewe. So, unless otherwise stated, the Ewe versions appear in this dialect.

Since 3PL-remove hand child-the side 3sg free as\_such TP

'Since they allowed the child to be so free...'

And in the following examples, we find that a completely different Ewe CP configuration is required in order to render the concept expressed in the *le-engaged* and *le-expensive* constructions:

(33a) **Maybe** ame-a le engaged.

person-the be.atPRES

'Maybe the person is engaged.'

(MARY-Accra-REC9: sn1523)

(33b) Dewómahi wó bía ame-a tá.

Maybe 3sg ask person-the head

'Maybe they have inquired about the person (lit: they have asked about the person's head).'

(34a) **Material-sia** de wo- le very expensive.

this aFOC 1sg- be.atPRES

'This material is very expensive.'

(Amuzu 1998: 26)

(34b) **Material-sia** de wo- xo asi nuto

this aFOC 1sg- receive market much

'This material is very expensive (lit: this material receives market very much).'

Myers-Scotton (1993a) sums up the problem that the distributions of these adjectives pose to the Ewe-only ML hypothesis thus:

... in those cases where the pattern including [be + Adjective] ... is unique to CS utterances, then, the pattern is outside the grammar of the ML. That is, it cannot be argued that the ML morphosyntactic procedures are at work. (p.151, emphasis added)

If the distributions of these adjectives (i.e. *observant*-type adjectives<sup>40</sup>) cannot be explained in terms of the Ewe-only ML, how may they be explained? Myers-Scotton suggests that a different set of "specially syntactic procedures" guide their distributions:

In a production model, at least the outlines of adjustments are relatively easy to envision: they [i.e. *observant*-type adjectives] would involve adding specially syntactic procedures which would be activated when certain EL lemmas are

<sup>40</sup> I will hence forth be referring to adjectives whose Ewe equivalents are verbal elements with this label. Conversely, I refer to adjectives like *important* (27a) and *short* (28a) whose Ewe counterparts occur in their CS slots with the label '*important*-type adjectives'.

accessed to participate in ML + EL constituents. But why this happens in certain cases and not others awaits full explanation. (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 151, emphasis added)

The specifics of the special procedures were not worked out in that study. However, the issue was embedded in the general context of what are called “compromise strategies” (strategies for dealing with structural incongruence between ML and EL), which have received extensive attention in later publications on the framework. Based on insight from the literature<sup>41</sup>, I would outline the stages of inserting an *observant*-type adjective into the complement of *le* slot as: (i) once the lemma supporting such a morpheme is selected, (ii) it is checked for congruence with its Ewe counterpart at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and (iii) the two are found to be insufficiently congruent since the Ewe counterpart is a verbal element; so (iv) in order to use this incongruent adjective in an Ewe frame, the issue of its incongruence is somehow resolved by fitting it into the complement of *le* slot (which happens to be the slot where Ewe counterparts of adjectives like *important* and *short* occur).

The important point of interest is the fact that although both *important*-type and *observant*-type adjectives occur in the same complement of *le* slot, the need arises under the Ewe-only ML hypothesis for two accounts to deal with the pattern. In my view, this is not economical; it is a sign of the hypothesis’s inadequacy for dealing with the data. The first point of reminder is that the *important* – *observant* distinction that necessitates the two accounts is nothing more than the distinction that exists among their Ewe counterparts. Secondly the need for the Ewe distinction to be imposed on the English adjectives originates from the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, i.e. from the assumption that it is Ewe counterparts that project CS slots for English/CS content morphemes. In view of these, there emerges a vicious circle leading to a certain assumption which allows several exceptions (namely the distribution of *observant*-type adjectives), hence the need to find auxiliary explanations—e.g. the compromise strategy account—for the exceptions. What is lost on us in this vicious circle is the fact that the two ‘types’ of English adjectives do share abstract lexical structure features and that their abstract lexical features satisfy sub-categorization requirements of the CS complement of *le* slots. Now, clearly, the proposition that the English adjectives project their own CS slots is at odds with the aforementioned central assumption in the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. Because of this, the

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<sup>41</sup> See my report on Myers-Scotton’s (2002) analysis of predicative adjective switching in Fongbe-French CS in §2.4.2.3. Fongbe is a sister language of Ewe in the Gbe family of languages.

proposition cannot be pursued within the Ewe-only ML frame of reference. My opinion is that the proposition is worth pursuing because it leads to a much more economical accounting for the patterns. But we need a different frame of reference to be able to work things out. The composite ML hypothesis in §1.4.4.3, which assumes that both ‘types’ of English adjectives would project their CS slots, provides the required frame of reference. I will take this assumption up in §2.3.

#### 2.2.1.3.2 Absence of the *e*-adverbializer

As shown in Table 2.1, the *e*-adverbializer is a derivational morpheme that converts adjective morphemes into adverbs. The 4-M model classifies *-e* as an early system morpheme, because its function entails a conceptual tie (at the lemma level) to the property-encoding element with which it occurs. We found in the examples cited in §2.1.2.2 that it is the deadjectival adverbialized forms that *le* takes as complements, not their adjective relatives.<sup>42</sup> Because of this fact, one may say that it is the deadjectival complements of *le* that are the equivalents of *important*-type adjectives, not their adjective relatives. This correlation raises questions about the presupposition that *important*-type adjectives occur in slots projected by their Ewe counterparts when they do not bear the adverbializer that marks their counterparts. Consider the unacceptability of the following version of (27a):

- (35) Eyata as for asige lae, e-le \_\_\_\_\_ \*important-~~e~~  
 So ring TP, 3sg-be.atPRES  
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important’

*Important* is unacceptable with the *-e* morpheme in *vevi-e* ‘important-AdvS’ in the same slot. The way the Ewe-only ML hypothesis is able to accommodate the missing *-e* is by looking at English adjectives as ‘bare forms’.<sup>43</sup>

The problem I find with this analysis is that it provides no clues as to how the complement of *le* slot gets chosen as the ‘compromise site’ for the English adjectives. If all English CS adjectives were *important*-type adjectives, we can easily imagine that although their Ewe deadjectival adverb equivalents project their CS slots they end up in

<sup>42</sup> It is tempting to see *-e* as a late system morpheme that occurs on adjective complements of *le* at the behest of *le*. But this view is not tenable given the fact that *-e* occurs on any adjective words in other adverbial positions too (see Table 2.1).

<sup>43</sup> Bare forms are defined as EL content morphemes that occur without crucial system morphemes because they are not sufficiently congruent with their ML counterparts. As a bare-form construction, then, the mixed *le*-construction is seen as a compromise strategy designed to accommodate the lack of sufficient congruency between the English CS adjectives and their various Ewe equivalents. The *important* – *observant* distinction is here ignored since even *important*-type adjectives are not sufficiently congruent with their counterparts.

those slots without attracting the adverbializer suffix so that they can retain their adjective-hood. But we know that we have to account for *observant*-type adjectives too, with their peculiar problem of not having Ewe counterparts that are traceable to their CS slots. As I see it, the only way by which the bare form account may be upheld for the *observant*-type adjectives is to combine two types of compromise strategy accounts: the compromise strategy account discussed in §2.2.1.3.1 (which is inapplicable to *important*-type adjectives) and the bare form (which is only applicable to the *important*-type adjectives).

These compromise strategy accounts complicate the analysis of the data unnecessarily. As noted, the complications derive directly from the expectation that Ewe/ML lemmas supporting counterparts of the CS adjectives would project the CS slots. As soon as we perceive the adjectives as elements that project their CS slots, the complications in analysing the absence of the adverbializer evaporate, and the analysis is more straightforward and simpler as can be seen in §3.2.3. But before we take up that account we need to review two other prevailing accounts.

## 2.2.2 Amuzu (1998)

### 2.2.2.1 Overview

In analyzing mixed *le*-constructions, Amuzu (1998: 108-115) takes into account the fact that *le* is not the only Ewe ‘equivalent’ of the English *be*. He<sup>44</sup> notes (p.26), for instance, that *le* and *nyé* occur complementarily in CS contexts as they do in monolingual Ewe structures.<sup>45</sup> Reporting on his own data and that of Asilevi (1990), he observes that

In these corpora, following the Ewe grammatical system, English adjectival phrases only occur as complements of the Ewe existential *le* as in (7a) while mixed NPs or monolingual English NPs only occur as complements of the Ewe identificational or equational copula *nyé* as in (7b). Amuzu (1998: 26)

His (7a) and (7b) referred to above are repeated here as (36a) and (36b) respectively:

(36a) **Material-sia de wo- le very expensive.**

this aFOC 1sg- be.atPRES

‘This material is very expensive.’

(Amuzu 1998: 26)

<sup>44</sup> See §1.6 for explanation of my choice to discuss Amuzu (1998) and (2002) in the third person.

<sup>45</sup> In the 1998 work, *le* is assumed to be a simple rather than semi-copula, an assumption to be borne in mind in this section.

(36b) Me        nyé    the usual type-a    ko    -e    a?

3sg.NEG COP                                  -DEF only FOC Q

'Isn't it just the usual type?'

(Amuzu 1998: 26)

He makes no further reference to the *nyé*-construction beyond this pair of examples; so there is no mention of the distinction between equative *nyé*-constructions and ascriptive *nyé*-constructions. He also has not discussed mixed *le*-constructions that involve English locative nominal complements. That is to say that he did not take advantage of his wider frame of reference in his attempt to elucidate the nature of the CS patterns involving nonverbal English expressions. What follows, therefore, is a review of his account of only mixed *le* constructions involving English adjectives.

#### 2.2.2.2 Amuzu's argument

Amuzu supports Myers-Scotton's hypothesis that mixed ascriptive-*le* constructions are framed by Ewe-only ML. He however questions her need for two alternative explanations for the adjective insertions. He considers the need for two different explanations as a weakness in the assumption that language production is *always* lexically driven (i.e., he rejects the notion that syntactic structures are, *by default*, translations of the abstract lexical structure requirements of content morphemes used in the construction). He favours a construction-based analysis for the mixed *le*-construction in particular, claiming that at an unspecified stage in bilingual language production correspondence is struck between the *be*-construction in which the selected English adjective would have occurred in monolingual English and the equivalent *le*-construction that is used<sup>46</sup>. He intimates that the role of the Ewe-only ML is to ensure that the analogous *le*-construction is the default CS structure used. He writes:

I claim that the complement slots of *le* ... are identified by the ML [Ewe] as equivalent to EL [English] predicate adjectival slots such that EL predicate adjectives are permitted to be inserted there. Congruence checking between EL adjectives and their specific equivalent ML expressions (be they adverbials, stative verbs or verbal expressions) does not therefore play any role in the successful insertion of the EL predicate adjective in a complement of *le* slot. (Amuzu 1998: 114)

<sup>46</sup> As will become evident in later chapters, Amuzu (1998) upholds the lexically driven approach in the analysis of mixed constructions that are not *mixed bridged constructions* (i.e. constructions that involve bridge morphemes). The other kind of mixed bridged construction for which he favours a construction-based account is the mixed adnominal possessive construction (discussed in Chapter 3).

He also makes the claim that the *le*-construction may in fact be activated prior to the search for the content (Ewe / English) morpheme that would be inserted into the complement slot within it. He gives a number of scenarios in which this may happen:

It is worthy of note to mention here a significant observation [that] one of my respondents made when I asked him why he chose to use a predicative English adjective ... He explained, to my surprise at the time, that he ... had to use [the] English adjective in that context because he had used *le* "in the wrong place" ... In other words, *le* serves as the trigger to codeswitch. In fact, since that comment, I have observed that speakers sometimes pause, audibly or silently, before inserting an EL adjective in[to] the complement slot of *le*, pauses which, I will say, are indicative of the time lapse during failure to retrieve an often non-existent ML [i.e. Ewe] lexeme to fill that slot ...<sup>47</sup> Incidentally, however, none of the examples recorded in the ... data has a pause after *le*. (Amuzu 1998: 111, emphasis added)

A few instances of CS appear in the data collected for the present study in which the hesitation phenomena that Amuzu refers to occurred. One of them is discussed here.

Example (37) was produced in an interview session in Accra in which the principal addressee could speak no English. A chieftaincy dispute in Northern Ghana had left many people dead. The crisis loomed large over the region and was a topic of hot debate in the media at the time of the interview. The speaker—who as interviewer in my Accra recordings proved to be an eloquent speaker of monolingual Ewe (see e.g. Appendix 4)—was arguing that he thought that the minister of interior (the ‘he’) ought to investigate the matter thoroughly and act:

- (37) E- le be wo-a-nɔ very wo-a-nɔ (....) wo-a- lé<sup>48</sup> ŋku  
 1sg-be.atPRES COMP 3sg-FUT-be.at 3sg-FUT-be.at 3sg-FUT-fix eye  
 dɛ nya -a me nyuie elabe...  
 on word-DEF inside well because...  
 ‘He ought to be very(.) ought to be (....) he ought to look closely into this matter because...’  
 (INTERVIEWER-Accra-REC3: sn651)

There are two instances of hesitation after *nɔ*, the inflection bearing form of *le*. The first instance is abrupt, i.e. less than a second. I believe that the presence of **very** immediately before this pause coupled with its abruptness could be interpreted as punctuating the

<sup>47</sup> Other researchers have written about hesitation / repair phenomena in similar cases (see, e.g., Halmari 1997: 146-148).

<sup>48</sup> *Lé* (with high tone) is not the copula *le*, it is the verb meaning ‘to fix / hold’.



speaker's attempt to avoid using an incoming English adjective<sup>49</sup>. The second instance is marked by audible fillers, and is more than a second long. This one is followed by a monolingual Ewe structure that does not involve the Ewe copula. I think that the absence of *very*, the length of the pause and the voice fillers that characterize this second lapse add up as evidence that during this instance of hesitation the speaker was engaged in a fruitless search for an Ewe equivalent of a selected English adjective. The monolingual structure following the search seems to represent the speaker's decision to re-start language production in order *not* to use the rejected English adjective.

It is this second instance of hesitation which supports Amuzu's claim that sometimes the selection of the Ewe copula construction may precede the activation of an Ewe / English content morpheme to be used within the complement of *le* slot.

His account seems to explain the occurrence of both *important*-type and *observant*-type English adjectives in the *le*-constructions because it removes the credit for the projection of the CS slots from Ewe equivalents of the adjectives and hands it to the English adjectives as well as the *be*-construction in which they originally occur. What has not come through in his account, however, is how exactly the process works and at which stage in language production the switch of structures takes place. In any case, the account breaks down completely in the face of the other crucial test – why the adverbializing suffix *e* is missing from the CS structures. The key question is: if the *le*-constructions were activated intact as Ewe-only grammatical structures for CS purposes, why then is the suffix missing from them at the critical stage in language production, the positional level? For the account to hold, we need to explain convincingly what causes the inhibition of the suffix. This, as Amuzu himself admits, remains a puzzle:

The only uniqueness of CS predicate adjectival utterances is that the Ewe adverbial suffix may not occur on EL adjectivals. (Amuzu 1998: 111)

### 2.2.3 The *be*—*le* substitution theory

There is another view that is being floated informally by Ewe-English codeswitchers who have some knowledge of linguistics. The view is that *be* is being translated as *le* in the mixed *le*-constructions, i.e. we are to think that what is being switched is not the English adjectives but rather *be* with *le*. For convenience, let us call this view the *be-le* substitution theory. One clause of the theory may read as follows:

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<sup>49</sup> In these interviews, speakers endeavoured to speak Ewe monolingually because their primary addressee was someone who did not know English (see §1.4 for details).

It is *be* which is substituted by *le* in a mixed *le*-construction; so, the placement of an English adjective in the complement of *le* slot has nothing to do with the grammatical category and distribution tendency of its Ewe equivalent since the English adjective is not the CS element.

This clause seems to account for why both *important*-type and *observant*-type adjectives occur in the mixed constructions. Another clause aimed at accounting for the missing Ewe adverbializing *e* suffix may read as follows:

Since an English predicate adjectival is originally earmarked to occur as a complement of *be*—i.e. before the substitution of *be* with *le*—the adjective should be expected to come into the *le*-construction on the basis of its English language-specific abstract lexical structure, which includes no requirement for an adverbializing suffix in its morphosyntactic environment.

In other words, since the English adjectives enter the constructions in their own right, they should not be expected to function as adverbials, as their Ewe counterparts do.

However, like the other accounts, the *be-le* substitution theory too has serious empirical problems. First, no variant of *be* may replace *le* in a mixed *le*-construction. Consider the unacceptability of *is* and *was*, in examples (38a) and (38b-i) respectively, in slots they presumable project for *le/no*:

(38a) Esi wó-ɔe asi ɔevi-a ŋu wo- \*is free nenema a...

Since 3PL-remove hand child-the side 3sg be.atPRES as\_such TP

'Since they allowed the child to be so free...'

(Compare with 32a, where *le* 'be.atPRES' occurred)

(38b)i Mé \*was hectic abe previous fights-wó o

3sg.NEG beNPRES like PL NEG

'It wasn't as hectic as previous fights.'

ii Mé no hectic abe previous fights-wó o (Ewe-English CS)

3sg.NEG beNPRES like PL NEG

'It wasn't as hectic as previous fights.'

(Asilevi 1990: 59)

The simple question is:

If *be* were substituted by *le* in the copula slot, why then cannot *be* occur in that slot?

It may be argued that the copula substitution is obligatory, that it is *the* CS constraint. But that argument presupposes that the *le* slot in every instance of mixed *le*-construction corresponds to the *be* slot in an analogous *be*-construction. Contrary to this presupposition, only the copula slot in which the present tense form of *le* (i.e. *le*) and its non-present tense form *nɔ* occur in mixed *le*-constructions has a strong resemblance to the *be* slot in *be*-constructions where only tense is expressed.<sup>50</sup> This analogy is, however, hardly plausible when one considers mixed *le*-constructions in which aspect or mood is also expressed. Consider example (39)—earlier cited as example (29b):

- (39) By tomorrow la amɔ ma nɔ-nɔ -gé fermented akpa ná ɖuɖu  
 TP dough that RED-be.at-INGR too\_much DAT eating  
 ‘By tomorrow, that dough is going to be too fermented for consumption.’  
 NB: amɔ ma \*is going to be / \*will be / \*shall be fermented akpa

In example (39), *nɔ* reduplicates to take the ingressive aspectual suffix *-gé* in accordance with Ewe morphosyntactic procedures (compare with the monolingual Ewe structure *é-nɔnɔ-gé dedie* [3sg-RED-be.at-INGR intact] ‘it will be intact’). The order in which *gé* occurs relative to *le* may hardly be compared with the order in which an analogous English morpheme occurs relative to *be* in a *be*-construction. The closest English equivalent of ‘*nɔnɔ-gé too fermented*’ is ‘is going to be too fermented’, which I have used in the translation; other equivalents of *nɔnɔ-gé...* are ‘shall be too fermented’ and ‘will be too fermented’. None of these patterns seems to mirror the morpheme order in which *le* and *gé* occur. Another example that illustrates the points here is (40):

- (40) Mensah hā fail dodokpo sia; ta á- nyá nɔ tough nuto  
 Mensah too exams this so 3sg.POT PASSIV be very  
 ‘Mensah too failed this exams so it must have been very tough.’  
 (CANBERRA)

In (40), *nɔ* and the Ewe potential *á-* as well as the passive-like modal *nyá* occur in the order in which they occur in Ewe structures (compare their order of occurrence with that in which they occur in the monolingual Ewe structure *é á nyá nɔ vevi-e be...* ‘it must have been important that...’). It seems unconvincing to argue that the [*á nyá nɔ* + ADJ P]

<sup>50</sup> That is, the [*le / nɔ* + Eng ADJ P] construction as used in (38) mirrors the [*is / was / were* + Eng ADJ P] construction.

sequence is a calque of [*must have been* + ADJ P] structure, which is the closest English equivalent as shown in the translation.

Since *le* may not be said matter-of-factly to substitute *be* in mixed constructions in which aspect and / or mood is expressed beside tense, it is not clear what gain will be derived from the assumption that such a substitution takes place in mixed *le*-constructions in which only tense is expressed. Another source of worry about this hypothesis is that underlying it is the controversial assumption that the ascriptively used locative *le* may be taken as the automatic equivalent of *be*. The problem is that because of its sole emphasis on surface structure configurations, the hypothesis provides no reliable way of determining which factors ensure that it is only this *le* and not the Ewe copula *nyé* or indeed *be* itself that is used to bridge an English predicate adjective to its subject NP in a CS context.

### 2.3 THE PRESENT STUDY: COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT

The composite ML hypothesis assumes that there is a definable partnership between English and Ewe during the framing of a mixed construction. The partnership, captured in §1.4.4.3, is reproduced here as (II):

#### (II) The composite ML hypothesis:

While **English** provides --- from the lemma level --- abstract lexical structure information (i.e., lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation pattern information) about each English content morpheme selected during CS,

Ewe provides --- from the functional level --- the morphosyntactic means (i.e. morpheme order and late system morphemes) with which the Formulator creates for the English content morpheme a slot that expresses its abstract lexical structure features.

The emphasis in (II) is on the two-pronged prediction that (i) an English nonverbal predicate will retain its lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation pattern features during the production of a bilingual construction and that (ii) Ewe morphosyntactic means—notably its copula system, verbal inflectional morphology and word order procedures—will be deployed fully to project a CS slot that expresses the English-specific abstract lexical structure features of the selected English morpheme. The notion I explore here assumes that speakers deploy their Generalized Lexical Knowledge (§1.4.2.2.2) of Ewe in distributing English content morphemes as CS forms. However, I depart from Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) in that I do not assume that

for a CS content morpheme to occur as a fully integrated morpheme it needs to be congruent with any particular target ML counterpart (which they say may be an actual morpheme or just an unspecified lemma stored as part of speakers' Generalized Lexical Knowledge / GLK of the target ML). Rather, as implied in my composite CS hypothesis, I argue that Ewe-English codeswitchers activate English-origin content-morpheme lemmas and use their GLK of Ewe to satisfy the grammatical requirements contained in those lemmas as they search for suitable CS slots for the English lexemes.

How this works regarding the CS use of each type of English nonverbal predicative element (adjectives, locative expressions and coreferential nominals) is discussed in the subsections below.

### 2.3.1 Mixed *le* constructions with English predicate adjectives

I provide details below in the table of how the composite ML hypothesis in (II) above applies in the production of mixed *le*-constructions that involve English predicate adjectives:

TABLE 2.3 PRODUCTION OF MIXED *le*-CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ENGLISH PREDICATE ADJECTIVES

- **Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (such as *important* in 27a or *necessary* in 31a<sup>51</sup>) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme's abstract lexical structure. At this level, what becomes salient regarding the morpheme's lexical structure is its lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the quality concept it encodes. Information on the morpheme's lexical-conceptual structure along with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which are not yet salient—are sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.
- **Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator discerns the information sent from the lemma level, i.e.
  - Regarding predicate-argument structure, it recognizes *important* / *necessary* as a predicate.
  - Regarding the morpheme's morphological realization, the formulator detects that the predicate requires to be expressed as a nonverbal element, specifically, as an

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<sup>51</sup> *Necessary* is an *observant*-type adjective. I use it here instead of *observant* because *observant* occurs as part of a phrasal unit in (30a), which will be discussed shortly. The present focus is singly-occurring predicate adjectives.

adjective. As a nonverbal predicate, the morpheme requires to be grammatically bridged to its subject by a morpheme with ascriptive function.<sup>52</sup>

- Ewe dominates what happens at this level, and this dominance is operationalized via the System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle. That is, only Ewe late system morphemes, including the required bridge morpheme, negation marker, case-markers and TAM markers, may be used to prepare a slot for the English adjective. Significantly, the appropriate Ewe bridge morpheme is *le* ‘be at’, so it is used in surface structure in accordance with Ewe morpheme order.
- **Stage 3 – Positional Level:** *Important / necessary* occurs as a complement of *le*. Crucially, it does not take the Ewe adverbializing suffix *e* that appears on Ewe adjective words in that slot (see explanation below).

Several instances of CS already cited illustrate the expectation that only *le*, Ewe TAM markers, negation and case-markers may appear in mixed *le*-constructions involving English predicative adjectives. Example (41) illustrates the expectations succinctly:

(41) Teachers-wó me ga le serious kple nufafia these days kura o  
 PL NEG REP be with teaching at\_all NEG

“Teachers are no longer serious with teaching these days.”

(Asilevi 1990: 36)

Here, the Ewe negation pair *me ... o*, the event repetition marker (*ga*) and the comitative case-marking preposition *kple* (which introduces the oblique object of the predicate adjective *serious*) all appear with *le* ‘be.atPRES’, which links *serious* to the subject *teachers-wó* ‘teachers’.

Two main points of theoretical importance may now be made concerning how the account in Table 2.3 resolves problems we encountered with earlier accounts of the mixed *le*-constructions.

The first point is that since (i) all English predicate adjectives (*important*-type and *observant/necessary*-type) require a copula with ascriptive grammatical function to link them to their subject in *be*-constructions and since (ii) Ewe has sole mandate to supply the required copula in bilingual contexts, it should (iii) be expected that both ‘types’

<sup>52</sup> If the selected English adjectival element is a verb rather than a non-verbal element, procedures leading to its use as a verb in a mixed construction are activated. For instance, *rot* is a one-place verbal predicate, so it has to occur as a verb in CS contexts (as in *e-rot* ‘it is rotten’). But its non-verbal one-place adjective predicate counterpart *rotten* has to occur as a complement of *le* as in *e-le rotten* ‘it is rotten’.

of adjectives / adjectival expressions would occur in the complement of *le* slots. That is to say, the choice of complement slots of *le* for the adjectives is not accidental when we consider the fact that *le* fulfils their English-origin requirement for an ascriptive bridge. From the standpoint of English, therefore, it is unnecessary to distinguish (as proposed in the Ewe-only ML account) between the adjectives.

The second point that emerges from Table 2.3 concerns the missing adverbializer *e*. As pointed out in §2.2.1.3.2, in Ewe adverbs that comprise adjective content-morpheme roots and the early system *e*-morpheme are selected instead of their adjective relatives when expressing a subject's property in a *le*-construction. By contrast, English predicate adjectives are what are selected as the elements that express property concepts in the complement of *be* slots. Now, since as argued it is the English adjectives which project their own CS slots, there is no reason for them to be like their Ewe adverb counterparts when they occur in their CS slots. In other words, they come into the constructions with the English-origin morphological realization pattern, and the Ewe pattern is not imposed on them since the adverbs have nothing to do with their distributions. Because of this, to say that the English adjectives are 'bare forms' amounts to committing an error of judgement, of seeing them as incomplete copies of the Ewe adverbs, which they are not. Indeed, since the onus resides with English elements to project their slots, larger expressions 'islands' may occur in the slots, as we find in (42):

- (42) E    *le*                    **a little bit protected**  
       3sg be.atPRES  
       'She is a little bit protected.  
       (ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn133)

I now turn to morpheme distribution patterns in adjectival phrases in the mixed *le*-constructions. Of interest is the occurrence of English intensifiers such as *too*, *so* and *very* in the constructions. Examples are *very observant* in (30a) and *very expensive* in (36a) above. Others are *so easy* in (43), *too much* in (44) and *too exposed* in (45) below:

- (43) Nye me nyá be lotto dudu le so easy nenema o  
       1sg NEG know COMP eating be like\_that NEG  
       'I never knew that winning lotto is so easy.'  
       (Amuza 1998:111)

(44) Me **feel** be é-ga va le **too much** ...

1sg COMP 3sg-REP come be.atPRES

'I feel that it has become too much ...'

(PAT-Akatsi-REC1: sn46)

(45) Nutsu-a me le **too exposed** o; wo hã me le **too exposed** o

Man-the NEG be.atPRES NEG 2sg too NEG be.atPRES NEG

'The man is not too exposed; you are also not too exposed.'

(ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn134)

As the examples show, each English intensifier occurs as a part of an English adjective phrase, that is integrated syntactically in the Ewe-based *le*-construction (i.e. each intensifier occurs in an English island in a mixed construction). The intensifiers cannot modify Ewe adjective elements: we do not, for example, find in the data instances such as \**so bobɔe* / \**bobɔe so* 'so easy', \**very kpuie* / \**kpuie very* 'very short', etc. What we do find are such mixed adjective phrases as *short akpa* 'too short' (28a) and *fermented akpa* 'too fermented' (29b) in which Ewe intensifiers modify English adjective heads.

The primary question about the CS patterns in (43 - 45) is this: why is it that English intensifiers (which are system morphemes) occur in mixed constructions while the English copula *be*, negation marker *not* and TAM morphemes (which are also system morpheme) do not occur in the mixed constructions?

I argue that the occurrence of the intensifiers vs. the non-occurrence of the other English system morphemes has to do with when during language production lemmas supporting these morphemes are respectively elected. Intensifiers are early system morphemes—their function is to complete / restrict the conceptual structures of the adjectives they occur with—which means that their forms become salient at the lemma level. Since English is highly active at this level, there is a high chance for an English adjective to point to the lemma supporting a fellow English morpheme to function as its intensifier. In the event that this happens, as is evidently the case in (42-45) above, it is English that sends directions to the formulator about each intensifier's morphological realization in relation to its adjective head. The result is an [INT + ADJ] English island. If instead of an English intensifier an Ewe intensifier is picked (which is possible because as a dominant language Ewe is also highly active at the lemma level), it is Ewe that sends directions regarding this intensifier's order in relation to the English adjective. The result is



an Ewe-based [ADJ + INT] mixed constituent, e.g. *fermented akpa* ‘too fermented’ (29b).

Regarding the bridge system morpheme, negation marker, TAM markers, case-markers, etc, they come exclusively from Ewe because requirements for them do not get processed until at the functional level, where the formulator must deploy Ewe morphosyntactic resources to express them. They are late system morphemes.

### 2.3.2 Mixed locational-*le* constructions

The composite ML hypothesis in (II) in the previous section obtains in the framing of mixed *le*-constructions involving locative complements as well. The language production processes are captured in Table 2.4 below. The example discussed in the table is (46):

(46)	E- <i>le</i>	<b>hospital</b>	<i>fia</i>
	3sg-be.atPRES		now
	‘It is at the hospital now.’		

(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn677)

TABLE 2.4: PRODUCTION OF MIXED LE-CONSTRUCTIONS WITH LOCATIVE NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

- **Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (e.g. *hospital* in 46) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme’s English-origin abstract lexical structure. At this level, what becomes salient regarding the morpheme’s lexical structure is its lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the entity it encodes. Information on the morpheme’s lexical-conceptual structure along with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which are not yet salient—are sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.
- **Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator accesses the information sent from the lemma level, i.e.
  - It recognizes *hospital*’s predicate-argument structure (grammatical relations properties): that (i) it is a predicate that encodes the location of another entity and (ii) it is a nominal, i.e. it is nonverbal.
  - Regarding morphological realization, the formulator recognizes that because *hospital* is a nonverbal predicate, it requires to be grammatically bridged to its

subject (the NP whose location it encodes) and that the copula expresses a locational function.

- **Ewe** controls the supply of the copula and any late system morpheme that may be needed for the realization of the nominal. The Ewe copula that expresses locational function is the semi-copulative *le* ‘be at’ (§2.1.2.2), so it is used in surface structure in accordance with Ewe morpheme order.
- **Stage 3 – Positional Level:** An English morpheme (here *hospital* in 46) occurs as a complement of the non-present tense form of *le*.

The above explication also explains the occurrence of *classroom* in (47) and that of *office* in (48):

- (47) Né wó **teachers-wó** gbɔ́ kpɔ-mí nyuie a, **teachers-wó á-nɔ** **classroom**  
 If 3PL PL side see-PROG well TP PL POT-be.at  
á-fia nu  
 POT-teach thing  
 ‘If they give incentives to teachers, teachers will be in the classroom and teach.’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn318)

- (48) Mé- le office -a o gake ma wait-e see.  
 3sg.NEG be the NEG but3sg.FUT -3sg awhile  
 ‘He isn’t in the office, but I will wait for him awhile.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 84)

The English locative predicate may be phrasal, as in (49) and (50):

- (49) E-le be mia **group fish hawkers-wo** ɖe **this side** ne **tomatoes, agbitsa**  
 3sg-be that 1PL PL to so\_that garden\_egg  
 kple atadi-to-wó wó ná nɔ the other side.  
 and pepper-owner-PL 3PL POT be  
 ‘We have to group the fish hawkers to this side so that tomatoes, garden egg and pepper sellers, they shall be at the other side.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 52)

- (50) Né vi-wo le secondary school fia le afi aɖe  
 If child-2sg be.atPRES now at place INDEF  
 ‘If your child is in secondary school somewhere now...’  
 (CELE-Akatsi-REC4: sn1138)

As anticipated in Table 2.4, late system morphemes accompanying *le* in the mixed constructions have to come from Ewe. For example, the Ewe potential morpheme *ná* occurs with the inflection bearing form of *le* in (49) above.

English locative nominals also take Ewe postpositions that indicate their region of relevance to the locational predication. For example, in (51), *table* occurs with the Ewe postposition *dzí* ‘upper surface’, which specifies the region of *table* that is of locational relevance in the predication:

- (51) Atukpa- a le table kemε- a dzí.  
 Bottle- DEF be over\_there DEF on  
 ‘The bottle is on the table over there.’  
 (CANBERRA)

*On* may not occur with *table* in this mixed construction, as shown in (52a); neither can it occur as a postposition in the slot of *dzí* in (52b):

- (52a) Atukpa- a le \*on table kemε- a.  
 Bottle- DEF be over\_there DEF  
 ‘The bottle is on the table over there.’

- (52b) ... le table kemε -a \*on

The blocking of *on* in (52a) and (52b) above contrasts with the behaviour of *top*, which is another English equivalent of *dzí* ‘upper surface’. *Top* occurs singly in CS environments to express the spatial relational concept that *dzí* encodes. Consider example (53):

- (53) E- le cupboard- a fe top.  
 3sg be -DEF poss  
 ‘It is on the top of the cupboard.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 37)

The differential handling of *top* and *on* supports my claim regarding intensifiers (early system morphemes) vs. copulas and TAM, etc (late system morphemes) in §2.3.1.1 that the occurrence of an English morpheme in a CS context depends on whether its underlying lemma becomes salient at the lemma level or at the functional level. *Top* is a content morpheme / nominal (its lemma is salient at the lemma level) whereas *on* is a late system preposition whose lemma becomes salient at the functional level. So, even though both morphemes are somehow equivalent to *dzí*, *top* is eligible for selection prior to the

application of functional level constraints on English (in accordance with the System Morpheme Principle) that block late English system morphemes such as *on* from being selected for use in CS contexts.

The morphosyntactic behaviour of *top* is particularly telling. It does not occur in the same slot in which *dzi* occurs: it occurs after the possessive linker *fe*, where *dzi* may not occur.<sup>53</sup> *Top* is an example of morphemes that Blake (2001) calls “relator nouns”. It is conceivable as a possessum that specifies a region of its possessor, e.g. *cupboard* in example (53). As part of its abstract lexical structure, it requires a possessive linker to bridge it to its possessor. The required bridge system morpheme is the genitive *of*, as in *top of the cupboard*. But in CS contexts, such as in (53), because a possessive linker is a grammatical / late bridge system morpheme (a morpheme that ought to come from Ewe because Ewe controls supply of such morphemes<sup>54</sup>), *fe* is used with *top*. Significantly, it is the Ewe [Poss + Possessum] morpheme order that we find in (53): as possessum nominal, *top* would have occurred before and not after the genitive *of*. As we will find in §4.3, English relator nominals such as *top* and *side* are treated conceptually and morphosyntactically as analogous to Ewe body part nominals. In (54) for instance the body part nominal *notsi* ‘inner part of nostril’ also occurs following an obligatory *fe*:

- (54) Abi-a      le Kofi \*(fe) notsi.me  
 Sore-DEF be K.    poss    nose.inside  
 ‘The sore is located in Kofi’s nostril.’

The only way by which English system prepositions such as *on*, *at*, *in*, *into*, etc may become acceptable as CS forms is if they occur in English PP islands as in (55a) and (55b):

- (55a) Atukpa-a      le \_\_\_\_\_ on the table over there  
 Bottle-DEF    bePRES  
 ‘The bottle is on the table over there.’

---

<sup>53</sup> *Dzi* is one of Ewe body part nominals that are “fully *grammaticalized* as postpositions ... [They] cannot be connected to their possessors by the possessive linker *fe*” (Ameka 1991: 169, emphasis added).

<sup>54</sup> This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

(55b) Mia teju a- no in position a- entertain mia fe client-wó le both sides

1PL can SUBJ be SUBJ 1PL poss -PL be

'We would be in position to entertain our clients on both sides.'

(Asilevi 1990: 74)

I would now like to turn to mixed locational-*le* constructions of another type. This type involves such prepositions as *behind*, *beyond*, *between*, *inside*, *above*. Unlike such system prepositions as *on*, *at* and *in* which perform purely grammatical / case-marking functions (as late *system* morphemes), these other prepositions have conceptual content and assign location thematic role to their objects<sup>55</sup>. I term this type of prepositions "content prepositions" to contrast them with the system prepositions. Like other English content morphemes such as predicative adjectives and nouns (and unlike the system prepositions), content prepositions occur singly, i.e. outside of English PP islands, in mixed copula constructions. In examples (56a) and (56b) respectively, *beyond* and *between* introduce Ewe NP objects.

(56a) Mia fe agble-a le beyond tosisi ga ma.

1pl poss farm-DEF bePRES river big DEM

'Our farm is beyond that big river.'

(Amuzu 1998: 123).

NB: le tosisi ga ma godo

(56b) Time-ya papa no university a, mie no between Madina kple Adenta.

Time-WH father be TP, 3PL be Madina and Adenta

'At the time when dad was at the university, we used to be (somewhere) between Madina and Adenta.'

(CANBERRA)

NB: no Madina kple Adenta dome

What is interesting about these examples is that the Ewe equivalents of *beyond* and *between* do not occur in the CS slots. The equivalent of *beyond*, *godo* 'opposite side' is a postposition, as we find in tosisi ga ma godo 'beyond / on the other side of that big river'. Likewise, the equivalent of *between*, *dome*, occurs after the object NP as illustrated in Madina kple Adenta dome 'between Madina and Adenta'. The pattern provides another battleground for the composite ML vs Ewe-only ML debate. Under the

<sup>55</sup> In for instance 'he saw a snake behind the wall', *the wall* functions as Location object of *behind*. That is, *behind* functions different from *on* in he saw a snake on the wall where *on* case-marks/introduces an oblique object of *see*, i.e. *the wall*.

Ewe-only ML hypothesis, the prepositions would have been blocked from occurring singly as prepositions to Ewe nominal heads because of their categorial incongruence with their Ewe counterparts. The fact that they occur at all and the fact that they retain their preposition status both argue against Myers-Scotton's prediction concerning incongruent EL content morphemes in Classic CS, i.e. that they will emerge in EL islands. Example (57) below shows that an English content preposition may indeed occur in an English PP island, but this pattern is not obligatory: the speaker could well have said *Suku aḍe nɔ* behind wusa-gbedoxɔ-a (where *wusa-gbedoxɔ* is 'mosque').

- (57) Suku -aḍe nɔ behind the mosque a  
 School-INDEF beNPRES the  
 'There was a school behind the mosque.'  
 (CANBERRA)

In contrast to the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, the composite ML hypothesis 'sees' English content prepositions as morphemes that are capable of projecting their slots in the complement of *le* slot, because English ensures from the lemma level that their abstract lexical structures (including crucially their morphological realization pattern) receive full recognition at the functional level. Thus, although their direct Ewe equivalents are postpositions, English content prepositions find a 'home' in Ewe PP structures because Ewe possesses the capacity to project adpositional slots.<sup>56</sup>

Because they are conceptually salient locatives, English content prepositions are realized singly as complements of *le* as illustrated in the occurrence of **around** in example (58).

- (58) Nye me le around o.  
 3sg NEG be NEG  
 'I am not around.'  
 (Asilevi 1990: 84)

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<sup>56</sup> The point is that there are system prepositions such as allative *qɛ* 'to' and ablative *tsɔ* 'from' in Ewe (Ameka 2003) which means that Ewe has the capacity to project preposition slots. Thus, accommodating the preposition status of the English content prepositions is easy. We shall find a different scenario in Chapter 5, regarding English attributive adjectives. They cannot occur as pre-modifiers and are mostly blocked from modifying Ewe head nouns because there is no pre-modifier adjective slot in the Ewe NP structure.

### 2.3.3 Mixed ascriptive *nyé* construction

We may now turn to the nature of mixed *nyé*-constructions. The following table captures how the processes involved in the production of a *nyé*-construction may be characterized in terms of the composite ML hypothesis. The table highlights the nature of division of labour between English and Ewe in framing the mixed construction in example (59) involving the English nominal *witness*, which is used here as a generic nominal that is co-referential with *é* (3sg).

(59)	Me	ga	hĩa	be	na-yi	ame	ađe	dzi-gé	be
	1sg.NEG	REP	need	COMP	2sg.SUBJ-go	person	INDEF	search-INGR	COMP
	<u>ne</u>		<u>nyé witness</u>	<u>ná</u>	<u>ye</u>	<u>o</u>			
	SUBJ.3sg	COP		DAT	LOG	NEG			

‘It is no longer necessary for you to go and look for someone to be a witness for you.’  
(KWAME-Accra-REC8: sn1314)

*TABLE 2.5: PRODUCTION OF MIXED NYE-CONSTRUCTIONS*

- **Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (e.g. *witness* in 59) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme’s English-origin abstract lexical structure. At this level, what becomes salient regarding the morpheme’s lexical structure is its lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the *generic* entity it encodes. Information on the morpheme’s lexical-conceptual structure along with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which are not yet salient—are sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.
- **Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator reads the information sent from the lemma level, i.e.
  - In terms of predicate-argument structure, the formulator detects that *witness* is (a) a predicative element and (b) a nominal that is coreferential with the subject.
  - In terms of morphological realization, it detects that *witness*—because it is a nonverbal predicate—requires a late bridge system morpheme to link it to the subject NP. As noted, *witness* possesses lexical-conceptual structure that says it refers to a generic entity. This means that the required bridge morpheme has to

function as an ascriptive copula, to enable *witness* to predicate its generic property about the subject.

- Ewe is backed by the System Morpheme Principle to supply all late system morphemes including the crucial ascriptive copula. The Ewe copula *nyé* is that morpheme, so it is used in surface structure to connect *witness* to its subject NP. Ewe is also backed by the Morpheme Order Principle to constrain word order in the mixed construction.
- **Stage 3 – Positional Level:** *witness* occurs as a complement of *nyé*.

The explication above applies to the occurrence of *force* in (60):

- (60) Mé-nyé **force** be wó a-va yi church be wó a-va  
 3sg-NEG COMP 3PL SUBJ-come go COMP 3PL SUBJ-come  
 wo wedding o  
 do NEG  
 ‘It is not a force/an obligation that one should go to church for the purpose of doing wedding.’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn248)

### 2.3.4 Mixed equative *nyé* construction

The first difference between the productions of the mixed equative and ascriptive structures discussed above concerns the lexical-conceptual structure of the complement nominal that occurs in them. The complement nominal in an equative structure refers to a particular entity (in contrast to that in the ascriptive structure, which is generic). This difference causes another difference between the productions of the two structure types at the functional level. Although the formulator detects several similarities between the two types of nominal complements (namely that each is a predicative element, is coreferential with the subject and requires a bridge morpheme to be connected to the subject), it also recognizes that the required bridge morpheme for the definite nominal complement is one that functions as an equative copula. That is, this bridge morpheme should signal that the definite nominal refers to the same entity as the subject. In Ewe, the equative bridge is also *nyé*<sup>57</sup>, so *nyé* is used (instead of *le* ‘be at’). The ramification of the difference in the

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<sup>57</sup> In Akan (§2.4.1.1 below), the copula that is used with generic coreferential nominal complements differs from the copula that is used with specific coreferential nominal complements. This difference with Ewe is reflected in some differences to be noted in Akan-English CS pattern in copula constructions.



function of *nyé* in equative vs. ascriptive constructions is played out in the surface structure: Ewe requires that the subject NP in an equative structure be marked with the *-e* focus marker. Therefore, in (61) the subject NP—i.e. the question expression *nú-ka* ‘thing-WH’—is focus-marked. Note that the complement, **computer**, is a definite coreferential nominal, the name of an entity, the *nu-ka*:

- (61) Fífa wó- be nane va wó-be **computer**; Nu-ka-e nyé computer a?  
 Now 3PL say something come 3PL-say Thing-WH-FOC COP Q  
 ‘Now, there is this new thing they call a *computer*. What is *computer*?’  
 (INTERVIEWER-Accra-REC6: sn935)

Note that this focus marker does not occur with the subject in the ascriptive *nyé* structures in §2.3.3. In example (62), **tomorrow’s week**, the subject NP, attracts the focus marker while a specific coreferential mixed NP occurs in the complement of *nyé* position:

- (62) Tomorrow’s week-e nyé nye mother-in-law fe wake-keeping lá...  
 FOC be 1sg poss TP  
 ‘A week tomorrow is my mother-in-law’s wake-keeping...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 108)

Example (63) below is interesting because it sums up an important contrast, that which exists between ascriptive *nyé* and ascriptive-*le* structures. In the first CP in this example, *nyé* takes **true leaders** (a generic co-referential) as complement while *le* takes **very clever** (a predicative adjective phrase) as complement in the third CP:

- (63) Be mí-á nyé true leaders-wó lá, é-dze be mí-á no very clever.  
 For 1PL-POT be -PL TP 2sg-fitting COMP 1PL-POT be  
 ‘For us to be true leaders, we have to be very clever.’  
 (CANBERRA)

Evidently, although **true leaders** and **very clever** are conceptually alike (=they are property-encoding), the category of the head in each expression requires a bridge morpheme with a different type of copulative function to connect it to the subject NP. Now, although in English *be* performs either function and would emerge in both cases as we find in the translations, the situation in CS is different. What **true leaders** needs is, in Ewe, *nyé* with ascriptive function and what **very clever** needs is *le* with ascriptive function. The distinction is also observable in the following utterance by AMI in which she used *nyé*

with the ascriptive nominal *force* (earlier cited alone as example 26) and *le* with *necessary* (earlier cited alone as 60):

- (64) Me-nyé force be wó-á-vá yi church be wó-á-vá wɔ wedding  
 3sg.NEG-COP COMP 3PL-POT-come go COMP 3PL-POT-come do  
 o; wó- á-teɲu á-wɔ blessing alo wó-á-teɲu á-yi court room á-vá sign.  
 NEG. 3PL-POT-can POT-do or 3PL-POT-can POT-go POT-come  
Me- le necessary be wó-á-wɔ pi pi pi o....  
 3sg.NEG be.atPRES COMP 3PL-POT-do [horn blowing] NEG...  
 ‘It is not compulsory for one to go to church for the purpose of having wedding; one can have blessing or go to the court to sign (papers). It is not necessary for one to do a loud wedding ceremony...’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn248-252)

## 2.4 ANALOGOUS CASES OF CS IN WEST AFRICA

The kind of composite ML discussed for Ewe-English CS in §2.3 is also found in mixed constructions produced by other West African bilinguals. Two examples are considered here: mixed copula constructions in (i) Akan-English CS (which like Ewe-English CS, is spoken in Ghana) and (ii) Fongbe-French CS, spoken in Benin. Akan, Ewe and Fongbe are all Kwa languages, but Fongbe has a special relationship with Ewe; they belong to a common family, Gbe.

### 2.4.1 Mixed copula constructions in Akan-English CS

#### 2.4.1.1 The Akan copula system

Four copula morphemes are identifiable in Akan: *yɛ*, *né*, *dì* and *wɔ*.

*Yɛ* functions as an ascriptive copula irrespective of whether its complement is a generic coreferential nominal (e.g. *ɔkyerɛkyɛrɛni* ‘teacher’ in 65) or a property-encoding adjectival predicate (e.g. *yie* ‘alright’ in 66):

- (65) Papa-no yɛ ɔkyerɛkyɛrɛni.  
 Man-DEF be teacher  
 ‘The man is a teacher.’

- (66) Me **feel** dɛ ɔ-be- yɛ yie  
 1sg that 1sg-FUT be alright  
 'I feel that it will be alright.'  
 (Mensah 1992: 81)

In (65), the generic coreferential nominal *ɔkyerɛkyɛrɛni* ascribes to the subject-NP *papa no* 'that man' the properties associated with the class of people called 'teachers'. And in (66), the adjectival element *yie*<sup>58</sup> 'alright' similarly ascribes to the subject NP *ɔ* (3sg) a certain property.

*Né* and *dì*, both of which take identificational / definite coreferential nominal complements, perform two contrastive shades of equative copula. *Né* is used when the coreferential nominal complement is a common but identificational nominal, as in (67). By contrast, *dì* is used when the coreferential nominal complement is a proper and therefore identificational nominal as in (68):

- (67) Afua né mi ba ni maami.  
 Afua bePRES 1sg child poss mother  
 'Afua is my child's mother.'

- (68) Ni din dì Amá Sewah  
 Her name be Ama Sewah  
 'Her name is Ama Sewah.'

In (67), *né* signals that the subject and the complement refer to the same entity, *the* mother of his child. In (68), in addition to signaling that both subject and complement refer to the same entity, *dì* says that the complement is to be construed as the name of that entity.

*wɔ*, the fourth copula, has locational copula function. It duly takes a locative NP as its complement in (69) and signals that the subject entity is in/at the location encoded by the complement, 'Kumasi':

- (69) Me wɔ Kumasi.  
 1sg be Kumasi  
 'I am in Kumasi.'

<sup>58</sup> A host of ideophones also occur in this slot to encode properties of subject NPs.

Wɔ-constructions may be metaphorically interpreted as possessive constructions, as we find in the ambiguity in the following sentence; wɔ changes under vowel harmony to wo in this example:

- (70) Kofi wo fie.  
 Kofi be.at house  
 ‘Kofi is at home / Kofi has a house.’

#### 2.4.1.2 The CS data

As in Ewe-English CS, evidence in Akan-English CS shows that the speakers use mother tongue copulas in their mixed copula constructions. To be specific, the choice of an Akan copula is constrained by the rules spelt out in the composite ML hypothesis in (II) in §2.3.1, i.e. an English non-verbal predicative element enters only the complement slot of the Akan copula whose function matches its abstract lexical structure. For instance, English predicative adjectivals, very critical (71) and *likely* (72), occur as complements of yɛ:

- (71) Ne condition a- yɛ very critical.  
 His PF be  
 ‘His condition is very critical.’  
 (Akan-English; Forson 1979: 149)

- (72) ɔ- yɛ likely dɛ wo- bɛ-ba...  
 3sg be that 3PL FUT-come  
 ‘It is likely that they’ll come...’  
 (Akan-English; Forson 1979: 171)

And the English generic coreferential nominals, *politics* and *student*, also occur as complements of yɛ:

- (73a) Iyi yɛ politics. After all, government biara a bɛ-ba no...  
 This be every WH FUT-come TP  
 ‘This is politics. After all every government that comes...’  
 (Akan-English; Mensah 1992: 88)

- (73b) ɔ- yɛ student.  
 3sg-bePRES  
 ‘He is a student.’  
 (Akan-English; Mensah 1992: 63)

Note that consistent with Akan grammar, *yɛ* functions as an ascriptive copula in all four structures above. Example (74a), from Mensah (1992), is particularly interesting because it illustrates a crucial contrast between Akan-English CS and Ewe-English CS.

- (74a) Wo-n-hu      dɛ    Adu-Boahen ɔ-a-yɛ                      **too old** dɛ    ɔ-bɛ-yɛ                      **president**  
 3PL-NEG-see that A                      3sg-PRES-be                      that 3sg-FUT-be  
 ‘Don’t they realise that Adu-Boahen is too old to be a president?’  
 (Akan-English; Mensah 1992: 88)

While *yɛ* takes both the adjectival complement and the nominal complement, because it is the sole ascriptive copula in Akan, in Ewe-English CS *le* and *nyé* would be used in the structure. *Le* would take **too old** while *nyé* would take **president** as we find below:

- (74b) Mi    kpɔ-e      be    Adu-Boahen **le**                      **too old** be    **wo-a-nyé**                      **president o a?**  
 3PL see-3sg that A                      bePRES                      that 3sg-FUT-be                      NEG Q  
 ‘Don’t they realise that Adu-Boahen is too old to be a president?’  
 (Ewe-English CS rendition of 74a, EKA)

This is because as noted *le* is ascriptive only with property-encoding Ewe adverbials / CS English adjectivals while *nyé* takes care of the ascriptive function with respect to generic coreferential nominal predicates (see examples 63 and 64 for the co-occurrences of *le* and *nyé* the same sentences).

We now turn to mixed *né* constructions. Consistent with the Akan system, *né* is used to connect an identificational coreferential nominal complement to the subject. In (75), it links **headmaster no** ‘the headmaster’, which is a specific individual (not just one of a class of individuals with this job title) to the subject, the question word *hon*:

- (75) Hon **né Headmaster no**  
 WH    be headmaster DEF  
 ‘Who is the Headmaster?’ NB: \*Hon *yɛ* **Headmaster no**

*Yɛ* is not acceptable in this structure, as noted in the ‘NB’ version.

The other equative copula, *dì*, is exemplified in (76a) and (76b):

- (76a) ɔ-    dì    **Reverent Doctor Amoah**  
 3sg be  
 ‘He is (called) Rev. Dr. Amoah.’

(76b) ɔ- dɪ **Pastor**.

3sg be

'He is (called) Pastor.'

In (76b), for instance, **Pastor** is duly construed as the name of the individual who is referred to in the subject expression. The individual named **Pastor** does not need to be a priest by profession. This example is interesting because *dɪ* may be contrasted with *yɛ*.

When *yɛ* replaces *dɪ* in (76b), as in:

(77) ɔ- yɛ **pastor**.

3sg be

'He is a pastor.'

**pastor** is only construable as the profession of the individual, who need not be called 'Pastor' in real life since *yɛ* is ascriptive rather than equative.

English locative expressions (temporal/spatial), as should be expected, occur as complements of the Akan locational-copula *wɔ*:

(78) Mara so mpo mo wɔ night na me-ba fie bɛyɛ **eight**...

1sg too even 1sg be and 1sg-come home say

'I myself I'm on night (duty) and I come home at about eight...'

(Akan-English; Mensah 1992: 84)

(79) Fie no wɔ just by the side of the street.

House DEF beLOC

'The house is just by the side of the street.'

(Akan-English; Mensah 1992: 33)

It should be observed that as with Ewe-English CS one cannot argue that Akan words project CS slots for their English nonverbal counterparts because there are CS complement slots that cannot be traced to Akan counterparts of their English occupiers. For example, there is no property-encoding predicative adjectival equivalent of the lexeme **stupid** in Akan; its equivalent is *djimi* 'be stupid'. Still, **stupid** does occur as a complement of the ascriptive-*yɛ* as shown in CS constituents in the following exchanges between 'A' and 'B':

(80) A: Wo yɛ stupid paa. **You are nothing!** Wo nye [i.e. nɛ] woana?

(You are [very] stupid. You are nothing! Who are you?)

B: Emi me-ye stupid? Then you will see, you will see. Wo be hu adze.

(Am I stupid? Then you will see. You will see. You will see something.)

(Mensah 1992: 54)

Wo ye stupid would have been wo djimi and me ye stupid would have been me djimi. So, clearly, *djimi* has nothing to do with the slots in which *stupid* occurs, as would have been the case if the ML were Akan-only ML.

## 2.4.2 Mixed copula constructions in Fongbe-French CS

### 2.4.2.1 The data

Fongbe has two copulative elements that resemble *le* and *nyé* in function: *do* and *nyi*.

#### 2.4.2.1.1 Ascriptive *do*

The use of the Fongbe ascriptive-*do* in monolingual contexts is highly restricted (compared to the use of its counterpart *le* in Ewe): many qualities tend to be expressed predicatively in inchoative verbs in Fongbe (Mather 2000). Meechan and Poplack (1995), for instance, write that the ascriptive-*do* construction is “virtually nonexistent in monolingual discourse” (p.191). Among the few Fongbe adjectives that occur as complements of *do* is *kpevi* ‘small’ as used in (81).<sup>59</sup> Fongbe complements of *do* are adjectives, unlike complements of the Ewe *le*, which are adverbs. There is for example no requirement for complements of *do* to bear an adverbializing suffix. Consider *kpevi* ‘small’ in (81):

- (81) E- do *kpevi*.  
3sg be small  
‘He is small.’

Although its use in monolingual Fongbe contexts is restricted, *do* takes all kinds of French-origin adjectival predicates as its complements. For instance, in example (82)

- (82) E- do *dangereux*  
3sg be dangerous  
‘It is dangerous.’

the complement is *do*’s singly-occurring French adjectival predicate *dangereux* and in example (83) *do*’s complement is the mixed adjective phrase *grave tawum* ‘very serious’:

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<sup>59</sup> My sincere thanks to Dr. James Essegbey for eliciting from native Fongbe speakers living in Europe the unreferenced Fongbe-French CS examples cited in this section.

(83) E- do grave tawum.

3sg- be serious very

'It's very serious.'

In (84), the complement is a French adjective phrase island, très grave:

(84) E- do très grave.

3sg- be very serious.

'It's very serious.'

#### 2.4.2.1.2 *Locational do*

When *do* is used as a locative copula, it does not have the kind of restriction that it has when it functions as an ascriptive copula in monolingual Fongbe contexts. In

(85) Koku do tavo ɔ glwe

Koku be table DEF under

'Koku is under the table.'

(Mather 2000: 256)

*do* takes tavo-ɔ-glwe 'under the table' as its complement and in

(86) Nonvi ce le do London

brother mine PL be London

'My brothers are in London.'

it takes a place name as its complement.

The locational-*do* takes French-origin locative nominals as complements too as shown in the occurrence of the French noun *afrique* in example (87):

(87) Mi de de ká do afrique ....

we other REL MOD be Africa

'For those of us who are in Africa ...'

(Poplack and Meechan 1995: 207)

#### 2.4.2.1.3 *Nyi constructions*

*Nyi*, like its Ewe cognate *nyé*, takes co-referential nominal predicates as complements and functions either as an equative copula or as an ascriptive copula depending on whether the complement nominal is definite or generic. It is ascriptive in the monolingual Fongbe



construction in (88) as well as in the mixed construction in (89) because these expressions make generic references:

(88) Djito ce lɛ nyi messi  
 parent mine PL be teacher  
 ‘My parents are teachers.’

(89) ázo do tò mi tón mɛ̀ có mi nó dó ò nyi diplômé sans emploi  
 work be country 3PL poss in however 3PL HAB say 1sg be  
**diplômé sans emploi.**

‘There is work in our country; however, we say ‘I am an unemployed graduate, an unemployed graduate.’

(Poplack and Meechan 1995: 220)

#### 2.4.2.2 *The Meechan- Poplack criticism (1995) of the MLF model*

##### 2.4.2.2.1 *Their argument*

Meechan and Poplack (1995) criticize the MLF model’s Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) and System Morpheme Principle (SMP) in relation to mixed ascriptive *do*-constructions. They claim that the MOP, which requires that EL content morphemes occur in the slot of their ML counterparts, is violated by the occurrence of French adjective predicates as complements of the Fongbe copula *do*, as shown in example (90) below:

(90) **Donc** ɔ nyɔ mɔ do **que langue** ɔ e do importante  
 So TP 1sg see tell that language Def 3sg be important  
 ‘So, me, I see that language, [it] is important.’  
 (Fongbe-French; Meechan and Poplack 1995: 187)

The equivalent of ***importante*** in Fongbe is allegedly a verb and the MOP predicts that ***importante*** should be unable to occur as a complement of *do* since the Fongbe verb cannot project the slot.

The SMP states that all system morphemes that have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML (§2.1.2.1.1). Meechan and Poplack’s (1995) criticism of the SMP stems from details of the morphological realisation of the French adjectives in the complement of *do* slot: the adjectives bear French inflections. For instance, ***importante*** inflects in French for gender and agrees in this feature with the French noun ***langue*** that it describes from across the CP boundary (the immediate CP of ***importante*** is the underlined). Meechan and Poplack argue that if the SMP were

operational as proof of Fongbe's status as ML, then the French agreement feature would have been blocked from occurring in the mixed construction.

#### 2.4.2.2.2 *Theoretical background of Meechan and Poplack*

The basic premise in Meechan and Poplack's own framework for analyzing CS constituents ("sentences"<sup>60</sup>) is that languages in the CS contact are only activated one at a time (i.e. they are activated *alternately*) during the production of the constituents, not *simultaneously* as claimed in the MLF model.

Meechan and Poplack seem to argue that for a language to qualify as a participant in CS (i.e. for it **not** to be regarded as merely a lexical donor to a borrowing language), it needs to be activated long enough for it to frame a well-formed constituent part of the larger mixed constituent/sentence. We are to imagine a linguistic process by which alternate activations of two languages yield a string of interlocked grammatical units from these languages. Meechan and Poplack therefore distinguish between single-lexeme inserts into other language grammatical environments from multi-morphemic units of different languages that co-occur in one mixed constituent structure. The single-lexeme inserts are "borrowed" forms in the "recipient language's" structures, whether such forms are established (i.e. phonologically integrated) borrowings or 'nonce' (i.e. non-phonologically integrated) borrowings. Multi-morphemic units—i.e. phrases and clauses—are "true" CS forms.

Meechan and Poplack claim that the borrowings occur strictly in accordance with the recipient language's morphosyntactic procedures because only the recipient language is expected to be activated during language production processes (i.e. the procedure is deemed to be the same as what obtains in monolingual language production). Concerning CS, Meechan and Poplack distinguish two types of structural outcomes that are due to the alternate fashion by which languages in the CS contact are supposed to be activated. One type results from the application of what they call the "Equivalence Constraint": grammatical units from the two languages are to be interlocked at syntactic boundaries that are "homologous" in both grammars (Poplack and Meechan 1995: 224).<sup>61</sup> The other type of structural outcome is characterized by mixed constituents in which "constituent insertions"

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<sup>60</sup> I stick to the use of 'sentence' in my references to Poplack's constraints but to 'CP (complementizer phrase)' in my references to Myers-Scotton's framework so as not to give the impression that the two frameworks are agreed about what these terms imply. Meechan and Poplack's 'sentence' refers to simple as well as complex sentences while by contrast the notion of the CP specifically refers to the that-clause or any of its equivalents. Myers-Scotton therefore talks of only intra-sentential CS while Poplack's constraints aim to account for both intra and inter-sentential CS.

<sup>61</sup> Note that Poplack and Meechan (1995) is another study, which addresses issues similar to the ones contained in the Meechan and Poplack (1995) study we are considering.

are made (Poplack and Meechan 1995: 224). The following is the distinction drawn between the two types of CS constituents:

Switches under equivalence occur at points around which the word order of the languages involved in the switch is homologous; constituent insertions, in contrast, need only respect the word order of the language into which they are inserted. (Poplack and Meechan 1995: 224)

#### 2.4.2.2.3 Meechan and Poplack's analysis of the mixed *do*-construction

Meechan and Poplack (1995) see the French adjectivals as CS constituents—because they are multi-morphemic—and analyse them as *constituent insertions* into the complement of *do* slot. Given their hypothesis that language activation during the framing of CS constituents is necessarily alternational, one can imagine (i) that during the time when Fongbe projects CS slot for the insertion of a French adjective, French would have been de-activated and (ii) that French is only activated when its adjective and inflections are patterned out into the adjectival constituent that is inserted into the CS slot. This kind of analysis raises the following fundamental questions:

- (a) How is the complement of *do* slot chosen as the suitable Fongbe morphosyntactic environment for the insertion of a French adjectival constituent if there is no *online* access to French-origin information about the categorial status and semantic properties of the adjectival? One would assume that having direct access to French-origin abstract lexical structure information about a given French adjective is necessary during the time when Fongbe grammar is deployed to select ascriptive *do* instead of *nyi*, for instance, as the copula that the adjective requires.
- (b) Similar questions apply to mixed *nyi*-constructions: What kinds of Fongbe-only processes guide the choice of *nyi* to introduce French nominal complements that are co-referential with their subject-NP? Can information indicating that the French predicates are co-referential nominals be processed while French is not simultaneously activated with Fongbe?

In my opinion, it is not enough to simply state that the French adjectivals occur as “constituent insertions” after *do* without explaining why this is so, i.e. why the insertions are not made after *nyi* instead. For reasons discussed in §2.3.3, the kind of insights we need in order to confront the above questions reside in principles that underpin the copula systems of the languages participating. Those insights happen to be beyond surface structure CS configurations.

### 2.4.2.3 Myers-Scotton's response

Myers-Scotton's (2002) response to the Poplack-Meechan criticism of the Morpheme Order Principle in relation to mixed *do*-constructions comes in the form of a claim that the construction is a *compromise strategy*, an atypical insertion of EL content morphemes in CS contexts not traceable to their ML equivalents. She claims that a "mismatch between how French and Fongbe encode attributive features" predicatively (p.156) necessitates the complement of *do* slot to be projected via some special mechanisms "*just to allow* Embedded Language [French] elements to appear in Matrix Language [Fongbe] frames" (2002: 156, emphasis added)<sup>62</sup>. She argues that

[T]he stimulus to activate this compromise strategy (this *do*-construction) is the mismatch between how French and Fongbe encode attributive features. In order for this mismatch to be recognized, French has to be activated at some abstract level, but activated along with Fongbe.... Thus, both languages are 'on' to some degree at the abstract level where checking takes place (2002: 156)

Myers-Scotton seems to be arguing that the activation of the lemma supporting a French predicate adjective triggers this compromise strategy, which 'frees' French/EL adjectives to project their own slots in ML grammatical environments. The implication, as I see it, is that when the compromise strategy is deployed, a French CS adjective should be seen as an EL content morpheme that enjoys reprieve from Fongbe/ML-bias Morpheme Order Principle.

Concerning the supposed violation of the System Morpheme Principle in relation to the presence of the French gender and plural agreement features on the adjectives, Myers-Scotton (2002) notes that far from being violations of this principle, the features should be expected even though Fongbe is the sole ML:

[T]here is no base form of the French adjective; all adjectival forms show number and gender. So that there is French inflection is hardly an argument that the presence of these adjectives in a Fongbe frame has nothing to do with Fongbe. (Fongbe is an isolating language with little or no inflection with which to mark adjectives, so there are no Fongbe affixes to expect on these French adjectives), [p.156].

In effect, her point is that the French adjectives plus gender and number agreement features constitute EL islands in the *do*-constructions. The agreement features appear on the adjectives although French is the EL because of two factors: (a) the features are early

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<sup>62</sup> Note that Myers-Scotton's view here is reminiscent of her view about the use of compromise strategies in mixed *le*-constructions in Ewe-English CS (§2.2.1.3.1).

system morphemes and (b) Fongbe does not have the package of morphemes to provide as substitutes for them.

I agree with Myers-Scotton that the presence of *do* means that Fongbe controls the grammatical structure of the mixed *do*-construction. I also agree with her that in contrast to Poplack and Meechan's position the presence of the French agreement features on the adjectives means that both languages are simultaneously activated "to some degree at the abstract level" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 156). However, I think that it is incorrect to claim that the ascriptive-*do* construction is a compromise strategy "designed *just* to allow" French predicate adjectives to be used as CS forms. That assertion ignores the fact that we do have a few Fongbe predicative adjectives that occur in this construction-type, as illustrated in example (81) in which *kpevi* 'small' occurs. The relevance of the existence of *kpevi*-type Fongbe adjectives along side Fongbe stative verbs is that the same kind of distinction that Myers-Scotton (1993a:150ff) makes between *important*-type and *observant*-type English adjectives in her account of Ewe-English copula constructions can be made among French adjectives too. When that distinction is made, we realize that the compromise strategy account fits only the distribution of French adjectives whose Fongbe counterparts are inchoative verbs (i.e. those that are like *important*-type adjectives). Another account by which French adjectives presumably appear in slots traceable to their respective Fongbe equivalents would then have to be advanced for the distribution of the few French adjectives whose equivalents are *kpevi*-type morphemes (i.e. those that are like *observant*-type adjectives). As I indicated in connection with her analysis of mixed *le* constructions, the necessity for two alternative accounts for what is essentially the same CS distribution pattern is uneconomical.

#### 2.4.2.4 *The composite ML account*

I agree with Myers-Scotton (2002) that French enjoys a high level of activation along side Fongbe during the framing of mixed ascriptive-*do* constructions. The same assumption which underpins the composite ML hypothesis for Ewe-English CS, here re-formulated, explains Fongbe-French CS:

While **French** provides --- from the lemma level --- abstract lexical structure information (i.e., lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation pattern information) about each French nonverbal predicative element selected during CS,

Fongbe provides --- from the functional level --- the morphosyntactic means (i.e. morpheme order and late system morphemes) with which the Formulator creates for the French morpheme a slot that expresses its abstract lexical structure features.

The hypothesis implies that French nonverbal predicative expressions selected during CS project their own slots in Fongbe grammatical contexts. Accordingly, French predicative adjectives (irrespective of what category their Fongbe counterparts are) enter the complement slot in ascriptive *do*-construction. Comparatively, French locative predicative expressions occur as complements in locational *do*-constructions while French nominal predicates that are co-referential with their subject-NPs occur as complements in *nyi*-constructions. These patterns are reminiscent of what we already find in both Ewe-English CS (§2.3) and Akan-English CS (2.4.1). There is evidence of this composite ML mechanism in Yoruba-English CS too. Although there is no ascriptive copula in Yoruba—where only verbal elements encode property concepts predicatively (cf. Amuda 1986), a Yoruba non-copula word *wa* is used as ascriptive copula in constructions involving English predicate adjectives. Reporting the findings of Amuda (1986), Hammer and Blanc (2000) state that:

*Wa* was often used as a copula with English predicate adjectives, e.g. ò wa very nice (it is very nice) instead of ò dara pupo (Yoruba never uses *wa* in this way)... (p.262)

In other words, *wa* is adapted as ascriptive copula to enable Yoruba to meet its functional level obligation of providing a fitting slot for English predicative adjectives.

Let us now consider how the composite ML account takes care of the Meechan-Poplack criticism of the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) and System Morpheme Principle (SMP) in relation to the distribution of French predicative adjectives in Fongbe-French CS. The MOP criticism ceases to be an issue in this account because the adjectives are not expected—as they should be under the Fongbe-French ML analysis—to occur obligatorily in slots that are associated with their Fongbe counterparts, most of which turn out to be verbal elements. The MOP is attested because as expected under the composite ML hypothesis for Fongbe-French CS, Fongbe sets the order of constituents in mixed copula constructions and requires each French nonverbal predicative element to occur as the complement of a specific Fongbe copula that serves as its bridge to the subject.

The SMP is also upheld under composite ML hypothesis for Fongbe-French CS. Let us take the key issue of the occurrence of French gender markers in mixed *do*-constructions for instance. A French gender morpheme is an early system morpheme (as pointed out in

Myers-Scotton quote above). As an early system morpheme, the form of this gender morpheme is available for selection (to accompany a French adjective) at the lemma level.<sup>63</sup> That is, the use of the French gender morphemes does not violate the SMP because this principle applies at the functional level, where it ensures that only late Fongbe system morphemes (like the copulas) are selected.

## 2.5 SUMMARY

One of my two main objectives in this chapter has been to provide an insight into the patterns of CS that characterize the use in Ewe-English CS of English-origin nonverbal predicative elements. In order to deepen our understanding of the patterns in Ewe-English CS, we have also examined the patterns found in the CS of members of neighbouring bilingual speech communities. The discussions also revolved around a second major objective: a quest for an appropriate tool for elucidating reliable insights into the CS patterns. This objective concerns the framework of choice, which is associated with Myers-Scotton (e.g. 1993a, 2002). The framework anticipates that people like Ewe-English bilinguals who possess native-level competence in the grammar of their target ML (here Ewe) would use Classic CS, i.e. use a one-language ML in framing their mixed constituents. For Ewe-English CS, the anticipated ML is Ewe-only ML. I have taken issue with this expectation and then tried to show that the codeswitchers employ a brand of composite ML instead.<sup>64</sup>

The two ML hypotheses make the same stipulations about the functions that Ewe plays at the functional level: i.e. that the SMP and the MOP would ensure that only Ewe late system morphemes and morpheme order procedures are used in mixed constituents (compare Tables 2.2 and 2.3). The fine point of departure between the two hypotheses is what each of them claims is the source of the abstract lexical structure information that the formulator at the functional level uses to build a fitting grammatical structure for an English/CS content morpheme. For the composite ML hypothesis, the source is the lemma supporting the English/CS content morpheme, but for the Ewe-only ML hypothesis the source is the lemma supporting the Ewe counterpart of the English/CS content morpheme. In order to demonstrate that the stance of the composite ML best describes the CS patterns, I have adopted a comparative approach by which I analyzed aspects of the data in turns in

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<sup>63</sup> See §2.3.1 for a similar explanation of the tendency for English intensifiers, which are also early system morphemes, to occur with English adjectives in mixed ascriptive *Ie* constructions.

<sup>64</sup> As noted in §1.4.4.3, this ‘brand’ of Composite CS is not identical with the Composite CS that one is familiar with from reports on CS in immigrant speech communities in the West. I have distinguished (§1.4.4.3) what I still call “composite ML” from the composite ML associated with the composite structures characterized by imperfect bilingual L1 acquisition and child L1 attrition in language shift to L2.

terms of either hypothesis. The key finding is that the Ewe-only ML account consistently forced us to resort to auxiliary explanations—dubbed “compromise strategies” purportedly used by the speakers—for aspects of the data on predicative adjective switching that do not conform to the expectation that Ewe/ML content morphemes would project CS slots for their English counterparts. The composite ML account enables us to see that each English nonverbal predicative element comes into its CS slot of its own accord and that there is therefore no need for any auxiliary explanation for the distribution of some of them.

In Chapters 3 to 5, I will provide further evidence of the composite nature of the ML in Ewe-English CS.



## CHAPTER 3: MIXED ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

Mixed adnominal possessive constructions are complex grammatical units that comprise two NPs in possessive relationship. The two NPs are bridged by the Ewe possessive linker *fe*.<sup>65</sup> With reference to the mixed adnominal possessive constructions (mixed APCs) this chapter develops further the thesis that mixed constituents in Ewe-English CS are framed by the composite ML presented in the hypothesis in §1.4.4.3 and not by the Ewe-only ML captured in §1.4.4.2.

### 3.1 PRESENTATION OF DATA

#### 3.1.1 Background

In monolingual Ewe there are two contrastive types of APCs, namely alienable and inalienable APCs. Amuzu (2002) contrasts the two as follows:

An inalienable possessive adnominal construction<sup>66</sup> in Ewe is a structure involving the juxtaposition of nominals and it is used to characterise a close relationship between two entities ... e.g., the NP NP construction in *dɛvi-a fófó* (child-DEF father) ‘the child’s father’. The one involving a possessive linker is a typical alienable construction devoted to characterising distant possessive relationships, e.g., the NP *fe* NP construction in *dɛvi-a fe awu* (child-DEF poss dress) ‘the child’s dress’ (p.148).

That is, possessum nominals typically found in Ewe alienable APCs encode *non-relational entities*, including body parts and meronyms (see also Ameka 1991). Another illustration of the alienable APC is the occurrence of *agbalẽ* ‘book’ in example (1a) under the column labelled “Ewe APCs” in Table 3.1 below. Possessum nominals typically found in inalienable APCs encode *relational entities*. They include kin, spatial and socio-cultural terms. An example is the kin term *srɔ̃* ‘spouse’ in (1b) under “Ewe APCs” in the table.

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<sup>65</sup> The function that *fe* performs in these constructions can be likened to the function that an Ewe copula performs in mixed copula constructions. For this reason, mixed adnominal possessive constructions and mixed copula constructions are two kinds of what I would like to call *mixed bridged constructions*, to highlight the bridge-like position that the possessive/copulas occupy in them.

<sup>66</sup> Amuzu (1998 and 2002) referred to adnominal possessive constructions as “possessive adnominal constructions”. He accordingly abbreviated the phrase as “PAC” instead of “APC” as I do in this chapter.

TABLE 3.1: EXAMPLES OF MIXED APCs AND THEIR EWE vs ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

	Ewe APCs	Mixed APCs	English APCs
(1a) The possessum is the <b>non-relational</b> entity <i>agbalē</i> 'book'	[NP poss NP] ɲutsu-a fe agbalē-wó Man -DEF poss book -PL	⇒ ɲutsu-a fe book-wó <sup>67</sup> Man -DEF poss book-PL	⇐ [NP poss NP] The <u>man's</u> <u>books</u>
(1b) The possessum is the <b>relational</b> entity <i>srõ</i> 'wife'	[NP NP] ɲutsu-a srõ-wó Man -DEF wife PL	⇒ ɲutsu-a fe wife-wó Man -DEF poss wife PL NB: *ɲutsu-a wife-wó	⇐ [NP poss NP] The <u>man's</u> <u>wives</u>
(2a) The possessum is <i>agbalē</i>	[PRO poss NP] (where Possessor PRO is not a 1sg or 2sg PRO) Míá fe agbalē-wó 1PL poss book-PL	⇒ [PRO poss NP] Míá fe book-wó 1PL poss book-PL	⇐ [PRO NP] <u>Our</u> <u>books</u>
(2b) The possessum is <i>srõ</i>	[PRO NP] (where Possessor PRO is not a 1sg or 2sg PRO) Míá srõ-wó 1PL wife-PL	⇒ [PRO poss NP] Míá fe wife-wó 1PL poss wife-PL NB: *mia wife-wó	⇐ [PRO NP] <u>Our</u> <u>wives</u>
(3a) The possessum is <i>agbalē</i>	[1sg/2sg-PRO NP] Nye agbalē-a 1sg book-DEF	⇒ [1sg/2sg-PRO NP] Nye book-wó 1sg book-PL	⇐ [1sg/2sg-PRO NP] <u>My</u> <u>books</u>
(3b) The possessum is <i>srõ</i>	[NP 1sg/2sg-PRO] Srõ -nye -wó wife 1sg PL	⇒ [1sg/2sg-PRO NP] Nye wife-wó 1sg wife PL NB: *wife-nye-wó	⇐ [1sg/2sg-PRO NP] <u>My</u> <u>wives</u>

<sup>67</sup> See §3.1.2 for naturally-occurring illustrations of these CS patterns.

The [NP poss NP] vs [NP NP] opposition—i.e. example (1a) vs (1b) in Table 3.1 above—is only one of three kinds of structural oppositions of alienable and inalienable Ewe APCs. The other two involve APCs in which the possessor is a pronoun and it is presented as follows in Amuzu (2002: 158):

(i) When the possessor NP is ... a possessor pronoun other than a first or second person singular possessor pronoun,

(a) the PRO *fe* posm-NP construction is used when the possessum is a non-relational, body part or meronymic term [**but**]

(b) the PRO posm-NP construction is used when the possessum is a relational nominal - kin, spatial or socio-cultural.

(ii) In case the possessor is ... a first or second person singular possessor pronoun,

(a) the 1 / 2 PRO posm-NP construction is used when the possessum is a non-relational or body part or meronymic term [**but**]

(b) the posm-NP 1 / 2 PRO is used when the possessum is a relational term.

The opposition that Amuzu refers to in (i) above is illustrated in examples (2a) and (2b) under “Ewe APCs” in Table 3.1 and the opposition he refers to in (ii) is illustrated in (3a) and (3b), also under “Ewe APCs” in the table. Ameka (1991:164ff) has argued that the structure [1sg/2sgPRO NP]—i.e. (iia) in the quotation above—is derived from [1sg/2sgPRO *fe* NP] because the possessive linker *fe* is incorporated in the 1sg and 2sg possessor pronouns. That is to say, the [1sg/2sgPRO NP] structure in (3a) is an alienable APC, whose inalienable version is the [NP 1sg/2sgPRO] structure in (3b) in the table.

In English, no opposition is made between alienable and inalienable APCs. For instance, where the possessor entity is encoded by an NP, only the [NP poss NP] structure is used regardless of whether the possessum entity is relational or non-relational—see example (1a) vs (1b) under “English APCs” in Table 3.1. Also, where the possessor entity is expressed by a pronoun, only the [PRO NP] structure is used regardless of whether the possessum NP is relational or non-relational—note the absence of variation in the patterns in the (2a/b) and (3a/b) English APC examples compared with the variation we find between their monolingual Ewe equivalent APCs.

### 3.1.2 The Mixed APCs

#### 3.1.2.1 Illustrations: naturally-occurring examples, Table 3.1

Let us examine first some naturally-occurring examples of the CS patterns shown under “Mixed APCs” in Table 3.1 above. The first group of structures to be illustrated are those that have been numbered (1a), (2a) and (3a) in the table. They are the mixed APCs in which the English non-relational nominal *book* occurs. As noted, they are the types that mirror their monolingual Ewe APC equivalents, namely alienable Ewe APCs. To demonstrate that the English non-relational possessum nominals occur in the same types of structures as their Ewe equivalents, the monolingual Ewe version of each example is provided as the (b) version:

#### Mixed APC type (1a):

(4a) Church-ha ádé -wó fe doctrines-wó la, ma kpɔ the Christian principles

Church-group INDEF PL poss PL TP 2sg\_NEG see

alo basis si dzí wó tu wó dɔ́ o

or WH top 3PL build 3PL upon NEG

‘The doctrines of some churches, you can’t see the Christian principles or basis upon which they have been built.’

(Asilevi 1990: 49)

(4b) Church-ha ádé -wó fe se:wó la...

(5a) Mia-gblɔ be maybe é-xɔɔ há fe influence le é-me

1PL-say COMP 3sg-friend too poss be.atPRES 3sg-inner\_region

‘We can say that maybe the influence of her friend too is involved.’

(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn786)

(5b) Mia-gblɔ be maybe é-xɔɔ há fe nusekpɔkpɔdeamedzi le é-me

NB: see also mother-in-law fe wake-keeping in (15a) further below; the Ewe equivalent is loxo-nye fe nudodo

**Pattern in (2a):**

(6a) Mia fe judge-a -wó a, dewó hã, wó-be é-le é-me nyatefe be...  
 1PL poss the PL TP, some too 1PL-say 3sg-be.atPRES true COMP  
 ‘Our judges, some too, they say it is true that...’  
 (PAT-Akatsi-REC1: sn50)

(6b) Mia fe òṅudròlā -wó a...

(7a) Ne mí ame dahe-wó mīa-ga tso mīa fe political power a-tso kpe  
 If 1PL person poor-PL 1PL-RED take 1PL poss SUBJ-take add  
wó fe social and economic power la...  
 3PL poss TP  
 ‘If we the poor should add our political power to their social and economic power...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 71)

(7b) ... mīa fe òkplò nuse ... wó fe ???<sup>68</sup>

(8a) Wó-fe salary sike me sògbò o  
 3PL-poss REL NEG plenty NEG  
 ‘Their salary, which is not much’  
 (KUMA-Accra-REC2: sn463)

(8b) Wó-fe fetsu sike me sògbò o

**Pattern in (3a):**

(9a) Mi- nya bé nye trouser a, né me-do-i dé nye boot -a dзі a,  
 2PL know COMP 1sg TP if 1sg-wear-3sg on 1sg DEF top TP,  
e-nyanyá-gé á-kpò páá-a?  
 3sg-PASSV-ING FUT-see INT Q  
 ‘Do you know that my pair of trousers, if I should wear it over my pair of boots, it would be very attractive?’  
 (Amuzu 2002: 160)

(9b) Mi-nya bé nye ata-legbe a, né me-do-i dé nye afòkpa -a dзі a

<sup>68</sup> I will use this sign if I have not been able to find an equivalent in Ewe (probably due to lexical gap in Ewe).

(10a) Me nana-ge be nye njuto ma-zo va wo office  
 3sg.NEG give-INGR COMP 1sg self 1sg.SUBJ-walk come 2sg  
 a- va xe fe-a na wo o  
 SUBJ-come pay fee-the to 2sg NEG  
 ‘That won’t compel me to walk to your office in order to pay you the fees (bribe).’  
 (ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn164)

(10b) ...wo dowofe

The other group of mixed APCs to be illustrated comprises the (1b), (2b) and (3b) types (Table 3.1). These mixed APCs differ from their monolingual Ewe APC equivalents because while they are alienable APCs, their Ewe equivalents are inalienable APCs. Each CS example is paired with a monolingual Ewe version in an attempt to show the contrasts that exist between distributions of English/CS relational possessum nominals and distributions of Ewe relational possessum nominals:

Type (1b):

(11a) Lé nku dɛ zikpui-a fe under alo fridge-a fe side kpo.  
 Hold eye to chair-DEF poss or -DEF poss see  
 ‘Look under the chair or at the side of the fridge and see.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 37)

(11b) Lé nku dɛ zikpui-a fe alo ??? -a xa kpo

(12a) Wó- be srɔ̃-a fe uncle-e gblɔ nya-a  
 3PL say spouse-the poss -FOC say word-the  
 ‘They say it was her husband’s uncle who said it.’  
 (CANBERRA)

(12b) Wó-be srɔ̃-a ɔɔɔ-e gblɔ nya-a

Type (2b)

(13a) Nye old-lady-a e nyé mia fe grandmother fe last born.  
 1sg DEF FOC be 1PL poss poss  
 ‘My old lady (i.e. mother) is our grandmother’s last born.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 24)

(13b) Nye old lady-a e.... nyé mia mama fe last born

(14a) Nutsu-a wu é-srɔ kple é-fe sister nyitsɔ  
 Man-the kill 3sg-spouse and 3sg-poss few\_days\_ago  
 ‘The man killed his wife and her sister a few days ago.’  
 (KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn564)

(14b) Nutsu-a wu é-srɔ kple é-novi-a nyitsɔ

**Type (3b)**

(15a) Tomorrow’s week-ε nyé nye mother-in-law fe wake-keeping lá...  
 FOC COP 1sg poss TP  
 ‘A week tomorrow is my mother-in-law’s wake-keeping...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 108)

(15b) Tomorrow’s week-ε nyé lɔxɔ-nye fe ɲɔdɔdɔ lá...

(16a) Elabe me vá nɔ nye sister gbɔ sometimes  
 Because 1sg come be.atNPRES 1sg vicinity  
 ‘Because I resided with my sister sometimes.’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn279)

(16b) ...me va nɔ nɔvi-nye gbɔ...

*3.1.2.2 Emergent conclusions, questions*

The examples discussed in §3.1.2.1 accentuate the point of Table 3.1 that the morphosyntactic distinction made in Ewe between relational and non-relational possessum nominals is not applied to English possessum nominals in mixed APCs: English relational and non-relational possessum nominals occur in Ewe-based mixed alienable APCs only. The examples also point to English as the catalyst in the inapplicability of the Ewe distinction to the English possessum nominals: English makes no such distinction in monolingual APCs. From this second point, it seems straightforward to conclude that English is responsible for the absence of the distinction among its possessum nominals. What is not as straightforward is deciding whether English is again responsible for the specific choice of Ewe-based alienable APC structures for its possessum nominals. It is not straightforward because there are some complications that need to be accounted for in any conclusion drawn about the motivations for the choice of only alienable structures for mixed APCs. With respect to a hypothesis about the role of English, the following facts

about correspondences between surface structures of the mixed APCs and their English counterparts have to be taken into account:

- (i) while the [NP/PRO poss NP] structure of mixed APCs under (1a) and (1b) and the [PRO NP] structure of mixed APCs under (3a) and (3b) correspond in surface structure to their respective English APC equivalents,
- (ii) the [PRO poss NP] structure in mixed APCs under (2a) and (2b) do not correspond in surface structure to their English equivalents, which have the [PRO NP] structure.

If one takes the position that English is responsible for the choice of the Ewe-based alienable APCs structures, then, one has to explain the presence of *ƒe* in the (2a) and (2b) mixed structures. It is not enough to say that the (2a) and (2b) mixed APCs are exceptions to ‘the rule’.

The right questions to ask about these data are not about the surface structure correspondences per se. To underscore this point, I will, in §3.2, attempt to apply Poplack’s framework that (which rejects the notion of ML in CS constituents) to analyze the data. I will argue that the right questions about the CS patterns relate more to the abstract grammatical structures of the mixed APCs than to their surface structures. That is to say, the questions concern the CS mechanisms (the nature of ML) involved at abstract levels of the production of the APC structures. As with mixed copula constructions in Chapter 2, I compare two types of ML in relation to the data: the Ewe-only ML (§3.3) and the composite-ML (§3.4). But before I do so, let us consider Poplack’s framework.

### 3.2 POPLACK’S FRAMEWORK

An outline of Poplack’s framework for CS grammatical analysis is already given in §2.4.2.2.2. It distinguishes mixed APCs in which lone English possessum nominals occur from mixed APCs in which larger English possessum NP units occur. It also holds that different principles underpin their distributions. Only mixed APCs containing phrasal category NPs are considered as ‘true’ CS structures; lone English nouns in the APCs are seen as borrowings. My first reservation about this framework is the need for this distinction. This is because both English lone nouns and phrasal category NPs occur consistently in the same kinds of *non-relational possessum slots* in the mixed APCs, as seen in §3.1.2.1. For instance, to go by the distinction, the mechanism involved in the occurrence



of the lone English non-relational noun *influence* in é-xɔɔ hã fe influence ‘the influence of her friends too’ in (5a) above should be seen as different from the mechanism involved when the phrasal unit spare parts occurs in a similar environment following *fe* in:

- (17a) nku fe spare parts me-le anyigba sia dzi o  
 eye poss NEG-be earth this top NEG  
 ‘There is no spare parts for the eye on (this) earth.’  
 (Nortsu-Kotoe 1999: 98)

The mechanism involved in the occurrence of the non-relational nominal *salary* in wó fe salary-wó ‘their salary’ in (8a) is also presumably different from the one responsible for the occurrence of the phrasal non-relational unit social and economic power in wó fe social and economic power in (7a). Likewise, from the perspective of Poplack, the relational nominal *sister* in nye sister ‘my sister’ in (16a) is a ‘borrowed’ form while the relational NP younger brothers in nye younger brothers wó kata in (17b) below is a ‘true CS form’:

- (17b) Nye younger brothers-wó katā wó shave-na gake  
 1sg PL all 3pl HAB but  
 ‘All my younger brothers shave but...’  
 (Amuzu 1998:72)

In fact, the assumption is that in the following sentence the speaker uses a borrowing strategy for *top* and then switched to a CS strategy to use middle side although both elements are in similar grammatical environments.

- (17c) E-be... nyonuvi ye-nyé; maybe ye fe top vá yi ye fe middle side  
 3sg-say... girl LOG-COP; LOG poss come go LOG poss  
 me nyá kpɔ o  
 3sg-NEG PASV see NEG  
 ‘She says... she is a girl; (and that) maybe the top (section) of her (body) to the middle side of her (body) are not beautiful looking.’  
 (ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn189)

Let us consider the borrowing account first. The distribution of borrowed forms into recipient language structures is presumably guided by the recipient language’s morphosyntactic procedures since it is claimed that only the recipient language is activated

in borrowing processes and that it is the recipient language that provides the grammatical structures into which lone loan words are integrated (Poplack and Meechan 1995). One may therefore assume that it is Ewe which functions as the recipient language in wó fe salary [3PL poss salary] ‘their salary’ in (8a) and é - fe sister [3sg poss sister] ‘her sister’ in (14a) above because it seems that the nominals are integrated into the Ewe APC structure. Yet, only *salary* (which represents English non-relational possessum nominals) conforms to Ewe grammar: Ewe non-relational possessum nominals occur in alienable APCs, separated from their possessor NP by *fe*—except in the case of *nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg) possessor PROs, which have incorporated *fe* as exemplified in (15a and 16a) above. *Sister* in (14a)—and for that matter English relational possessum nominals—does not conform to Ewe grammar as Ewe relational possessum nominals do not require the possessive linker. In view of this, the anomalous behaviour of English relational possessum nominals seems to be an indication that something is wrong with Poplack’s assumption that a ‘recipient language’ would necessarily determine how it incorporates into its structure a lone morpheme from a donor language.

We now turn to principles of CS assumed in Poplack’s framework. As indicated, CS applies in this framework only to phrasal categories and consists of two proposed complementary mechanisms, one associated with “constituent insertions” and the other with “switches under equivalence” based on the Equivalence Constraint.

Constituent insertion according to the framework is assumed to be a process similar to lone word borrowing and we are to assume that the recipient language is activated alone to create the possessum slot into which an English possessum NP is inserted. In other words, in the examples above, English possessum NPs are expected to enter the kinds of slots in which their Ewe counterparts occur. Based on this assumption, the same mechanism should account for the insertion of *salary* in wó fe salary-wó ‘their salary’ in (8a) and of social and economic power in wó fe social and economic power (7a). But as with the single word borrowing, the constituent insertion principle applies only to the distribution of English non-relational possessum NPs. As we have seen, however, English relational possessum NPs also occur after *fe*—except after *nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg) possessor PROs, both of which have incorporated *fe* as illustrated in (17b) above. Thus,

although the possessive linker *fe* is obligatory for elder sister in (18a), it is unacceptable for da tsitsito, its Ewe counterpart in (18b):

(18a) Sukudzíkpolá fe eldest sister vá sra-e.  
 Head teacher poss come visit-3sg  
 The head teacher's eldest sister came to visit him.  
 (PAT-Akatsi-REC1: sn157)

(18b) Sukudzíkpolá da tsitsito vá sra-e.  
 Head teacher elder sister come visit-3sg

The concept of switches under equivalence does not fare any better. The Equivalence Constraint (EC) stipulates that a constituent unit from one language can occur next to a constituent unit from another language if their boundary is “homologous” (Poplack and Meechan 1995: 224) in both grammars. But there is no recipient language here, only partner languages that are activated alternately to frame either of the juxtaposed monolingual units.

To justify the adequacy of the concept of switches under equivalence in relation to the mixed APCs, we need to show that the points of intersection between the Ewe and English monolingual parts in the mixed APCs are indeed homologous in the two grammars. Table 3.2 below shows Ewe and English APC types whose internal word orders match:

TABLE 3.2: *HOMOLOGOUS EWE AND ENGLISH APCs*

Type	Ewe APCs	Mixed APCs	English APCs
1a	[NP poss NP]	[NP poss NP]	[NP poss NP]
2b	[PRO NP]	[PRO poss NP]	[PRO NP]
3a	[1sg/2sgPRO NP]	[1sg/2sgPRO NP]	[1sg/2sgPRO NP]

The EC seems to be validated in mixed APCs of type (3a). For instance, nye old lady ‘my old lady’ in (13a) above mirrors the word order in equivalent Ewe and English

expressions: *nye//nyagadeqi* and *my//old lady*.<sup>69</sup> It could be argued that *old lady* is a switch under equivalence of both grammars. A similar argument may be advanced for switches in mixed APCs of type (1a), which is illustrated in (19a):

- (19a) Kɔʃetɔ má-wó ƒe poor understanding of what is happening-ɛ  
 Villagers-that-PL poss -aFOC  
 ná be wó vote-ná ná Rawlings.  
 give COMP 3PL HAB for R.  
 ‘It is those villagers’ poor understanding of what is happening which makes them vote for Rawlings.’  
 (CANBERRA)

(19b) Kɔʃetɔ má-wó ƒe nyadzɔzɔwógomemasemase

(19c) Those villagers’ poor understanding of what is happening

As (19b) and (19c) show, the monolingual structures are homologous at the point of the possessive linker, *ƒe*.

With a (2b) type mixed APCs, however, we run into problems. As we can find in the table above, there is no overt possessive linker in either the Ewe and English type (2b) APC. But as we find in (20a), *ƒe* pops up before any English relational possessum NP if its possessor is a PRO which is neither 1sg or 2sg (the Ewe and English versions appear in 20b and 20c respectively):

- (20a) Mí dzí be mía tsó mía ƒe beloved sister ná Joseph, Adukpoto  
 1PL want COMP 1PL take 1PL poss give J. A. -own  
 ‘We want to give our beloved sister to Adukpoto’s Joseph (to marry).’

(20b) ...tsó mía novi loloto ná... (Monolingual Ewe)

(20c) ...give our beloved sister to... (Monolingual English)

The main questions are: *What is the origin of the ƒe in the mixed construction?* and *How may the EC be used to determine that origin?* Since the EC dwells on surface structure configurations, it is unclear how it anticipates the presence of *ƒe* in (20a).

There is also the general puzzle about the choice of *ƒe* over the English possessive ‘s. Since the linker is at the ‘common’ boundary (see 1a and 3a), it is difficult to see how

<sup>69</sup> The double stokes stand for a boundary that may be considered homologous in the structure and its other language equivalent structure.

the EC determines that the cut-off point for the Ewe material must always be after the linker and not before it. For instance, if the beginning of the English component were before the linker, we would have a structure like (21), which is an unacceptable version of (19a):

- (21) Koƒetó má-wó \*'s poor understanding of what is happening-e ...  
 Villagers-that-PL poss -aFOC  
 'It is those villagers' poor understanding of what is happening....'

I believe that it is hardly enough to assume matter-of-factly that *ƒe*, but not 's, must appear as the bridge morpheme in mixed APCs. For the EC to be a viable tool for analyzing mixed APCs containing *ƒe*, it should tell us why the slot before the 'poss' is *not* a CS juncture.

Again, the EC fares no better with mixed APCs whose Ewe and English monolingual counterparts are not homologous. Table 3.3 is extracted from Table 3.1:

*TABLE 3.3: PATTERNS OF CS IN NON-HOMOLOGOUS EWE AND ENGLISH APCs*

Type	Ewe APCs	Mixed APCs	English APCs
1b	[NP NP]	[NP poss NP]	[NP poss NP]
2a	[PRO poss NP]	[PRO poss NP]	[PRO NP]
3b	[NP 1sg/2sgPRO]	[1sg/2sgPRO NP]	[1sg/2sgPRO NP]

As the highlighted items in the table show, in the case of type (1b) the presence of *ƒe* in the mixed APC version is not anticipated from the surface structure of the Ewe APC. And in the case of type (2a), the presence of the linker is not anticipated from the surface structure of the English APC. Although *ƒe* occurs after *mia* in the type (2a) Ewe APC in *mia ƒe dukplɔnuse*, no overt possessive linker is required in the English equivalent, i.e. our political power. Yet, *ƒe* appears before *political power* in *mia ƒe political*

power in (7a). Mixed APCs of type (3b) also present a problem. In spite of the lack of word order equivalence between the Ewe and English APC versions (which fact should have barred CS under equivalence) English relational nominals occur as the second of the juxtaposed NPs, following the English word order as we find in nye younger brothers wo' kata (17b above).

We have been assuming that 's is the only English equivalent of *fe*. But this assumption ignores the genitive *of*. Consider the following example:

- (22) E- le                    cupboard- a fe top.  
       3sg be.atPRES                    DEF poss  
       'It's on the top of the cupboard.'  
       (Asilevi 1990: 37)

The Ewe linker is used although the English counterpart of the underlined structure is not the cupboard's top but the top of the cupboard, which has nothing to do with the structure above or with the EC.<sup>70</sup>

The foregoing shows the difficulties that come with attempts to explain the mixed APCs in terms of their surface structures. In the next two sections, I explore two approaches—the Ewe-only ML account (§3.3) and the composite ML account (§3.4), both of which stem from Myers-Scotton's framework—to probe abstract grammatical structures of the mixed APCs for explanation of the surface CS patterns:.

### 3.3 EWE-ONLY ML ACCOUNT

In this section, I present two alternative accounts that rest on the notion that Ewe is a one-language ML in the mixed APCs. The first account stems from provisions of the MLF model that are captured in the Ewe-only ML hypothesis (§1.4.4.2). I call it 'lexically-driven Ewe-only ML account' in order to underscore its underpinning assumption that language production is lexically driven and, also, to differentiate it from Amuzu (1998) Ewe-only ML account which assumes that the processes involved in producing the mixed APCs are construction-driven. We shall call the second account 'construction-driven Ewe-only ML account'.

<sup>70</sup> See examples (11a) and (17c) for similar patterns.

### 3.3.1 Lexically-driven Ewe-only ML account

By ‘lexically driven’ language production we mean that content morphemes are selected prior to the determination of the morphosyntactic structures in which those content morphemes occur (see Chapter 2). It assumes that a speaker’s need to (i) express some pre-verbal concepts leads him to (ii) activate lemmas supporting particular content morphemes. (iii) Those lemmas impose certain abstract grammatical structure requirements on the environments in which the content morphemes occur. Accordingly, the Ewe-only ML hypothesis claims that (i) when pre-verbal concepts lead to the selection of an English/EL content morpheme at the lemma level, (ii) the English content morpheme is checked for congruence with its Ewe/ML counterpart and, granted that there is sufficient congruence between them, (iii) the lemma supporting the Ewe counterpart sends morphosyntactic directions to the functional level for use by the formulator to build grammatical structure for the English morpheme. The anticipated result is (iv) that the English content morpheme emerges in a slot meant for the Ewe equivalent. The hypothesis as noted stipulates that in the event that the English/EL content morpheme is not sufficiently congruent with its Ewe counterpart, a different mechanism, a compromise strategy, would guide the English morpheme into either a bare form construction or EL island as appropriate. We explore these expectations in the following subsections.

#### 3.3.1.1 *The default expectation: where congruence exists between cross-language possessum nominals*

Let us examine first example (23a), a reproduction of (15a):

(23a) Tomorrow’s week-e nyé nye mother-in-law fe wake-keeping lá...  
                                     FOC be 1sg                                 poss                                 TP

‘A week tomorrow is my mother-in-law’s wake-keeping...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 108)

(23b) Tomorrow’s week-ε nyé nye mother-in-law fe ɲudɔɔ lá...

The important thing about (23a) is that wake-keeping occurs in a slot that is associable with its Ewe counterpart, *ɲudɔɔ* (see 23b). According to the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, it is *ɲudɔɔ* which projects the slot in which wake-keeping occurs. The following processes presumably guide wake-keeping into the slot: (i) once the lemma supporting wake-keeping is selected at the lemma level, (ii) wake-keeping is checked for congruence with its Ewe counterpart *ɲudɔɔ* at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and is found to be sufficiently congruent with it; consequently (iii) grammatical structure

meant for *ɲudɔdɔ* is built for wake-keeping, which then (iv) occurs in the structure (see Table 3.4 for details).

TABLE 3.4: LEXICALLY-DRIVEN EWE-ONLY ML ACCOUNT OF THE INSERTION OF AN ENGLISH POSSESSUM NOMINAL INTO A MIXED ALIENABLE APC

- **Stage 1 - The Lemma level:** When a speaker selects the English nominal wake-keeping during Ewe-English CS in connection with a pre-verbal concept (here an entity) that he wishes to express, he also selects Ewe as the sole ML of the mixed constituent being produced. The following processes then follow:
  - At this level the lexical-conceptual structure sub-part of the lemma supporting wake-keeping is activated; i.e. the ceremony concept it encodes becomes salient. This lexical-conceptual structure information as well as the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern information regarding wake-keeping are communicated to the formulator at the functional level. Information contained in the lemma supporting the Ewe counterpart (*ɲudɔdɔ*) is also communicated to the formulator.
- **Stage 2 - The Functional Level:** The formulator checks the *degree of congruence* that exists between wake-keeping and *ɲudɔdɔ*, with the following results:
  - The two morphemes are treated as sufficiently congruent, because (a) they both encode a certain cross-cultural concept, i.e. they share lexical-conceptual structure; (b) they are non-relational possessum nominals, i.e. they share predicate-argument structure in relation to another element, the possessor nominal, and (c) in connection with being possessum elements, they require a possessive bridge late system morpheme to connect them to their possessor<sup>71</sup>, i.e. they have similar morphological realization requirements.
  - Ewe is the language in control of functional level processes, so it supplies the required late bridge system possessive morpheme, which is *fɛ*. The System Morpheme Principle ensures that only *fɛ* (and not the English 's or of) appears in

<sup>71</sup> That is, 's in the case of wake-keeping (as in mother-in-law's wake-keeping) and *fɛ* in the case of *ɲudɔdɔ* (as in lɔxo-nye fɛ ɲudɔdɔ).



the mixed APC. The Morpheme Order Principle also ensures that Ewe morphosyntactic procedures are adhered to in the mixed APC.

- **Stage 3 - The Positional or Surface level:** *wake-keeping* is routed into the slot intended for *ɲudɔɔ*.

The above explication may be applied to the occurrence of *influence* in (24a) in a slot that is similar to the one in which its Ewe counterpart *ɲusekpɔkpɔdeamedzi* occurs in (24b):

(24a) Mia-gblɔ be maybe é-xɔɔ hã fe influence le é-me  
 1PL-say COMP 3sg-friend too poss be.atPRES 3sg-inner\_region  
 ‘We can say that maybe the influence of her friend too is involved.’  
 (KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn786)

(24b) Mia-gblɔ be maybe é-xɔɔ hã fe ɲusekpɔkpɔdeamedzi le é-me

The hypothesis also anticipates that only Ewe possessor pronouns may be used in the mixed APCs, because the System Morpheme Principle bars the switching of ML clitic pronouns. Following Ewe morphosyntactic rules and in accordance with the Morpheme Order Principle, *fe* appears after all Ewe possessor pronouns (except *nye/1sg* and *wo/2sg*, which have incorporated it) when they occur with English-origin non-relational possessum nominals / NPs. Thus, in (25a), *judge* occurs in a slot associated with its Ewe equivalent *ɲɲudrɔla* (this slot follows *fe*, which in turn follows the possessor NP *mía* (1PL), one of those pronouns that have not incorporated *fe*):

(25a) Mia fe judge-a -wó a, ɔwó hã, wó-be é-le é-me nyatefe be...  
 1PL poss the PL TP, some too 1PL-say 3sg-be.atPRES true COMP  
 ‘Our judges, some too, they say it is true that...’  
 (PAT-Akatsi-REC1: sn50)

(25b) Mia fe ɲɲudrɔla -wó a...

*view* too occurs for ostensibly the same reasons twice in (26a) in the posmNP slot in the [PRO poss posmNP] that is associable with its Ewe equivalent, *susu*, which appears in (26b):

(26a) Woawo ko-e vá nɔ-na afi-má á- express wó fe view;  
 3PL only-FOC come be-HAB place-that POT 3sg poss

mo ná- ná be the poor ná- express wó fe view o

3PL:NEG give-HAB that SUBJV- 3PL poss NEG

‘They alone would come there and (would) express their view; they won’t allow the poor to express their view...’

(AMI-INGROUP-data: sn159)

(26b) ...express wó fe susu

Although required, the possessive bridge (*fe*) is covert in alienable APCs in which *nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg), which as noted have incorporated it, occur. Illustrations are the occurrences of *nye* in *nye trousers* and *nye boot* in (9a) and the occurrence of *wo* in *wo office* in (10a). As the (b) versions of these examples show, Ewe counterparts of each of the English nominals share the post-PRO slot and may be said to project it in the manner stipulated in the hypothesis.

### 3.3.1.2 Weaknesses of the hypothesis

The Ewe-only ML hypothesis, however, faces an entire category of counter-examples: English relational possessum nominals. As we saw in examples (11-16), they behave like their non-relational English possessum nominal counterparts in that they occur consistently in mixed alienable APCs, following *fe*. Since Ewe relational possessum nominals do not occur in alienable APCs, the slot in which an English possessum relational nominal occurs cannot be traced to its Ewe counterpart. For example, in (27a)—a type 1b mixed APC—***uncle*** occurs following *fe* although its Ewe counterpart *toqia* in (27b) is juxtaposed with the possessor NP:

(27a) Wó- be srõ-a fe uncle-e gbló nya-a  
3PL say spouse-the poss -FOC say word-the

‘They say it was her husband’s uncle who said it.’

(27b) Wó-be srõ-a toqia-e gbló nya-a

Likewise, in (28a), ***grandmother*** also occurs following *fe* although its Ewe equivalent *mama* in (28b) is juxtaposed with the possessor NP:

(28a) Nye old-lady-a e nyé mia fe grandmother fe last born.  
1sg DEF FOC be 1PL poss poss

‘My old lady (i.e. mother) is our grandmother’s last born.’

(Asilevi 1990: 24)

(28b) Nye old lady-a e.... nyé mia mama fe last born

So also, in (29a), mother-in-law occurs following *nye* (1sg; which has incorporated *fe*) although its Ewe equivalent *loxo* in (29b) precedes *nye*<sup>72</sup>:

(29a) Tomorrow's week-e nyé nye mother-in-law fe wake-keeping lá...

FOC be 1sg poss TP

'A week tomorrow is my mother-in-law's wake-keeping...'

(Asilevi 1990: 108)

(29b) Tomorrow's week-e nyé loxo-nye fe nudodo lá...

It seems to me that the Ewe-only ML hypothesis can explain the CS distribution pattern above only if it attributes the patterns to a compromise strategy prompted by lack of congruence between English and Ewe relational possessum nominals regarding morphological realization. While English relational nominals require a possessive bridge system morpheme to link them to their possessor NP (e.g. John's mother), their Ewe counterparts do not (e.g. John dada). Roughly, the compromise strategy unfolds as follows: (i) when the lemma supporting an English relational possessum nominal is selected at the lemma level, (ii) it is checked for congruence with its Ewe counterpart at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and (iii) the two are found to be incongruent with respect to morphological realization; so (iv) in resolving this incongruence, the English relational morpheme is blocked from entering a slot projected by its Ewe counterpart and is instead routed into a slot where an English non-relational nominal too may occur.

This formulation may be loose, but whether it is or not is irrelevant. My central thesis is that the need for two different accounts—one for the CS distribution of English non-relational nominals and the other for the CS distribution of English relational possessum nominals—is uneconomical and unnecessary and therefore a sign of weakness of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. Its weakness is reminiscent of its handling of predicative adjective switching.

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<sup>72</sup> I have indicated (3.1.1), following Ameka (1991), that the [posmNP 1sg/2sgPRO] APC is the inalienable version of the [1sg/2sgPRO NP] APC, which is alienable despite the fact that *fe* is only covert.

### 3.3.2 Construction-driven Ewe-only ML account

Amuzu (2002) is an attempt to come up with “a constraint which will give a unified explanation for both patterns of CS” (p.149) in reaction to the problems with the Ewe-only ML hypothesis regarding its requirement for two mutually-exclusive accounts for the distributions of English possessum nominals. The viewpoint represented there is that the need for the two accounts is not a sign that the notion of one-language ML for Ewe-English CS is inappropriate. Rather, his argument is that the two accounts are functions of a flawed assumption that the language production processes involved are always lexically driven. It is suggested that as far as the production of the mixed APCs is concerned, language production is only partly lexically driven because part of it is construction driven:

The CS patterns discussed in the paper demonstrate that the basic premises of the MLF model are not operationalised via lexically based principles alone. The structure of some mixed constituents...are (sic) determined by principles that originate from a combination of construction-based grammatical systems (e.g. the conceptualisation of possessive relationships in Ewe) and lexically based systems as already prescribed in the MLF model [e.g. the System Morpheme Principle and Blocking Principle]. It is the construction-based dimension of the framework that has been underscored in this paper. (Amuzu 2002: 170)

The specifics of this view were motivated by Ameka’s (1991) theory about how possessive relationships are conceived and encoded in APCs in monolingual Ewe. According to Ameka,

the linguistic distance [between nominals in a possessive relationship] is iconic with the perceived conceptual distance between [the] nominals ... [N]ominals are not classified as either alienable or inalienable. (Ameka 1991: 160)

By this is meant that the kind of possessum relationship (alienable or inalienable) which an Ewe possessum nominal is perceived to be engaged in with another nominal depends on the type of APC structure in which the two occur. Ameka buttresses this theory with the observation that although relational possessum nominals *typically* occur in inalienable APCs, speakers of Ewe employ a discourse strategy by which they *atypically* insert the relational possessum nominals into possessum slots in alienable APCs (p 174). In alienable APCs, the conceptual closeness between the entity encoded by relational possessum nominals and their possessor entities is de-emphasized.

Amuzu (2002) argues that although the strategy is atypical, its existence is the basis for the default insertion of English possessum relational nominals in mixed alienable APCs:

[I]rrespective of what other factors may motivate CS in Ghana, one of its inherent discourse functions is that attention tends to be focused on mixed constituents in general and in particular on the EL lexical items contained in them... This function of CS coincides with the conceptualisation that Ewe speakers have of the syntactic-semantic structure of alienable constructions and [of] their use ... for coding possessive relationships involving relational entities... [T]hese functions form a *confluence* of attention marking mechanisms for expressing possessive relationships such that it would be a contradiction in itself to make the marked choice of an EL possessum nominal, relational or non-relational, and not to insert it in the marked alienable ML PAC [i.e. ML APC]... Therein lies the hypothesis. (Amuzu 2002: 167-168)

The point here is that somehow a speaker who intends to codeswitch accesses an Ewe alienable APC frame—which may be thought of as a kind of ‘construction-lemma’—at the lemma level and goes on to insert the selected English possessum nominal, relational or non-relational, into this frame in surface structure.

This account seems to have the virtue of explaining in a “unified” manner how both relational and non-relational English nominals turn up in identical CS slots. However, it is ad hoc for two main reasons. First, the discourse strategy it appeals to is so atypical—and probably only dialectal<sup>73</sup>—that it hardly could have had such a grave influence in Ewe-English CS. Second, even if the discourse strategy is widespread (i.e. if it is a key characteristic of the Ewe speaker’s competence), it would still be ad hoc to link it to the CS patterns and conclude that construction-based production processes guide the CS patterns. This is because the mixed APC would then become the only area of Ewe-English CS that reflects the construction rather than lexically-driven language production processes.<sup>74</sup> If we must assume that this area of CS grammar is genuinely unique, then there ought to be clear justification that the principles that operate elsewhere in the CS grammar are not applicable to it. I show in the next section, however, that the composite ML hypothesis does apply to this area of CS grammar as it applies to other areas of the grammar.

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<sup>73</sup> In recent consultations among Anlo speakers of Ewe, I realized that none of them remembers ever employing this strategy: they think that under no circumstances would they use alienable APCs for Ewe relational possessum nominals. The strategy is probably more common among speakers of some other Ewe. The CS data Amuzu (2002) studied come from Anlo speakers. In fact, James Essegbey, a native Anlo speaker, shares the sentiments of my other consultants.

<sup>74</sup> We have already shown that there are problems with the construction-oriented account for mixed *le*-constructions involving English predicative adjectives (§2.3.2), the only other area of the grammar for which construction-based accounts have been explored.

### 3.4 THE PRESENT STUDY: THE COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT

#### 3.4.1 Hypothesis and illustrations

Applied to the production of the mixed APC, the composite ML hypothesis in §1.4.4.3 defines the role that English plays vis-à-vis Ewe as follows:

While **English** provides --- from the lemma level --- abstract lexical structure information (i.e., lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realisation pattern information) about each English content morpheme selected during CS,

**Ewe** provides --- from the functional level --- the morphosyntactic means (i.e. morpheme order and late system morphemes) with which the Formulator creates for the English content morpheme a slot that expresses its abstract lexical structure features.

As with the Ewe-only ML hypothesis explored in §3.3.1, the underpinning assumption here is that language production is lexically driven, i.e. that lemma supporting content morphemes call for the kinds of grammatical environments into which they are placed. The hypothesis places the onus to make that call on the English possessum nominal rather than on its Ewe counterpart. Let us explicate this hypothesis with reanalysis of the following two examples: (23) reproduced as (30) and (27) as (31).

The examples are chosen in order to make the point in Table 3.5 below that the same CS mechanism applies in the distribution of English relational and non-relational possessum nominals. (30a) contains an English non-relational possessum nominal, wake-keeping, and (31a) contains an English relational possessum nominal, uncle.

(30a) Tomorrow's week-e nyé nye mother-in-law fe wake-keeping lá...

FOC be 1sg    poss    TP

'A week tomorrow is my mother-in-law's wake-keeping...'

(Asilevi 1990: 108)

(30b) Tomorrow's week-ε nyé nye mother-in-law fe nudoda lá...

(31a) Wó- be srõ-a fe uncle-e gblo nya-a

3PL say spouse-the poss -FOC say word-the

'They say it was her husband's uncle who said it.'

(31b) Wó-be srõ-a fofia-e gblo nya-a

TABLE 3.5 COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT OF THE PRODUCTION OF MIXED APCs

- **Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (e.g. wake-keeping in 23a or uncle in 27a) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme's English-origin abstract lexical structure. At this level, what becomes salient regarding the morpheme's lexical structure is its lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the entity it encodes. Information on the morpheme's lexical-conceptual structure along with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which are not yet salient—are sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.
- **Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator reads the information directed to it from the lemma level, i.e.,
  - Regarding predicate-argument structure, it recognises wake-keeping / uncle as a possessum.
  - Regarding morphological realization, the formulator detects—from the morpheme's English-origin lemma information—that it requires, regardless of whether it is relational or nonrelational, a possessive bridge system morpheme to link it to its possessor NP.
  - Ewe dominates what happens at this level, and its dominance is operationalized via the System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle. The System Morpheme Order ensures that only Ewe supplies the required late bridge system morpheme (namely the *fe* morpheme), and the Morpheme Order Principle ensures that Ewe morpheme order prevails in the mixed APC.
- **Stage 3 – Positional Level:** wake-keeping / uncle occurs in an alienable Ewe APC structure.

Example (32) below shows that even if the possessive linker that an English possessum nominal requires in English is genitive *of* instead of *'s*, the formulator only uses the Ewe *fe* in conformity with the System Morpheme Principle. As a possessum nominal *top* normally requires *of* to connect it to its possessor NP: top of the cupboard is more acceptable than the cupboard's top. *Top* comes before *of* in an *of*-construction; however, since the Morpheme Order Principle ensures that Ewe grammar prevails in mixed constituents, note that *top* occurs after *fe* in (32):

(32) E- le cupboard- a fe top.

3sg-be.atPRES -DEF poss

'It's on top of the cupboard.'

(Asilevi 1990: 37)

The key point in Table 3.5 and example (32) is that regardless of whether an English possessum nominal is a relational or a non-relational nominal and regardless of whether the nominal requires 's or *of* to link it to the possessor NP, what the formulator does is that it satisfies the requirement by creating a slot for it after the Ewe *fe*. The process has no more to do with Ewe counterparts of the English nominals beyond the fact that they are treated as though they were all non-relational possessum nominals; as noted only Ewe non-relational possessum nominals require the possessive linker in their realization. Wake-keeping (30a) occurs in a slot in which its Ewe counterpart *ɲudɔɔ* (30b) may also occur, and this means nothing more than the fact that as an Ewe non-relational possessum nominal *ɲudɔɔ* too requires *fe* in its realization. Uncle (31a) occurs in a slot that is not traceable to its Ewe counterpart *tɔɖia* (31b), but it means nothing more than the fact that as an Ewe relational possessum nominal *tɔɖia* does not require *fe* in its realization.

As noted, some Ewe possessor PROs have incorporated *fe*. They are *nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg). Following the Morpheme Order Principle, *fe* is absent in mixed APCs involving these two PROs, as we find in (33) and (34):

(33) Nye sisters-wó a, nye mother; afi-i wó-le fia  
 1sg PL TP 1sg place-WH 3PL-be.atPRES now

wó me dɔ me de-mí o  
 3PL NEG work inside reach-PROG NEG

'As for my sisters [and] my mother; right now they do not go to work (they are unemployed).'

(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn810)

(34) Senyo, né é-nyé bé wo mother tsó fofonju tá twenty

Senyo, if 3sg-be COMP 2sg-mother take sugarcane bundle

yi asime-e eye...

go market-FOC and...

'Senyo, if your mother takes twenty bundles of sugarcane to the market and...'

(Asilevi 1990: 67)



Example (35) provides a contrast between a mixed APC (nye old lady) in which *fe* is unexpressed and two other APCs (mía fe grandmother and grandmother fe last born) in which *fe* cannot be covert:

- (35) Nye old-lady-a e nyé mía fe grandmother fe last born.  
 1sg DEF FOC be 1PL poss poss  
 ‘My old lady (i.e. my mother) is our grandmother’s last born.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 24)

The explication in Table 3.5 also stipulates that the System Morpheme Principle bars occurrences of English pronouns in mixed APCs. This covers Asilevi’s (1990) observation (supported by the following examples) that English possessor PROs cannot occur in mixed APCs:

- (36) Nye wife but not \*my sro  
 1sg wife “my wife”  
Wo textbook but not \*your agbalē  
 2sg book “your textbook”  
 (Asilevi 1990: 35)

Ewe possessor pronouns are clitics, i.e. late system morphemes, so the System Morpheme Principle ensures that they are not switched.

### 3.4.2 Language change in progress?

It appears that some codeswitchers ignore the fact that *nye* (1sg)—and *wo* (2sg)—has incorporated *fe*. For instance, ALLICE, a subject who ‘correctly’ omitted *fe* after *wo* in wo office ‘your office’ in (10a) above, used *fe* after *nye* in the following mixed APC:

- (37) yeḗwóyi éyi me-no college me-kó-e wo nye fe project work  
 Sometimes when 1sg-beatNPRES 1sg-take-3sg do 1sg poss  
 ‘There were times, when I was in college, that I used it (computer) to do my project work.’  
 (ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn203)

Asilevi (1990) also recorded the following example:

- (38) Nye fe wife tsitsitɔ la -e  
 1sg poss older DEF FOC  
 ‘It’s my elder wife.’

(Asilevi 1990: 87)

I would argue that exposure to frequent use of *fe* in CS contexts is the catalyst in the resurrection of its use following *nye* in these examples.

Example (39), attributed to a child living in Accra, where exposure to English is high, suggests that the phenomenon is not restricted to CS contexts:

- (39) Me- yi nye fe xɔlɔ gbɔ  
1sg go 1sg poss friend side  
I went to my friend.  
(Setsoafia 1989:19)

This child exhibited two elements of change in this example. The first one is that he/she treated *xɔlɔ* ‘friend’ as if it is a non-relational nominal and so realized it after *nye*; as a relational nominal it should have preceded *nye* as in *xɔlɔ-nye*. The second element of change, which the child shares with the adult speakers of (37) and (38), is that he/she overruled the fact that *nye* incorporated *fe*.

This pattern is sparse in the data, which implies that it is only ideolectal for a few speakers. What it does represent is the fact that it points to the APC as an area of Ewe grammar that is vulnerable to change due to intensive exposure to the use of *fe* in CS contexts. However, a colleague who speaks one of the mid-Volta dialects of Ewe indicates to me that the use of *fe* in APCs involving relational possessum nominals is common in those dialects. This claim needs further investigation. But if found to be valid, then conclusion could be reached that the phenomenon (among the mainly Anlo speakers investigated) is due to influence from these dialects.

### 3.5 MIXED APCs IN AKAN-ENGLISH CS

I now consider CS patterns in Akan-English APCs to show that like CS in copula constructions (Chapter 3), Akan-English CS is constrained by the same kind of composite CS mechanism that we find in Ewe-English CS.

#### 3.5.1 The data

Insights about Akan APCs and mixed Akan-English APCs come from Forson (1979). Forson gives the impression that Akan makes no morphosyntactic distinction between relational and non-relational possessum nominals in APCs (and is thus like English but

unlike Ewe in this regard). An Akan possessum nominal, relational or non-relational, is either juxtaposed to its possessor-first NP or linked to that NP via a possessive bridge. Whether the [porNP posmNP] structure or the [porNP poss posmNP] structure is used depends on the dialect of Akan being spoken:

In noun possession, the Akan (especially Akuapem and Asante) marker is  $\emptyset$  (approximately the equivalent of the English 's) ...; but generally in Fante, and in informal and contrastive contexts in Akuapem, a repeated possessive pronoun, *ne* [singular possessive] / *hɔn* [plural possessive], is used. (Forson 1979: 167)

To illustrate: while we will find in Asante *Kofi din* 'Kofi's name' (relational possessum; Forson 1979: 99) and *Kofi fie* 'Kofi's house' (non-relational possessum), we will find in Fante and some Akuapem discourse contexts *Kofi ne din* [Kofi his name] and *Kofi ne fie* [Kofi his house]. The other point is that there are two possessive bridge morphemes (in Fante and Akuapem): a singular morpheme (*ne*) and a plural morpheme (*hɔn*). *Ne* (which is also the form that functions as 3sg pronoun) links a possessum NP to a singular possessor NP while *hɔn* (which also functions as 3PL) links a possessum NP to a pluralized possessor NP.

The dialectal difference that Forson refers to is rolled over into CS: while Asante-English bilinguals produce APCs with the null possessive bridge as in (40a) and (40b), Fante-English bilinguals produce APCs with either *ne* or *hɔn* depending on grammatical number in the possessor NP, as shown in (41a) to (41c):

(40a) KN uncle na w- á- wu-o  
 KN FOC 3sg-PF die-EAS  
 'It's KN's uncle who is dead.'  
 (Asante-English CS; Forson 1979: 167)

(40b) Teacher-fuɔ salaries déɛ, ɛ-n yɛ yíye da  
 Teacher-PL salaries FOC 3sg-NEG be good ever  
 'As for teachers' salaries, they've never been good.'  
 (Asante-English CS; Forson 1979: 167)

(41a) OK ne mother ɔ-de ɔ-bɛ-ba  
 OK poss 3sg-say 3sg-FUT-come  
 'OK's mother says she'll come.'  
 (Fante-English CS; Forson 1979: 167)

(41b) Ghana-fo hɔn problems pii na'a  
 Ghana-PL poss many just  
 'Just the many problems of Ghanaians.'  
 (Fante-English CS; Forson 1979: 168)

(41c) Corners hɔn best players nyinaa wɔ-ko  
 C. poss all NPRES-go  
 'All the best players of Corners FC [Football Club] have gone.'  
 (Fante-English CS; Mensah 1992: 29)

We now turn to APCs involving possessor pronouns, exemplified in Table 3.6 below:

*TABLE 3.6: ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS INVOLVING POSSESSOR PRONOUNS*

me dan [1sg house] (p.150) <sup>75</sup> me maame [1sg mother] (p.151)	'my house' 'my mother'
yɛn nwoma [1PL books] (p. 150) yɛn maame [1PL mother]	'our books' 'our mother'
wo borɔdeɛ [2sg plantain] (p. 151) wo wɔfa [2sg uncle] (p.151)	'your (sg) plantain' 'your (sg) uncle'
mo borɔdeɛ [2PL plantain] mo wɔfa [2PL uncle]	'your (pl) plantain' 'your (pl) uncle'
ne borɔdeɛ [3sg plantain] (p. 151) ne maame [3sg mother] (p. 151)	'his plantain' 'his mother'
wɔn <sup>76</sup> / hɔn dan [3PL house] wɔn / hɔn maame [3PL mother]	'their house' 'their mother'

<sup>75</sup> This and all subsequent page references are to Forson (1979).

<sup>76</sup> *wɔn* is the Asante dialect variant of the 3PL while *hɔn* is that of the Fante dialect.

The [porPRO posmNP] structure we find in the examples in Table 3.6 is used in mixed APCs containing English possessum nominals, relational or non-relational. This is demonstrated in (42) below in which I have assembled mixed APC examples, mostly from Forson (1979):

- (42) **me license** ‘my license’ (p.144)  
**me brother** ‘my brother’ (p.152)  
**yɛn cash** ‘our cash’ (p.152)  
**yɛn brother** ‘our brother’  
**wo promise** ‘your(sg) promise’ (p.159)  
**wo wife** ‘your(sg) wife’ (p.115)  
**mo understanding** ‘your(pl) understanding’ (p.149)  
**mo brother** ‘your(pl) brother’  
**ne condition** ‘his condition’ (p.149)  
**ne younger sister** ‘his younger sister’ (p.174)  
**wɔn protection** ‘their protection’ (p.167)  
**wɔn cousin** ‘their cousin’

Forson (1979: 167) lets us know that

grammatical items (such as the pronoun here) are preferred in the intended language in code-switching – here, Akan

and he adduces the following unacceptable mixed APCs as evidence:

- (43) \***his** nu anom ‘his siblings’ (p.167)  
\***his** sɔhwe ‘his exams’ (p. 167)  
\***your** ntease ‘your understanding’ (p. 167)  
\***their** ho ban-bɔ ‘their protection’ (p. 167)

### 3.5.2 Theoretical discussion

First, important aspects of the data presented in the previous section:

- (1) One is that no distinction is made in the distribution of morphemes in monolingual Akan APCs and mixed Akan-English APCs:
  - Depending on the dialect, an Akan / English possessum nominal occurs as an NP2 that is either juxtaposed or linked via a possessive bridge to the possessor = NP1 in the APC (see 40 – 41).
  - Where the possessor is a PRO form = NP1 (which must be an Akan PRO), an Akan / English possessum nominal does not require any possessive linker between it and the possessor PRO (see Table 3.6 and example 42).
- (2) With the exception of the Asante [porNP posmNP] pattern, which lacks a possessive linker element, the CS patterns also match morpheme distribution patterns in monolingual English APCs. That is
  - The Fante-English [porNP *ne/hɔn* posmNP] CS structure matches the English [porNP 's posmNP] structure<sup>77</sup> and
  - The mixed [porPRO posmNP] structure—involving any Akan dialect—matches the English [porPRO posmNP] structure.

The cross-language structural similarities listed above pose a challenge when it comes to answering our central question in this section: do English/CS possessum nominals project their CS slots (in accordance with the composite ML hypothesis) or do they occur in slots that Akan counterparts project (in accordance with the Akan-only ML hypothesis)?

Since Fante and English share the [porNP poss posmNP] structure and both relational and non-relational possessum nominals from the two languages occur as posmNPs in the [porNP poss posmNP] structure, arguments of either ML hypothesis stand equal chance of support with regard to the occurrence of, for example, *mother* in OK *ne mother* 'OK's mother' in (41a). The composite ML hypothesis would explain that *mother* is connected to OK by *ne* because its English-origin abstract lexical structure includes the requirement for a possessive linker when its possessor is a nominal/NP. Fante, being the language in control of functional level processes, provides the required linker. The Akan-only ML hypothesis could alternatively be used to explain that *mother* tails its Akan

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<sup>77</sup> The Fante-English [NP poss NP] structure does not, however, match the English [posmNP *of* por-NP]. We shall discuss shortly the relevance of this mismatch for understanding what is going on in Akan-English CS.

equivalent *maame* into that slot. The same deadlock exists in explanations of mixed APCs involving possessor pronouns. First of all, since both the composite ML hypothesis and Akan-only ML hypothesis recognise Akan as the language in control of the functional level, both anticipate correctly what Forson (1979) says regarding the language of possessor pronouns: namely, that such pronouns would always come from Akan (see the unacceptable mixed APCs containing English possessor pronouns in 43 above). Also, they both have seemingly solid expectations that English possessum nominals would occur juxtaposed as NP2 in mixed APCs. Let us take the occurrence of *understanding* in mo understanding ‘your understanding’ in (42) for instance. The composite ML hypothesis would have it that *understanding* comes into the construction at the back of its own abstract lexical structure. This is because although it requires a possessive linker in its realization, no such linker ever surfaces when an Akan pronoun is possessor (this, of course, is a feature Akan shares with English, a feature in which they differ from Ewe). The Akan-only ML hypothesis would explain the occurrence of *understanding* in (42) in terms of the occurrence of its Akan counterpart *ntease*, which may indeed occupy the CS slot. A final illustration from Asante-English CS: the occurrence of *uncle* in KN uncle ‘KN’s uncle’ in (40a). The composite ML hypothesis ‘sees’ *uncle* as the element that projects the CS slot it occupies. Although it requires a possessive linker, this linker is absent in surface structure because, as Forson (1979) notes, in Asante the linker is a null morpheme. The Akan-only ML hypothesis again points easily to the Akan counterpart, *wɔfa*, as the morpheme that projects the slot and is vindicated by the fact that *wɔfa* may occur in that slot. The catalogue could go on. So the question is “how do we tell which one of the two MLs actually operates in the mixed APC?”

In my opinion, the only type of CS data that clarifies what really is the ML is mixed APCs that contain such English possessum nominals as *top*, *front*, *side*, etc. Consider the following Fante-English example:

- (44) Adaka- no wɔ        dan    no    ne    **front** ho  
 Box-the    be.at    house the poss        there  
 ‘The box is at the front of the house.’

It is hardly the case for *front* to surface in an English [porNP poss posmNP] APC equivalent of (44). That is, even though grammatically it is correct, it is unacceptable to say ‘It is at the house’s front’ where the function of *front* is to point to the space in relation to *house* where some entity is located. The English possessive linker which *front* typically

requires in such a case is *of*. This means that it would occur as NP1 while its possessor nominal appears in the *of*-construction: the front of the house. In terms of morphosyntactic realization, *front* is, therefore, technically incongruent with its Fante equivalent (*nim*), which would occur following the possessive linker in the [NP poss NP] structure. Now, if an Akan-only ML mechanism operates, we would expect *front* to be blocked from tailing *nim* into the CS slot in (44) because of the incompatibility. The fact that *front* occurs in (44), in a slot where its Akan counterpart *nim* also occurs, may only be attributed to a compromise strategy in the Akan-only ML account. That is, due to their incompatibility, *nim* cannot be credited with the CS slot of *front*.

As with Ewe-English CS, the problem with the Akan-only hypothesis is that it nurtures two mutually-exclusive accounts for CS distributions in the mixed APCs, one for English morphemes e.g. *front* and the other for all other English morphemes (e.g. *mother* in 41a and *understanding* in 42). I argue that the need for two accounts for similar distribution patterns is uneconomical and unnecessary. The composite ML hypothesis only nurtures one account for all the distributions. Under this account, *front* in (44) would be seen as entering the slot on its own accord. This is so because at the functional level, its requirement for a possessive linker is detected, and at that abstract level, it is immaterial that *of* would have occurred were English to frame the surface structure. The formulator scanned Fante morphosyntactic resources and duly picked *ne* to express the possessive linker requirement because *dan* 'house' is a singular possessor NP (*hɔn* would have been used if the possessor NP were plural). If Asante were the target ML, no possessive linker would have surfaced in (44) since in Asante the possessive linker is null.

### 3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As we have seen, the Ewe-English CS data reveal that only alienable APC structures (i.e. complex NPs in which a possessor NP1 and a possessum NP2 are separated by *fɛ*) are used in Ewe-English CS. Thus, the illustrations and analyses, once again, underscored the fact that viewing Ewe-English CS and CS involving a West African language and a western language as Classic CS does not adequately or effectively explain the CS phenomenon in these languages. To be able to do so, we needed to depend on the composite ML hypothesis, the main focus of this study.



## CHAPTER 4: THE MIXED VERB PHRASE

The need to explain Ewe-English CS within the framework of a composite ML, as I have proposed, is not based on only the foregoing. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, evidence from mixed verb phrases further confirm the claim.

I review and evaluate the relevant literature in the first two sections: Asilevi's (1990) account in (§4.1) and the Ewe-only ML account explored in Amuzu (1998) in §4.2. I then devote sections 4.4 and 4.5 to analyzing various mixed VP structures in terms of the composite ML hypothesis. I make some concluding remarks in §4.5.

### 4.1 ASILEVI'S (1990) ACCOUNT

I believe Asilevi (1990) pronounced what is arguably a truism when he said that

Unless the whole VP is in English, it is Ewe modals and aspects that can co-occur with English verbs but not vice-versa (Asilevi 1990: 32).

His claim is based among others on the examples below to demonstrate that while English verbs occur with Ewe tense, aspect, and modal (TAM) morphemes, Ewe verbs do not occur with English TAM morphemes. In

- (1) Kofi á stop    \*Kofi **may** tote  
 K. POT stop    K. stop  
 'Kofi may stop.'  
 (Asilevi 1990: 32)

we find that while the English verb **stop** co-occurs with the Ewe potential morpheme á (POT), the Ewe counterpart of **stop** (i.e. *tote*) may not co-occur with the English modal equivalent of á (i.e. **may**). In

- (2) Kofi á nyá no expect-m...                        \* Kofi **might have been** mɔ kpɔ-m...  
 K POT have been PROG                                K. expecting..  
 'Kofi might have been expecting you.'  
 (Asilevi 1990: 32)

he shows that while **expect** occurs in an Ewe construction in which the potential á morpheme and past progressive aspect *no .... m* occur, *kpɔ mɔ* 'watch path' (the Ewe equivalent of **expect**) cannot co-occur with the English equivalents of the Ewe potential and progressive morphemes.

He shows further that English TAM markers do not appear even on English verbs in mixed CPs let alone on Ewe verbs. For instance, while *inform* occurs in (3a) as a bare CS form to denote past action in accordance with Ewe morphosyntax<sup>78</sup>, it may not be suffixed by the past tense morpheme *-ed* as in (3b). The English present tense marker *-s* too cannot inflect an English verb such as *eat* in (3c):

- (3a) E- **inform**-~~m~~ etsɔ .... (3b) \*E- **informed**-~~m~~ ...  
 3sg -1sg yesterday 3sg -1sg  
 ‘He informed me yesterday...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 33 – examples 42 and 44)

- (3c) \*E- **eat**-~~s~~ fufu  
 3sg- fufu  
 ‘S/he eats fufu.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 33)

According to Asilevi, the explanation for the occurrences of English main verbs with Ewe verbal inflections and auxiliaries is “the same as Forson’s ... report on the Akan-English situation” (1990: 32)<sup>79</sup>. By that, he means that Ewe verbal morphology is preferred to English verbal morphology in CS constituents because the Ewe verbal morphology is “simpler”:

... English has a lot more complex system of marking tense and aspect which involves number concord and other grammatical agreements as compared to the simple Ewe system. So, faced with this complexity, a speaker would prefer the latter system to the former... [I]t is the relatively simple item that is adopted in the codemixing process (Asilevi 1990: 32).

For convenience, let us refer to this hypothesis as the “*Simpler Grammar Hypothesis*” (SGH), which I believe is an ad hoc hypothesis, as it is not attested to in other aspects of grammatical structures in Ewe-English CS. For instance, the copula constructions and Adnominal Possessive Constructions (APCs) discussed in chapters 2 and 3 respectively show that simplicity is not the factor that determines the choice of late system morphemes.

In fact, Akan and Ewe have more complex copula systems than English. While Ewe has two copulas versus Akan’s three for expressing at least five kinds of copula functions, English has only one copula (namely *be*) for expressing all those functions. Following SGH, one would expect the lone English copula to be used as *the* bridge system morpheme

<sup>78</sup> In Ewe, non-present tense is marked by a zero morpheme (Ameka 1994b).

<sup>79</sup> Asilevi’s reference is to Forson (1979: 84).

in mixed copula constructions involving English and Ewe/Akan morphemes since it should be ‘easier’ to handle a single-morpheme copula-system than a multiple-morpheme copula-system. But this is not corroborated by the data. It is the more ‘complex’ Ewe and Akan copula systems that are deployed in the morphosyntax of mixed copula constructions.

Also, the morpheme distribution pattern found in Ewe adnominal possessive constructions (APCs) is arguably more ‘complex’ than that found in English APCs (see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3). For instance, in monolingual English when the possessor in an APC is a pronoun and the possessum is an NP, it is the [porPRO posm-NP] structure—e.g. ‘my/his/your/their book’ and ‘my/his/your/their mother’—that is used. By contrast, in Ewe one of three types of APCs is used depending on (i) whether the possessor is a 1sg/2sg pronoun or some other pronoun and (ii) whether the possessum is a relational or a non-relational entity. These alternative Ewe APC structures are

- (a) the [porPRO posmNP], which Ewe shares with English, e.g. *nye (\*fe) aqbalẽ* ‘my book’, and
- (b) the [posmNP porPRO] structure, e.g. *da-nye* ‘my mother’, and the [porPRO *fe* posmPRO] structure, e.g. *mia fe aqbalẽ* ‘our book’, both of which structures are unique to Ewe.

Obviously, if SGH were applicable to mixed APCs, the apparently ‘simpler’ English (single-pattern) system would have prevailed so that only the common [porPRO posmNP] structure is adopted in mixed APCs involving possessor pronouns and possessum NPs. Significantly, however, it is the more ‘complex’ Ewe (multiple-pattern) system that prevails.

In the light of the failure of SGH to explain Ewe-English mixed copula constructions and mixed APCs, I consider it an unreliable hypothesis in relation to morpheme choice and distribution in mixed VPs. I think that what we need is a hypothesis, like the composite ML hypothesis, that applies more consistently to all aspects of grammatical structure in Ewe-English CS. But before I discuss the composite ML hypothesis, let us consider the Ewe-only ML hypothesis.

## 4.2 EWE-ONLY ML ACCOUNT

### 4.2.1 Premises

As was noted in previous chapters, the view about Classic CS production is that once an EL content morpheme is selected it is checked for congruence with its ML counterpart regarding the three levels of abstract lexical structure and that what happens next depends on whether the two cross-language morphemes are sufficiently congruent or not. The three levels of lexical structure, we noted, are lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. Jake and Myers-Scotton (1997: 27) have predicted that

[(4)<sup>80</sup> If the EL content morpheme] is sufficiently congruent with its ML counterpart, the EL content morpheme is inserted into a frame prepared by the ML counterpart and the result is a well-formed, integrated mixed constituent. The EL content morpheme occurs with the requisite ML system morphemes (Jake and Myers-Scotton, 1997:27).

In the event that the cross-language morphemes are not sufficiently congruent with each other, the stipulation is that a compromise strategy is employed in order for the EL morpheme to appear in a mixed constituent where it is not fully integrated from the ML point of view. The EL morpheme may occur as a bare form or as part of an EL island.

Applied to mixed VPs framed by Ewe-only ML, English/EL verbs that are fully-integrated, i.e. from Ewe grammar point of view, should be expected to be sufficiently congruent with their Ewe equivalents. That expectation may be assumed to have been met in the following mixed VPs in which the English verbs occur in slots in which Ewe verb equivalents also occur. Consider the highlighted segments in the (a) and (b) versions:

(5a) Nyɔnu-wó, *all the time* a, wó-a-nɔ wo **respect**-m...  
Woman-PL, TP 3PL-POT-be 2sg -PROG  
'Women, they are supposed to respect you all the time...'  
(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn571)

(5b) Nyɔnu-wó, *all the time* a, wó-a-nɔ wo **bu**-m...  
Woman-PL, TP 3PL-POT-be 2sg respect-PROG

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<sup>80</sup> I have numbered this quotation for reference purposes.

(6a) Azumah **usc** e-fe            experience tso knock –e out.

A.            3sg-poss                            take            3sg

‘Azumah used his experience to knock him out.’

(Asilevi 1990: 34)

(6b) Azumah **za** e-fe            experience tso knock –e out.

A.            take 1sg-poss                            take            3sg

(7a) Nye mia vi ... wó **choose-m** be má fo tsi dj ná mi...

1sg 3PL child 3PL            -1sg that 1sg\_FUT pour water down for 2PL

‘I your son (name deleted, sic); they have chosen me to pour libation to you...’

(Asilevi 1990: 77)

(7b) Nye mia vi ... wó **ia-m** be má fo tsi dj ná mi...

1sg 3PL child 3PL choose-1sg that 1sg\_FUT pour water down for 2PL

‘I your son ... they chose me to pour libation to you...’

In fact, in accordance with the Ewe-only ML, the language production procedure that leads to the insertion of each English verb in the slot associated with its Ewe counterpart may be presented as follows: (i) once the lemma supporting the English verb is selected, (ii) it is checked for congruence with its Ewe counterpart at the three levels of abstract lexical structure and it is assessed to be sufficiently congruent with it; consequently (iii) grammatical structure meant for the Ewe verb is built for the English verb, which is (iv) duly inserted into that structure. This explication is detailed in Table 3.2 below.

TABLE 4.1: EWE-ONLY ML ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH VERBS IN THE MIXED VP

**Stage 1 - The Lemma level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (such as *choose* in 7a) during Ewe-English CS, he also selects Ewe as the sole ML of the mixed VP being produced. The following language production processes take place at the lemma level to initiate the building of a fitting grammatical environment for *choose* to occur in:

- The lexical-conceptual structure sub-part of the lemma supporting *choose* is activated; i.e. the event/action it encodes becomes salient. This lexical-conceptual structure information as well as information about the morpheme’s predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern are communicated to the

formulator at the functional level. At the same time, full abstract lexical structure information about the Ewe counterpart (*tía*) is also communicated to the formulator.

**Stage 2 - The Functional Level:** The formulator checks the *degree of congruence* between *choose* and *tía*, with the following results:

- The two are treated as sufficiently congruent because (a) they encode an identical event/action concept—i.e. they have a similar lexical-conceptual structure; (b) they are transitive *verbal* predicative elements that assign the same thematic roles to their argument, namely Agent, to the subject and Patient, to the object—i.e. they have a similar predicate-argument structure and (c) they both require no case-marking of their arguments—i.e. they share morphological realization.
- Ewe is the language in control of functional level processes. So, the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) ensures that only Ewe supplies required tense-aspect-modal (TAM) morphemes and case-markers in the mixed VP. In the case of (7a), the Ewe null non-present tense marker leaves *choose* bare just as *tía* is in (7b), and in (5a) *respect* takes the Ewe progressive *-m* that its Ewe counterpart takes in (5b). The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) also ensures that Ewe morphosyntactic procedures are deployed in framing the mixed constructions. Ewe is an SVO language and this is what obtains in (7a).<sup>81</sup>

**Stage 3 - The Positional or Surface level:** *Choose* is routed into the slot intended for *tía*.

A further proof that SMP ensures that Ewe late system morphemes accompany English verbs in CS contexts is illustrated in the following example, where the slots of *screw* and *tight[en]* may be traced to Ewe counterparts (which appear in 8b):

- (8a) E- fo -gé dɛ akplɔ fe aɸiyi ale ko á- **screw**-e (...)  
 2sg insert PORG ALL table poss here like\_this then FUT 3sg (...)
- ko á- **tight**-e dɛ akplɔ fe nu-ya ŋti...  
 then FUT 3sg ALL table poss part-this side
- ‘You will insert it into this part of the table and then screw it (hesitation) then tighten it to this part of the table...’
- (Amuzu 1998: 49)

<sup>81</sup> Since both Ewe and English are SVO, this principle is not clearly demonstrated in (7a). But see the discussion of (5a) and (9a) below for a clearer picture.

- (8b) E- fo -gé dɛ akplɔ fe aɸiyi ale ko á- tɔ-e (...)  
 2sg insert PORG ALL table poss here like\_this then FUT screw-3sg (...)  
 ko á- mɪa-e dɛ akplɔ fe nu-ya ŋuti...  
 then FUT tighten-3sg ALL table poss part-this side

The future tense marker (i.e. á) on both English verbs comes from Ewe. In the case of *tight[en]*, notice too that like *mɪa* it takes an oblique second object (*akplɔ fe nuya ŋuti* ‘this part of the table’) that is introduced by the Ewe Allative preposition *dɛ* ‘to’.

Clearer support for the claim that the MOP constrains mixed VPs as stipulated in Table 4.1 can be seen in (5a) above and (9a) below. In these sentences an English transitive verb appears with an Ewe imperfective aspectual morpheme, the progressive *-m*.

- (9a) Devi sue sia, sixteen alo seventeen years ko; á-nɔ boyfriend take-m...  
 Child-small this or only 3sg\_POT-be PROG  
 ‘This little child, only sixteen or seventeen years; she is taking [i.e. seeing] boyfriends...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 107)

- (9b) Devi sue sia, sixteen alo seventeen years ko; á-nɔ boyfriend kɔ-m...  
 Child-small this or only 3sg\_POT-be take-PROG

Amuzu (1998:44ff), which discussed (9a) as supportive of the MOP and the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, notes that English and Ewe differ in their constituent order in CPs in which transitive verbs are inflected with an aspectual. The constituent order in an English CP with a transitive verb plus the progressive aspect *-ing* is SVO (as in *she is (taking?? /) see-ing a boyfriend*). But in Ewe, a CP with a transitive verb plus progressive aspect would have an SOV structure. Amuzu describes the Ewe pattern as follows:

In Ewe transitive CPs with imperfective aspects (i.e., the progressive, PROG: *-m*, or the ingressive, INGR: *-gɛ*), the object comes between the auxiliary verb which indicates tense (or direction) and the main verb, and the result is an SOV structure (cf. Ameka 1994) [sic]. (Amuzu 1998: 43-44)

It is the Ewe constituent order that is used in the underlined structure in (9a): the object NP (*boyfriend*) occurs between the auxiliary verb *nɔ* ‘beNPRES’ and the English transitive verb (*take*), which then carries the Ewe progressive morpheme *-m*. In English, *boyfriend* would have occurred post-verbally, as shown in the underlined segment in the translated version.

Amuzu (1998) discusses how the distinction made as of mid-1998 in the MLF model between late system morphemes and early system morphemes helped him to conclude that the SMP favours Ewe as one-language ML in, for instance, mixed VPs in Ewe-English CS. He writes:

The examination [of the data] supports the three-way distinction<sup>82</sup> made by the MLF model among morphemes ... (a) content morphemes (here verbs [sic]) which ... come from English in mixed VPs, (b) syntactically active system morphemes which are constrained to come from only Ewe and (c) other morphemes which are part of verb groups. System morphemes of this latter type accompany English main verbs in mixed CPs... (p. 64).

Our interest here is in the type of morphemes labeled (c), early system morphemes. Although the Ewe late system morpheme *á* (FUT) inflects *keep* in

- (10) *De me- dzí be má keep-é away from Eun...*  
 pFOC 1sg want COMP 1sg\_FUT -3sg  
 'I had wanted to keep it away from Eun...'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 53)

the English early system morphemes *away* and *from* accompany this verb into the mixed VP. Amuzu explains that the English early system morphemes behave in this way because they have a conceptual tie to the verb. According to him

... in [example 10], Ewe future tense inflects the verb *keep* in the English phrasal verb *keep away from* because the expression of tense is directly relevant to the grammatical structure of the mixed CP and is therefore constrained to be expressed by an ML morpheme, here the Ewe morpheme. By contrast, both *away* and *from* are required for the lexical-conceptual structure of *keep* in its use here. In other words, the two system morphemes belong to the same lemma address as *keep* and are therefore elected with it even in this instance of intra-sentential CS (Amuzu 1998: 52-53)

Example (11) also illustrates his point that while English early system morphemes (here the verb satellites) may accompany their English verb heads, English TAM morphemes / late system morphemes may not.

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<sup>82</sup> In 1998, when this work appeared, only the following *three* types of morphemes were recognized in the framework. It was not until the introduction of the 4-M model in Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a and b) that "syntactically active system morphemes" were reclassified as two types, namely late bridge system morphemes—e.g. copula and possessive bridge—and late outsider system morphemes, e.g. TAM, case-markers, etc. Amuzu (1998) therefore grouped these two under (b) in this statement.



- (11) E- dze            be   wó- á- **find out first**, wó-á-   **find out** be   é-   li   hã.  
 3sg is\_proper COMP 3PL-FUT                    3PL-FUT                    COMP 3sg present EMP  
 ‘They have to find out first, find out whether he is around.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 53)

In the example, the verb *find*, like *keep* in (10), carries the Ewe future tense marker *á* but collocates with *out*, its required early system morpheme / satellite.

#### 4.2.2 A puzzle for the Ewe-only ML hypothesis

Although the Ewe-only ML may be regarded as the ML in mixed VPs, some empirical facts of the data would lead us to re-think this view. We may recall (see 4 above) that the expectation in Classic CS is that an EL content morpheme that is incongruent with its ML counterpart will be blocked from being inserted into the slot in which its ML counterpart occurs and that a compromise strategy will be used in realizing the incongruent EL content morpheme in the mixed constituent as a bare form or as an element that is a part of an EL island. The puzzle for the Ewe-only ML hypothesis is that there are many English verbs that are incongruent with their Ewe counterparts which occur as fully integrated forms in CS slots that fit their own abstract lexical structure features.

Ewe equivalents of many English CS verbs are lexicalised phrasal predicates. Some are compound verbs, i.e. predicates comprising two inflectible verb roots, e.g. *xɔ ... se* ‘receive ... hear’, i.e. *believe*. Some are what Essegbey (1999) calls “obligatory complement verbs”, i.e. phrasal predicates that comprise a verb root and a nominal complement e.g. *kpɔ mɔ* ‘watch path’ / *expect*. Others are even more complex lexicalised verbal expressions e.g. *dé asi aqbalē te* [place-hand-paper-under] ‘to sign a document’; or *possessum-X le possessor-Y si* [X be.at:PRES Y’s hand] ‘Y has X’, which was discussed at length in §2.1.2.2.

Now, the distribution. In

- (12a) Boy [ya **expect**-m    me-nɔ] **last time** a va.            (Ewe-English CS)  
 WH            -PROG 1sg-be                    TP come  
 ‘This boy whom I was expecting the last time came,’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 31)

*expect* occurs in a well-formed Ewe transitive relative clause that has OVS structure, the relative pronoun *ya* being the object. The closest Ewe counterpart of *expect*, the obligatory complement verb *kpɔ mɔ* ‘watch path’, occurs instead in the V-slot in the OSV structure:

(12b) Boy [ya me-no mɔ̄ kpɔ̄<sup>83</sup>-m na] ɲtsɔ a va (Standard Ewe)

Boy WH 1sg-be way watch-PROG to the\_other\_day TP come

‘This boy whom I was expecting last time came.’

where V represents the phrasal predicate. Apart from this difference in the constituent order of the underlined CPs in the two examples, (12b) contains a preposition that is absent in (12a). This preposition, *ná* ‘for’, is obligatory in (12b) because it is required to introduce the object (i.e. *boy*) of *kpɔ̄ mɔ̄* to which the predicate complex assigns the thematic role of Goal. (*Ná* is stranded in postverbal position when *boy* is fronted and relativized in keeping with preposition stranding in Ewe). My view is that the unacceptability of *ná* in

(12c) Boy [ya expect-m me no (\*ná)] last time a va.

conforms with the morphological realization pattern of *expect* in English VP: this verb does not require a preposition in the realization of its object NP. Therefore, the acceptability of (12a) above conforms to English morphological requirements. It would therefore seem that *expect* projects its own slot in (12a).

A similar case is seen in

(13a) Nye me believe-na e-fe nya ɖesiade o

1sg NEG -HAB 3sg-poss word every NEG

‘I don’t believe everything he says.’

(CABERRA)

NB: Nye me *believe-na* e-fe nya ɖesiade (\*dzi-se-na) o

where *believe* occurs in a typical Ewe SVO construction in which negation and habitual aspect are expressed. The V-slot in which *believe* occurs is not identifiable with any Ewe transitive verb that encodes the lexical-conceptual structure of *believe*. Its closest Ewe equivalent, as noted, is the compound verb *xɔ ... se* ‘receive...hear’, which has a different morphological realisation pattern. Although like *believe*, *xɔ* appears between the negation marker *mé* and the habitual morpheme *na* in:

<sup>83</sup> *Mɔ̄* ‘path’ occurs pre-verbally because as the object of a verb that inflects for imperfective aspect it has to precede this verb (see explanation for the word order in example (9a) above).

- (13b) Nye me **xo-na** e-fe nya **ɖesiade dzi se-na** o  
 1sg NEG receive-HAB 3sg-poss word every top hear-HAB NEG  
 ‘I don’t believe everything he says,’

it requires for the completion of its abstract lexical structure the accompaniment of the co-verb *se*, which is highlighted. That is to say that the V-slots of *xo* and *believe* are non-identical because *se* cannot co-occur with *believe* in (13a), as shown in the ‘NB’ version of that example. Another distinction between the abstract grammatical structures of the CP in (13a) and that in (13b) is that the object NP in (13b), i.e. *efe nya ɖesiade* ‘his every word’, bears an obligatory postposition (*dzi* ‘top, upper surface’). The presence of *dzi* in (13b) has to do with the fact that it is required to specify the region of the entity about which *se* ‘hear’ predicates. Since *se* cannot occur in (13a), there is no requirement for *dzi* to occur in (13a) either.

In example (14a), *sign* is used as an intransitive. However, there is no verb in Ewe that could be linked to that slot. To express the concept of ‘signing (a document)’, the phrase *de asi agbalẽ te* ‘put hand paper/document under’ is used in Ewe as shown in (14b).

- (14a) Wó-á- teɲu á-wɔ **blessing** alo wó-a- teɲu á-yi **court room** á-vá **sign**  
 3PL-POT can POT-do or 3PL-POT can POT-go POT-come  
 ‘They could do blessing or they could go to the court and sign (documents)’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn251)

- (14b) ...alo wó-a- teɲu á-yi **court room** á-vá **de asi agbalẽ te**  
 or 3PL-POT can POT-go POT-come put hand paper under

There is a similar difficulty tracing the CS V-slot in which the verb *have* occurs in a slot in which an Ewe equivalent verb occurs. This is because there is no transitive verb in Ewe that has the lexical-conceptual structure of *have* (cf. Welmers 1973: 308, Ameka 1991 and Amuzu 1998). Its equivalent is the lexicalised VP:

Possessum *le* Possessor *si*  
 Posm be.at:PRES Psor hand

An example of this construction is (15):

- (15) Ga le Kofi sí  
 Money be.at:PRES Kofi hand  
 'Kofi has money (lit. money is in Kofi's hands).'  
 (Essegbey 1999: 135)

Essegbey (1999) writes regarding this example that

This sentence expresses what, from the perspective of the English translation, is a possessive construction. It has been noted that possession can be metaphorically construed as involving the location of a possessed entity next to the possessor ... Thus, as far as Ewe is concerned ... [15] encodes what is first and foremost a spatial relation. (Essegbey 1999:135)

Despite the fact that the possessive concept encoded by **have** is expressed metaphorically in a spatial relational construction in Ewe, **have** still occurs as a fully integrated transitive verb in structures framed by Ewe. This is illustrated in:

- (16a) ...né e- have ame áǎǎ le afimá yé ne meet demand a kó...  
 if 2sg person INDEF at there and 2sg DEF then...  
 'If you have someone there and you meet the demand (requirements), then...'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 58)

which has an SVO structure. The monolingual equivalent of this mixed CP is given in:

- (16b) né ame áǎǎ le asi-wò...  
 if person INDEF be\_located hand-2sg  
 'If you have someone...'

The differences in the grammatical packaging of elements in (16a) and (16b) are worth mentioning. On the one hand, ame áǎǎ 'someone' is the object of **have** in (16a) while it is the subject of *le* 'be.atPRES' in (16b). On the other hand, *e* (2sg), the subject in (16a), is realized in (16b) as the 2sg possessive pronoun *wò* in the adnominal possessive construction asi-wò 'your hand', which is the locative complement of *le*. Based on these marked morphological realization differences, one may conclude that **have** enters the V-slot in (16a) on its own accord, i.e. despite the fact that its direct Ewe equivalent has nothing to do with the slot as should be expected were Ewe the one-language ML of the mixed VP structure.

One verb whose CS distribution pattern is particularly interesting is *lend*. In (17a), *lend* occurs in a slot that corresponds to the one in which its Ewe equivalent *dó* ‘lend’ occurs (as in 17b).<sup>84</sup>

(17a) Nyɔnu-a *lend*-na ga ná vi-a  
 Woman-DEF HAB money to child-DEF  
 ‘The woman lends money to her child.’

(17b) Nyɔnu-a *dó*-na ga ná vi-a  
 Woman-DEF lend-HAB money to child-DEF  
 ‘The woman lends money to her child.’

In both examples, the verbs take two objects, a Theme argument (*ga* ‘money’), the first object NP, and a Recipient argument (*via* ‘her child’) that occurs as an oblique second object, introduced by the preposition *ná*. *Lend*, however, occurs in an alternative CS V-slot too. This slot is illustrated in (18a) where the verb’s Recipient argument (*habɔbɔ-a* ‘the association’) precedes its Theme argument, *some five to six million*:

(18a) Mí yi Kudjo gbɔ kpɔ be á- teɲu á- *lend* habɔbɔ-a some five  
 1PL go K. side see that 3sg\_FUT can FUT- association-DEF  
 to six million hã.  
 pt  
 ‘Let us go to Kudjo to find out if he could lend the association some five to six million (cedis).’  
 (CANBERRA)

The unacceptability of (18b) below shows that *dó* cannot be associated with that slot since it cannot take *habɔbɔ-a* as Recipient = object1:

<sup>84</sup> Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to gloss *dó* as ‘lend’. This is because its meaning depends on the construction in which it occurs. For instance, *dó* means ‘to borrow’ when its object2 NP, to which it assigns the thematic role of Source, is case-marked by locative *le* ‘at’ as in:

Nyɔnu-a *dó*-na ga le vi-a gbɔ  
 Woman-DEF lend-HAB money at child-DEF side  
 ‘The woman borrows money from her child.’

The postposition *gbɔ* ‘place, vicinity’ is required to head the Source argument NP of *dó* ‘borrow’ (here *via* ‘her child’). Going any further into this other usage of *dó* will take us away from my key argument here.

(18b) ... \*á-          teɲu    á-dó          habɔbɔ-a          some five to six million ...  
                                 3sg\_FUT can    FUT-lend association-DEF

For convenience, I will refer to the construction type in (18a) as “Verb-Recipient-Theme structure” (V-REC-TH structure) and to the type in (17a and 17b above) as “Verb-Theme-Recipient structure” (V-TH-REC structure). Since *dó* is unacceptable in the V-REC-TH structure, it is clear that it cannot be justified to assume that it has something to do with the CS V-slot in which *lend* occurs in (18a). In my opinion, it also becomes debatable whether it is justifiable to assume that *dó* projected the CS V-slot in the V-TH-REC structure in (17a) just because it can be associated with it.

Patterns such as those discussed above led Amuzu (1998) to depart from Myers-Scotton and Jake’s conception of the functioning of a one-language ML as expressed in (4) above and to modify his claim concerning Ewe-only ML being a one-language ML in mixed VPs. He suggests that even though Ewe is a one-language ML generally, some EL content morphemes (e.g. verbs) project their own CS slots:

[A]n ML **does** set the morphosyntactic frame of mixed constituents in accordance with the System Morpheme and Morpheme Order Principles of the MLF model. **But** the explanation of grammatical procedures guiding the insertion of EL content morphemes in ML structures differs from that offered by Myers-Scotton and her associates. It is as follows. An EL content morpheme may be inserted into a slot in an ML structure provided [that] this EL content morpheme satisfies the subcategorisation requirements of ML morphemes which may occur in that slot ... In other words, an EL content morpheme is first accessed [i.e. during language production] in order to determine its category features. Once this is done, the EL content morpheme takes on the distribution properties of ML content morphemes with those category features. For example, an EL transitive verb would occur in the slot in which ML transitive verbs occur ... where it would be constrained to take the requisite Ewe system morphemes (Amuzu 1998: 136 emphasis added).

The suggestion is that although Ewe as ML frames the structures of mixed constituents, an English/EL content morpheme (here a verb) is allowed to project the kind of slot that an Ewe verb with similar abstract lexical structure features project. From this perspective, a verb like *have* may be said to occur in its slot in (16a) because (i) it retains its English-origin abstract features and (ii) its slot matches the slot in which any transitive Ewe verb in a non-present tense VP occurs. Further, it is suggested that it is irrelevant that verbs like

*choose* (Table 4.1) and *respect* (5a), which share abstract lexical structure with their Ewe counterparts, occur in slots that may be traced to their Ewe counterparts.

However, the way the one-language ML Amuzu assumes for Ewe-English CS generally is supposed to work makes no room for his assumption that some English/EL content morphemes could project their own slots. If the verb-slot (V-slot) of an English verb cannot be traced to its ML counterpart, all what it means in terms of this hypothesis is that that English verb is incompatible with its ML counterpart and that it therefore enters the slot via some kind of compromise strategy. I explore in the next section what that compromise strategy might be.

#### 4.2.3 The role of Generalized Lexical Knowledge of Ewe

One option by which the distribution of verbs like *have* and *sign* may be explained in terms of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis is to appeal to the notion of Generalized Lexical Knowledge (§1.4.2.2.2) of the ML / Ewe. This is the notion which says that speakers are guided by their default knowledge of the distributional properties of ML equivalents of EL content morphemes in their search for fitting CS slots for the EL morphemes. A central assumption underpinning GLK is that the ML counterpart whose syntactic properties guide the distribution of a given EL content morpheme need not be an actual morpheme; it may be an unspecified ML lemma, a lexical gap in the ML stored as GLK. Myers-Scotton (2002) argued that a check for congruence must occur between an EL content morpheme and an ML actual/GLK counterpart:

...when the Embedded Language lemmas underlying all Embedded Language content morphemes are selected to convey the speaker's intentions, they must first be checked for sufficient congruence with the Matrix Language. This checking is either with an actual Matrix Language counterpart in the mental lexical or with Generalized Lexical Knowledge for the relevant language in the mental lexicon.

(Myers-Scotton 2002: 130, emphasis added)

Regarding English verbs such as *have* and *sign* whose closest Ewe counterparts are multiword predicates, it could be argued that when such a verb is selected and no "actual" Ewe verb is found that matches its lemma, a compromise strategy kicks off. A match is instead made with an unspecified Ewe verb lemma that contains Ewe GLK of such verbs. This unspecified Ewe lemma then is what we may assume projects the slot that the verb occurs in.

The problem I have with this account is the distinction we must make between the processes by which verbs like *have* and *sign* occur as fully integrated CS forms and verbs like *respect* and *use* that occur in slots that match those in which their actual Ewe counterparts occur. I argue that the need for this distinction is another function of the requirement under the Ewe-only ML hypothesis for the analyst to perceive English/CS content morphemes in terms of what their Ewe counterparts are or are not. The distribution of *lend* in examples (17a) and (18a) underscores the inadequacy of this requirement.

As noted, *lend* and its Ewe equivalent *dó* share the V-slot in the V-TH-REC structure in which the recipient NP is introduced by the Ewe preposition *ná* ‘to’ (see 17a and 17b). I also pointed out that *dó* however does not occur in the V-REC-TH structure and so cannot be said to have projected the V-slot in which *lend* occurs in (18a). If one assumes that *dó* projects the CS slot in the V-TH-REC structure in (17a), one would need to argue that an Ewe GLK was involved in the use of *lend* in the V-REC-TH structure<sup>85</sup>. Alternatively, one could assume that *dó* is not the Ewe counterpart of *lend* and that instead an unspecified Ewe verb lemma is, which then helps tidy up the issue.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> It could be argued that Ewe GLK exists for verbs distribution in the V-REC-TH structure. There are such verbs as *ná* ‘give’, *fíá* ‘teach’ and *bíá* ‘ask’ that occur in this kind of V-slot, e.g:

- |     |                        |     |                             |
|-----|------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| (a) | Kofi ná Ama abolo      | (b) | Kofi bíá Ama abolo          |
|     | Kofi give Ama bread    |     | Kofi ask Ama bread          |
|     | ‘Kofi gave Ama bread.’ |     | ‘Kofi asked Ama for bread.’ |
|     | (Amuzu 1993: 54)       |     | (Amuzu 1993: 54)            |

No tense marker appears on the verbs because as noted non-present tense is a null in Ewe:

<sup>86</sup> One could alternatively speculate that while (17a) is a Classic CS structure—because *lend* occurs in a slot that is traceable to *dó*, (18a) is a Composite CS structure in which there is convergence to English grammar—because *lend* deviates from the distribution pattern of *dó* to seemingly impose its distribution pattern on Ewe. This view is flawed in the first place because as noted in footnote number 85 above, Ewe does have verbs that occur in the V-REC-TH structure. A second major flaw is that it takes us back to the perennial problem the Ewe-only ML hypothesis has, nurturing conflicting accounts of CS patterns that are readily accounted for if English lexemes are seen as coming into their slots of their own accord.



## 4.3 COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT OF MIXED VPs

### 4.3.1 Premise

In the composite ML theorem, the premise is that there is division of labour between English and Ewe in the contributions they make toward the framing of mixed constituent structures. English dominates activation processes that involve English verbs at the lemma level while Ewe dominates subsequent activation processes at the functional level that result in the selection and distribution of late system morphemes that show the verbs' relations with their arguments. By this theorem, we expect the lemma supporting an English verb to inform the formulator regarding requirements that need to be met in its environment in an Ewe-based mixed VP structure. In particular, we expect the English verb to occur in the type of V-slot where Ewe verbs that share its abstract lexical structure features occur, i.e. regardless of the fact that its direct Ewe counterpart is or is not among them.

### 4.3.2 Illustrations

#### 4.3.2.1 *Lend*

We may explain the occurrences of *lend* in the V-slots in both (17a) and (18a) simply as follows:

- (i) *lend* occurs in the V-slot in the V-TH-REC structure because (a) the slot fits its abstract lexical features and one of the possible grammatical relations patterns in English, and (b) the slot can be projected in Ewe grammar—as is evidenced by the fact that there is such a verb as *dó* that occurs in such a slot in (17b).
- (ii) *lend* also occurs in the V-slot in the V-REC-TH structure despite the fact that its equivalent *dó* does not occur there—see (18b)—because (a) this slot too fits its abstract lexical features and its other grammatical relations pattern in English and (b) the slot may also be projected in Ewe grammar as noted in the previous section.

The argument then is that speakers utilize their GLK of Ewe in expressing whichever of the two morphological realization patterns is activated for *lend* during bilingual language production.<sup>87</sup> The details of this argument appear on Table 4.2 below:

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<sup>87</sup> I do not employ the concept of Generalised Lexical Knowledge with reference to unspecified ML lemmas. I simply mean to say that once speakers recognise the applicable abstract lexical structure of *lend*, they use it in grammatical structures in which Ewe verbs (whatever they may be) that have that type of lexical structure occur.

*TABLE 4.2: COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT OF THE PRODUCTION OF MIXED VPs: THE CS DISTRIBUTION OF LEND*

**Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme (e.g. *lend*) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme’s abstract lexical structure, and its lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the action concept it encodes becomes salient. This information together with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which is not yet salient—is sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.

**Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator discerns the information sent from the lemma level, i.e.

- Regarding predicate-argument structure, it recognises *lend* as a three-place predicate that assigns the thematic roles of Agent, Theme and Recipient to its arguments.
- Regarding the morpheme’s morphological realization, *lend* may be required to occur either in the [AGENT-V-TH-REC] structure or in the [AGENT-V-REC-TH] structure.
- Ewe dominates what happens at the functional level, and this dominance is operationalized via the System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle, and only Ewe late system morphemes, including the required bridge morpheme, negation marker, case-markers and TAM markers, may be used to prepare a slot for the English adjective. *Ná*, Ewe dative, satisfies the requirements of REC in the [AGENT-V-TH-REC] structure in (17a). The REC in the [AGENT-V-REC-TH] structure in (18a) requires no case-marking, and Ewe provides none.

**Stage 3 – Positional Level:** *lend* occurs in a slot in (17a) or (18a) which suits its abstract lexical structure.

The System Morpheme Principle ensures that although *lend*’s requirement for dative case-marking of its recipient NP in the V-TH-REC structure comes from English the English dative *to* is not used to introduce an Ewe recipient NP:

- (19) Nyonu-a    *lend*-na    ga    \**to* vi-a  
 Woman-DEF        HAB money to child-DEF  
 ‘The woman lends money to her child.’

And, since this requirement must be met, *ná* may not be omitted:

- (20) Nyɔnu-a **lend**-na ga \*(ná) vi-a  
Woman-DEF HAB money to child-DEF  
'The woman lends money to her child.'

#### 4.3.2.2 *Stab* in example (21)

Let us consider the behaviour of *stab* in the example below:



- (21) Sydney nyɔnu áǎé **stab** é-fe ahĩavi kple bread knife.  
Sydney woman INDEF 3sg-poss lover with  
'A Sydney woman stabbed her lover with a bread knife.'  
(CANBERRA)

*stab* is a change-of-state two-place verb that assigns the thematic role of Patient to its object. In English, as we find in the translation, *stab* leaves the preposition *with* to assign the thematic role of Instrumental to an optional second post-verbal NP (here *bread knife*). It is this pattern we find in the mixed VP, where the Patient argument (*é-fe ahĩavi* 'her lover') occurs as the object of *stab* while the Instrumental argument (*bread knife*) occurs as a complement of the Ewe preposition *kple* 'with'.



The distribution of *stab* in (21) mirrors that of Ewe change-of-state verbs. Consider the distribution of *lã* 'cut' and *ɲó* 'pierce' in the following examples:

- (22) Kofi **lã** te-a (**kple hɛ**)  
Kofi cut yam-DEF (with knife)  
'Kofi cut the yam (with knife).'  
(Amuzu 1993:22; Essegbey 1999: 174)
- (23) Kofi **ɲó** bɔlu-a (**kple hɛ**)  
Kofi pierce ball-DEF with knife  
'Kofi pierced the ball with knife.'

The behaviour of *stab* is, however, unlike that of *tó*, its gloss in Ewe (Westermann 1928, Sathero 1993, Amuzu 1993 and Essegbey 1999). But *tó* glosses as 'stab' only when it occurs in a three-place construction in which its direct object is *hɛ* 'knife' as in (24a).

- (24a) Kofi   Amá  
 Kofi ICV knife Ama  
 ‘Kofi stabbed Ama with a knife.’  
 (Essegbey 1999: 174)

According to Essegbey (1999: 237), *tɔ* in its use here only describes an entity (a Theme argument, *hɛ* ‘knife’) that makes contact with another entity (a Location argument, ‘Ama’). The *stab*-like semantics associated with *tɔ* in the construction results from the lexical-conceptual structure of *hɛ* ‘knife’. In

- (24b) Kofi   Amá  
 Kofi ICV foot Ama  
 ‘Kofi kicked Ama (with his foot).’

the *stab*-like semantics is gone because *afɔ* ‘foot’ cannot be conceived as an entity that is capable of piercing ‘Ama’ on contact. Indeed, *stab* is unacceptable in the slot associated with *tɔ*:

- (25) \*Sydney nyɔnu áɖé **stab bread knife** é-fe ahíavi-a  
 Sydney woman INDEF 3sg-poss lover-DEF  
 ‘A Sydney woman stabbed her lover with bread knife.’

The argument is that *stab* occurs in the V-slot of this kind of verbs because it has the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern similar to Ewe change-of-state verbs like *lã* ‘cut’ and *ɲɔ* ‘pierce’.

In order to handle this distribution pattern under the Ewe-only ML hypothesis (since *stab* is incongruent with its equivalent *tɔ*), we will have to invoke the notion of Generalized Lexical Knowledge (GLK)—as understood in Myers-Scotton (2002)—to argue that the speaker used an unspecified Ewe change-of-state verb lemma to project the slot in which *stab* occurs. I consider this account to be a round about way of saying that *stab* projects its own slot because it *is* a change-of-state verb that *should* behave like one in mixed VPs.

#### 4.3.2.3 English verbs that require satellites

We now consider verbs that require satellites in their realization, e.g. *break* as in ***break up*** in (26a):

- (26a) Mensah be ye **break-gé** **up** kple ye-srɔ tsitsi-tɔ.  
 M. say LOG -INGR with 3sg-wife older-one  
 ‘Mensah said he is going to break up with his older wife.’  
 (CANBERRA)

A question that arises about the distribution **break up** in connection with the ML is whether the two morphemes project their own slots in the otherwise Ewe-based mixed structure or whether they enter the slots as carbon copies of their Ewe counterparts. As might have been clear from the earlier discussions, the first part of the question relates to whether the ML is a composite ML or not and the second part relates to whether it is an Ewe-only ML or not. The second part first.

There is a fundamental problem with the proposition that **break up** occurs in accordance with Ewe-only ML hypothesis: the verb and the satellite slots are not associable with an Ewe verb plus satellite that have similar meaning and distribution. The equivalent of **break up** as used in (26b) is a simple verb root, *gbé* ‘divorce’ as in:

- (26b) Mensah be ye (le) ye-srɔ tsitsi-tɔ **gbé-gé**  
 M. say LOG be 2sg-wife older-one refuse-INGR  
 ‘Mensah said he is going to break up with / divorce his older wife.’

The V-slot in which *gbé* occurs cannot be equated to the two slots of **break** and **up**. Besides, the constituent order in (26b) is markedly different from that in (26a). While the order in (26b) is SOV, because of the presence of the imperfective aspect<sup>88</sup>, the order in (26a) is SVO.

Let us consider the proposition that **break** and **up** negotiate their placements in the mixed VP, i.e. that they occur in accordance with the composite ML hypothesis. The mixed CP in (26a) is analogous to Ewe transitive CPs with phrasal predicates in which imperfective aspect has been expressed. Example (27) is an illustration:

- (27) Mie bu be é- **hene-gé** **dá** ná ɔu-a  
 1PL think that 3sg pull-INGR away for car-DEF  
 ‘We thought he would give way to the car.’

In this CP, as in that of (26a), the aspectual morpheme (ingressive *gé*) comes between the verb *he* ‘pull’ and its satellite *dá* ‘way’ while the satellite precedes the verb’s object

<sup>88</sup> See the analysis of example (9a) above.

introduced by a preposition. Like *break*, *he*, which reduplicates<sup>89</sup>, inflects for the ingressive aspect suffix. Also, like *up*, *dá* follows the ingressive aspect and precedes the preposition that introduces the complement NP, i.e. *vu-a* ‘the car’. In the case of *break up* the preposition introducing the complement is *kple* ‘with’ and in the case of *he dá* ‘pull aside, give way’ the preposition is *ná* ‘for, to’.

The suggestion is that although *break* and *up* do not occur in slots projected by Ewe morphemes that are their direct equivalents, their distributions are guided by those of transitive Ewe verbs and their satellites in CPs in which imperfective aspect is expressed. It is this pattern we find in (28) too, where *drove* occurs with its satellite *away*.

- (28) Esi God drove Satan kple e-towó away a...  
 When and 3sg-folks TP  
 ‘When God drove Satan and his allies away....’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 82)<sup>90</sup>

From the point of view of lexical conceptual structure, a verb plus its satellite constitute a lexicalised verbal unit in which the satellite, an early system morpheme, is conceptually attached to the verb. *Break* and *up* (as are *drive* and *away*) are thus accessed as a single unit.

#### 4.3.2.4 Non-reduplication of English verbs in mixed VPs

It is important to note that the verb *break* in (26a) has not reduplicated although Ewe verbs that inflect for imperfective aspect in that kind of structure reduplicate obligatorily (e.g. in example 28 above *he* ‘pull’ reduplicates obligatorily). But *break-break-gé* in example (29) is unacceptable.

- (29) Mensah be ye \*~~break-break~~-gé up kple ye-sro tsitsi-to.  
 M. say LOG -INGR with 3sg-wife older-one  
 ‘Mensah said he is going to break up with his older wife.’

The non-reduplication of *break* in the CS context illustrates the behaviour of English verbs in CS contexts. Amuzu (1998: 59) provides the following examples involving intransitively used verbs *shine* and *drop*, whose Ewe equivalents would have reduplicated when

<sup>89</sup> See next subsection for notes on the non-reduplication of English verbs in CS contexts.

<sup>90</sup> It is peculiar that the past tense form of the verb was used. Asilevi (1990) registers the fact that the form is unacceptable to addressees when he states that the “speaker was taken as not serious when he inflected the past tense...” (p. 82).

inflected by an imperfective aspect morpheme; their Ewe equivalents in the brackets reduplicate:

- (30) Bulb-a shine-m akpā. (shine-m = ke+kle-m)  
 -DEF -PROG too\_much  
 ‘The bulb is shining too much.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 59)

- (31) Ne-e dji ko, e-ya njuto drop-gé. (drop-gé = ge+ge-gé)  
 If 3sg ripe ADDR 3sg-FOC self -INGR  
 ‘When it ripens, it will drop by itself.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 59)

We see a similar situation in (32):

- (32) Ne é wo-e la, de me le é- tear-gé into pieces.  
 If 3sg do-3sg TP, pFOC 1sg be 3sg -INGR  
 ‘If he dares, I’ll tear him into pieces.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 42)

Here *tear*, which inflects for ingressive, may not reduplicate as is evident in the unacceptability of mele é- \*tear-tear-gé into pieces.

Amuzu (1998: 59) explained the non-reduplication of English verbs as follows:

My guess is that the formulator ... treats the morphological process of reduplication as [Ewe] language-specific and applies it to only Ewe verbs.

He did not explain why the formulator “applies ... [the reduplication] to only Ewe verbs”. The omission leaves a crucial issue unclarified: if the Ewe-only ML hypothesis he used is to be supported, then an explanation ought to be given for the non-reduplication of English verbs. Since it is, according to the Ewe-English ML hypothesis, an Ewe equivalent verb that should project a slot for an English verb in a mixed VP, the English verb ought to reduplicate in the same manner the Ewe equivalent reduplicates. The fact that English verbs do not reduplicate weakens the hypothesis.

The non-reduplication of English verbs is further evidence that the ML in the VPs is the composite ML. The assumption is that English verbs enter CS slots in terms of their own abstract properties and that Ewe grammar is deployed to express only details of those abstract properties. English verbs do not require reduplication in English grammar when inflected by imperfective aspect. As such, their underlying lemmas do not require Ewe grammar to reduplicate them in CS contexts. This kind of differential morphological

treatment of English content morphemes is not unique to verbs with respect to reduplication. We have already noted a similar phenomenon in Chapter 2 with respect to the realization of English predicative adjectives. In §2.1.3, we found that when English adjectives occur as complements of ascriptive-*le*, they do not take the Ewe adverbializing suffix (*e / de*) that appears obligatorily on their Ewe counterparts in similar use. The English predicative adjectives behave in this way because they do not require adverbialization when they occur as complements of *be*.

## 4.4 OTHER PATTERNS IN THE MIXED VP

### 4.4.1 Mixed serial verbal constructions

#### 4.4.1.1 Types

The Serial Verbal Construction (SVC), a common verbal pattern in Ewe (Agbedor 1994), is regularly used in Ewe-English CS. Asilevi (1990: 34ff) and Amuzu (1998: 53ff) observe that as in monolingual Ewe, verbs in mixed SVCs share one subject—which is only expressed with the first verb—and are marked similarly for TAM. For instance, in the following example from Asilevi (1990), two English predicates (*use* and *knock out*) and an Ewe predicate (*tsɔ* ‘take’) share the lone subject ‘Azumah’ and take the null NPRES tense marking represented below by [Ø]. For the purpose of identification, the verbs in SVC are numbered:

- (33) Azumah use<sub>1</sub>-Ø    e-fe    experience tsɔ<sub>2</sub>-Ø    knock<sub>3</sub>-Ø    -e out.  
 A.            NPRES 3sg-poss                    take-NPRES                    NPRES 3sg  
 ‘Azumah used his experience to knock him out.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 34)

Following Amuzu (1998), I distinguish three types of mixed SVC structures.

Example (33) illustrates one type of mixed SVC, “Type B” in Amuzu’s (1998). In this type, the initial verb is transitive with its object separating it from the next verb. No serializing connectives link the verbs as they do in the third type of mixed SVC to be discussed below. In (33), although ‘Azumah’ is the subject of all three verbs, *use* has its object NP (*e-fe experience*), which it shares with *tsɔ*. *Knock out* has a separate object NP, i.e. *e* (3sg).

The second type of mixed SVC, Type A, consists of “verbs in serialisation ... [that] occur in direct succession, bearing their respective verbal inflection(s) and encoding



different but related stages of affairs” (Amuzu 1998: 53). The verbs occur in direct succession because the first verb is intransitive. In example (34) three verbs in succession (*dive*, *gé* ‘drop’ and *dze* ‘land’) share the same subject and bear the Ewe null NPRES tense marker. The first two verbs are intransitively used.

- (34) Fiafi-a dive<sub>1</sub>-Ø gé<sub>2</sub>-Ø dze<sub>3</sub>-Ø tɔ-a-me  
 Thief-DEF dive-NPRES drop-NPRES land-NPRES river-DEF-inside  
 he sí<sub>4</sub>.  
 SEQ escape  
 ‘The thief dived into the river and escaped.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 55)

The third type of mixed SVC, the Type C, differs from the other two in that it involves serializing connectives. The Ewe *he* marks a sequential (SEQ) relationship between verbs: i.e., it indicates that the following verb encodes an act that takes place immediately after the one encoded in the preceding verb, as we find in (35a) where *he* connects *turn* and *dé* ‘position’.

- (35a) Esi wo turn<sub>1</sub>-Ø he dé<sub>2</sub> -Ø megbe-m lá, me-kpo  
 When 3sg NPRES SEQ position-NPRES back-1sg TP, 1sg-see  
 be **hunchback** ye.  
 COMP FOC  
 ‘When he turned (and positioned) his back to me, I saw that he was a hunchback.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 56)

The other connective, *va* or *dá*, marks purpose (PURP) relationship between verbs. It indicates that the following verb encodes the purpose of the act encoded in the preceding verb. For instance, in (35b) *make* encodes the purpose of the act encoded in *yí* ‘go’, the verb preceding their intervening connective.

- (35b) E-yi<sub>1</sub> dá make<sub>2</sub> unnecessary calls adé-wó d<sub>o3</sub> d<sub>e</sub> London.  
 3sg-go PURP INDEF-PL send to L  
 ‘He went and made some unnecessary calls to London.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 56)

Two types of SVCs may be combined. In (35c), two verbs (*walk* and *yi* ‘go’) occur in succession and are linked to a third *fetch* by the PURP morpheme *va*:

(35c) Eya ɲuto -e walk<sub>1</sub>-na yi<sub>2</sub>-na va fetch<sub>3</sub>-na vi-a-wó gbesiagbe  
 3sg self aFOC -HAB go-HAB PURP -HAB child-DEF-PL everyday  
 ‘It is she herself who walks to fetch her children everyday.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 55)

All three verbs share one subject (*e-ya* ‘s/he’) and only *fetch* is transitive. Note that each verb carries the habitual marker *na* in conformity with the common inflection rule in SVCs. Also, in (34) above, *he* (SEQ) ushers *sí* ‘escape’ into SVC with the preceding three verbs that occur in succession: *sí* shares their common subject NP. And in (35b), *dó* ‘send’ extends the SVC of *yi* ‘go’ and *make* without the aid of a serializing connective.

#### 4.4.1.2 Explaining the patterns in the mixed SVCs

Not all English verbs are acceptable in mixed SVCs. For instance, while *walk* and *fetch* are acceptable in (36a)—a version of (35c), *go* may not replace *yi* ‘go’, which occurs in (35c).

(36a) Eya ɲuto -e walk<sub>1</sub>-na \*go<sub>2</sub>-na va fetch<sub>3</sub>-na vi-a-wó ...  
 3sg self aFOC -HAB go-HAB PURP -HAB child-DEF-PL  
 ‘It is she herself who walks to fetch her children...’

*Go* also cannot occur in serialization with *zo* and *kplo*, the Ewe equivalents of *walk* and *fetch* respectively.

(36b) Eya ɲuto -e zo-na \*go-na va kplo-na vi-a-wó ...  
 3sg self aFOC walk-HAB go-HAB PURP fetch-HAB child-DEF-PL  
 ‘It is she herself who walks to (go and) fetch her children...’

Similarly, while *dive* is acceptable in (37a)—a version of (34), *gé* ‘drop’ and *dze* ‘land’, the other verbs that occur with *dive* in (34), may not be replaced by *drop* and *land*:

(37a) Fiafi-a dive<sub>1</sub> \*drop<sub>2</sub> \*land<sub>3</sub> to-a-me he sí.  
 Thief-DEF river-DEF-inside SEQ escape  
 ‘The thief dived into the river and escaped.’

*Drop* and *land* may also not occur in serialization with *dzo* ‘jump’, the closest Ewe equivalent of *dive*, as shown in (37b):

(37b) Fiafi-a dzo<sub>1</sub> \*drop<sub>2</sub> \*land<sub>3</sub> to-a-me he sí.

Thief-DEF jump drop land river-DEF-inside SEQ escape

'The thief dived/jumped into the river and escaped.'

Lastly, although **use** and **knock out** are acceptable in SVC with *tsɔ* 'take' in (33), they cannot enter the SVC if *tsɔ* is replaced by **take** as shown in (38):

- (38) Azumah **use**<sub>1</sub>-Ø      -e-fe      **experience** **take**<sub>2</sub>-Ø      **knock**<sub>3</sub>-Ø      -e      **out**.  
 A.                      NPRES 3sg-poss                      take-NPRES                      NPRESS 3sg  
 'Azumah used his experience to knock him out.'

I demonstrate below my assumption that English verbs that occur in the mixed SVCs are the verbs that occur in English VPs in which they express the kinds of *conceptual events* (Pawley 1987) we find in the mixed SVCs. An English verb that cannot occur in an English VP equivalent of a given Ewe SVC cannot occur as a CS verb in a mixed SVC that is patterned after the said Ewe SVC. I show further that these CS constraints are consistent with the composite ML hypothesis, which requires that English verbs enter only slots in Ewe-based structures that fit their English-origin abstract lexical structure features.

One kind of English constructions that are used to encode the conceptual event that the verbs in (35c) jointly encode is:

It is she herself who walks to (\*go and) fetch her children

In my opinion (which is shared by native English speakers I consulted), the underlined VP can hardly be considered as a typical English construction. The problem is the redundancy of *go* in predication with *walk* and *fetch*. *walk* is a specific manner of locomotion verb that may entail *go*; *fetch* also means 'to go and get and bring back'. With the redundancy of *go*, only the following English equivalent of the SVC in (35c) is deemed unproblematic by consultants:

It is she herself who walks to fetch her children.

In my view, it is the suitability of *walk* and *fetch* to express the conceptual events encoded in the above VP that licenses their occurrence in the mixed SVC in (35c). On the other hand, *go* is not eligible to occur in that mixed SVC because it may not occur in the analogous English VP and is therefore unavailable for selection for CS.

These claims rest on and support provisions in the composite ML hypothesis. Because English controls lemma level activation of English content morphemes during CS, the English verbs that are selected have to pass an English filter. The important test of an

English verb's eligibility to occur in a mixed SVC is its eligibility to be selected if an English VP equivalent of the SVC were the construction under production. The remaining question, however, is why *walk* and *fetch* occur with the Ewe counterpart of *go* while they would not occur with *go* in the equivalent English VP. This morpheme distribution pattern is anticipated in the composite ML hypothesis. I have said in previous sections that once the abstract grammatical requirement of an English verb is recognised at the functional level, Ewe grammatical resources appropriate for Ewe verbs with similar grammatical requirements are deployed to project the V-slot in which the English verb is inserted. The role that Ewe will play at the functional level is something which is 'decided' upon right at the lemma level. In anticipation of the fact that Ewe allows *yi* (in spite of the ineligibility of *go*) to be combined with a verb like *zo* 'walk', it is allowed to combine with *walk* to encode in the predication of a manner of locomotion. The resultant SVC adds Ewe semantic 'flavour' to the predication. By occurring in serialization with *yi* 'go' in (35c), *walk* behaves no differently from *zo* 'walk' which also occurs in a similar V-slot in (39) below. For the same reason, *fetch* also behaves no differently from the way *kplo* 'fetch, collect' behaves in (39), where it is also connected to the first two verbs by *va* (PURP):

- (39) Eya nuto -e     zo<sub>1</sub>-na     yi<sub>2</sub>-na     va     kplo<sub>3</sub>-na     vi-a-wó ...  
 3sg self aFOC walk-HAB go-HAB PURP fetch-HAB child-DEF-PL

'It is she herself who walks to fetch her children...' (compare with 35c)

The mixed SVC in (34), reproduced unnumbered below, collaborates the model described above.

Fiafi-a     dive<sub>1</sub>-Ø     gé<sub>2</sub>-Ø     dze<sub>3</sub>-Ø     to-a-me  
 Thief-DEF dive-NPRES drop-NPRES land-NPRES river-DEF-inside

he sí<sub>4</sub>.

SEQ escape

'The thief dived into the river and escaped.'

(Amuzu 1998: 55)

From the standpoint of English, when someone *dives* he is supposed to *jump* from a higher platform—and *drop* in the process—and *land* into/on some entity. The verb *dive* therefore entails the acts encoded in *drop* and *land*. For this reason both *drop* and *land* are redundant in:

\*The thief dived and dropped and landed in the river and escaped

The thief dived (\*and **dropped**) into the river and escaped

??The thief dived and **landed** in the river and escaped

The widely acceptable version is:

The thief dived into the river and escaped

The eligibility of *dive* to occur in the mixed SVC stems from its suitability to participate in this kind of English expression. The non-eligibility of *drop* and *land* to occur in mixed SVCs stems, as should be expected, from their non-suitability to participate in the kinds of English expressions cited above. Specifically, the lexical structure of *dive* allows it to be selected during the production of the mixed SVC in (34) and the redundancy of *drop* and *land* in the analogous English predication disqualifies them from entering the mixed SVC. As with *walk* and *fetch* in (35c), however, *dive* ends up all the same in SVC with the Ewe equivalents of *drop* and *land*. This happens for the same reason as for the serialization of *walk*, *fetch*, and *yi* ‘go’ examined in (35c). Once information about the predicate-argument structure of *dive* reaches the functional level, it is matched with information on similar Ewe verbs. The match allows *dive* to be treated in the way that these other verbs are treated. Accordingly, *dive* behaves no differently in (34) from the way in which a verb such as *dzo* ‘jump’ behaves in (40a).

(40a) Fiafi-a dzo<sub>1</sub> ge<sub>2</sub> dze<sub>3</sub> to-a-me he si. (Compare with 34)

Thief-DEF jump drop land river-DEF-inside SEQ escape

‘The thief dived/jumped into the river and escaped.’

*Dzo* occurs as *dive* does in (34) in SVC with *ge* ‘drop’ and *dze* ‘land’. It appears that the decomposition of the macro conceptual event of ‘diving’ into a series of sub-events in the SVC leaves *dive* with a scaled-down lexical-conceptual structure that is now analogous to that of *dzo* ‘jump’.

A related reason why *dive* appears in the mixed SVC is that it cannot occur as a lone verb in a mixed VP as it does in the equivalent monolingual English expression. In order for *dive* to occur as a lone verb its object NP has to be case-marked; e.g. in English, *into* would case-mark *the river*, to which *dive* assigns the thematic role of Goal. Case-marking prepositions are late outsider system morphemes, which must come from Ewe in accordance with the composite ML hypothesis. Ewe however has no preposition equivalent for *into*, and *into* cannot accompany *dive* into a CS structure:

(40b) Fiafi-a      dive \*into      tɔ-a-me      he      si.  
 Thief-DEF      drop river-DEF-inside SEQ escape  
 ‘The thief dived into the river and escaped.’

The only option available when Ewe GLK is applied is for *div*e to be distributed like a verb like *dzo* ‘jump’ in (40a), because it shares its semantics of motion, as indeed is the case in (34).

The chief handicap of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis in accounting for CS patterns in mixed SVCs is the requirement that the distributions of English/EL content morphemes in CS context be explained in terms of the distributions of their respective Ewe/ML equivalents. In line with this requirement, we should assume that *walk* and *fetch* in (35c) and *div*e in (34) occur in slots that are projected for them by their Ewe equivalents because as my analyses show their slots match the slots in which their Ewe counterparts occur. Because of this assumption, however, we are faced with difficulties concerning other aspects of the data.

The first difficulty is the unacceptability of *go* in (35c) and of *drop* and *land* in (34). To say that *go*, *drop* and *land* are blocked because they are not sufficiently congruent with their Ewe equivalents would be an ad hoc explanation. For instance, *drop* occurs in a slot in example (31) where *gé* ‘drop’ also occurs and one may ask whether *drop* is sufficiently congruent with *gé* in that sentence and if so how.

The second difficulty is how the predicate *knock out* finds its way into the SVC in (33), reproduced below as (41a).

(41a) Azumah use<sub>1</sub>-Ø      e-fe      experience tsɔ<sub>2</sub>-Ø      knock<sub>3</sub>-Ø      -e      out.  
 A.                    NPRES 3sg-poss                    take-NPRES                    NPRESS 3sg  
 ‘Azumah used his experience to knock him out.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 34)

The problem for the Ewe-only ML hypothesis in (41a) is that the verb and verb-satellite slots for *knock out* can hardly be traced to their equivalent Ewe morphemes. The equivalent of *knock out* is *fɔ* ‘beat’. Being a single verb root, *fɔ* has nothing to do with the slot for *out*. Compare the distributions of *knock* and *out* with that of *fɔ* in (41b):

(41b) Azumah use<sub>1</sub>-Ø      e-fe      experience tsɔ<sub>2</sub>-Ø      fɔ<sub>3</sub>-Ø      -e.  
 A.                    NPRES 3sg-poss                    take-NPRES beat-NPRESS 3sg  
 ‘Azumah used his experience to beat him.’

*Knock* and *out* enter the mixed SVC by the same means that an Ewe transitive verb and its satellite do in analogous Ewe constructions. For instance, *knock* and *out* do not behave any differently from how *tutu* ‘push’ and its satellite *dá* ‘away’ behave in (41c)<sup>91</sup>:

(41c) Azumah use<sub>1</sub>-Ø      e-fe      experience tsɔ<sub>2</sub>-Ø      tutu<sub>3</sub>-Ø      -e      dá<sub>4</sub>.  
 A.                    NPRES 3sg-poss                    take-NPRES push-NPRESS 3sg away

‘Azumah used his experience to push him away.’

The morpheme distribution in the mixed SVC in (41a) underscores my claim above that because of the kind of role that English plays in the composite CS only English verbs that have the license to occur in a conceptually analogous English VP frame may enter a mixed SVC. In the English translation of (41a) (which I consider to be its closest rendition), only *use* and *knock out* appear: Azumah used his experience to knock him out. Like *walk*, *fetch* and *dive*, *use* and *knock out* enter the SVC because of their eligibility to occur in the English VP equivalent of the SVC. On the other hand, *take*—the English equivalent of *tsɔ*, the only Ewe verb in the SVC—cannot appear in the translation as shown in the following sentences:

\*Azumah used his experience take knock him out.

Accordingly, as already shown in example (38), *take* cannot replace *tsɔ* in the mixed SVC, a pattern that is reminiscent of the unacceptability of *go* in (36a) and of *drop* and *land* in (37a).

In summary, like other aspects of mixed VPs already discussed, the mixed SVCs underscore the fact that Ewe-English bilinguals combine their bilingual linguistic competences in very subtle ways to recognise a division of labour between the two languages in morpheme choice and distribution in mixed constituents. The specifics of the division of labour are what the composite ML hypothesis anticipates.

#### 4.4.2 The English progressive marker *-ing* in mixed VPs?

Asilevi (1990) observes that some Ewe-English bilinguals, whom he describes as “the highly educated” (p.33), use English verbs with the progressive form *ing* in mixed VPs, as in (42a) and (43a):

<sup>91</sup> As noted in §4.3.2.4, a verb plus satellite constitute a lexicalised verbal unit in which the satellite (an early system morpheme) is conceptually attached to the verb. *Knock* and *out* are thus accessed as a single unit.

HIGHLY EDUCATED

OTHERS

(42a) Me-nɔ **think-ing** be ma va o;  
 1sg-be COMP 2sg\_NEG\_FUT come NEG  
 'I was thinking you won't come'

(42b) Me-nɔ **think-m** be...  
 1sg-be -PROG COMP...

(43a) Mfe-nɔ wò **expect-ing** since yesterday  
 1PL-be 2sg  
 'We have been expecting you since yesterday.'  
 (Asilevi 1990: 33)

(43b) Mfe-nɔ wò **expect-m...**  
 1PL-be 2sg -PROG...

According to him, the Ewe progressive marker *-m* illustrated in (42b) and (43b) is used by the larger Ewe community, the "Others"<sup>92</sup> or the less educated speakers of Ewe.

What is of theoretical interest is the fact that he says some bilinguals use the *-ing* in mixed constituents. As an aspectual morpheme, the *-ing* is a late system morpheme and normally should not be used in this way regardless of whether the ML is Ewe-only or composite, because from the point of view of both MLs Ewe controls supply of late system morphemes.

Amuzu (1998: 59-61) found no evidence of the phenomenon in his data although he too did fieldwork among Ewe-English bilinguals who were probably as "highly educated" as the people Asilevi interviewed: most of Amuzu's respondents were (under)graduates. Because of the dearth of this kind of examples in his data, Amuzu concludes that "what obtains here [in the Asilevi examples] is peculiar" (p.60). Amuzu nonetheless attempts to explore the implications of Asilevi's example for the Ewe-only ML hypothesis that he employs noting that

The occurrences of the English progressive aspect marker on English verbs alongside Ewe system morphemes (e.g. the past auxiliary *nɔ* and the pronoun *wɔ* in ... are a surprising revelation. If this is actually the case, then the phenomenon constitutes violation of the System Morpheme Principle" [of the MLF model, because the *-ing* is an EL late system morpheme] (Amuzu 1998: 60).

However, Amuzu expressed doubts as to whether the presence of the *-ing* form on the English verbs was actually a violation of the System Morpheme Principle (SMP). His basic argument is that the *-ing* form illustrates phonological CS rather than morphological CS. It

<sup>92</sup> Note that in example (56) in the next section, which also comes from Asilevi's data, **think** takes the Ewe progressive *-m* instead of the *-ing*.



is only if the *-ing* were an instance of morphological CS could we justifiably talk about violation of the SMP. Clear understanding of the distinction between phonological CS and morphological CS may clarify the point.

By phonological CS Amuzu (1998) means that the /m/ sound of the Ewe progressive *-m* suffix is substituted by the /ŋ/ sound of the English *-ing* suffix. This happens because of the “phonetic similarity between the articulation of the *-ing* and the Ewe *-m* progressive forms” (p.60). He implies that this phonetic similarity has somehow led to an elimination of abstract level distinction between the *-ing* and *-m* morphemes in the minds of the speakers of (42a and 43a):

The speakers who use a pronunciation similar to the articulation of the *-ing* suffix on English verbs [in CS contexts] may be doing so out of habit while thinking that they are actually realizing the Ewe progressive form. (Amuzu 1998: 60)

He notes that support for this view comes from the fact that it is not a coincidence that the *-ing* only inflects English verbs in the mixed VPs; i.e., the rendition of /m/ as /ŋ/ is tempting only at the end of English verbs. He also notes that it is not a coincidence that no other grammatically-active English TAM markers—or any other English late system morpheme for that matter—appears with English verbs in mixed VPs. He explains that it is so because no other English TAM morpheme is phonetically similar to its Ewe equivalent in the way the *-ing* is to *-m*.

Because of these considerations, Amuzu is inclined not to see the *-ing* in the CS contexts as a morpheme from the speakers’ English mental lexicon but rather as only a form used when the speakers access the Ewe progressive *-m*. This view allows him to argue that the presence of the *-ing* form does not violate the SMP, which should ensure that only Ewe late system morphemes are accessed at the functional level. Another point he makes to buttress his argument is that those speakers do not use the /ŋ/ variant instead of /m/ to express progressive aspect on Ewe verbs:

[I]f the same speakers use a similar phonetic realization of the progressive [i.e. /ŋ/] in their unilingual Ewe discourse, [it] would suggest that they are actually using the English *-ing* and are in that case engaging in structure borrowing into Ewe. (Amuzu 1998:60-61)

His conclusion is that since we may not say that English contributes its *-ing* for use in the mixed VPs in (42a) and (43a), we also may not say that those VPs have a “dual ML

structure”—i.e. a composite ML frame (p.60). “There is ... only one ML, Ewe, in such CPs...” (p.60), he insists.

The present study upholds the view that the presence of the *-ing* does not violate the SMP. However, it does not accept the inference that the speakers used Ewe-only ML mechanism to produce the structures in (42a) and (43a). The SMP is a functional level principle, and both the Ewe-only ML hypothesis and the composite ML hypothesis imply that it would ensure that only late Ewe system morphemes appear in mixed constituents. Therefore, the point of departure between the two ML hypotheses is not what they forecast about functional level processes; it is rather what they forecast about lemma level processes. From the standpoint of Ewe-only ML, the requirement for a given late system morpheme in a CS context (here the progressive) is to be perceived as coming from the lemma supporting the Ewe equivalent of the English content morpheme. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the composite ML, the requirement for the progressive morpheme is to be perceived as coming from the lemma supporting the English content morpheme itself.

The speculation which stems from the composite ML perspective is that the relationship between the English-origin verb lemma and the requirement for the progressive morpheme is not lost on the speakers; they consequently stimulate a connection between the phonetic renditions of the *ing* and *m*, both of which happen to be suffixes.<sup>93</sup> The fact that they use /ŋ/ may therefore be taken to imply that they feel satisfied that it sufficiently expresses the Ewe *-m* morpheme they intend to use.

#### 4.4.3 English verbs that do not occur as CS verbs

Some English verbs are not acceptable as singly-occurring CS verbs in Ewe-English CS as they may not bear Ewe inflections and take Ewe-origin nominal arguments in the way that the English verbs discussed above do. Examples include *go*, *come*, *know*, *see*, *look*, *eat*, *want*, *say* and *give*. The unacceptability of each of these verbs is illustrated in the examples below (the monolingual, acceptable, Ewe versions precede each unacceptable CS example):

- (44a) Ama mé-le            suku    ɔ́-gé    o    a  
           Ama NEG-bePRES school go-INGR NEG Q  
           ‘Won’t Ama go to school?’

<sup>93</sup> It is instructive that the same speakers would not use the /ŋ/ shape to express the *-m* progressive on Ewe verbs. That is, there is no reason for them to make the kind of connection we are talking about here.

(44b) \*Ama mé-le suku **go-gé** o a  
Ama NEG-bePRES school go-INGR NEG Q

(45a) Kofi **vava-gé** etsɔ.  
Kofi come-INGR tomorrow  
'Kofi will be coming tomorrow.'

(45b) \*Kofi **come-gé** etsɔ  
Kofi come\_RED-INGR yesterday  
(Amuzu 1998: 61)

(46a) Nye-me **nya** be e- dzi vi o dɛ!  
1sg-NEG know COMP 2sg-deliver baby NEG Addr  
'I didn't know that you have delivered a baby.'

(46b) \*Nye-mé **know** be e- dzi vi o dɛ!  
1sg-NEG know COMP 2sg deliver child NEG Addr  
(Amuzu 1998: 61)

(47a) Yi na-**kpɔ** be papa gbɔ hã  
Go SUBJ-see COMP father return PT  
'Go and find out whether daddy has come back.'

(47b) \*Yi na-**see** be papa gbɔ hã  
Go SUBJ-see COMP father return PT

(48a) Me nane **kpɔ-m**  
1sg something look-PROG  
'I am watching TV.'

(48b) \*Me nane **look-m**  
1sg something look-PROG

(49a) Vi-a-wó la, molu ko wo **du-na**.  
Child-DEF-PL TOP, rice only 3PL eat-HAB  
'His/her children, they eat only rice.'

(49b) \*Vi-a-wó la, molu ko wo **eat-na**.  
Child-DEF-PL TOP, rice only 3PL eat-HAB

(50a) Fome-a a-**dzi** be no tso nyá-a yi de se gbɔ e  
 Family-DEF POT-want COMP 3PL\_SUBJ take case-DEF go to law side FOC  
 ‘The family would want that the case be taken to court.’

(50b) \*Fome-a a-**want** be no tso nyá-a yi de se gbɔ e  
 Family-DEF POT-want COMP 3PL\_SUBJ take case-DEF go to law side FOC

(51a) Mama-nye **gblo**-na é-fe domenyawó na-m.  
 Grandma-1sg say-HAB 3sg-poss secrets to-1sg  
 ‘My grandma says all her secrets to me (i.e. she tells me all her secrets).’

(51b) \*Mama-nye **say**-na é-fe domenyawó na-m.  
 Grandma-1sg say-HAB 3sg-poss secrets to-1sg

(52a) Né ame-ádé **á-hã**-m uɔɔɔga a, ma dzó á-yi afe.  
 If person-INDEF POT-give-1sg lorry\_fare TP 1sg\_POT leave POT-go home  
 ‘If someone can give me money for transport, I would go to my hometown.’

(52b) \*Né ame-ádé **á-give**-m uɔɔɔga a, ma dzó á-yi afe.  
 If person-INDEF POT-give-1sg lorry\_fare TP 1sg\_POT leave POT-go home

All the English verbs in the unacceptable examples share abstract lexical structure features, including grammatical relations characteristics with their Ewe verb equivalents in the (a) versions. For example, *go* (44b) and *come* (45b) are intransitive verbs and should normally be acceptable in the V-slot in which *yi* ‘go’ occurs because intransitive English verbs normally may occur in this kind of slot (see *drop* in (31))<sup>94</sup>. *Know* has the same abstract lexical structure as *nyá*. Among other similarities both verbs take a that-clause as an Object to which they assign the thematic role of Content (the ‘S’ in each of the following stands for Clause=Object=Content: I know that S / me nyá be S). Despite their compatibility, *know* is unacceptable in (46b) in the V-slot in which *nyá* occurs in (46a). Also, despite sharing distribution pattern, as is evident in the pairs of sentences,

- *see* (47b) and *look* (48a) do not occur in the slot of *kpɔ* ‘see, look’

<sup>94</sup> This situation contrasts with what obtains in Swahili-English CS, for instance. We find in example (3) in Chapter 1 that *come* occurs in a V-slot that Myers-Scotton says sufficiently matches that of its Swahili counterpart –*j* ‘come’. Myers-Scotton claims that the compatibility of *come* with its Swahili counterpart is the main reason for its acceptability as a CS verb in that sentence.

- *eat* (49b) does not occur in the slot of *dɔ* ‘eat, chew, bite, etc’
- *want* (50b) does not occur in the slot of *dzi* ‘want’
- *say* (51b) does not occur in the slot of *gblɔ* ‘say, tell’, and
- *give* (52b) does not occur in the slot of *ná* ‘give’

Interestingly, Forson (1979) names most of the English verbs discussed above as unacceptable in Akan-English CS too. He also seems to have considered the fact that the English verbs should normally occur in slots analogous to those in which their otherwise grammatically compatible Akan counterparts occur. In the following statement, he expresses the view that what causes English verbs to be unacceptable in CS contexts relates to the pragmatics of verb usage in everyday Akan. In his opinion, English verbs that are unacceptable as CS forms are equivalents of Akan verbs that are used frequently in everyday conversations while English verbs that are acceptable as CS forms are frequently-used verbs that happen to be equivalents of Akan complex predicates that are, presumably, less frequently-used. He writes:

In Akan-English code-switching, more commonly-used verbs are preferred in Akan ... verbs like *ba* ‘come’, *kɔ* ‘go’, *pɛ* ‘like/want’, *nim* ‘know’, *hu* ‘see’, are frequent in Akan, rather than in English, e.g. *\*ɔ-re-go fie / to Swedru* [he is going home / to Swedru] do not occur in the data.... On the other hand, frequently-used English items whose equivalents in Akan may be more complex are likely to be quoted in English, e.g. *mi believe-u sɛ ɔ-bɛ-ba* [I believe he’ll come]... (Forson 1979: 183-184)<sup>95</sup>.

Forson did not use any systematic criterion or statistical measure beside his native-speaker familiarity with Akan discourse patterns to arrive at his list of frequent Akan verbs. However, there is a striking similarity between his short list and a list of most frequent English verbs provided by Pawley (forthcoming). Pawley bases his lists on written corpus counts. According to Pawley, by rank order the thirty most frequent English verbs (excluding *be*) are: *say, make, go, have, see, take, do, know, ask, work, find, think, tell, call, seem, become, show, begin, look, stand, bring, turn, hold, keep,*

<sup>95</sup> While the Akan counterparts of these unacceptable English verbs are single verb roots, Forson notes that the counterpart of the acceptable verb, *believe*, is the complex predicate *gye di* (Forson 1979: 184).

*hear, give, get, continue, carry, and open*. Pawley's work therefore corroborates the reliability of Forson's list of Akan frequent verbs.

Indeed, Amuzu (1998) followed Forson's lead in using native-speaker intuition to arrive at frequent Ewe verbs in his bid to assess the frequency hypothesis. However, his analogous list of frequent Ewe verbs only partially corroborates Forson's frequency hypothesis. Amuzu notes that Forson's hypothesis does account for the unacceptability of lexemes such as *go, come, know, see, look, eat, want* and *say*—whose Ewe counterparts are on his list of frequent Ewe verbs—as CS verbs. But he also notes that the hypothesis fails to explain why other English verbs whose Ewe counterparts are also as frequently used as the above verbs are acceptable as CS forms. In this last regard, he writes:

... it is also a fact that English verbs like *take, give*<sup>96</sup>, *use, mean, love, like*, and *meet* occur with remarkable frequency in Ewe-English CS in spite of the fact that their Ewe counterparts are also used very frequently in both unilingual Ewe and CS contexts. This argues against Forson's implied explanation that the frequency of use of an ML verb warrants the blocking of its EL counterpart in mixed constituents (Amuzu 1998: 62).

The English verbs in the quote above occur as CS forms in the examples below; Ewe counterparts of the verbs are given as 'NB':

- (53a) *Devi sue sia, sixteen alo seventeen years ko; á-no boyfriend take-m...*  
 Child-small this or only 3sg\_POT-be PROG  
 'This little child, only sixteen or seventeen years; she is taking [i.e. seeing] boyfriends...'  
 (Asilevi 1990: 107) NB: *take* = tsɔ

- (53b) *Azumah use e-fe experience tso knock-e out.*  
 A. 3sg-poss take 3sg  
 'Azumah used his experience to knock him out.' NB: *use* = zã  
 (Asilevi 1990: 34)

- (53c) *Ɖe wo mean be from childhood up to this time me reveal edokui o a?*  
 pFOC 3sg COMP 3sg\_NEG itself NEG Q  
 'Does it mean that since childhood it [the disease] did not reveal itself?'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 70) NB: *mean* = fia (kɔtoe) 'show pointedly'

<sup>96</sup> *Give* should not have been included in this list. All Ewe-English bilinguals consulted in connection with the present study rejected the use of *give* as a singly-occurring CS verb. For instance, we found in the example already cited as (52b) that *give* is unacceptable as a CS verb.

(53d) Adzo **love** nutsu-a ta me teŋu wo-a-gbe o  
 Adzo man-DEF so 3sg\_NEG can 3sg-POT-refuse NEG  
 ‘Adzo loves the man so she couldn’t refuse.’ NB: love = lo  
 (CANBERRA)

(53e) Nye-ya nye-me **like**-e o.  
 1sg-TP 3sg-NEG -3sg NEG  
 ‘As for me I don’t like it’ NB like = dzi  
 (PAT-Akatsi-REC1: sn22)

(53f) Me-le **sure** be me-le e- **meet**-ge le church-a  
 1sg-be COMP 1sg-be 3sg- -INGR at DEF  
 ‘I am sure that I will meet him at the church.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 54) NB: meet = dó go / kpɔ

Despite his reservations, Amuzu did not discard Forson’s frequency hypothesis; he sought to modify it, in the following manner:

In general, many Ewe verbs cover a wide range of meaning which are specifiable in one of two or more related English equivalents. For example, *d̥u* (*nu*) ‘eat (thing)’ may be translated as any of the following, depending on the intended meaning: *eat*, *chew*, *consume*, *deplete*, *spend*, *waste*, *squander*, etc. Another such verb is *kpɔ* (*see*) [whose] other English equivalents include *watch*, *observe*, *find*, *discover*, *unearth*, *meet*, *consult* (e.g. the doctor), etc.... After quizzing some informants with sentences with the listed English equivalents of the Ewe verbs *d̥u* and *kpɔ*, I found the following interesting results. For *d̥u*, all its English equivalents except *eat* are acceptable in CS contexts. Similarly, with the exception of *see*, all the equivalents of *kpɔ* are also acceptable in mixed constituents. [This] will seem to suggest that for intrasentential CS, a distinction is made between English verbs which code the core meaning of Ewe verbs of high token frequency (e.g. *eat* = *d̥u*) [on the one hand] and all other equivalents of such Ewe verbs. [The conclusion is that] English equivalents with core meanings [of Ewe high token frequency verb] are blocked in mixed constituents. (Amuzu 1998: 62-63)

Amuzu’s distinction between “English verbs which code the core meaning of Ewe verbs of high token frequency” and “all other equivalents” of those Ewe verbs is reminiscent of Dixon’s (1982) distinction between *nuclear* and *non-nuclear* verbs. Dixon proposes the

“hypothesis that the verbs in any language can be divided into two groups – nuclear and non-nuclear” and lists *tell*, *see*, *give*, *burn*, *hit*, *laugh* (p63) and *look* (p.73) as some English nuclear verbs. He illustrates the distinction with *look* and *stare*, noting that

*look* is a nuclear verb, whereas *stare* is a non-nuclear verb; *stare* could semantically be defined as, say, *look hard*... (Dixon 1982: 73)

What Amuzu means is that it is only English nuclear verb counterparts of Ewe verbs of high token frequency—as with *eat* vs *ɔu*—that are blocked from occurring as CS forms. In other words, non-nuclear English verb counterparts of the frequent Ewe verbs—e.g. *chew* and *consume* vs *ɔu*—are not blocked from occurring as CS forms.

Amuzu’s (1998) hypothesis is easily verifiable by examining data for the CS behaviour patterns of English verb equivalents of Ewe verbs used regularly in everyday conversation among Ewe-English bilinguals. The following are some illustrations:

- *Go* and *come* are arguably the nuclear equivalents of *yi* and *va* respectively, and as already shown in (44a) and (45a) respectively they cannot occur as CS forms.
- *Know* relates similarly to *nyá* and like *go* and *come* it cannot occur as a CS verb as shown in (46a) above.
- Judging from Dixon’s list above, we may say that both *see* and *look* are nuclear members of the equivalents of *kpɔ* that Amuzu lists. Not surprisingly, *see* and *look* are not acceptable as CS forms as demonstrated in (47a) and (48a) respectively. Also not surprisingly, *observe*, *notice*, *discover*, *find out*, etc (the non-nuclear equivalents of *kpɔ* as per the Amuzu list) appear singly as CS forms as shown in (54) below.
- *Say* and *tell* are nuclear equivalents of *gblɔ* and duly do not make it into CS contexts (see 51a, 52a, and 52b respectively). However, the non-nuclear equivalents of *gblɔ*, i.e. *inform* and *report*, do occur as CS forms as shown in (55a) and (55b) respectively.

(54) Me **notice** be Kofi me-ga suku va-m o  
 1sg COMP NEG-REP school come-PROG NEG  
 ‘I have noticed that Kofi does not come to school.’

(CANBERRA) NB: ‘observe’, ‘discover’ and ‘find out’ are all acceptable in the V-slot of ‘notice’.



(55a) W. hã nyá kɔ ye wo inform mí last minute be ....

W. too know PT so 3sg 1PL COMP...

'W. too knows so he informed us last minute that...'

(Amuzu 1998: 118)

(55b) Kofi nɔ -na case-a report-m na-m all the time.

Kofi be-HAB -DEF -PROG to-1sg

'Kofi has been reporting the case to me all the time.'

(Asilevi 1990: 33)

Amuzu's claims regarding the role of the nuclear—non-nuclear verb distinction in determining whether an English verb can occur as a CS form is echoed in an independent work by Backus (2001), who discusses constraints on the use of Dutch-origin morphemes in Turkish-based grammatical contexts. Ad Backus did not restrict what he calls *Specificity Hypothesis* to explaining only the behaviour of Dutch verbs in Turkish grammatical structures. His hypothesis predicts

... that the more specific a word is, the higher the chance it stands to become used as a code switch, and, alternatively, that embedded language general words will rarely be inserted into matrix language clauses (Backus 2001: 141).<sup>97</sup>


Backus's 'more specific [embedded language] words'—here verbs—match Amuzu's (1998) English non-nuclear verb equivalents of Ewe verbs and his 'embedded language general [verbs]' match Amuzu's English nuclear verb counterparts of the Ewe verbs. Clearly, he too would expect English nuclear equivalents of Ewe verbs to be blocked from appearing in CS contexts and the non-nuclear counterparts to be acceptable in those contexts.

The discussion in Amuzu (1998), however, raises some doubts about the viability of his hypothesis that only English nuclear equivalents of frequent Ewe verbs are blocked. The doubts relate to the fact that some English verbs that are classifiable as the basic / nuclear ones among the equivalents of frequent Ewe verbs do in fact occur as CS forms. Although it is not specifically discussed in Amuzu (1998), let us consider the case of *think*. If we speculate that *bu* (whose English equivalents include *think*, *meditate*, *calculate*, *consider*, *deliberate upon*, *ponder over*, etc') is a frequent Ewe verb, then we

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<sup>97</sup> Ad Backus defines words' specificity in terms of their inherent semantics, but he also considers secondarily the words' underlying connotational or encyclopedic information in exacting their degree of specificity.

should expect the nuclear member of these English verbs, namely *think*, would be blocked from CS contexts. But as example (56) shows, *think* does occur as a CS form<sup>98</sup>:

- (56) Me no -m bé...  
1sg beNPRES -PROG COMP...  
'I was thinking that...'  
(Asilevi 1990: 33)

In acknowledging the challenges such that examples as (56) pose to his explanation, Amuzu (1998: 63) stated:

This distinction, clearly, forms a part of the bilingual speaker's linguistic competence as they engage in intrasentential CS, (Amuzu 1998: 63)

but added that more research is needed.

The present study respects the relevance of such research. What may be added to insight from Amuzu (1998) are the following inter-related points about the relationship between the verb distinction and the cognitive processes engaged in by Ewe-English bilinguals during CS:

- (i) The bilinguals are not altogether free to choose just any English verb for use during CS – they utilize an in-built lexical choice monitor, which helps them filter unacceptable English CS verbs.
- (ii) The monitoring filter operates at the initial stages of lemma level language processing, during which a speaker makes the 'right' lexical choices to express pre-verbal intentions.

Point (ii) captures my (present) understanding of the timing of the activation of this monitoring filter in the scheme of processes leading to a surface mixed VP. The filter is activated before an ML type is selected—for the mixed VP structure, which also takes place at the lemma level (Table 1, Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995: 98). What I mean is that the monitoring filter must okay the selection of an English verb before procedures (whether they are based on the Ewe-only ML or on the composite ML) are set into motion for the creation of a fitting slot for that English verb. Given this view of things, I have not found it necessary to compare the Ewe-only ML and composite ML hypotheses in this section, i.e. since the hypotheses are only relevant to explaining what happens after English lexemes are chosen in CS production.

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<sup>98</sup> Inquiries with many respondents confirm that all the other counterparts of *bu* are also acceptable, as expected from my theoretical point of view, as CS verbs.

#### 4.4.4 English lexicalized verbal expressions

English lexicalized verb phrases regularly appear in mixed VPs.<sup>99</sup> Consider the collocation of *express* and *view* in (57), which was cited earlier as (26) in Chapter 3:

- (57) Woawo ko-e vá nɔ-na aɸi-má á- express wó fe view;  
 3PL only-FOC come be-HAB place-that POT 3sg poss  
 mo ná- ná be the poor ná- express wó fe view o  
 3PL:NEG give-HAB that SUBJV- 3PL poss NEG  
 ‘They alone would come there and (would) express their view; they won’t allow the poor to express their view...’  
 (AMI-INGROUP-data: sn159)

In this example, although *express* and *view* are accessed together because of their conceptual tie, the rules operating at the functional level allow only Ewe late system morphemes to be used to express the required grammatical morphemes we see in their morphosyntactic environments. For example, the first instance of *express* bears the Ewe potential prefix *a-* and the second instance bears the Ewe subjunctive *ná-*; English TAM may not be used here. *view*, for its part, is embedded in an Ewe-based [PRO poss NP] adnominal possessive construction where the possessor pronoun and the required possessive linker, being both late system morphemes, come from Ewe (see Chapter 3 for discussion of mixed adnominal possessive constructions).

We find a similar pattern in the distribution of *commit* and *mistake* in (58):

- (58) Né wó mé nyá wɔwɔ o lá, wó mistake nyagã ádɛ commit-gé.  
 If 1PL NEG know doing NEG TP 3PL ugly INDEF -INGR  
 ‘If they aren’t careful they will commit a terrible mistake.’  
 (CANBERRA)

Note that like *express*, *commit* bears an Ewe aspectual (the ingressive *gé*) in conformity with the System Morpheme Principle. Concerning constituent order, the object NP, *mistake nyagã ádɛ* ‘a terrible mistake’ precedes *commit* in (58). This SOV pattern, as noted in §4.2.1, is used in Ewe CPs with imperfective aspect. Thus, although *commit* and *mistake* are accessed together to pair up to express a given concept, Ewe grammatical packaging is necessarily used for their realization.

<sup>99</sup> I use the term “lexicalised phrase” in the sense in which Chafe (1994: 113) used it: “conventional collocations that are already established in the speaker’s repertoire”.

Example (59) also illustrates the same phenomenon: *take* duly inflects for the habitual in Ewe but takes as its object into consideration:

(59) **It's what wó take-ná into consideration.**

3PL -HAB

'It's what they take into consideration.'

(Amuzu 1998: 52)

The reason why *into* appears here is that it is an early system morpheme in the lexicalized phrase accessed for use here, namely take into consideration. (We have noted in §4.2.1 that English early system morphemes occur with their verbs in CS contexts). Similar examples include *post* and *letter* in (60), *pass* and exams ma 'that exams' in (61), *contract* and loan ma 'that loan' in (62), and *take* and action aḍeke 'no action' in (63):

(60) Né é-be ye-a- post letter fia a- take abe kosiḍa ḍeka kosiḍa eve...

If 3sg-say LOG-POT now 3sg-POT say week one week two

'If you want to post a letter now, it takes one to two weeks...'

(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn715)

(61) Me le gbe-dó-m ḍa bé Kudjo hã ná- pass exams má ná-m.

1sg be praying COMP K. too SUBJ- that for-1sg

'I am praying for Kudjo too to pass that exams for me.'

(62) Tsikata gbo-gblo-m be ḍε, ese ma, ye-wɔ, ye-wɔ, ye-wɔ,

T. RED-say-PROG COMP TP, law that, LOG-do, LOG-do, LOG-do,

ye- contract loan ma hafi ese ma va. Ehěě !!

LOG- that before law that come. Exactly

'Tsikata is saying that (regarding) that law, he did, he did, he did, he contracted that loan before that law (came into effect). Exactly!!'

(KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn596)

(63) Nye mé kpó take action áḍéké haḍe o.

1sg NEG yet none yet NEG

'I have not yet taken any action.'

(Asilevi 1990: 33)

It is significant to point out that post letter, pass exams, contract loan and take action are not EL islands although they look as if they are. But really they are English verbs and their object nominals which are fully integrated CS forms that happen to

lie adjacent to each other. The verb *post* bears the Ewe potential morpheme, which is a prefix and therefore does not occur between *post* and *letter* in the way that the Ewe habitual *na*, which is a suffix, separates *take* from *into consideration* in (59). *Pass* too bears an Ewe prefix, the subjunctive *a*, and accordingly occurs adjacent to *exams* in a legitimate Ewe-based SVO structure<sup>100</sup>. *Contract*, which carries the Ewe null non-present tense, also occurs in an SVO structure with its object NP, *loan*. *Take* in (63) also carries the null non-present tense and occurs next to its object in the SVO structure.

It is also significant to note the distinction between conceptually-assigned morphemes—i.e. verbs, nouns and early system morphemes, e.g. *into* in (59) and structurally-assigned morphemes, namely late system morphemes, e.g. TAM markers. The conceptually-assigned morphemes come from English while the structurally assigned morphemes come from Ewe.

Now, to explain the data. Since the English verbs and nouns occur as fully integrated CS forms, we may assume under the Ewe-only ML hypothesis that they occur in slots that are projected by their Ewe counterparts (whether such counterparts are actual Ewe verbs or “unspecified” Ewe verb lemmas; see §4.2.3). This assumption presupposes that Ewe is the more dominant of the two languages, right from the lemma level, during the production of the mixed VPs. Following from that presupposition is the understanding that the lemma level processes include a series of crucial cross-language congruence checks; i.e. checks for congruence between each English verb and its Ewe counterpart and checks for congruence between each English object nominal and its Ewe counterpart. What is puzzling about these presuppositions is the stage (during the Ewe dominated lemma level in the language production) at which the association is supposed to be made between an English verb and its conceptually attached English object nominal.<sup>101</sup>

Under the composite ML analysis, however, the above-mentioned puzzles disappear. One can imagine that the activation of the lemma supporting one conceptually

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<sup>100</sup> In Ewe, two-place predicates are SVO unless the verb takes an imperfective aspect form. We observed in regard to (58) that the structure is SOV because of the presence of an imperfective aspect form, *gɛ* (INGR); see also (9a) and (5a), which are also SOV because they contain the progressive *-m*. Examples (60-63) do not contain an imperfective aspect and so are legitimately SVO.

<sup>101</sup> Of course, we have to assume that there is direct connection between such English verbs and their English object nominals; i.e. it is counter-intuitive to assert that an Ewe verb points to such conceptually tied nominals on behalf of their English counterparts. This puzzle would not have come up if the examples were English VP islands. With regard to VP island, it is an indisputable fact that English would be exclusively activated at the lemma level to ‘oversee’ the selection of the conceptually-related verb and its object noun and also go on to oversee the functional level processes that culminate into the surface level VP island. In the mixed VPs cited above, however, we are dealing with situations whereby Ewe, as elsewhere, takes over functional level processes.

assigned morpheme (e.g. a verb) will automatically cause the activation of the lemma supporting the other conceptually-assigned morpheme (e.g. a semantically related noun). A speaker using the composite ML is capable of remaining in the 'English mode' at the lemma level until he completes the search for and selection of the appropriate conceptually-assigned morphemes to express his preverbal intentions. But once the abstract information about the individual English morphemes reaches the formulator at the functional level, the speaker is required to slip into the 'Ewe mode' and must (in accordance with the System Morpheme Principle) express the required late system morphemes in Ewe. He is also enjoined by the Morpheme Order Principle to use Ewe morpheme order for the mixed VP. This, I believe, is why the conceptually-assigned morphemes come from English while the structurally-assigned morphemes come from Ewe and the morphemes distribute in accordance with Ewe morpheme order.

What I postulate above benefits from Clyne's (2003) metaphor that each language participating in CS "constitutes a network" (p.211) of inter-connected lexical items. Clyne notes that "using any item from a particular network is sufficient to activate the network (language) of which it is a part or with which it is identified" (p.211-212). As I see it, however, during Ewe-English CS the English network may only activate conceptually-relevant morphemes, because its domain of activation for the production of a mixed CP is restricted to the lemma level. Once the interconnected English conceptually-tied lexical items are picked, the onus falls on Ewe to facilitate their grammatical relations requirements by providing required late system morphemes and morpheme order guidelines. This is because, as noted, Ewe alone may be active at the functional level during the production of a mixed CP.

#### **4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In keeping with the composite ML hypothesis captured in §1.4.4.3, there is a systematic collaboration between English and Ewe leading up to the framing of surface level mixed VP types: English verbs retain their lemma level (abstract lexical structure) features while Ewe grammatical resources operate at the functional level to express those features. The result is that English verbs are realized as fully integrated CS forms in Ewe-based VP structures. The important point is that the verbs are treated like Ewe verbs that share their specific abstract lexical structure features whether those features contrast with those of their direct Ewe equivalents or not. That is, they occur in V-slots that directly match their own abstract lexical features, which they share with Ewe verbs that occur in such V-slots.

The claim that English verbs project their CS slots contradicts the Ewe-only ML hypothesis captured in §1.4.4.2. This hypothesis stipulates that it is Ewe counterparts which project CS slots for English content morphemes. Analyses involving the Ewe-only ML frequently run into the now familiar problem of requiring a couple of mutually exclusive accounts for the distribution of the English verbs. For example, we needed to distinguish between verbs such as *respect*, *choose* and *use* (whose Ewe equivalents occur in their types of slots) from such verbs as *have*, *sign*, and *believe* (whose Ewe counterparts are lexicalized phrasal predicates that are accordingly not associable with the CS slots). Among others we also encounter difficulties with *lend*. A distinct account has to be given for each of its two distribution patterns. Thus again, the evidence re-enforces the thesis that the Ewe-only ML account is inadequate and that it complicates simple phenomena rather than explains them.

## CHAPTER 5: NOUN PHRASES IN THE MIXED CP

### 5.1 BACKGROUND: EWE AND ENGLISH NP STRUCTURES

In Ewe, the NP accommodates many different complexities of word order. The following table displays the various possibilities<sup>102</sup>. For the purpose of this analysis, and following Duthie (1996), I refer to the slot in which a nominal functions as head of an NP as 0-slot (“zero slot”) or “nucleus” of that NP. The 0-slot is the “centre of gravity” in relation to which we have pre- and postposed peripheries – i.e. pre-modifiers and post-modifiers respectively. Each modifier slot is identified by a plus / minus digit that reflects how many places it is to the right or to the left of the 0-slot.

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<sup>102</sup> This table combines insights from Duthie’s (1996: 43) and Amuzu’s (1998: 66) tables of the Ewe NP structure. It also benefits from Ameka’s (1991: 45) diagram of the Ewe NP structure. Abbreviations used are largely consistent with those used in the previous studies. They are por-NP (possessor NP), INT (intensifier), N (noun), ADJ (adjective), CARD (cardinal), ORD (ordinal), QT (quantifier), DET (determiner: i.e. definiteness and indefiniteness makers as well as demonstratives), REL (relative marker), PL (plural), and CLS (clause).



TABLE 6.1: THE EWE NOUN PHRASE

-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8
por-NP <sup>103</sup>	(INT1)	N PRO	(ADJ) <sup>104</sup>	(CARD)	(ORD) <sup>105</sup>	(DET) (REL)	(PL)	(QT)	(INT2)	(CLS)
Kofi ( <i>fe</i> ) Kofi's <i>é-(fe)</i> 'his' <i>nye</i> <sup>106</sup> 'my'	<i>nené</i> m, <i>alé</i> , <i>sigbe</i> such		<i>dzi</i> 'red' <i>nyui</i> 'good' <i>lolo</i> 'big' <i>bubu</i> 'other'	<i>dɛka</i> 'one' <i>eve</i> 'two'	<i>Evelia</i> 'second' , <i>bubu</i> 'other' <i>mamlɛ</i> 'last, remain- ing'	<i>-(l)á</i> 'the' <i>ádɛ</i> 'some' <i>áɖeke</i> 'none' <i>má</i> 'that' <i>si</i> which	<i>wó</i>	<i>katã</i> 'all'	<i>pɛ / ko</i> 'only' <i>há</i> 'too' <i>boɣ</i> 'rather' <i>koɣ</i> 'in particular' <i>gbégbe</i> 'as much as'	

In the following example of complex NP, the N element (*dɛvi* 'child') functions as head element from the 0-slot. It is modified by six elements: *neném* 'such' (INT1), *baɖa* 'bad' (+1ADJ), *eve* 'two' (CARD), *má* 'that' (DET), *wó* (PL) and *koɣ* 'in particular'

<sup>103</sup> A possessive linker *fe* is required after a por-NP if the N element in 0-slot encodes a non-relational entity; but this linker is missing if the N in the 0-slot encodes a relational entity. The linker is also unexpressed with two possessor PROs, *nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg), which have incorporated it. These patterns have already been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Duthie (1996: 43) puts *fe* under a separate slot, but I do not think that *fe* deserves a slot of its own in the NP. I prefer to see it as a grammatical element defining the environment where the por-NP occurs in the -2 slot. It is with the same view I consider the English possessive linker *-s* (as in 'Kofi's son') a part of 'Kofi' in the -3 slot in the English NP captured in Table 6.2. (Another important thing is that the NP has a hierarchical constituent structure; for example, an element in -2 slot modifies almost all the rest of the NP.)

<sup>104</sup> There may be more than one adjective in this lot.

<sup>105</sup> The inspiration for treating such elements like *bubu* '(an)other' and *mamlɛ* 'last, remaining' comes from Quirk et al (1972: 143) who note regarding English that "ordinals include the ordinal numbers (*first, second, third, etc...*) as well as (*another, next, and last*)". The rationale for distinguishing the ORD slot from the CARD slot—which is novel—will become clear in the discussion. Suffice it to note here that we shall find that while CS is permissible into the CARD slot it is not permissible into the ORD slot. One thing that needs mentioning here is the uniqueness of *bubu* 'other'. Apart from its ORD function, as in *mango eve bubu* [N two ORD] 'another two mangoes', it functions too as an ADJ element in which case it means 'a different type'. This is its function in *mango bubu eve* [N ADJ two] 'two of a different type of mango'. Notice therefore that it appears under both ADJ and ORD slots.

<sup>106</sup> *Nye* (1sg) and *wo* (2sg) may occur in this slot when the N in 0-slot is a relational possessum nominal, as in *nye avu tsitsitɔ-wó* [1sg + dog + ADJ + PL] 'my old dogs'. However, *nye* and *wo* postcliticize the N in 0-slot if this N is a relational possessum nominal, as in *nɔvi-nye tsitsitɔ-wó* [sibling+1sg+ADJ+PL] 'my older siblings'.

(INT2). In order to display the word order in this and subsequent examples of NPs, I mark each element with its slot index in accordance with Table 5.1:

- (1a) [neném<sub>-1</sub> d̥evi<sub>0</sub> baɖa<sub>+1</sub> eve<sub>+2</sub> má<sub>+4</sub>-wó<sub>+5</sub> kóŋ<sub>+7</sub>] dī-mí wó-le  
 such child bad two that-PL INT seek-PROG 3PL-PRES  
 ‘It is those two very bad boys they are looking for.’  
 (Ameka 1991: 46)

Five elements modify *abolo* ‘bread’ in (1b). They are a +IADJ (*lolo* ‘large, big’), a CARD (*eto* ‘three’), an ORD (*mamle* ‘remaining’), a DET (*má* ‘that’) and the PL *wó*:

- (1b) Mí ma [abolo<sub>0</sub> lolo<sub>+1</sub> eto<sub>+2</sub> mamle<sub>+3</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dú  
 3PL share bread large three remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those three remaining large loaves of bread to eat.’

Example (1c) illustrates the separation of the REL morpheme *si* from its complement CLS *mí kpó fle* ‘we found and bought’ by two elements in conformity with the pattern in Table 5.1:

- (1c) E-ɖa [akpákpá<sub>0</sub> yibo<sub>+1</sub> ató<sub>+2</sub> si<sub>+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub> {mí kpó fle}<sub>+8</sub>] a  
 3sg cook duck black five REL PL only 1PL see bought TP  
 he dú  
 SEQ eat  
 ‘He cooked the only five black ducks we found and bought and ate it’

Example (1d) illustrates pre-modification in the NP: both pre-modifier slots are filled:

- (1d) NP[{{Kofi fe}<sub>-2</sub> ale<sub>-1</sub> gbenonon<sub>0</sub> sia<sub>+4</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> va glo-m  
 Kofi poss such lifestyle this come stress-1sg  
 ‘I am fed up with this lifestyle of Kofi’s’

The por-NP ‘Kofi’ occurs in -2 slot while the INT1 *ale* ‘such’ occurs in -1 slot. The possessive linker *fe* occurs after ‘Kofi’ because *agbenonon* ‘lifestyle’ is a non-relational nominal.<sup>107</sup>

Unlike N elements, PRO elements are modified by just a restricted set of elements. They include CARD, QT and INT2 elements. For example, in (2a) *deka* ‘one’ (CARD)

<sup>107</sup>As noted in Table 5.1, I consider *fe* to be part of the por-NP unit. It therefore belongs to -2 slot.

and *ko* ‘only’ (INT2) modify *nye* (1sg) and in (2b) *ɲuto* ‘self’ (INT2) also modifies *nye* (1sg):

(2a) [Nye<sub>0</sub> ɖeka<sub>+2</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] e nɔ afeame hafi wo fo-i  
 1sg one only FOC be.atNPRES home before 3sg beat-3sg  
 ‘I alone was at home when he beat him.’

(2b) [Nye<sub>0</sub> ɲuto<sub>+7</sub>] me e-wɔ-ge  
 1sg self 1sg 3sg-do-INGR  
 ‘I will do it myself (lit: I myself will do it).’

The 1PL pronoun *mí* is also modified by *katã* ‘all’ (QT) in:

(2c) E-be ɖe ye ʃli-i ná [mí<sub>0</sub> katã<sub>+6</sub>]  
 3sg-say pFOC LOG buy-3sg for 1PL all  
 ‘She said she bought it for all of us.’

The following are some examples of complex NPs that do not have either an N or a PRO element:

(3a) Me nyé [éya wó ko] me dzí be ná wo o  
 NEG be this PL only 1sg want COMP 2sg-SUBJ do NEG  
 ‘It isn’t only these that I want you to do.’

(3b) Mí ma [etɔ mamɛ má -wó] mía dú  
 3PL share three remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those three remaining ones to eat.’

In (3a), only a DET element, the PL and an INT2 element have occurred in the bracketed NP. Similarly, in (3b) we have a CARD element, an ORD element, a DET element, the PL but no N or PRO element.

One main question that these structures raise is whether they have a nuclear element or not. Another question concerns the specific slot in which each element occurs. For Duthie (1996: 43ff), every NP—i.e. with or without an N/PRO element—has a nuclear element. He considers CARD, ORD, and DET elements to be elements that occur in the 0-slot if they are the first element in such nounless NPs. These elements are therefore listed under the 0-slot in his NP table (Duthie 1996: 43). Consistent with this view, and following his convention for identifying the nucleus of an NP, Duthie underlines the DEM element *ésia* ‘this’ (usually pronounced as *éya*) in the following example:

- (3c) *ésia-wó kén*  
 this-PL all  
 ‘All these’  
 (Duthie 1996: 44)

Although I also see the phrase-initial elements in the nounless NPs cited above as their nuclear elements, I do not think that they occur in the 0-slot. Rather, I see them as modifier elements that remain in their ‘home’ slots. My contention is that the head of such an NP has been deleted along with the 0-slot. In other words, there is *truncation* to the left of each of these phrase-initial elements. For example, in the following version of example (3a) a dash representing a deleted head element appears to the left of the +4DET element:

Me nyé [ *éya<sub>+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>*] me dzí be ná wo o  
 NEG be this PL only 1sg want COMP 2sg-SUBJ do NEG  
 ‘It isn’t only these that I say you should do.’

Similarly, truncation appears to the left of the +2CARD element in the following version of (3b):

Mí ma [ *eto<sub>+2</sub> mamle<sub>+3</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>*] mía dú  
 3PL share three remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those three remaining ones to eat.’

My theory is that with the default nuclear element in the 0-slot deleted, the element to the immediate right becomes the new nuclear element. This nuclear element remains in its slot but doubles into a semantic-syntactic function by which it serves as an *anchor* of the headless NP structure. Because the anchor is only a surrogate (not the head), interlocutors ‘look’ beside it, at the truncation site, in order to recover the entity it describes that the missing head element encodes. It is important to note that it is not any modifier that can function as anchor. The rules of truncation may be formalized as followed:

When an N/PRO element is deleted from an NP structure (i.e. when there is truncation in the NP involving the 0-slot), the first post-modifier becomes the new nucleus and consequently doubles as anchor of the NP structure. The position of any other modifier in the truncated NP in relation to the anchor is fixed (as per

Table 6.1). Only modifiers that may function as lone-word NPs may function as anchor.<sup>108</sup>

The underlined statements provide both the basis for and the test of the *Truncation Principle* for the Ewe NP. Let us explore proof of the first of the underlined statements with regard to versions of example (3b).

In accordance with the Truncation Principle, because *etɔ* ‘three’, the anchor, occurs in the +2CARD slot, a +1ADJ element cannot occur after it. Thus, *lolo* ‘large, big, fat’ cannot occur after *etɔ*<sup>109</sup>:

- (4a) Mí ma [ etɔ<sub>+2</sub> \*lolo<sub>+1</sub> mamle<sub>+3</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share three big remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those three remaining big ones to eat.’

If *etɔ* ‘three’ were to occur in the 0-slot it should then be possible for an ADJ element to occur after it, ostensibly as its ‘post-modifier’. Examples (4b) and (4c) reflect the patterns in (3b) vs (4a):

- (4b) Mí ma [ mamle<sub>+3</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those remaining ones to eat.’
- (4c) Mí ma [ mamle<sub>+3</sub> etɔ<sub>+2</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share remaining three that -PL 3PL eat  
 Target translation: ‘Let us share those three remaining ones to eat.’

Example (4b) is acceptable because as anchor the +3ORD element is followed by *má* (a +4 element) and *wó* (a +5 element). On the other hand, (4c) is unacceptable because *etɔ*, which is a +2 element hops illegitimately to the right of the anchor. The trend is replicated in (4d) vs (4e):

- (4d) Mí ma [ émá<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share that -PL 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those ones to eat.’

<sup>108</sup> For a modifier to double as an anchor, the formulator would already have set the abstract structure of the entire NP, providing, crucially, for the N element in the 0-slot. A modifier becomes anchor because the element in the 0-slot fails to surface.

<sup>109</sup> Notice that *lolo* occurred in the original example (1b) as a modifier of *abolo* ‘bread’ in a slot to the left of *etɔ* ‘three’.

- (4e) Mí ma [émá<sub>+4</sub> \*mamlɛ<sub>+3</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share that remaining -PL 3PL eat

While (4d) is acceptable because what follows the anchor is in conformity with morpheme order in the Ewe NP, (4e) is not because as a +3 element *mamlɛ* cannot occur after the anchor.

Example (4f) below illustrates the fact that it is not any modifier that can function as anchor in a truncated NP. In this example, *wó* (PL) cannot function as an anchor:

- (4f) Mí ma [\*wó<sub>+5</sub> émá<sub>+4</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share PL that 3PL eat  
 ‘Let us share those ones to eat.’  
 (Compare with the acceptability of 4d above)

An ADJ element too cannot occur as anchor:

- (4g) Mí ma [\*lolo<sub>+1</sub> etɔ<sub>+2</sub> mamlɛ<sub>+3</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] mía dǔ  
 3PL share large three remaining that -PL 3PL eat  
 Target translation: ‘Let us share those three remaining large ones to eat.’

The remaining question is what disqualifies a modifier form occurring as a phrase-initial element in a truncated NP as anchor? The answer is if it cannot occur alone as an NP. Beside nouns and pronouns, which occur as lone-word NPs in the 0-slot as shown in (5):

- (5) [Kofi<sub>0</sub>] ná-na [ga<sub>0</sub>] [mi<sub>0</sub>]  
 Kofi give-HAB money 1PL  
 ‘Kofi gives us money.’

CARD, ORD and DET elements also occur as lone-word NPs with anchor function. Consistent with the Truncation Principle, each of them can occur alone in its home slot:

Cardinal:

- (6a) [Eve<sub>+2</sub>] bú  
 two lost  
 ‘Two (of sth) are missing.’

Ordinal:

- (6b) [Evelia<sub>+3</sub>] bú  
 second lost  
 ‘The second one is missing.’

- (6c) [\_\_búbu<sub>+3</sub>] ga bú  
 other REP lost  
 ‘Another one is (also) missing.’

Indefinite<sup>110</sup>:

- (6d) [\_\_Đeke<sub>+4</sub>] me le asinye o ta ná-m [\_\_d̥e<sub>+4</sub>]  
 None NEG be in\_my\_hand NEG so give-1sg some  
 ‘I have none so give me some.’

Demonstrative:

- (6e) [\_\_Esia<sub>+4</sub>] nyó wu [\_\_émá<sub>+4</sub>]  
 This good exceed that  
 ‘This one is better than that one.’  
 (Duthie 1996: 44)

Clause:

- (6f) [\_\_ {Mewui kloe}<sub>+8</sub>] mé ʃo -a detsi o  
 1sg\_kill\_3sg nearly NEG beat-HAB soup NEG  
 ‘‘I nearly killed it’’ does not make soup.’  
 (Duthie 1996: 44)

The distinction between the function of anchor and that of head is evident when we compare the following distribution of the CARD and ORD elements with their distribution in (6a) and (6b) respectively:

- (7a) Tsitsa ŋlɔ [eve<sub>o</sub>] d̥e kpe -a dzi  
 Teacher write two on stone DEF upper\_surface  
 ‘The teacher wrote the (number) two on the board.’
- (7b) [Evelia<sub>o</sub>] d̥zɪ-m me-le be ma lé  
 second want-PROG 1sg-be COMP 1sg-POT catch  
 ‘I am hoping to be second.’

*Eve* ‘two’ as used in (7a) is a generic nominal that refers to a number concept and its symbol and is the entity being predicated about. By contrast, as anchor *eve* in (6a) only

<sup>110</sup> The initial *ɔ* segment on *á d̥e* ‘some’ and *á d̥e ke* ‘none’ in Table 5.1 is dropped when they function as lone-word NP units. On the other hand, the 3sg PRO form *ɛ* occurs as a prefix on *má* and *sia* when they are used as lone-word NP units. These may be regarded as nominalization rules regarding the use of these system morphemes in NPs where they are not functioning as modifiers.

describes an unnamed entity. Similarly, while *evelia* ‘second’ as used in (7b) refers directly to the ordinal concept, it was used in (6b) to describe a specific member of an unnamed entity. As generic nominals, and therefore heads in their own right, the numerals in (7) appear in the 0-slot and may be modified:

(8a) Tsitsia    ɲlɔ    [eve<sub>0</sub> glɔmɔ<sub>+1</sub> ad̩e<sub>+4</sub>] d̩e kpe    -a    dzi  
 Teacher write two crooked INDEF on stone DEF upper\_surface  
 ‘The teacher wrote a crooked-looking (number) two on the board.’

(8b) [Evelia<sub>0</sub> ko]    dzí-m    me-le    be    ma    lé  
 second only want-PROG 1sg-be COMP 1sg-POT catch  
 ‘I am hoping to be second.’

Regarding the occurrence of *glɔmɔ* after *eve* in (7a), the reader would recall that an ADJ element cannot occur after a cardinal that functions from the +2CARD slot as an anchor (see example 4a).

As noted, elements like the PL *wó*, the definiteness DET element *a* and ADJ elements do not occur as phrase-initial elements in truncated NPs (as anchors) because they cannot occur as lone-word NPs. The PL and definiteness marker are affixes so they are not expected to function as lone-word NPs. It is the non-occurrence of ADJ elements as single-word anchor modifiers that interest us here. Examples (9a) and (9b) show that an N element cannot be deleted to leave an adjective in anchor position:

(9a) [Nutsu<sub>0</sub> lolo<sub>+1</sub> á<sub>+4</sub>] gbɔ  
 man    fat    the return  
 ‘The fat man returned.’

(9b) \*[\_lolo<sub>+1</sub> á<sub>+4</sub>] gbɔ  
 fat the return

But adjective words are used in the following kind of structure in which no noun appears:

(9c) [Lólò-tɔ    á] gbɔ  
 fat-ONE the return  
 ‘The one which/who returned’

The difference between (9c) and (9b) is that in (9c) the syllables of the adjective bear low tone (which is a nominalizer; Ofori 1988) and the adjective carries the PRO suffix *tɔ* ‘one’



(which directs attention to the noun the adjective form describes because they have indexical relationship).

Structurally, (9c) is not a truncated version of (9a). Rather, it has to do with a related NP structure in which adjectives carry *tɔ* ‘one’. Consider the following:

- (9d) [Nutsu<sub>0</sub> {lolo-tɔ}<sub>+1</sub> á<sub>+4</sub>] gbɔ  
 man fat-ONE the return  
 ‘The man who is fat returned.’

In this example, the presence of *tɔ* signifies that other men are assumed although the predication relates only to the fat one. What is crucial for an understanding of the structure in (9c) is that a high-tone bearing adjective cannot occur in a headless structure even if it occurs with *tɔ*. For example, *lolotɔ* ‘fat one’ is unacceptable (9e):

- (9e) \*[\_{lolo-tɔ} á] e nyé éma  
 fat-ONE the FOC COP that  
 ‘That is the one which/who is fat/large’

My view about (9c) in the light of (9e) is that adjectives carrying *tɔ* and functioning as anchor must be nominalized (i.e. bear the low tone). In other words, they must convert to nominals in order to function as anchors. Non-derived nouns (e.g. *agble* ‘farm’) that carry *tɔ* provide the paradigm:

- (9f) [Nutsu<sub>0</sub> {agble-tɔ}<sub>+1</sub> á<sub>+4</sub>] gbɔ  
 man farm-ONE the return  
 ‘The man who comes from (or who is living on) the farm returned.’
- (9g) [\_{agble-tɔ}<sub>+1</sub> á<sub>+4</sub>] gbɔ  
 farm-ONE the return  
 ‘The one who comes from (or who is living on) the farm returned.’

Low tone may nominalize a quality-encoding adjective, which may occur alone as a nominal in the 0-slot:

- (10a) [Lòlò<sub>0</sub>] me nyo o  
 Fatness NEG be-good NEG  
 ‘Fatness is not good’

*Lòlò* encodes a certain quality, which is what the predication is about. It does not describe another (unnamed) entity in the way that variants of *lolo* do in (9) above. Because it occurs as head in the 0-slot, it may be modified:

- (10b) [*Lòlò*<sub>0</sub>    *ma*<sub>+4</sub> *gbegbe*<sub>+7</sub>] *me nyo*    *o*  
 Fatness that much    NEG be-good NEG  
 ‘That much fatness is not good’

One final point I need to make about morpheme distribution in the Ewe NP concerns the distinction I have made between CARD numerals and ORD numerals by putting the CARD elements in the +2 slot and the ORD elements in the +3 slot. Hitherto, these two types of numerals were placed in the +2 slot - e.g. Duthie’s (1996: 43) NP table. But as noted, I follow Quirk et al (1972: 143) in seeing the ORD numerals as forming a more natural class with such ORD words like *búbu* ‘other’ and *mamlɛ* ‘last, remaining’ than they form with CARD numerals. There is another, crucial, motivation for the split. It comes from the kinds of CS patterns we will be examining that involve English ORD elements (*a la* Quirk et al) and English CARD elements. I will therefore defer the discussion to the relevant sections.

Now, a brief look at the structure of the English NP (Table 5.2, a revised version of Amuzu’s 1998: 67):

TABLE 5.2: THE ENGLISH NOUN PHRASE

-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
(INT1)	(QT)	(DET) (por-NP)	(ORD)	(CARD)	(ADJ) '''	N PRO	(PL)	(INT2)	(CLS) <sup>112</sup> (Infinitival Phrase) (PP) (por-PP)
even, only, just	All, all of, some of, each of, two of many of	A, the, this, that, some, none, each  Kofi's his	First, Second, Tenth, Last, (an)- other	Two second			-s	Only alone too	(which) I reject, to see, in the car, of Kofi's / of his, of the table

The English NP structure differs markedly from its Ewe counterpart in that most English modifiers come before the 0-slot of N / PRO, in contrast to what happens in the Ewe structure. Eight out of the ten modifier slots in the Ewe NP follow the 0-slot of N/PRO elements but by contrast only three out of the nine modifier slots in the English NP follow the 0-slot. This contrast is illustrated in (11):

- (11) Wó wu [avu<sub>0</sub> kɔkɔ<sub>+1</sub> eve<sub>+2</sub> má<sub>+4</sub>-wó<sub>+5</sub> {papa lɔ veviε}<sub>+8</sub>] la  
 3PL kill dog tall two that-PL father love very TP  
 'They killed [those<sub>3</sub> two<sub>2</sub> tall<sub>1</sub> dog<sub>0</sub> -s<sub>+1</sub> {that daddy loves so much}<sub>+3</sub>].'

None of the five Ewe modifiers precede *avu* 'dog' whereas three of their five English counterparts precede *dog* in the English translation.

Examples (12a) and (12b) illustrate the positions that a por-NP element may take in relation to the N element in the 0-slot:

- (12a) [Only<sub>-6</sub> {two of}<sub>-5</sub> {John's}<sub>-4</sub> house<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>] were confiscated

- (12b) [Only<sub>-6</sub> two<sub>-2</sub> house<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub> {of John's}<sub>+3</sub>] were confiscated

<sup>111</sup> There may be more than one ADJ element in this slot.

<sup>112</sup> In English, a relative marker (REL)—e.g. *who*, *which* or *that*, etc—is part of this CLS. Their Ewe counterparts, as in Table 5.1, are not necessarily part of CLS because they may occur several slots before the CLS-slot. For example, *wó* (PL) and *kɔ* 'only' (INT2) come between *sɪ* (REL) and its CLS, *mɪ kpɔ flɛ* 'we found and bought', in example (1c).

These examples too mark a noteworthy word/constituent order difference between English and Ewe NP grammars. In the English NP in (12a), the *por*-NP occupies the -4 slot, where it is in paradigmatic relationship with DET elements. By contrast, as shown in Table 5.1, the *por*-NP in the Ewe structure is not in paradigmatic relationship with DET elements: it occupies the -2 slot while Ewe DET elements occupy the +4 slot. The ramification of this difference is that in the Ewe NP both *por*-NP and DET elements may co-occur—as in [John-*fe* xɔ ma] “that house of John’s”—but the English counterparts of these two elements cannot co-occur. In the English NP version highlighted, because a DET element takes the -4 slot, the *por*-NP has to be expressed as part of the *of*-PP unit (*of* John’s), in the +3 slot.<sup>113</sup>

As in complex Ewe NPs, PRO forms occur in the 0-slot in the complex English NP. They too take few modifiers. In (13a) *them* is pre-modified by *each of* (QT) and in (13b) *he* is also pre-modified by *only* (INT1) but in (13c) *he* is post-modified by *too* (INT2):

(13a) I gave [{each of}<sub>.5</sub> them<sub>0</sub>] one puppy to look after

(13b) [Only<sub>.6</sub> he<sub>0</sub>] knows how to care for a puppy

(13c) I gave [him<sub>0</sub> too<sub>+2</sub>] one puppy to look after

Because the 0-slot in the English NP is located to the right of most of the modifiers, truncation is to the right of an anchor. The Truncation Principle is as follows:

<sup>113</sup> CS in adnominal possessive constructions (APCs)—the label I used for complex NPs that encode possessive relationships—has already been discussed in Chapter 3. However, the following observations are in place here. Because it functions as the head, the N element in 0-slot dictates the morphosyntactic realization of its modifiers, including (where applicable) the realization of its *por*-NP. In an Ewe complex NP that contains a *por*-NP, the head N is construable as a possessum nominal. As shown in Chapter 3, morphosyntactic distinction is made between relational and non-relational possessum nominals. Non-relational nominals require the possessive linker *fe* to separate them from their *por*-NP (e.g. John *fe* *akplɔ* ‘John’s table’) but relational nominals do not (e.g. John *nyruie* ‘John’s uncle’). In English, this distinction is not made. Both relational and non-relational possessum nominals require the possessive morpheme ‘s to link them to their *por*-NP. For example both *uncle* (relational) and *table* (non-relational) require ‘s after ‘John’ in John’s *uncle* and John’s *table*. As was anticipated in the composite ML hypothesis, English possessum nominals bring their requirement for a possessive linker into mixed APCs where *fe* is used to express the possessive linker function. For instance, in both *srɔ-a fe uncle* ‘his wife’s uncle’ (12a in Chapter 3) and *xɔlɔ hã fe influence* ‘friend’s influence’ (5a in Chapter 3), it is the [NP poss NP] structure that was used. Such possessum nominals as *top* and *under*—whose possessors are expressed in *of*-PP in English NPs, e.g. ‘top of the cupboard’ and ‘under (part) of the chair’—also occur in the Ewe-based [NP poss NP] as in *cupboard-a fe top* (22 in Chapter 3) and *zikpui-a fe under* (11a in Chapter 3). Indeed, *fe* functions as the possessive linker in mixed APCs involving English-origin *por*-NPs, because from the perspective of abstract grammatical structure, ‘s and *of* share a late-bridge-morpheme lemma with *fe* which Ewe contributes in keeping with its domination of functional level CS processes.

When an N/PRO element is deleted from an NP structure (i.e. when the default nuclear element in the 0-slot is deleted along with that slot), the modifier to the left of the truncation point becomes an anchor for the deleted head. The anchor must be a modifier that may occur alone as a truncated NP.

For instance, in (14a) *two* (CARD) functions as anchor from -2 slot:

(14a) [Only<sub>-6</sub> those<sub>-4</sub> two<sub>-2</sub> {in the garden}<sub>+3</sub>] are still alive

and when *two* is also missing *those* (DET) becomes the anchor:

(14b) [Only<sub>-6</sub> those<sub>-4</sub> {in the garden}<sub>+3</sub>] are still alive

*only*, however, may not occur as anchor. In other words, the DET element too cannot be deleted:

(14c) [\*Only<sub>-6</sub> those<sub>-4</sub> {in the garden}<sub>+3</sub>] are still alive,

and this is because, as with Ewe, only modifier elements that occur as lone-word NPs may function as anchors (and intensifiers cannot do so). Another unacceptable pattern is the following:

(14d) [Only<sub>-6</sub> those<sub>-4</sub> two<sub>-2</sub> \*beautiful<sub>-1</sub> {in the garden}<sub>+3</sub>] are still alive

*Beautiful* is unacceptable in the structure because as the first element to the left of the truncation it automatically ought to assume the function of anchor but cannot without the presence of the PRO form *one*:

(14d) [Only those two beautiful<sub>-1</sub> one<sub>0</sub> {in the garden}] are still alive

The pattern in (14d) is reminiscent of the pattern in Ewe NP in example (9c) where the quality-encoding noun derived from an adjective needed to take the PRO form *tɔ* 'one' in order to describe an entity that has not been named in the structure. The English PRO form seems to occupy the 0-slot because it is in paradigmatic relationship with nouns in that slot. The Ewe *tɔ* does not occur in the 0-slot in truncated NPs, but the similarity between its function and that of *one* will explain various uses to which Ewe-English bilinguals put *one* in CS NPs.

English has a pattern not found in Ewe: the definiteness morpheme occurs with adjectives that describe missing N elements:

(14e) [The<sub>-4</sub> bold<sub>-1</sub>] and [the<sub>-4</sub> beautiful<sub>-1</sub>] always get what they want.

This is, however, a restricted pattern: it only occurs if the unexpressed referent is interpreted as plural and human. The only DET that can occur is *the*, not *a*, *some*, *this*, etc. Perhaps, the adjectives in this type of structure should also be treated as nominalised, like the low-tone-bearing Ewe adjectives (that also bear *tɔ* ‘one’) in truncated NPs.

Some English adjectives do occur as generic nominals in the 0-slot from where, as with Ewe quality nouns such as *lɔ̀lɔ̀* ‘fatness’ and *nyuɪ* ‘good’, they refer to the quality they encode. They are, accordingly, not construed as modifiers that describe other entities that are supposedly expressed by elements in the 0-slot. *Good* and *evil* are typical examples:

(14f) Good<sub>0</sub> shall triumph over evil<sub>0</sub> eventually!

The majority of English adjectives, however, have derived nominal counterparts that are used in the functions identified with *good* and *evil* in (14f). *Beautiful* is one such adjective; its nominal counterpart is *beauty*.

(14g) Beauty<sub>0</sub> lies in the beholder’s eye

*Beauty* may be pronominalised in this slot:

(14h) It<sub>0</sub> lies in the beholder’s eye

Cardinals and ordinals may be used as generic nominals, i.e. they may occur in the 0-slot:

(15a) My son now recognizes [two<sub>0</sub>]

(15b) Atta Mills placed [second<sub>0</sub>] in the recent poll

However, although they may function similarly as modifiers, as in

(15c) [(the<sub>4</sub>) two<sub>2</sub> dog<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>] died this morning

(15d) [a/the<sub>4</sub> second<sub>3</sub> dog<sub>0</sub>] died this morning

(15e) [an-/the<sub>4</sub> other<sub>3</sub> dog<sub>0</sub>] died this morning<sup>114</sup>,

only the cardinals may function singly as anchor elements in the event of truncation:

(15f) [two<sub>2</sub>\_\_] died this morning

(15g) \*[(a/the<sub>4</sub>) second<sub>3</sub>\_\_] died this morning

<sup>114</sup> Notice, however, that the determiner is structurally required in the structures with the ordinals. I shall return to that requirement shortly.

(15h) \*[(an-/the<sub>-4</sub>) other<sub>+3</sub>\_\_\_] died this morning.

Ordinals require the PRO form *one* to stand in for an unexpressed noun head in the 0-slot to avert truncation to their right (see discussion of a similar process involving adjectives: 14d above).

(15i) [a/the<sub>-4</sub> second<sub>+3</sub> one<sub>0</sub>] died this morning

(15j) [an-/the<sub>-4</sub> other<sub>+3</sub> one<sub>0</sub>] died this morning

The distributional distinction between cardinals and ordinals has important ramifications for their respective distribution as CS elements. Also, the distribution of ordinals with the PRO form *one* makes them similar to adjectives, a fact that provides some insight about CS distribution patterns they share that distinguish them from CS cardinals.

## 5.2 THE CS PATTERNS AT A GLANCE

The following example, from Asilevi (1990), captures a variety of CS patterns in mixed NPs:

(16a) [Headmaster<sub>0</sub> la<sub>+4</sub>] inform [student<sub>0</sub> áǵé<sub>+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub>] be wó-a label  
 DEF INDEF-PL COMP 3PL-SUBJ  
 [ENG[**textbook**<sub>0s+1</sub>]ENG yeye<sub>+1</sub> -a<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>].  
 PL new -the -PL

‘The Headmaster informed some of the students to label the new textbooks.’

But not (sic):

\*The Sukumegã inform \*some sukuviwó be wó-a label \*new agbalēwó.

(Asilevi 1990: 34)

In the first mixed NP, *headmaster la* ‘the headmaster’, *headmaster* (which occurs in 0-slot) takes the Ewe DET element *la* ‘the’<sup>115</sup> that occurs in its +4 slot per Ewe NP structure. As Asilevi shows in the unacceptable version of this mixed NP, the reverse CS pattern is not possible, i.e. the English DET *the* cannot pre-modify *sukumegã*, the Ewe counterpart of *headmaster*. Likewise in the second mixed NP (*student áǵé wó* ‘some students’), both *áǵé* ‘some’ (DET) and *wó* (PL) post-modify *student* in keeping with Ewe NP grammar. Asilevi shows with the unacceptable version of this mixed NP too that the reverse CS is not possible, i.e. the English DET *some* cannot modify *sukuvi* (and, one may add

<sup>115</sup> The initial consonant of this morpheme is often elided in speech, as in subsequent examples.

that the English PL *-s* may also not post-modify *sukuvi*). In the last mixed NP, textbooks yeye-a-wó ‘the new textbooks’, the PL *-s* and its Ewe counterpart double as post-modifiers of *textbook*: while *-s* retains its +1 slot per English NP (as it inflects the head directly), *wó* follows two slots away in its +5 slot.<sup>116</sup> In between the two PL morphemes comes the Ewe ADJ *yeye* ‘new’ and the DET *a* ‘the’. These two retain their +1 and +4 slot respectively in the Ewe NP. In Asilevi’s unacceptable version of the mixed NP, we see that *new* cannot pre-modify the Ewe counterpart of *textbook* (*agbale*).

Another important pattern to consider is that most English adjectives cannot be used attributively in mixed NPs in which an Ewe noun fills the 0-slot. *Plain* (example 16b, also from Asilevi 1990) is an exception and represents the few that do occur attributively:<sup>117</sup>

- (16b) E-nyé [nyatefe<sub>0</sub> plain<sub>+1</sub>] be gatwó kplé nunomesitwó-ε form-na party.  
 3sg-be truth COMP the\_rich and wealthy -aFOC -HAB  
 ‘It is the plain truth that it’s the rich and wealthy who form a party.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 70) NB \*plain nyatefe

In this example, *plain* post-modifies *nyatefe* ‘truth’ from the Ewe-based +1ADJ slot. It may, however, not pre-modify *nyatefe* following its pattern of distribution in the English NP (see the unacceptability of the NB version above). Asilevi’s example also shows that an English noun *party* occurs as a lone-word NP in a mixed CP.

In example (16c), an English noun *charges* is modified by a mixed relative clause, siwó wó level against-é ‘which they have levelled against him’ in a CS structure:

- (16c) Esi judge-a xlẽ [ENG[charge<sub>0-s+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> -sí<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub> {wó level against-é}<sub>+8</sub>] lá,  
 When the read PL REL-PL 3PL 3sg TP  
 nye nu ko-e kú.  
 1sg mouth INT-FOC die  
 ‘When the judge read the charges which they have levelled against him, I became dumbfounded.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 25)

in which the constituent order in the mixed NP follows what is found in the Ewe NP (as is evident in the numbering of slots). Significantly, *si* (REL) occurs correctly in +4 slot, a

<sup>116</sup> The issue of double plural marking, a common feature of Ewe-English CS, will be dealt with in detail in §5.6.

<sup>117</sup> In general, it is English colour adjectives that are the frequent CS attributive adjectives.



slot shy of its mixed CP complement wó level against-é ‘which they have levelled against him’. Example (16a) displays double plural marking: textbooks yeye-a-wó ‘the new textbooks’ in which *-s* occurs in its +1 slot in the English NP while *wó* holds on to its +5 slot in the Ewe NP.

In the following discussion, I will look at these and other CS patterns in detail. I will show how the composite ML hypothesis accounts for the patterns better than does the Ewe-only ML.

## 5.3 ENGLISH NOUNS

### 5.3.1 The mixed NP

#### 5.3.1.1 *The data*

In example (17a), *battery* precedes its Ewe modifiers, the ADJ *kúkú* ‘dead’ and the DEF *a* ‘the’:

- (17a) [Battery<sub>0</sub> kúkú<sub>+1</sub> a<sub>+4</sub>] à? Wó nu má zá-mí fiá é- dzidzi ló  
 dead the Q 3PL thing DEM-use-PROG now 3sg-long Addr  
 ‘The dead battery? They’ve been using that thing for quite some time now.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 77)

This morpheme order, which reflects what is found in the Ewe NP, cannot be altered to, say, the [DET<sub>-4</sub> ADJ<sub>-1</sub> N<sub>0</sub>] order in the English NP. That is, the sequences \**a kúkú battery* is unacceptable; even the sequence \**kúkú battery a* in which *a* retains its position in the Ewe NP is unacceptable because of the misplacement of *kúkú* ‘dead’ in the -1 slot which is reflective of English ADJ elements. The bracketed mixed NP in (17b) below is another example of the same kind. The only difference is the additional element, the plural *wó* in +5 slot:

- (17b) E- [mistake<sub>0</sub> gbogbo<sub>+2</sub> ad<sub>e+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub>] wɔ-ge  
 2sg plenty INDEF PL do-INGR  
 ‘You will make plenty of mistakes.’  
 (ALLICE-Akatsi-REC2: sn204)

In the following example:

(17c) Fiafi-wó vá fi [painting<sub>0</sub> eve<sub>+2</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub> {ne ta lá}<sub>+8</sub>]

Thief-PL come steal two DET PL 2sg draw TP

‘Thieves have stolen the two paintings you made.’

*painting* takes four Ewe modifier elements: the CARD *eve* ‘two’, the DET (*má* ‘that’, which doubles as REL), the PL *wó* and the CLS *ne ta lá* ‘you drew’. As with (17a and 17b), the alternative English pattern of [DET<sub>4</sub> CARD<sub>2</sub> N<sub>0</sub> PL<sub>+1</sub> CS<sub>+5</sub>] cannot be used for these morphemes.

In example (17d), *story* also occurs in 0-slot—per Ewe NP grammar—in relation to Ewe modifiers:

(17d) Ale be [nenem<sub>L1</sub> [ENG[story<sub>0</sub>-es<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] se-ní mí vá le fia.

So that such PL PL only hear-PROG PL come be now

‘So, it is only such stories we now hear.’

*story* is pre-modified by the Ewe INT1 *nenem* ‘such’. It also takes double PL marking, one from each language. Further, it takes an Ewe INT2 morpheme (*ko* ‘only’), which occurs after the PL *wó* in keeping with Ewe NP grammar.

### 5.3.1.2 Composite ML account

As we may recall, the composite ML hypothesis describes a division of labour between English and Ewe with regard to the co-occurrences of their morphemes in constituent structures. The hypothesis claims that on the one hand English is activated at the lemma level during bilingual language production to the degree that English content morphemes retain their English-origin abstract lexical features (lexical conceptual, predicate-argument and morphosyntactic distribution properties) as they enter CS environments. The hypothesis then claims that on the other hand Ewe is activated at the functional level to the extent that only its morphosyntactic resources are expended to translate the said English-origin abstract lexical structure information into grammatical environments for the English content morphemes. Specifically, the expectation is that the English content morphemes will project slots that are analogous to slots in Ewe NPs where Ewe morphemes with similar abstract lexical structure features may occur.

The processes involved in the appearance of *battery* in (17a) above are captured below in Table 5.3:

TABLE 5.3: DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH NOUNS IN MIXED NP STRUCTURES: THE COMPOSITE ML ACCOUNT

**Stage 1 - Lemma Level:** When a speaker selects an English content morpheme

(such as *battery*) during Ewe-English CS, he activates the morpheme's abstract lexical structure. At this level, what becomes salient regarding the morpheme's lexical structure is its English-origin lexical-conceptual structure, i.e. the entity that *battery* encodes. Information on the morpheme's lexical-conceptual structure along with information on its predicate-argument structure and morphological realization—which is not yet salient in the production process—is sent to the formulator at the functional level for processing.

**Stage 2 - Functional Level:** The formulator discerns the information sent from the lemma level, i.e.

- Regarding predicate-argument structure, it recognises *battery* as the head element of the NP under construction<sup>118</sup>, and
- With regard to morphological realization pattern the formulator first notes that *battery* is an N element, so it prepares the 0-slot in the NP for *battery*. Ewe dominates what happens at this level, and this dominance is operationalized via the System Morpheme Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle. Thus, Ewe word order is deployed when *battery* projects its 0-slot.

**Stage 3 – Positional Level:** *Battery* is routed into the 0-slot before *kúkú* 'dead', a slot that is associable with Ewe nouns like *totsikpe* 'battery', *avu* 'dog' and *ati* 'tree', which may also be modified by *kúkú*.

The contention in Table 5.3 is that the 0-slot of nouns in the English NP is compatible with the 0-slot of nouns in the Ewe NP: the slot represents an invariant center of 'gravity' which precedes most modifiers in the English NP but comes after most modifiers in the Ewe NP. But to occur in a given CS 0-slot—which must be situated relative to modifier slots in accordance with the Ewe word order—an English noun must possess all requisite subcategorization features of Ewe nouns associated with that slot. For example, *battery* enters the 0-slot before *kúkú* in *battery kúkú -a* 'the dead battery' because it shares semantic-pragmatic (SP) feature with Ewe nouns that occur with *kúkú*. This SP feature is

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<sup>118</sup> There are other aspects of the predicate-argument structure of a noun that also become salient at this stage. An example is the noun's thematic role, which may necessitate that it bears a case marker(s).

[+LIFE]. **Battery** shares this feature with *tɔtsikpe* ‘battery’, *avu* ‘dog’ and *ati* ‘tree’, which can be modified by *kúkú* as in:

(18a) *tɔtsikpe kúkú a* ‘the dead battery’

(18b) *avu kúkú a* ‘the dead dog’

(18c) *ati kúkú a* ‘the dead tree’

By contrast, nouns like *akplɔ* ‘table’ and *abati* ‘bed’ do not have this feature [+LIFE] and are therefore unacceptable with *kúkú*:

(18d) \**akplɔ kúkú a* ‘the dead table’

(18e) \**aba kúkú a* ‘the dead bed’

There are, however, subtle cases in which English nouns are unacceptable in the 0-slots where their Ewe counterparts occur. Two examples of English nouns that cannot occur in the 0-slot before *kúkú* although their Ewe counterparts occur there are (*farm*)**land** and **moon**.

In the worldview of the Ewe, *agbledenyigba* ‘farmland’ or *anyigba* ‘land, soil’ is construable in terms of the [±LIFE] SP feature matrix. Farmers say *anyigba a kú* ‘the land / soil is dead’ when they mean ‘the land / soil is infertile’ (*kú* ‘be-dead’ is an inchoative verb). *Kúkú*, the attributive adjective counterpart of *kú* ‘death’, is used to modify *anyigba* in this vein:

(18f) *anyigba kúkú a* ‘the dead (=infertile) farmland / soil’<sup>119</sup>

**land** and **soil** as English words, are, however, hardly construable in terms of the [±LIFE] SP feature matrix; the applicable feature matrix is [±FERTILE]. The English morphemes **land** and **soil** therefore cannot be modified by *kúkú*:

(19) \***land** / \***soil** *kúkú a*

<sup>119</sup> The conception of ‘land / soil’ in terms of the SP feature matrix [±LIFE] is not unique to the Ewe. According to my colleague, Anna Gladkova (p.c.), Russians do the same. In the following example, the Russian adjective *mertvaja* ‘dead’ modifies the noun *zemlja* ‘soil’:

Mertv-aja	zeml-ja
Dead-nom.fem	soil-nom.fem
‘dead soil’	

Another example is illustrated by *moon*. The Ewe counterpart, *dzinu*, occurs before *kúkú*:

- (20) Me dǒ-a ga dé wó dzinu kúkú sia dzinu kuku  
 1sg send-HAB money to 3PL moon-dead every moon-dead  
 ‘I send them money at the end of every month.’

The expression *dzinu kúkú* ‘dead moon’ is lexicalized and it means ‘end of the month’. *Dzinu* ‘moon’ is acceptable with *kúkú* because in the worldview of the Ewes *dzinu* is conceivable in terms of the [ $\pm$  LIFE] feature matrix when it comes to the reckoning of time by the lunar cycle. The English word, *moon*, is, however, not conceivable in terms of this feature matrix, so it is unable to project the 0-slot in which it would be post-modified by *kúkú* (we may not say \**moon kúkú*).<sup>120</sup> These two cases demonstrate (i) that the onus is on the English noun to qualify to enter a CS slot and (ii) that its qualification depends on its English-origin abstract lexical structure, including its lexical-conceptual structure.

### 5.3.1.3 The Ewe-only ML account

This hypothesis predicts that English/EL content morphemes would occur as fully integrated CS forms if they are sufficiently congruent with their Ewe counterparts. It also predicts that English content morphemes that are not sufficiently congruent with their Ewe counterparts may only occur as CS forms via one or the other type of compromise strategies—e.g. use of bare forms vs English islands—designed to take care of the incompatibility. Because the 0-slot is neutral across the two grammars, English nouns are by default compatible with their Ewe counterparts distributionally. The hypothesis may therefore be said to anticipate correctly the acceptance of English nouns into the 0-slot in Ewe-based mixed NPs. Also, because the hypothesis stipulates that an English noun ought to be compatible with its Ewe counterpart in order to gain entry into a CS 0-slot, it can be argued that it predicts the barring of such nouns as *land* and *moon* in the context of the Ewe adjective *kúkú* ‘dead’.

One problem with the Ewe-only ML hypothesis with respect to noun switching into CS head slots is the assumption that even those nouns for which there are no Ewe counterparts, such as *computer*, *email*, *internet*<sup>121</sup> occur in the CS 0-slot as guests of

<sup>120</sup> It may also be argued that *moon* is unacceptable with *kúkú* because the construction *dzinukúkú* is already a fixed expression. But I believe that even if *dzinukúkú* were not yet a fixed expression, *moon* would still have been unacceptable with *kúkú* because the two are semantically incompatible.

<sup>121</sup> See several instances of these and similar words in the text of an interview in Appendix 4.

Ewe unspecified lemmas (which are presumably stored in speakers' GLK of Ewe). As noted in previous chapters, I view any explanation of a CS distribution pattern that appeals to Ewe unspecified content lemmas as a round about acknowledgement of the fact that the CS content morphemes do qualify in their own rights to occur in the CS slots in question.

### 5.3.2 English nouns as single-word NPs

Example (21a) is significant for understanding the principles behind the occurrence of lone nouns in NP slots in mixed CPs. In this example, *party* occurs alone as the direct object of the verb *form*:

- (21a) [Teacher áde] form party kpo-a? Never!  
 Teacher some before-Q Never  
 'Has a teacher ever formed a [political] party? Never!  
 (Asilevi 1990: 70)

What makes the example significant is that it contrasts the occurrence of *party* as a lone-word NP with that of *teacher*, which takes *áde* 'a, some, a certain' as its modifier. In Ewe, when a noun occurs alone in an NP slot, its referent is interpreted as generic while the referent of a noun that takes the indefiniteness marker *áde* is interpreted as specific though not definite. What happens is that although at surface structure level both *teacher* and *party* take the indefiniteness marker *a* in the English CP version in the translation above, at the lemma level *teacher* points to a specific referent while *party* is generic and their different conceptual structures is what results in their different realization patterns in this example. Ewe requires that the specific but non-definite reference of *teacher* be spelt out using the required morpheme, the INDEF *áde*. However, when it comes to expressing generic reference, as with *party*, Ewe requires that it be expressed with a null.

From the perspective of the composite ML, both *party* and *teacher* retain their abstract lexical structures, which are expressed differently as required in Ewe morphosyntax. It does not matter that English would have expressed the generic vs. specific reference similarly as shown in the translated version of (21a). A similar morphosyntactic distinction is illustrated in (21b):

- (21b) [School -a] a-teɲu a-ko accommodation ná wó  
 School the POT-can POT-take give 3PL  
 'The school may offer them accommodation.'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 68)

Here, *school*, a definite noun, duly takes the Ewe definiteness marker *a* while *accommodation*, a generic noun, occurs with a null.

Now, to the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. It says that each of the above-mentioned English nouns occur in a 0-slot that is projected by its Ewe counterpart. The hypothesis therefore takes care of why the nouns' realizations conform to Ewe morphosyntax. But I find this explanation a roundabout way of saying that the nouns fit into their CS slots. Because we must examine an Ewe noun for clues to why its English counterpart occurs in given a CS slot, our attention is unnecessarily taken off the direct match that exists between the abstract lexical structure of the English noun and the Ewe slot in which it occurs.

## 5.4 ENGLISH ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES

### 5.4.1 The data

Few English attributive adjectives are acceptable in the +1ADJ slot in the Ewe NP. The few that do occur are mostly colour adjectives<sup>122</sup>. In (22a), *green* along with some Ewe elements modify *vu* 'car' and in (22b) *red* along with other Ewe elements modify *awu* 'shirt'. The morpheme order in each case is what is found in the Ewe NP as the slot indices demonstrate:

- (22a) [Neném<sub>-1</sub> vu<sub>0</sub> green<sub>+1</sub> áǎǎ<sub>+4</sub> -wo<sub>+5</sub>] vá yi filíaa  
 Such car some -PL come go just\_now  
 'Some green cars of that kind have just passed.'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 78)

- (22b) Tsó [awu<sub>0</sub> red<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] na-wash ná-m  
 Take shirt that only SUBJ for-1sg  
 'Take only the red shirt and wash it for me.'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 78)

Not all English colour terms are, however, acceptable as Ewe noun modifiers. Noun-like colour descriptors like *wine*, *indigo*, *cream*, *chocolate* are not acceptable as CS forms. For instance, my consultants would not say the following versions of (22b):

<sup>122</sup> Following Dixon (1982: 16ff) I recognize at least seven types of English adjectives: (1) colour: *red*, *green*, etc; (2) dimension: *big*, *short*, *wide*, etc; (3) physical property: *hard*, *heavy*, *cold*, *sweet*; (4) human propensity: *honest*, *cruel*, *happy*, *jealous*, *cultured*; (5) age: *old*, *young*, *new*; (6) value: *fine*, *good*, *bad*, *excellent*, *poor*, and (7) speed: *fast*, *quick*, *slow*, etc.

- (22c) Tsó [awu<sub>0</sub> \***wine**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] na-wash ná-m  
 Take shirt that only SUBJ for-1sg
- (22d) Tsó [awu<sub>0</sub> \***indigo**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] na-wash ná-m  
 Take shirt that only SUBJ for-1sg
- (22e) Tsó [awu<sub>0</sub> \***cream**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] na-wash ná-m  
 Take shirt that only SUBJ for-1sg

Only a handful of English non-colour adjectives occur as modifiers of Ewe nouns. One of them is *fine* as it is used in (23):

- (23) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> **fine**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe -a -me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside  
 ‘Who is that fine girl in the house?’

To demonstrate the uniqueness of the acceptability of *fine* as a CS form, let us consider the CS-eligibility of certain of its English equivalents that occur in the +1ADJ slot above. When *fine* is construed as a physical property adjective (as is intended in 23), it may be said to share lexical-conceptual structure with such adjectives as *beautiful*, *pretty* and *cute*, but none of these may occur in that CS slot:

- (24a) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> \***beautiful**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe -a -me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside
- (24b) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> \***pretty**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe- a- me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside
- (24c) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> \***cute**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe -a -me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside

*Fine* has other types of synonyms: *good* (when it is construed as a value adjective), and *cultured* (as in ‘a fine lady’, when it is construed as a human propensity adjective).

Neither of them may occur in the CS +1ADJ slot:

- (24d) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> \***good**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe -a -me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside
- (24e) Ameka-e nyé [nyonuvi<sub>0</sub> \***cultured**<sub>+1</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> {le afe -a -me}<sub>+8</sub>]?  
 Who-FOC be girl that at house-the-inside

However, like *fine*, *plain* is acceptable:



- (25) E-nyé [nyatefe<sub>0</sub> plain<sub>+1</sub>] be gatowó kplé nunomesitowó-e form-na party.  
 3sg-be truth COMP the\_rich and wealthy-aFOC -HAB  
 ‘It is the plain truth that it’s the rich and wealthy who form a party.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 70)

**Plain** as used here is a value adjective. In this use it may be said that it shares lexical-conceptual structure with such adjectives as *pure*, *real*, *simple*, *bare* and *basic*. Of these, only *pure* is acceptable as a post-modifier of *nyatefe* ‘truth’ to ten Ewe-English bilinguals I contacted in Canberra:

- (26a) E-nyé nyatefe pure be....  
 3sg-be truth COMP
- (26b) E-nyé nyatefe \*real be....  
 3sg-be truth COMP
- (26c) E-nyé nyatefe \*simple be....  
 3sg-be truth COMP
- (26d) E-nyé nyatefe \*bare be....  
 3sg-be truth COMP
- (26e) E-nyé nyatefe \*basic be....  
 3sg-be truth COMP

Indeed, *pure* is used to modify an Ewe nominal in:

- (26f) Ame gedę-wó tso-e be wó-be “pure” ko ke  
 Person many-PL take-3sg COMP 3PL-say only then  
 [anyitsi<sub>0</sub> pure<sub>+1</sub>]e  
 honey FOC  
 ‘Many people think that when it (honey) is described as being ‘pure’ then it is indeed pure honey.’  
 (AKU-Accra-REC4: sn1055)

Another English adjective (a dimension adjective) that is used to modify an Ewe noun is *flat* as we find in:

- (27) Né ęe wo dó afokpa flat a, né mé dze anyí o  
 If pFOC 2sg wear footwear TP, pt 3sg\_NEG hit ground NEG  
 ‘Had she worn flat shoes she wouldn’t have fallen.’  
 (CANBERRA)

A regular feature of Ewe-English CS is for English attributive adjectives to modify English nouns in accordance with English grammar. For instance, in (28) *big* (dimension adjective) pre-modifies *box* thus creating an English NP island in the larger mixed NP; *box* is post-modified in conformity with Ewe grammar by *má* ‘that’:

- (28) Wó á-no [ENG[big<sub>+1</sub> box<sub>0</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> má<sub>+4</sub>] me.  
 3PL POT-be that inside  
 ‘They would be in that big box.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 77)

Significantly, *big* may not post-modify *aɔaká*, the Ewe counterpart of *box* (\**aɔaká big má* is unacceptable). Similarly, in (29) *younger* (age adjective) occurs with *brother*, which inflects for number in English. The English NP island the three elements have created is embedded island amidst Ewe morphemes that also modify *brother*: i.e. *nye* (1sg, por-PRO) in -2 slot, *wó* (PL) in the +5 slot and *katã* ‘all’ (QT) in +7 slot<sup>123</sup>:

- (29) [Nye<sub>-2</sub> ENG[younger<sub>-1</sub> brother<sub>0</sub> -s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub> katã<sub>+7</sub>] wó shave- na...  
 1sg PL all 3pl HAB  
 ‘All my younger brothers, they shave...’  
 (Amuzu 1998:72)

Many English NP islands containing adjectives are lexicalized phrases<sup>124</sup> that enter mixed NPs intact. *Electrical fault* (30) and *executive members* (31) are typical examples:

- (30) Né [ENG[electrical<sub>-1</sub> fault<sub>0</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> áɔé<sub>+4</sub>] vá lá,  
 If some come TP  
 á-teɔu á-blow transistors áɔé wó le é-me.  
 POT-can POT-blow some PL at 3sg-inside  
 ‘When an electrical fault occurs, it can blow some of the transistors inside.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 48)

- (31) Wóawó-ε nyé-na [ENG[executive<sub>-1</sub> member<sub>0</sub> -s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> wó<sub>+4</sub>] kple patrons-wó  
 3PL -FOC be-HAB -PL and -PL  
 ‘They normally are the executive members and patrons.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 70)

<sup>123</sup> As noted, I shall deal with incidents of double plural marking in mixed NPs in §5.6.

<sup>124</sup> As stated in Chapter 4, I use the term “lexicalised phrase” in the sense in which Chafe (1994: 113) used it: “conventional collocations that are already established in the speaker’s repertoire”.

Apart from entering mixed NPs as part of English NP islands, English adjectives also do so as part of an ADJ-*one* English island that is reminiscent of the Ewe ADJ-*tɔ* unit (see 9d). The unit occupies the Ewe +1ADJ and may duly be followed by various Ewe modifiers. Consider examples (32a) and (32b):

- (32a) Gake fifia, [hadziha<sub>0</sub> {best<sub>3</sub> -one<sub>0</sub>}<sub>+1 a+4</sub>] wóawó si wo le  
 But now choir the 3PL hand 3sg be.atPRES  
 ‘But now, they have the best choir.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 79)

- (32b) Tsɔ [akadj<sub>0</sub> {bright one}<sub>+1 si+4</sub> {le corner keme dzi}<sub>+8</sub>]  
 Take lantern REL be over\_there upper\_surface  
 ve na-m  
 come to-1sg  
 ‘Bring the bright lantern that is in the corner over there to me.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 80)

The ADJ-*one* unit may function as anchor, i.e. describe an element that is absent from the 0-slot to its left, as pure one does (the pattern illustrated in the monolingual Ewe structures in 9c and 9g provides a model for this CS pattern):

- (33) Ame aɖe yi é-fle-gé be “e-ka ɖe é-dzi  
 Person INDEF go 3sg-buy-INGR say 3sg-swear ALL 3sg-top  
 be [\_{pure one}<sub>+1</sub>]-e nyé ya fia?”  
 COMP FOC COP this Q  
 ‘Someone goes (there with the intention) to buy it and asks, “are you sure that this is a pure one?”’  
 (AKU-Accra-REC4: sn1060)

In this example, the speaker, who has in her previous turn uttered the sentence cited above as (26f), assumed that *anyitsi* ‘honey’ was recoverable from the context (i.e. she could have said *anyitsi pure one*).

I mentioned above that the ADJ-*one* unit is analogous with the Ewe ADJ/N-*tɔ* unit we found in examples (9c) and (9g). Incidentally, only English colour adjectives are accepted in the Ewe version. For example, while the colour adjective *yellow* occurs in the

ADJ-*tɔ* unit in (34), the dimension adjective *short* is unacceptable in it in (35a) and the age adjective *new* is also unacceptable in it in (35b)<sup>125</sup>:

(34) Me da -e      dɛ [akplɔ<sub>0</sub>      {yellow-*tɔ*}<sub>+1</sub>      ma<sub>+4</sub>] dzĩ  
 1sg put-3sg to table                                  ONE      that top  
 ‘I have put it on the yellow table.’

(GOK-Akatsi-REC3: sn77)

(35a) Me da -e      dɛ [akplɔ<sub>0</sub>      \*{short-*tɔ*}<sub>+1</sub>      ma<sub>+4</sub>] dzĩ  
 1sg put-3sg to table                                  ONE      that top  
 ‘I have put it on the short table.’

(35b) Me da -e      dɛ [akplɔ<sub>0</sub>      \*{new-*tɔ*}<sub>+1</sub>      ma<sub>+4</sub>] dzĩ  
 1sg put-3sg to table                                  ONE      that top  
 ‘I have put it on the new table.’

#### 5.4.2 Explanation

In explaining these patterns, it must be noted that English attributive adjectives are pre-modifiers. They are therefore incompatible with the post-modifier (+1ADJ) slot in the Ewe NP. Both the Ewe-only ML hypothesis and the composite ML hypothesis correctly anticipate that this incompatibility will result in the blockage of the English adjectives from occurring in the CS +1ADJ slot. In the case of the Ewe-only ML, the ban is an individual inability of the English adjectives to gain access into slots projected by their Ewe counterparts. In the case of the composite ML, the cause of the blockage is general: Ewe does not have a pre-0 ADJ slot and is therefore unable to provide the English adjectives with a ready slot in which they can occur as forms that are fully compatible with their Ewe counterparts. The English NP islands are therefore ready avenues for the adjectives to be used. And the use of the ADJ-*one* unit in the +1ADJ slot is also explained by the fact that in Ewe NPs the ADJ-*tɔ* unit, which performs the same function, occurs there (as in 9c).

But the picture on attributive adjective switching is incomplete until we consider the fact that most English colour and some other adjectives (e.g. *fine*, *pure* and *plain*) occur as singly-occurring CS forms. Under the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, they should be blocked since they too are distributionally incongruent with their Ewe counterparts. The composite ML hypothesis too does not fare well if we expect the adjectives to retain all their English-

<sup>125</sup> These unacceptable English adjectives however occur in the English ADJ-*one* unit: *akplɔ short one ma* ‘that short table’ and *akplɔ new one ma* ‘that new table.’

origin abstract lexical features in CS contexts, including their distribution into a pre-0 slot. However, I think that Ewe-English bilinguals exploit an aspect of the composite ML mechanism to allow them to use English colour adjectives (and such adjectives as *fine*, *pure* and *plain*) in the incompatible post-0 modifier CS ADJ slot.

As noted often in previous chapters, a crucial provision of the hypothesis requires English content morphemes to enter slots that are analogous to slots in which Ewe morphemes that share their abstract lexical structure features occur. It seems to me that the occurrence of these adjectives in the post-0 slot is based on the fact that they are perceived as sharing abstract lexical structure features with their counterpart Ewe morphemes. Sebba's (1995, 1998) view of how bilinguals "construct" congruence across categories of their languages is, I believe, very relevant to what is happening in adjective switching. According to Sebba,

Congruent categories are categories of the grammar which are treated as "the same" in L1 and L2 by bilinguals... I differ from researchers like Myers-Scotton in that I take the view that congruence is not just a function of the syntax of the languages involved. The locus of congruence is the mind of the speaker, but community norms determine, by and large, the behaviour of individual speakers. Bilinguals "create" congruent categories by finding common grounds between the languages concerned. (Sebba 1995: 232)

His point is that congruence of categories across languages is a function of bilinguals' perception of the linguistic similarities among those categories and that because of that there is room for 'subjectivity' in the construction of congruence as long as the bilinguals remain within the bounds of speech conventions in their community. It may therefore be alleged that Ewe-English bilinguals chose deliberately to be 'subjective' about the degree of congruence that exists between the said English adjectives and their CS slots in order to overcome the incompatibility constraint barring their CS use. It is not clear to me why English colour terms and the very few other adjectives have been singled out for special treatment.

Evidence from Akan-English CS and Dajme-English CS (also spoken in Ghana) shows that it is not only Ewe-English bilinguals who have chosen to create congruence across language categories in order to circumvent the mass blocking of English adjectives from mixed NPs. As in the Ewe NP, the ADJ slot in Akan and Dajme NPs are post-0 slots and therefore incompatible with English adjectives. Yet bilinguals use some English

adjectives in mixed NPs headed by Akan/Daŋme nouns. What is interesting about the phenomenon is that because it is nurtured and constrained by community norms, English adjectives that are acceptable in CS contexts by members of one group may be exactly the ones that are rejected by members of another group. Two examples illustrate the point. Mensah (1992: 26) cites the following example in which **crazy** (human propensity adjective) modifies an Akan noun in accordance with Akan NP grammar; but **crazy** is inadmissible into the ADJ-slot in the equivalent Ewe-based mixed NP as shown in (36b):

(36a) Ne ba **crazy** bi no  
 3sg child some that  
 ‘That stupid child of his’  
 (Akan-English CS; Mensah 1992: 26)

(36b) e-via \***crazy** aḍe  
 (Ewe-English CS)

Nartey (1982) too cites the following example in which **slim** (physical property adjective) post-modifies a Daŋme noun *yoyo* ‘girl’ in accordance with Daŋme NP grammar:

(37a) yoyo slim ko  
 girl DEF  
 ‘The slim girl’  
 (Daŋme-English CS; Nartey 1982: 187)

But **slim** is unacceptable in the ADJ-slot in the equivalent Ewe-based mixed NP, as in:

(37b) nyɔnuvi \*slim aḍe  
 (Ewe-English CS)

As stated above, this subjective congruence is more compatible with the composite ML mechanism than with the Ewe-only ML mechanism.

## 5.5 ENGLISH CARDINALS AND ORDINALS AS MODIFIERS AND ANCHORS

### 5.5.1 Mixed NPs

#### 5.5.1.1 Cardinals

In:

(38a) Senyo, né é-nyé bé wo-mother tsó [fofoɔtá<sub>0</sub> twenty<sub>+2</sub>]  
 Senyo, if 3sg-be COMP 2sg-mother take sugarcane\_bundle  
 yi asime-e eye...  
 go market-FOC and...  
 ‘Senyo, if your mother takes twenty bundles of sugarcane to the market and...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 67)

*twenty* post-modifies *fofoɔtá* ‘bundle of sugarcane’ from the +2CARD slot where Ewe cardinals occur; it may not pre-modify the Ewe head element from the -2 slot where English cardinals occur (\**twenty fofoɔtá* is unacceptable). In (38b) *five-thousand* also post-modifies *ame* ‘people’, which takes another modifier, the Ewe intensifier *gbéqbe* ‘as-many-as’:

(38b) Wó be [ame<sub>0</sub> five-thousand<sub>+2</sub> gbéqbe<sub>+7</sub>] -e kú le New York-a  
 3PL say people as\_many\_as FOC die at New York-TP  
 ‘They said that as many as five thousand people died in New York.’

*Five-thousand* cannot occur in the -2 slot of cardinals in the English NP: \**five-thousand ame gbéqbe* is unacceptable. And in (38c), *fifty-two* post-modifies *fe* ‘year’ from the +2CARD slot:

(38c) Né e-nye nyonu la e-dze be na-xo [fe<sub>0</sub> fifty-two<sub>+2</sub>]  
 If 3sg-be woman TP 3sg-fitting COMP 2sg-SUBJ-get year  
 hafi a- tote asidoqo anyi  
 before 2sg-SUBJ stop menstruating  
 ‘If you are a woman you need to be fifty-two before you stop menstruation.’  
 (Nortsu-Kotoe 1999: 97)

Also, in (38d), *nine hundred and eighty-five* post-modifies the pronominal head *mí* (1PL):

(38d) Le Ghana godoo la wó-kpo [mí<sub>0</sub> nine-hundred and eighty-five<sub>+2</sub>] eye ..  
 In Ghana round TP 3PL-find 1PL and  
 ‘In Ghana as a whole they found nine hundred and eighty-five of us and....’  
 (Nortsu-Kotoe 1999: 90)

English cardinals are acceptable in the +2CARD slot as anchor elements. In (39a), *five* occurs as anchor in a mixed truncated NP in which the Ewe DET *má* ‘that’, the PL

wó and the QT *katã* ‘all’ occur. The order of the four elements matches the pattern in the Ewe NP structure as the slot indices show:

- (39a) Wó á-téju á-du [ five<sub>+2</sub> má<sub>+4</sub> wó<sub>+5</sub> katã<sub>+7</sub>] a?  
 3PL POT-can POT-eat that PL all Q  
 ‘Can they eat all those five?’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 71)

Likewise, in (39b) forty-thousand—i.e. ‘forty thousand cedis’ (the Ghanaian currency)—is followed by *ko* ‘only’ which occurs appropriately between the REL morpheme *ya* and its complement me bía wo ‘I asked you’:

- (25) Ké [ forty-thousand<sub>+2</sub> yá<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub> {me bía wo}<sub>+8</sub>] a,  
 So REL only 1sg ask 2sg TP  
 éyá e nyé nya yá wó à  
 1sg aFOC be word this PL Q  
 ‘So the forty thousand (Ghana cedis) that I asked you, is it the cause of this wrangling?’

### 5.5.1.2 Ordinals

Unlike their cardinal counterparts, singly-occurring English ordinals do not modify Ewe noun heads. To occur as a CS element, an English ordinal has to occur in one of two types of English NP islands. One is illustrated in (40a):

- (40a) Esi me tó [ fourth<sub>-3</sub> car<sub>0</sub>] ENG -a<sub>+4</sub>] ŋu lá,  
 When 1sg pass the side TP  
 me kpo nu si no é-prevent-mí from moving forward.  
 1sg see thing REL beNPRES 3sg- -PROG  
 ‘When I passed by the fourth car, I saw what was preventing it from moving forward.’

NB: \*fourth vu a; \*vu fourth a

Here, *fourth* pre-modifies *car* thus creating the regular English NP island in a mixed NP in which the Ewe definiteness marker *a* post-modifies *car* as well (as the NB versions show, *fourth* cannot modify *vu* ‘car’ from the +3ORD slot). In (40b), *another* also occurs as part of the English island: another normal court.

- (40b) Wó ga kpo-e yi another normal court  
 3PL REP take-3sg go  
 ‘They sent him to another normal court.’



Example (41a) illustrates the second type of English NP islands in which English ordinals occur. *First* occurs with the English PRO form *one* in the +3ORD slot from where, as one unit, they post-modify *fiase* ‘store’. As shown in (41b), *first* cannot occur alone as a post-modifier of *fiase*; neither can it pre-modify *fiase* in accordance with English morpheme order.

- (41a) [Fiase<sub>0</sub> {**first one**}<sub>+3</sub> ma<sub>+4</sub>] a, é-fofo -a tɔ e.  
 Store that TP, 3sg-father the own FOC  
 ‘That first store, it belongs to her father.’

(CANBERRA)

- (41b) *fiase* \***first** ma / \***first** *fiase* ma

Since an English ordinal cannot occur alone as a modifier of an Ewe noun head, it cannot occur as anchor in a truncated mixed NP either. For example, the numeral ordinal *second* is unacceptable in the +3ORD in (42a) although as shown in (42b) its Ewe counterpart occurs there:

- (42a) Wó va fi [\_\_\***second**<sub>+3</sub> ya<sub>+4</sub> {wo fle}<sub>+8</sub>] lá hã  
 3PL come steal this 3sg buy TP too  
 ‘They have stolen the second one that he bought too’

- (42b) Wó va fi [\_\_**evelia**<sub>+3</sub> ya<sub>+4</sub> {wo fle}<sub>+8</sub>] lá hã  
 3PL come steal second this 3sg buy TP too  
 ‘They have stolen the second one that he bought too’

To be acceptable in this truncated NP, *second* has to occur with the English PRO-form *one*:

- (42c) Wó va fi [\_\_ {**second one**}<sub>+3</sub> ya<sub>+2</sub> {wo fle}<sub>+2</sub>] lá hã  
 3PL come steal this 3sg buy TP too  
 ‘They have stolen the second one that he bought too’

The CS distribution of the non-numeral ordinal *another* follows the same pattern. In (43a), *bubu*, the Ewe equivalent of *another*, occurs alone as anchor = lone-word NP in the first CP, but *another* has to occur with *one* in the second CP:

- (43a) [\_\_ **Bubu**<sub>+3</sub>] li wó yɔ-na be foot rot. [\_\_ {**Another**<sub>.3</sub> **one**<sub>0</sub> }<sub>+3</sub>] nyé koko.  
 Other exists 3PL call-HAB that be pile

'There is another [one] that is foot rot. Another one is pile.'

(Nortsu-Kotoe 1999: 98-99)

That is to say **another** cannot occur alone as *bubu* does:

(43b) Bubu li wó yɔ-na be foot rot. \*Another nyé koko.

Other exists 3PL call-HAB that be pile

### 5.5.1.3 Explanation

How does one explain the acceptability of English cardinals as singly-occurring modifiers on the one hand and the unacceptability of the ordinals as such on the other? Like English adjectives, both are, from a purely objective perspective, incompatible distributionally with their Ewe counterparts and should, irrespective of what their Ewe counterparts are, be blocked. In my opinion, however, the two grammars provide valuable insights about why English cardinals are 'subjectively' granted reprieve from the blockage.

Only English cardinals occur as single-word elements in truncated English NPs. English ordinals, like English adjectives, require the PRO form **one** to fill the 0-slot in the English NP in order to avert truncation to their right. This need for a PRO form makes English ordinals (and English adjectives) resemble Ewe adjectives in terms of distribution: only Ewe adjectives also need a PRO form (*tɔ* 'one) in order to occur in truncated Ewe NPs. The composite ML hypothesis does not stipulate that English morphemes must be treated like their Ewe counterparts: rather it stipulates that they would be accorded the distribution pattern that is commensurate with their English-origin abstract lexical structure requirements. English cardinals form a natural class with such Ewe categories as cardinals, ordinals, and demonstratives, which are allowed to remain singly in their respective modifier slots to function as anchors. English ordinals and adjectives, on the other hand, form a natural class with Ewe adjectives and are denied access into their slots unless they modify a PRO form.

The remaining question, however, is why English ordinals (and the adjectives) have to occur in the English PRO-**one** unit in mixed NPs instead of the Ewe PRO-*tɔ* unit. The presence of **one** is empirical evidence that it is the English elements' abstract structure requirements that matter directly to codeswitchers. **One** (and *tɔ*) is an early system morpheme that a content modifier element requires in anticipation that a noun will not occur in the nuclear site, the 0-slot, of its NP. As an early system morpheme, therefore, the form **one** is selected before information reaches the formulator at the functional level to

start deploying Ewe grammatical resources to build the frame of a mixed NP. Being already salient before the functional level means that *one* has to occur in a well-formed English unit (island) with the ordinal. The responsibility of the formulator is to ensure that Ewe constituent order is complied with as it prepares a slot for the English ORD-*one* unit. Example (42c), for instance, shows that this unit is accommodated in the +3ORD slot in the Ewe NP structure. Recall that ADJ-*one* units are accommodated in the +1ADJ slot: in other words, as elsewhere with ADJ-*one* distribution, the distribution of ORD-*one* is a phenomenon in which the two grammars have an almost equal stake. It cannot be explained away as a ‘compromise strategy’.

### 5.5.2 English ordinals and cardinals in CS 0-slot

Both English cardinals and ordinals occur as generic nominals (in the 0-slot), where they are duly modifiable by Ewe modifiers in accordance with Ewe morpheme order. This is illustrated in the following example where *last* is modified by the Ewe INT2 element *ko* ‘only’:

- (44) Ke vi- wo a [last<sub>0</sub>ko<sub>+7</sub>] lé-gé wo le fe sia fe a?  
 So child-2sg the, only catch-INGR 3sg be year every year Q  
 ‘So your child, is he going to come last year after year?’  
 (Lit: So your child, is he always going to catch only last [position] year after year?)  
 (CANBERRA)

In (45), *third* also occurs as a single-word NP:

- (45) Wó tsó third<sub>0</sub> ná-e be eyá-e wó do  
 3PL take give-3sg say 3sg-FOC do work  
 ‘They gave him third [position] saying he did well.’  
 \*‘They gave him the third one saying he did well.’

*Third* as used here means ‘third position’, which is generic use of the ordinal concept. *Third* would not have been acceptable to any Ewe-English codeswitcher if (45) were intended to mean ‘they gave him the third one (of a type of entity)...’ in which case *third* is intended as an anchor element (see previous section).

Example (46) illustrates an English generically used cardinal in the 0-slot:

- (46) E-vé-m nuto be wó me da [forty-nine]<sub>0</sub> o  
 1sg-pain-1sg very COMP 3PL NEG throw NEG  
 ‘I am disappointed that forty-nine isn’t among the winning numbers.’

The simple explanation there is for the CS distribution of the cardinals and ordinals in the 0-slot is this: as generic nominals, they qualify to be realized as such in the 0-slot. Since the 0-slot is invariant across the grammars, the CS slot of each cardinal or ordinal is traceable to its Ewe counterpart, which means that the Ewe-only ML may be seen as vindicated. The composite ML hypothesis only says that each element projects its CS slot, which by default should match that of its Ewe counterpart. There is thus no clear ground to say one hypothesis is better than the other. The composite ML hypothesis is, however, preferable because it allows for a more consistent explanation in the light of aspects of the data already considered.

## 5.6 DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH PLURAL, DETERMINERS AND INTENSIFIERS

### 5.6.1 The data

#### 5.6.1.1 The plural -s

In example (47a), there are two NPs in which plurality has been expressed. In the first one, in which *student* is head, the plural is expressed only by the Ewe plural morpheme *wó* but in the second one the head noun *textbook* attracts two plural morphemes: *-s* and *wó*:

(47a) [Headmaster<sub>0</sub> la<sub>+4</sub>] inform [student<sub>0</sub> -áǎé<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>] be wó-a- label  
DEF INDEF-PL COMP 3PL-SUBJ  
[<sub>ENG</sub>[textbook<sub>0</sub> <sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> yeyé<sub>+1</sub>-a<sub>+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>].  
PL new -the -PL

‘The Headmaster informed some of the students to label the new textbooks.’

(Asilevi 1990: 34)

Our interest is in the second pluralized NP. Here, *-s* post-modifies the English head, *textbook*, from its +1 slot in the English NP so that an English NP island results. Significantly, despite the presence of *-s*, *wó* also occurs, in its +5 slot in accordance with Ewe grammar, which controls the supra-NP structure defined by the outer brackets. Similarly, in example (47b), *-s* occurs in the +1 slot in the English NP island while *wó* holds on to its +5 slot. The Ewe relative marker *si* duly separates the two from the +4 slot per Ewe NP structure:

(47b) Esi judge-a xlẽ [ENG[charge<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> -s<sub>1+4</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub> {wó level against -é}<sub>+8</sub>] lá,  
 When the read PL REL-PL 3PL 3sg TP  
 nye nu ko-e kú.  
 1sg mouth INT-FOC die

‘When the judge read the charges which they have levelled against him, I became dumb-founded.’

(Asilevi 1990: 25)

Example (48) shows a similar pattern except that only the plurals occur as post-modifiers of the head nouns, *member* and *patron*:

(48) Wóawó-ε nyé-na [ENG[executive<sub>1</sub> member<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> wó<sub>+4</sub>] kple  
 3PL -FOC be-HAB -PL and  
 [ENG[patron<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub>]  
 PL PL

‘They normally are the executive members and patrons.’

(Asilevi 1990: 70)

And in (49), the plural markers are followed in accordance with Ewe word order by *katã* ‘all’:

(49) [Nye<sub>2</sub> ENG[younger<sub>1</sub> brother<sub>0</sub>-s<sub>+1</sub>]<sub>ENG</sub> -wó<sub>+5</sub> katã<sub>+7</sub>] wó shave- na...  
 1sg PL PL all 3pl HAB

‘All my younger brothers, they shave...’

(Amuzu 1998:72)

Example (50) is particularly interesting because it shows that Ewe word order over-rules certain patterns of morpheme distribution considered obligatory in English:

(50) Egbe-vi-wó wó me [{wó-fe}<sub>2</sub> [mother-in-law<sub>0</sub>]-wó<sub>+5</sub>] bu -mí o  
 Today-child-PL 3PL NEG 3PL-poss -PL respect-PROG NEG

‘Children of today, they aren’t paying reverence to their mothers-in-law’

(CANBERRA)

In this example, the unit *mother-in-law* has been accessed as a lexicalized phrase treated as head unit in the 0-slot. It is this unit that is pluralized by *wó*. In English, *mother* would have functioned alone as the head element that *-s* may pluralize, a pattern that is unacceptable with *wó* (we may not say \*mother-wó-in law).

It may be hypothesized that the English *-s* cannot modify an Ewe noun; i.e. in the way that *wó* alone modifies *student* (47a) above and *nurse* (51) below:

- (51) Esi me no admission la, nurse-a -wó ná na-m two tablets  
 When 1sg beNPRES TP the -PL give -HAB-1sg  
 me no -na after meals  
 1sg drink HAB  
 ‘When I was on admission the nurses used to give me two tablets to take after meals.’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 25)

One may also say that *-s* alone cannot modify an English noun that is simultaneously modified by an Ewe element (i.e. *-s* may not occur as a lone PL modifier of an English head in a mixed NP). For example, once *brother* has been accessed along with *katã* ‘all’, the doubling of *-s* and *wó* could not be avoided in (49) above. Example (52):

- (52) \*[Nye-2 ENG[younger-1 brother-0 -s+1]ENG Ø katã+7] wó shave-na...  
 1sg PL all 3pl HAB  
 ‘All my younger brothers, they shave...’

is unacceptable. The *-s* plural marker may only occur in CS contexts without *wó* if the NP is an island that alone occupies an NP slot in a CP. The pattern is illustrated by the occurrence of *afternoon-classes*, a lexicalized phrase in Ghanaian English,<sup>126</sup> in:

- (53a) Nya me se be wó be afternoon-classes  
 1sg-TP 1sg hear COMP 3PL say PL  
 gome dze-gé egba  
 under settle-HAB today  
 ‘As for me, I have heard that afternoon classes commence today.’  
 (Amuzu 1998: 73)

Two other examples are *two tablets* and *meals* in (51) above. And in (53b) *pills* occurs without the doubling of plurals:

- (53b) Fifia hã gbe kple ati-wó yevuwó tso le tsi-mati kple pill-s wo-m  
 Now too herb and root-PL whitemen take be syrup and do-PROG  
 mie-le zaza-mí  
 1PL-be use-PROG

<sup>126</sup> *Afternoon-classes* are informal after-school-hours of tutorials for students in Secondary Schools. It is also called *extra classes*.

'Now too, it is herbs and roots that the white man uses to prepare syrups and pills for us to use.'

(Nortsu-Kotoe 1999: 71)

However, Asilevi (1990) contains the only two examples I have seen so far in which pluralized English NP islands are embedded in mixed NPs in which *wó* has not appeared:

- (54a) Me le [flower-~~s~~ ya] dó-gé  
1sg be this plant-INGR  
ɔ́e daddy fe backyard garden-a me  
ALL daddy poss -the inner\_region

'I will plant this flower in daddy's backyard garden.'

(Asilevi 1990: 23)

- (54b) Uncle be ne season dzí ɔ́o na cocoa la, ye-a fle [sandal-~~s~~ la]  
Uncle say if top reach for cocoa TP LOG-FUT buy the  
na-m  
to-1sg

'Uncle said when the season arrives for cocoa he will buy [a pair of] sandals for me.'

(Asilevi 1990: 90)

The explanation for the pattern in (54a) seems to be that the speaker uses *flowers* as if it is a singular noun, as Asilevi's translation indicates. And in (54b), too, the speaker seems to have accessed *sandals* as an entity that occurs in pairs. One of Tiersma's (1982) principles of "Local Markedness" provides a clue to what is going on. It says:

When the referent of a noun naturally occurs in pairs or groups, and/or when it is generally referred to collectively, such a noun is locally unmarked in the plural.

(Tiersma (1982: 835)

If plurality is inherent in these nouns, then they do not require it syntactically, which explains why *wó* is conspicuously missing.

#### 5.6.1.2 Determiners

Unlike *-s*, English determiners are not used frequently in CS contexts. Both Amuzu (1998) and Asilevi (1990) contain only one instance respectively of the occurrence of *the* in mixed NPs. The examples show that like the plural *the* may appear only in English NP islands:

(55) Me dzi be na tsɔ [[the usual type] -a ko]  
 1sg want that 2sg.SUBJ take the only  
 á-gbã xɔ-a  
 FUT-roof house-the  
 'I would like you to use only the usual type to roof the house.'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 74)

(56) E-kpɔ be [Azumah fe [style throughout the fight] -a]  
 2sg-see that Azumah poss the  
 me nɔ hectic abe previous fights-wó o  
 NEG beNPRES like  
 'You'll observe that Azumah's style throughout the fight wasn't as hectic as previous fights.  
 (Asilevi 1990: 59)

In both instances, *the* is also doubled by its Ewe counterpart *a*, which occurs in the Ewe +4DET slot. Demonstratives double similarly as *this* and *ya* 'this' do in:

(57) Be ma set example a, [[this<sub>4</sub> Saturday]<sub>0</sub> ya<sub>+4</sub> ko<sub>+7</sub>] nye cousin...  
 COMP 3sg-POT TP, this only 3sg  
 'To set an example, it is only this Saturday that my cousin....'  
 (KOFI-Accra-REC3: sn542)

I have not come across the use of English intensifiers (*even*, *only*, *too*, etc) as modifiers of Ewe head elements. Preference seems to be given consistently to the use of their Ewe counterparts. For example, *ko* 'only' consistently occurs without *only* in the data cited in this work (see for example 57, 17c, 22b, and 25 above). However, there is this popular CS expression that non-Ewe speakers frequently use to ridicule Ewe-English CS, because they think Ewe speakers use CS excessively:

(58) Me yina [just] afi-ya ko]  
 1sg going just place-this just  
 'I am not going too far away (lit: I am going to just here).'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 74)



In this expression, *ko* and its English counterpart *just* double as intensifiers of the Ewe head *afi* ‘place’<sup>127</sup>. But this doubling of intensifiers is not used by native speakers of Ewe who engage in CS.

### 5.6.2 Explanation of the phenomenon of double morphology

The Ewe-only ML account of the doubling of plurals and determiners, labelled “double morphology” in (Myers-Scotton 1993a), may be gleaned from Myers-Scotton’s (2002) analysis under Classic CS. Her explanation is based on the “Early System Morpheme Hypothesis”. According to her,

Only early system morphemes may be doubled in classic codeswitching. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92)

She classifies plurals and definiteness markers as early system morphemes under her 4-M model and supports it with a psycholinguistic argument that highlights two dimensions of the distribution of these morphemes. According to her, from a psycholinguistic point of view,

...of all system morphemes, only early system morphemes have the special relation to their heads that would promote their accessing when their Embedded Language heads are called in codeswitching. Like their heads, earlies [i.e. early system morphemes] are conceptually activated, and a hypothesis under the 4-M model is that early system morphemes are salient at the same level as their content morpheme heads (at the lemma level)—i.e. in the mental lexicon. Thus, they are ‘available’ if any misfiring [see below] is going to occur. In contrast, late system morphemes are not available yet, but only become salient at the level of the Formulator [the functional level]. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92, emphasis added)

Based on empirical evidence, she concludes that

... There are no examples in the literature to show that [late system morphemes too] are doubled in codeswitching, although I can imagine they could be doubled when a composite Matrix Language is being structured... (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92)

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<sup>127</sup> Actually, *afi* is a bound stem – it depends on a DET element to specify its referent (e.g. *afi-ya* [place+this] ‘here’, *afi-má* [place+that] ‘there’, *afi-áde* [place+some] ‘somewhere’, *afi-ádeke* [place+none] ‘nowhere’, etc)

Ewe-English CS may also be said to provide evidence of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. Besides the plurals and definiteness markers, no other types of system morphemes are doubled in mixed NPs.

Myers-Scotton's appeal to psycholinguistics is in reference to what she describes as "mistiming" or "misfiring" at the lemma level (p. 92) that results in, for instance, the doubling of plurals:

The hypothesized scenario is the following: the speaker wishes to express her or his intentions by using an Embedded Language noun along with the concept of plurality. However, when the lemma for that noun is accessed, at the same time, its plural affix 'slips in', too. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92)

With regard to the psycholinguistic explanation, the question that remains unanswered is why the ML goes ahead and contributes its version of the plural when the EL plural is already accessed with the EL head. Her answer is:

Psycholinguistic experimentation may provide better solutions, but the answer seems to be that the Matrix Language is the more activated of the two languages, no matter what. Therefore, for it to supply as many system morphemes as it can seems simply more efficient. And, of course, all system morphemes can be considered part of the morphosyntactic frame; some are simply more essential parts from the standpoint of constituent building (late ones). (Myers-Scotton 2002: 92, emphasis added)

Applied to Ewe-English CS, what the concept of mistiming and that of the role of the ML in framing CS structures mean is that

- (a) due to their conceptual bond, an English noun and the plural *-s* are accessed together at the lemma level and they subsequently enter the mixed NP as a semantic-syntactic unit, but
- (b) at the functional level, where Ewe claims sole responsibility for the structuring of mixed NPs, independent procedures are put in place to project a 'legitimate' PL-slot (i.e. the +5 slot) for *wó* to encode plurality again.

I agree with the above analysis, but I think it is more supportive of the composite ML hypothesis than of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. While the composite ML assumes that English is highly activated at the lemma level when one of its content morphemes is selected, the Ewe-only ML assumes that Ewe dominates processes at this lemma level



With respect to the English determiners, which are exemplified in (55 – 57), I think that the reason why they do not double their Ewe counterparts as frequently as the plurals do is that they are not as closely tied conceptually to the nouns. However, as Myers-Scotton (2002) observes, it might take some psycholinguistic experimentation to establish the factuality of any hunches anyone might have about what motivates or inhibits double marking in CS.

### 5.6.3 English pronouns as lone-word NPs in mixed CPs

In the example cited below as (60), Asilevi (1990:30-31) shows that while Ewe pronouns are acceptable in mixed CPs, English pronouns are not:

#### (60) Subject position

$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{Me} \\ \text{E} \\ \text{Wó} \end{array} \right\} \text{ report.}$

['I / he, she, it / they reported']

#### Object position

$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{-m} \\ \text{-e} \\ \text{-wó} \end{array} \right\} \text{ Kofi insult}$

['Kofi insulted me / him, her, it / them']

But we cannot have [sic]:

$\left. \begin{array}{c} *I \\ *He \\ *They \end{array} \right\} \text{ va.}$   
 (come)

$\left. \begin{array}{c} *me \\ *him \\ *them \end{array} \right\} \text{ Kofi dzu}$

(Asilevi 1990: 31, translations added)

The point is further illustrated by the occurrences of Ewe pronouns with *mean* and *reveal* in (61) and *explain* in (62):

- (61)  $\text{Ðe } \underline{\text{wo}} \text{ mean be from childhood up to this time } \underline{\text{me}} \text{ reveal } \text{é-dokui}$   
 pFOC 3sg COMP 3sg.NEG 3sg-self  
 kpɔ o a?  
 see NEG Q  
 'Does it mean that since childhood it never showed any signs / symptoms (of itself).'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 70)

- (62)  $\underline{\text{Nye}} \text{ me } \underline{\text{explain}} \text{ -e ná-e o}$   
 3sg NEG 3sg to-3sg NEG  
 'I didn't explain it to him.'  
 (Amuzu 1998: 70)

The reason why English personal pronouns are blocked from occurring singly in mixed CPs is that personal pronouns are late system morphemes and as such, because of Ewe's role at the functional level, they cannot be allowed to participate in the mixed constituent frame. When selected during CS English pronouns must emerge as part of well-formed English CPs that occur as islands in larger mixed sentences. That is, they can only function in English CPs. Examples (63 and 64) illustrate this pattern:

(63) Ké Nat-wó bu-i [eleabe **it was packed in a box**].

Then Nat-PL lose-3sg because

'Then Nat and co. lost it because it was packed in a box.'

(Amuzu 1998: 70)

(64) Doctor áde advise -e [be **it will be better**] be wo a- wo Pharmacy

Doctor some 3sg COMP COMP 3sg FUT-do

'A doctor advised him that it will be better for him to study Pharmacy.'

(Amuzu 1998: 70)

Or, they may occur as part of English NP islands in NP places in mixed CPs as in:

(65) E-be de ye fli-i ná [{all of}<sub>4</sub> us<sub>0</sub>]

3sg-say pFOC LOG buy-3sg for

'She said he bought it for all of us.'

## 5.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

English nominals (e.g. nouns, generic cardinals and generic ordinals) occur singly as head elements in the 0-slot in the Ewe NP where they are modifiable by Ewe elements. English cardinals are also acceptable as modifiers and as anchors in the Ewe +2CARD slot. But most English adjectives and all ordinals are unacceptable as singly-occurring CS modifier or anchor elements. To occur as modifiers or as anchors, they require the accompaniment of the English PRO form *one*. Ewe morpheme order constrains the placement of a MOD-*one* unit in a mixed NP: e.g. an ADJ-*one* unit occurs in the Ewe +1ADJ slot and an ORD-*one* unit occurs in the Ewe +3ORD slot. Besides these patterns we also noted the phenomenon of double marking of plurals and determiners.

Both hypotheses predict these patterns, each in its own terms. For example, regarding the distribution of the nominals, while the composite ML hypothesis says that they project their own slots, the Ewe-only ML hypothesis says that their Ewe counterparts do so. Verification of which claim is correct was largely problematic, because the 0-slot is

invariant across the grammars and nouns that function as head elements must occur in it. This made the determination of the ML regarding nominal head switching hard to call. It is with regard to the distributions of English modifiers that the composite ML hypothesis seems to be a more straightforward account. For example, a distinction is made between how English generic nominals and definite unspecific nominals are expressed in mixed NPs (§5.3.2). The former occur with the Ewe null for generic reference and the latter with *ade* 'a certain'. While the composite ML hypothesis directly attributes the requirements so expressed to the English nouns, the Ewe-only ML hypothesis needs to look for their Ewe counterparts to which it gives the credits.

The presence of *one* with English adjectives and ordinals is another issue on which the composite ML hypothesis appears to be more straightforward. In English these elements modify *one* rather than serve as anchors in headless NPs. The claim is that as they bring this feature into CS, they have to occur in slots that comply with Ewe morpheme / constituent order. The accommodation of this type of unit is not new to the Ewe grammar.

The chapter also touched on the notion of 'subjective' construction of congruence in the context of adjective switching and I suggested that it is more compatible with the composite ML hypothesis. I made a similar point regarding the double marking of plurals and determiners.

Overall, the significance of this chapter lies in the fact that it underscores the consistency of the composite ML hypothesis with morpheme distribution patterns in Ewe-English CS.

## CHAPTER 6: MOTIVATIONS FOR CODESWITCHING IN GHANA

### 6.0 INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of CS in Ghana<sup>128</sup> unanimously agree that educated Ghanaians (“bilinguals” in this study) use it pervasively. The studies suggest that the pervasive use of CS is largely restricted to bilinguals’ in-group speech situations. The inference, therefore, is that the bilinguals use their mother tongue without codeswitching when addressing brethren who speak little or no English (i.e. members of their out-group). The studies also suggest that the pervasive use of CS is largely restricted to discussions involving technical and foreign-origin topics. However, at least one of the studies<sup>129</sup> has emphasized instead the notion that the pervasive use of CS is a by-product of bilinguals’ frequent inability to gain access to their mother tongue mental lexicon during online speech production. In this chapter, I evaluate these claims and make some postulates.

### 6.1 DEGREE OF FORMALITY OF SETTING

Forson (1979, 1988), who investigated mainly Akan-English CS in a pioneering work on CS in Ghana, characterized CS as a “third tongue”. By this metaphor, he implies that the bilinguals he studied and Ghanaians generally use their mother tongue (and English) fluently in appropriate speech contexts. Forson (1988: 183ff) argues that the degree of formality of the setting in which an interaction takes place determines the degree of acceptability of the use of CS in interaction exchanges. The more traditional an occasion is, he states, the more likely it will be for the local language to be used monolingually. Conversely, the less traditional the occasion, the more likely the CS. He claims that social attitudes ensure that these norms of verbal behaviour prevail:

[A]ny speaker on a platform, in a pulpit or addressing the inhabitants of a community naturally speaks monolingually. If he can speak the first language of the people, he uses it without switching; if he cannot handle the local language truthfully, his most honest recourse is to speak in another language with an interpreter to deliver the message. Code-switching in such a situation is only an invitation to ridicule. (Forson 1988: 183-4, underlining added).

I do agree with Forson that Ghanaian speech communities have traditional norms of verbal behaviour at public gatherings. Self-appointed custodians of language and culture do

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<sup>128</sup> For example Forson (1979, 1988), Mensah (1992) and Andoh (1997) on Akan-English CS; Asilevi (1990), Dzameshie (1994, 1996) and Amuzu (1998 and 2002) on Ewe-English CS; and Nartey (1982) on Danme-English CS, etc.

<sup>129</sup> That is, Asilevi (1990).

abound, and they make it their duty to ensure that the 'purity' and proper use of their language are preserved by frequently subjecting notorious 'offenders' to impromptu lessons in Linguistics. So, the central question about social norms of verbal behaviour in Ghanaian speech communities is not so much whether the norms exist as it is about whether they, in fact, are rigidly enforced as Forson intimates.

Manifestations abound of free and unchecked use of CS by educated Ghanaians in formal settings in urban areas in particular. For instance, Andoh (1997) discussed several instances of CS in Akan-based sermons. He did not report any objections raised by the urban congregations to which the sermons were directed. But following Forson's lead, Andoh regards the use of CS by educated Akans as generally an informal linguistic phenomenon. Asilevi (1990) too appears in the following quote to be suggesting that pervasive use of CS is an informal linguistic phenomenon among Ewe-English bilinguals. But it is important to notice that although he is concerned about the pervasive use of CS in informal settings, he seems to believe that the situation is getting out of hand and that the days of monolingual Ewe interactive discourse are numbered, even in traditional (and possibly formal) settings:

This linguistic symbiosis has increasingly become a communicative praxis, socially accepted as a feature of daily conversational discourse in all aspects of informal interactions of the Ewe-English bilinguals. In essence this speech habit has become an integral part of their communicative performance and has so 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. (Asilevi 1990: 2)<sup>130</sup>

CS is being countenanced in the classroom, a decidedly formal setting (cf. Asilevi 1990 and Awedoba 2001b: 6). Asilevi notes, for instance, that

...during our visit to some schools, we observed that the mixed language becomes the medium that is resorted to after all attempts to explain a point in English fail. To these incompetent teachers who cannot manipulate the spoken English very well and the marginally inexperienced pupil teachers, the mixed language is the medium of instruction. (Asilevi 1990: 67)

The claim then is that instead of switching to their indigenous languages to restate what they fail to communicate effectively to their pupils in English, some teachers regularly resort to CS. Asilevi provides the following as an example of CS in a classroom context:

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<sup>130</sup> Later in his thesis (p.90) he actually forecasts that given current patterns of language use a 'mixed language, a relexified form of Ewe' will emerge to become the Ewe child's only L1input.



- (1) Senyo, né é-nyé bé wo-*mother* tsó [fofoɲutá<sub>0</sub> twenty<sub>+2</sub>]  
 Senyo, if 3sg-be COMP 2sg-mother take sugarcane\_bundle  
 yi asime-ε eye...  
 go market-FOC and...  
 ‘Senyo, if your mother takes twenty bundles of sugarcane to the market and...’  
 (Asilevi 1990: 67)

Evidently, the English items could easily have been expressed in Ewe.

There is also ample evidence of pervasive use of CS in the Ghanaian electronic media (e.g. radio and TV talk shows). Electronic media platforms are the modern versions of public / formal platforms where one would expect speakers to inhibit the use of CS if they are serious about social norms. For instance, one finds pervasive use of CS by callers to an Ewe-only medium talk show (on Radio Unifers) called “*Tomenyawo*” (Hot Topics). The CS is used pervasively despite the aggressive Ewe-only-medium policy of the hosts of the show. Also, one readily hears CS on the Akan-based TV talk show called “*Love Web*”, the principal host of which seems to have adopted Akan-English CS as a means of reaching out to a wider Ghanaian audience.

The pouring of libation is a sacred ceremony, a formal event among Ghanaians, as elsewhere in Africa. The person who pours the libation acts as spokesman for the living and has a duty to express their reverence for the gods and their ancestors. The pouring of libation therefore demands of the spokesman eloquence in the language that the living share with the gods and the ancestors. It is oral poetry in the indigenous language. Yet, it is on record that an elderly spokesman deliberately used CS while pouring libation. Asilevi (1990) recounts the following experience, which he had during one of his visits to his native village:

A fairly elderly man (middle school drop-out) in his bid to identify himself with us (six of us – university students and other folks of high social status resident in Accra, on a visit to the village) even in the ritual settings of libation to the ancestors, he code-mixed (sic). So also did others... (Asilevi 1990: 77)

One example he cited from the elderly man is:

- (2) ...nye mia vi... wó choose-m be ma fo tsi djí ná mi  
 1sg 2PL child... 3PL -1sg COMP 1sg beat water down for 2PL  
 ‘I your child... I have been chosen to pour libation to you.’

(Asilevi 1990: 77)

It appears that the presence of non-literates such as this old man represents an emerging social force that may have already neutralised the stiffness of social norms of verbal conduct even in the formal settings in the villages. It is for instance no more a major nightmare for politicians, or other such speakers from urban areas, if they have to lace their mother tongue speeches with English lexemes at formal gatherings in the villages. Footages of such pervasive use of CS are screened on TV often, especially during political campaign seasons.

## 6.2 TOPIC OF DISCUSSION

One question that arises often is whether educated Ghanaians are better able to inhibit their use of CS when discussing some types of topics than they do when discussing some others. To Forson (1979, 1988), for example, the answer is yes. He claims that CS is largely confined to discussions of concepts that either “originate from the outside world” (Forson 1988: 185) or are acquired at school via the English language. This observation, I think, only captures what the writer and later researchers who agree with him expect of the verbal behaviour of native speakers of a language. Native speakers of a language should naturally be expected to use that language fluently when talking about concepts already familiar to their culture than when talking about concepts that are foreign to the language. However, when scrutinized, actual patterns of language use of educated Ghanaians do not reflect this expectation. For instance, the use of CS by the 15 Ewe-English bilinguals in my *out-group*-styled interviews may be said to know no topical boundaries. Consider for instance how much CS is used across topic boundaries in the interview reproduced as Appendix 4; turns related to various topic areas are forecast in the introduction to the text.

I have created a database of all instances of CS in the approximately 20 hours of interviews. I sub-grouped topics into two. In one group are technical / non-traditional topics like western-style wedding, the state of the economy of Ghana, politics in Ghana and the computer and internet. In the other group of topics are traditional / everyday topics like customary marriage and practice, chieftaincy and related disputes, and issues about ‘home’ as a place and a life, etc. What we find in frequency counts is that people used CS in their discussions of nearly all topics with almost equal regularity. For instance, when frequency count of all switches (including English-origin technical terms<sup>131</sup>) was carried out, 59% were found to relate to foreign-origin concepts and 41% to traditional and everyday

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<sup>131</sup> They include such single-lexeme English words as ‘computer’, ‘internet’, ‘budget’ ‘email’, etc and English-origin expressions like ‘Positive Change’, ‘Fast Track Court’, ‘Economic Recovery Programme’, etc.

concepts. Without the technical terms, the ratio becomes almost even (52% for foreign concepts, 48% for traditional ones). In the interview reproduced as Appendix 4, KOFI used CS in the majority of his turns (i.e. irrespective of the topic under discussion) although the other participants switched mainly to technical terms.

### 6.3 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF ADDRESSEES

Perhaps the most popular of the factors that have been considered as constraints on the use or non-use of CS in Ghana is the identity of addressees and the nature of their linguistic repertoires. Previous works have followed Forson's (1979, 1988) lead in seeing CS involving English as basically an in-group code *choice* of the educated, but none of them have adduced evidence to prove that indeed the bilinguals do not use CS pervasively in interactions with members of their out-group.

As noted (see §1.3), my interviews, an example of which can be seen in Appendix 4, were designed to specifically verify the assumption that Ewe-English bilinguals hardly use CS in out-group speech contexts beyond switches that are motivated by lexical *gaps* in the mother tongue. Each subject's principal addressee was someone (the "collaborator") who spoke little or no English, a fact made known to each of them prior to the start of the interviews. The preponderance of CS in those interviews suggests empirically that a bilingual's awareness of the nature of his addressees' repertoires is not enough to make him avoid CS with them. The interviews brought into sharp focus speakers' variable abilities in deploying their arsenals of eloquence in Ewe (their eloquence in monolingual Ewe was indeed what they were told the research was about). On the whole, they demonstrated that people become very conscious about their language use habits when they are addressing members of their out-group. Some succeeded effortlessly in going through their over one hour interview without using many instances of CS (as AKU, KORKOR, AKA, CELE and JOHN did), some succeeded with some difficulty (as ADZO, MARY, PAT and GOK did), while others, to varying degrees, found it difficult to control their use of CS (as AMI, KUMA, KOFI, KWAME, GEORGINA, and ALLICE did). Each member of the last group showed frustration at the requirement that they had to avoid CS. Interestingly, most of them signaled more than a month before the interviews—in responses to Questions 17-21 (Appendix 1)—that they do have difficulties avoiding CS. KWAME captured their sentiment aptly when he wrote in answer to Question 21 that

I wish I could do better in speaking only the language [Ewe] without mixing, but I grew up in a social context that did not offer me the opportunity. So, although I do not like it I cannot help it.

Asked in Question 16 whether they could avoid CS with members of their out-group, only 97 out of the 381 surveyed (25%) were confident they could.

My survey was not the first to ask Ghanaians such questions. Forson (1979: 209) reports that of 56 Akan-English bilinguals whom he quizzed as to whether they “*can stop code-switching?*” involving English, 26 (46%) said they were “unsure” while 13 (23%) said they could not. Only 17 (31%) said that they could. To another question he asked them (“*should we stop codeswitching?*”), 43 (77%) said “yes”, 13 (23%) said they were “unsure”. No one said “no” (p.208). The predominance of “yes” answers to the *should*-question may be taken as indicating that many of those who were “unsure” or said they “cannot” to the *can*-question actually felt that they should not be using CS. This indeed is Forson’s own interpretation of the data as is clear in the following statement:

These [...] figures show that though for emotional (or patriotic) reasons we would like to keep our languages intact, in practice, we may not have the easiest of jobs trying to stop this way of life. (Forson 1979: 209, emphasis added)

In spite of this data and his own interpretation, Forson curiously perceives the CS of the same people as their “third tongue”, as a code they may or may not *choose* to use as an alternative to their mother tongue and English.

## 6.4 DIFFICULTY WITH LEXICAL ACCESS

### 6.4.1 The issues

It is not uncommon to encounter Ewe-English codeswitchers (and other codeswitchers in Ghana) who explain their codeswitching habits in terms of difficulties they think they have accessing mother tongue lexical items (instead of English lexical items) during online speech production. For example, Dzameshie’s (1996) respondents told him that they use CS because “we may not find the right word immediately in one of the languages” (Dzameshie 1996: 24), presumably Ewe. A majority of the 381 respondents to my questionnaire explained their use of CS along similar lines. Indeed, in the interviews we find evidence of this theory.

Some subjects regularly marked their CS (English) words as dispreferred items by introducing them with various hesitation strategies, phenomena that betray memory search for the “right” Ewe words.<sup>132</sup> Often, subjects promptly used elusive Ewe words in

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<sup>132</sup> The use of hesitation is a characteristic mainly of the interviews and may be interpreted as having to do directly with the instruction to subjects to use Ewe without codeswitching. As KOFI puts it in one of his questionnaire responses, he would normally use CS to “express myself freely”, i.e. without frequent hesitation for word search.

appropriate grammatical structures when cued by a fellow interview participant. For instance, in turn (162, Appendix 4), KOFI apparently intended to express in Ewe the verbal concept of ‘to promise’ but, although he succeeded in recalling the verb *do* ‘plant’ in the Ewe phrasal predicate for expressing the concept (i.e. *do nugbe* ‘plant word of mouth’), he was unable to recall the nominal as well. After an audible hesitation (a brief *e*), he settled for the English verb *promise*. In turns (163) and (164), uttered simultaneously, both this researcher and the old lady (the collaborator) interrupted KOFI’s speech with a cue of the elusive Ewe expression, which he gladly repeated (in turn 165).

Often, KOFI, like many other subjects, signaled memory search for an Ewe word / expression with the dummy word *enui* ‘this thing’. In turn (77), KOFI wanted to say that Tsikata—whose trial case was the topic of discussion in that portion of the interview—was the boss of a petroleum company, GNPC. In conformity with the ‘rules’ of the interview, KOFI wanted to *not* say petroleum company but found that he had already uttered *petroleum*. He then hesitated with *enui*, ostensibly in search of an Ewe substitute for *company*. The Accra interviewer, noticing what KOFI was up to, prompted him with the Ewe expression for ‘petroleum company’ (i.e. *amikudɔwɔʒe*) in turn (78). However, although KOFI acknowledged and used this Ewe expression on resumption of his speech, he probably felt more comfortable sticking to the word that was first and foremost on his mind, *company* so he used it seven more times in that turn alone. He even went in for the mixed compound NP ami company ‘petroleum company’ in turn (79).

It is, however, not the case that subjects always failed to recall the Ewe expression they wanted to use. In KOFI’s turn discussed above, for instance, he successfully self-repaired his mixed CP e-va contract loan ‘he went to contract loan’ after just a brief pause by re-expressing the idea as eva do ga ‘he went and borrowed money’ (see turn 79). One may say that on this occasion KOFI could not “find the right [Ewe] words immediately” as Dzameshie’s (1996: 24) respondents would probably conclude. Notice however that by the end of the turn, (79), KOFI reversed to contract loan to express the concept.

The claims by codeswitchers that their CS is due mainly to delayed or failed access to mother tongue lexical items during online speech does not resonate with many scholars. Asilevi’s remark is therefore rare:

The availability of this third code [Ewe-English CS], in the linguistic repertoire of the educated native speaker, tends to inhibit that native speaker’s skills of

spontaneous creativity in his own language [...]. Common lexical items and expressions of everyday usage in the language are not readily accessible to most of the educated youth even in free and relaxed interactions. (Asilevi 1990: 87, emphasis added)

What marks Asilevi's remark as unique is not his reference to the lexical access problem: that is what the popular 'folk theory' says. It is the negative attitude expressed by the remark. Some other scholars look at the same phenomenon in a positive way.

Dzameshie (1994), for instance, postulates in what he calls the "Economy of Code Choice Principle" (ECCP) that:

If you are a bilingual (or a plurilingual) use the language that communicates your messages most clearly whenever you are talking with other bilinguals with about the same linguistic repertoire. (Dzameshie 1994:17)

The assumption underlying the ECCP is that the bilinguals are fluent in the *grammar* of each of their languages. He said that the bilinguals' CS is "a reflection of [their] dual communicative competence..., [their] tacit knowledge of the grammaticality and acceptability of utterances in the two languages" (Dzameshie 1996: 9). Regarding the problem of lexical access that his respondents pointed out, Dzameshie writes:

The economy of code choice principle, I argue, [...] helps the interactants to minimize these communicative difficulties [and] ... to maximize their dual communicative competence in communicating their messages as clearly and expeditiously as possible by making use of the languages they have in common in their linguistic repertoire. (Dzameshie 1996: 24-25)

As I understand it, the speakers are presumably helped to overcome their difficulties by deploying dexterity in the use of pervasive CS.

So, it depends on which angle one chooses to view the phenomenon from. Admittedly, I lean towards Asilevi's, which inevitably guides me in what to watch out for in the data I have and how I interpret my 'findings'. For instance, when it comes to the question of competence in a language, I differ from Dzameshie although I recognize (as I have maintained throughout previous chapters) that Ewe-English bilinguals do possess native-level proficiency in the *grammar* of Ewe. But I consider communicative competence in a language to be much more than that. For me, as for Asilevi (1990), communicative competence also involves, perhaps more importantly, competence in the *vocabulary knowledge* of that language, where by vocabulary knowledge we mean knowledge of the

lexicon of the language. It is in this regard that many Ewe-English bilinguals (and other educated Ghanaians) are found woefully wanting, as Asilevi points out:

One can readily identify these incompetent native speakers. Often their speech is totally lacking in ornate speech strategies and devices like idioms, metaphors, euphemism, and gnomic expressions (aphorisms, maxims, proverbs and the other wise sayings like “nyadodowo”) which are the linguistic spices that season one’s speech and reflect linguistic maturity. (Asilevi 1990: 88, emphasis added)

The speakers have gained mastery in the use of English-origin “spices” instead, as Dzameshie (1996) rightly pointed out. It is precisely this mastery which sometimes frustrates some when they wish to use Ewe monolingually.

#### **6.4.2 Background to speakers’ online lexical access problem**

A logical question to ask in the light of the above is:

How have native speakers who live in their mother tongue communities come to develop lexical access problem in their mother tongue?

I would begin by stating that for me the answer is simple: the problem is a by-product of the kind of formal intellectual upbringing Ghanaians receive.

Until mid-2002, Ghanaian languages received lip-service official backing. They were supposed to serve as the media of instruction in the first three years of primary school, but this policy was never seriously enforced. English was used right from primary class one in many schools, especially in urban areas, with covert official backing. This is what Andoh-Kumi (1999), for instance, observed:

It stands out clearly that the need to educate the child in the first three years of schooling through the Ghanaian Language is generally recognised by educationists in Ghana. In practice, however, the use of English as medium of instruction right from primary class one seems preferred in very important and influential circles...

(Andoh-Kumi 1999: 113, emphasis added)

So, it came as no surprise that parliament in 2002 unhesitantly endorsed a government instrument that gave full official backing to English as the sole language of education from primary class one.

The scholarly attitude to using English as the sole medium of instruction is / has been negative (see e.g. Agbedor 1994, Andoh-Kumi 1999, 2000, Awedoba 2001a, 2001b, Dzinyela 2001). Many academics had in the years leading to the 2002 change held public forums where they hoped to sound the public on the demerits of adopting English as the

sole medium of instruction in school. Among them was Professor Gilbert Ansre. He was contacted during a phone-in talk show (on Uniiq FM station, 25<sup>th</sup> of March 2002) to express his view on the topic, 'Medium of Instruction in Primary School'. What Ansre emphasized in that interview was that English-only medium of instruction in the primary school causes the Ghanaian child untold psycholinguistic stress, for the child has to spend his/her early years in school baffled over both new concepts and the new language. But it was evident from contributions from callers that Ansre did not convince them and perhaps the majority they seemed to represent. They had other ideas.

The pre-2002 unofficial policy of using English right from primary class one enjoyed popular support from parents around the country. Ghanaian researchers working on the "*Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project*"<sup>133</sup> (e.g. Awedoba 2001a, 2001b and Dzinyela 2001) found that majority of parents in communities they studied favour English as the sole medium of education throughout primary school. Awedoba testifies that:

The community holds generally the view that quality education should be delivered in the medium of English and although there is no overt antagonism to the teaching of Kasem, the prevalent local language, as a subject, the community does not insist on its teaching either. This attitude is not new. (Awedoba 2001a: 2)

As part of the quality-education-in-English concept, there was/is little or no encouragement at school or at home for a Ghanaian school child to re-conceptualize and express in his/her mother tongue the knowledge he/she acquired at school. In some schools, during school hours children are not allowed to speak their mother tongue. Those who dare use the 'vernacular', as a mother tongue is called, suffer all forms of humiliation. They could be made to write out the English version of the banned vernacular expression a number of times, say a thousand times, as happened to the present writer in primary school. They could be ordered to dangle a dead dry frog around their necks for the rest of the school day. It is against this backdrop we must understand what my subject, KWAME, means when he wrote in answer to Question 21 (Appendix 1) that

I wish I could do better in speaking only the language [Ewe] without mixing, but I grew up in a social context that did not offer me the opportunity. So, although I do not like it I cannot help it.

The predicament of people like KWAME may be explained in terms of the following remark from Wierzbicka (2004):

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<sup>133</sup> See the following website for electronic publications of research reports: [www.ieq.org/publications](http://www.ieq.org/publications)



Shifting from one language to another is not like shifting from one code to another to express a meaning expressible equally well in both these codes. Often, the very reason why a bilingual speaker shifts from one language to another is that the meaning that they want to express 'belongs' to the other language. (Wierzbicka 2004: 102)

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

A related explanation for the lexical access problem comes from findings reported about the relative strength of bilinguals' languages when only one of them is a language of literacy. Weinreich (1953) points out that a bilingual's language of literacy is cognitively stronger than the language(s) in which he has only oral skills:

The visual reinforcement in the use of a language that a bilingual gets by reading and writing it may put that language in a dominant position over a purely oral one. (Weinreich 1953: 78)

In Ghana even those who by training should be confident in their level of literacy in their mother tongue hardly put such skills to use in their inter-personal written communications with brethren and friends; they prefer (or are compelled) to use English. The following remark from Andoh-Kumi (1998) illustrates this point:

It is ... interesting to find graduates in a Ghanaian language (e.g. Akan [sic]) who often write letters and notes to one another in English (and not in Akan). (Andoh-Kumi 1998: 126)

It is again hardly surprising that a people who find it more convenient to write to one another in English find it equally convenient to use English frequently when intending to use the mother tongue in verbal interactions. Codeswitching is not a salient characteristic of interactions for which English is the intended code.

## **6.5 THE COMPOSITE ML MECHANISM: A FACILITATOR OF THE PERVASIVE CS**

We saw in the preceding chapters that the composite ML mechanism that Ewe-English bilinguals employ in framing their mixed constructions allows them to activate English at the lemma level (the lexicon) alongside Ewe. But Ewe alone is allowed to be activated at

the functional level to take care of grammatical procedures in bilingual constituents. In other words, the mechanism enjoins speakers to only activate English as an alternative to Ewe at the lemma level and to only activate Ewe at the functional level to serve as the sole grammatical resource for expressing grammatical requirements of both English and Ewe content morphemes in CS constructions.

Following this mechanism, a speaker is able to remain in the ‘English mode’ at the lemma level until he completes a search for and selection of appropriate conceptually-assigned morphemes to express his preverbal intentions. But once abstract information about the individual English morphemes reaches the formulator at the functional level, the speaker is required to slip into ‘Ewe mode’ and in accordance with the System Morpheme Principle express the required late system morphemes in Ewe. He is also enjoined by the Morpheme Order Principle to use Ewe morpheme order for the mixed constituent under construction. Consider the collocation of *express* and *view* in the example below:

- (3) Woawo ko-e vá no-na afi-má á- express wó fe view;  
 3PL only-FOC come be-HAB place-that POT 3sg poss  
 mo ná- ná be the poor ná- express wó fe view o  
 3PL:NEG give-HAB that SUBJV- 3PL poss NEG  
 ‘They alone would come there and (would) express their view; they won’t allow the poor to express their view...’  
 (AMI-INGROUP-data: sn159)

In this example, although *express* and *view* are accessed together because of their conceptual tie, the rules operating at the functional level allow only Ewe late system morphemes to be used to express the grammatical morphemes required to express their relationships. For example, the first instance of *express* bears the Ewe potential prefix *a-* and the second instance bears the Ewe subjunctive *ná-*; English TAM may not be used here. *View*, for its part, is embedded in an Ewe-based [PRO poss NP] adnominal possessive construction where the possessor pronoun and the required possessive linker, being both late system morphemes, come from Ewe (see Chapter 3 for discussion of mixed adnominal possessive constructions).

The composite ML mechanism as I see it has the intrinsic function of easing speakers’ need to complement their weak Ewe mental lexicon with words from their English mental lexicon when they are in difficulty finding Ewe words<sup>134</sup>. As noted,

<sup>134</sup> Ewe-English codeswitchers easily avoid CS when English is the intended language of interaction, as they do when interacting with non-Ewe speakers.

speakers are enjoined to use English lexemes in analogous grammatical environments where Ewe morphemes with similar abstract lexical structure features occur. In Chapter 2, for instance, we found that a speaker has to route an English predicative adjective into the complement of an ascriptive-*le* slot because (a) that adjective requires an ascriptive copula and (b) Ewe must supply that copula, namely *le* (and not the other ascriptive copula *nyé*). In the example, *necessary* occurs in the complement of ascriptive *le* slot where the closest Ewe category to English predicative adjectives (i.e. Ewe deadjectival adverbials) occur. The source of this example (AMI) demonstrated that she also knew that being a generic noun, *force* had to occur as a complement of ascriptive *nyé*:

- (4a) Me-nyé force be wó-á-vá yi church be wó-á-vá wɔ wedding  
 3sg.NEG-COP COMP 3PL-POT-come go COMP 3PL-POT-come do  
 o; wó-á-teɲu á-wɔ blessing alo wó-á-teɲu á-yi court room á-vá sign.  
 NEG. 3PL-POT-can POT-do or 3PL-POT-can POT-go POT-come  
Me- le necessary be wó-á-wɔ pi pi pi o....  
 3sg.NEG be.atPRES COMP 3PL-POT-do [horn blowing] NEG..  
 ‘It is not compulsory for one to go to church for the purpose of having wedding; one can have blessing or go to the court to sign (papers). It is not necessary for one to do a loud wedding ceremony...’  
 (AMI-Accra-REC1: sn248-252)

The codeswitchers are not required to check the degree of congruence that obtains between English lexemes and their Ewe counterparts before they use the English lexemes as CS forms (as Classic CS users presumably do). Thus, *necessary* occurs as a fully integrated CS form in the above example although it does not have an Ewe counterpart that may be associated with its slot. The Ewe counterpart is the verb *híã* ‘need’, as used in:

- (4b) ...me- híã be wó-á-wɔ pi pi pi o....  
 1sg.NEG need COMP 3PL-POT-do [horn blowing] NEG..  
 ‘It is not necessary for one to do a loud wedding ceremony...’

The claim is that an Ewe equivalent of an English / CS lexeme plays no role in the slot that is projected for the English lexeme. Because of this, an attempt during online speech production to substitute an already selected English lexeme with its Ewe counterpart may turn out to be psychologically stressful, even for fluent speakers of Ewe. This was demonstrated by the Accra interviewer in the example cited as (37) in Chapter 2, which is reproduced below:

- (5) E- le be wo-a-no very wo-a-no ( ) wo-a- lé<sup>135</sup> ŋku  
 1sg-be.atPRES COMP 3sg-FUT-be.at 3sg-FUT-be.at 3sg-FUT-fix eye  
dɛ nya -a me nyuie elabe...  
 on word-DEF inside well because...  
 ‘He ought to be very(.) ought to be (...) he ought to look closely into this matter because...’  
 (INTERVIEWER-Accra-REC3: sn651)

The hesitations were prompted by the speaker’s unwillingness to verbalize an English adjective after **very**. The first brief hesitation represents a self-check to avoid the rejected English item.<sup>136</sup> The second, longer hesitation was a deliberate attempt by him to find a suitable Ewe lexeme to insert into the *le*-construction that still lingered in his short-term memory. Notice that this time he did not produce the English intensifier again. He, however, failed to find the Ewe word he wanted and had to expand his search beyond the narrow field he started with. The result was an entirely different Ewe construction, i.e. *lé ŋku dɛ nya-a me* ‘look closely into the matter’. Many subjects were not this successful in finding Ewe replacements for dispreferred English lexemes.

## 6.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter explored claims made in the literature regarding factors that motivate the pervasive use of CS by Ewe-English bilinguals and other bilinguals in Ghana. Although the factors regularly mentioned (namely setting, topic and addressees) do provide valuable insights into the phenomenon, I argued that the main factor appears to be the speakers’ frequent inability to sustain ready access to mother tongue mental lexicon during online speech production. The background to the frequency of this inability is an educational context in which English is over-emphasized, an educational context in which students are denied the opportunity to regularly shore up the conceptualisation of ideas via their mother tongues.

Data discussed in previous chapters that are revisited here also underscored another main cause of the pervasive use of CS: the nature of the composite ML that characterizes the codeswitched structures. The composite ML mechanism allows speakers to stay in touch with their two lexicons during online speech as long as they stick to only their mother tongue when it comes to functional level procedures, namely the provision of late system

<sup>135</sup> *Lé* (with high tone) is not the copula *le*, it is the verb meaning ‘to fix / hold’.

<sup>136</sup> This move by the interviewer to not use the in-coming English adjective is not surprising. He had made it a duty (almost) to prompt subjects with the ‘right’ Ewe words whenever he felt that they were having problems finding such words.

morphemes and the determination of morpheme order in mixed constituents. Under the composite ML mechanism, English content morphemes project their CS slots independently in Ewe-based structures. Thus, the mechanism directly facilitates the frequent lexical access failures that speakers experience; because mother tongue content morphemes do not project CS slots for their English equivalents, they often become elusive during on-line speech production as ready substitutes into slots initially meant for their English equivalents. Hesitation phenomenon therefore marks utterances in which Ewe is strictly the intended code choice, as with (KOFI's utterances in) the interview presented in Appendix 4.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

### 7.1 THE QUESTION OF MATRIX LANGUAGE

This dissertation assumed Myers-Scotton's ideas of Matrix Language (ML). It tried to identify the ML in mixed CPs<sup>137</sup> in Ewe English CS. The basic research question it tried to answer is *What is the ML in mixed CPs in Ewe-English CS?* In an attempt to answer this question, the study explored two types of ML hypothesis: my composite ML hypothesis (§1.4.4.3) and the Ewe-only ML hypothesis (§1.4.4.2) and it has analysed various types of mixed constituents. We have noted that the two hypotheses share common assumptions and subtle similarities while differing with regard to a few crucial theoretical considerations that by and large point to the fact that the composite ML hypothesis answers the research question more adequately and satisfactorily.

The similarities and differences between the two hypotheses as well as the superior characteristics of the composite ML hypothesis are summarised below.

#### 7.1.1 Common and conflicting assumptions in the hypotheses

Both hypotheses assume that by the means of the System Morphemes Principle and the Morpheme Order Principle, Ewe alone determines the morphosyntactic structures of mixed CPs in Ewe-English CS. In other words, Ewe alone provides the late system morphemes and morpheme order procedures for the formulator at the functional level. However, the two hypotheses diverge when it comes to determining the source of the abstract lexical structure information the formulator needs to be able to project a slot for an English/CS content morpheme in an Ewe-based mixed structure. The composite ML hypothesis names the lemma supporting the English content morpheme as the source. The Ewe-only hypothesis claims it is rather the lemma supporting the Ewe equivalents of the English content morphemes. Further, the Ewe-only ML hypothesis claims that the Ewe equivalents do not need to be actual or real surface-level Ewe morphemes; i.e. they may be unspecified Ewe content-morpheme lemmas that are stored in the mental lexicon of the speaker as *Generalized Lexical Knowledge* of Ewe.

What follows are summaries of each chapter that explores these hypotheses.

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<sup>137</sup> Issues related to inter-sentential CS were not addressed in the study because in the framework underpinning these hypotheses the highest relevant maximal projection for CS is the Projection of the Complementizer (CP).

### 7.1.2 Nonverbal predication in Ewe-English CS

Predicative English adjectivals, locative expressions and coreferential NPs are nonverbal. To occur as CS forms, they require a late system morpheme to serve as a *verbal bridge* between them and the subject NP about which they predicate. In English, the verbal bridge that performs this function is the copula *be*. Ewe on the other hand uses *le* 'be at' with adverbialized adjective words and locative expressions and *nyé* with coreferential nominals. In Ewe-English CS patterns, the English copula *be* is not used; rather, it is its Ewe equivalents that are used.

While English locative expressions and coreferential nominals behave just like their Ewe counterparts in their distributions, the same thing cannot be said about the distribution of English predicative adjectives. The CS complement of *le* slots in which they consistently occur is traceable to Ewe counterparts of some of them, namely Ewe adverbialized adjectives. The Ewe counterparts of many others are either inchoative verbs or lexicalized verbal predicates.

Based on the distribution of English predicative locative expressions and coreferential nominals, both hypotheses seem to be valid in their predictions. According to the Ewe-only ML hypothesis, both the English and their Ewe counterparts are traceable to the CS slots. It is therefore logical to assume that it is the Ewe morphemes that project the CS slots in the Ewe-English CS constituents. In the case of the composite ML hypothesis, the CS slots of the English morphemes are consistent with the abstract lexical structure requirements of English predicative locative expressions and coreferential nominals. So for the composite hypothesis, it is the English morphemes that project the slots in the CS structures. Thus, although the two predictions differ, both are adequate, satisfactory and therefore valid.

However, this harmony between the two hypotheses disappears when we turn to English predicative adjectives in mixed NPs. Our findings are:

- i. The Ewe-only hypothesis accounts for the distribution of English adjectives whose Ewe counterparts are traceable to their slots.
- ii. It, however, requires the notion of 'compromise strategy' to account for the distribution of English adjectives whose Ewe equivalents are verbal elements which accordingly cannot be traced to the CS slots.
- iii. The composite ML hypothesis, on the other hand, provides just one account for the distribution pattern: it assumes that each predicative English adjective

projects its own complement of *le* slot although unlike Ewe adjective words that occur in that slot they do not need to convert to adverbs (by taking on the Ewe early system morpheme *-e*).

### 7.1.3 Mixed adnominal possessive constructions

Relational and non-relational English possessum nominals occur in only Ewe-based alienable possessive adnominal constructions/Ewe APCs, e.g. the [porNP *fe* posmNP] construction, where *fe* is the possessive linker. This distribution pattern both validates and invalidates the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. The hypothesis expects Ewe possessum nominals to project CS slots for their English counterparts. However, while Ewe non-relational possessum nominals may be associated with the CS slots, Ewe relational possessum nominals may not be. They are juxtaposed to their possessor NPs as in the [porNP posmNP] structure. To account for the distribution of the English relational possessum nominals, the notion of compromise strategy has to again be invoked.

The composite ML hypothesis, on the other hand, expects both types of possessum nominals and such relator nominals as *top* and *down* to uniformly occur in alienable Ewe APCs. In connection with this, it is noted that all English possessum nominals require a possessive bridge system morpheme: either *'s* or *of* at the surface level. The choice entails a specific morpheme order: [por-NP *'s* posmNp] or [posmNP *of* porNP]. Ewe on the other hand uses only *fe* for expressing the possessive bridge function and the fact that all English possessum nominals make a default requirement for *fe* explains why they have a uniform CS distribution pattern<sup>138</sup>.

### 7.1.4 Mixed verb phrases

English verbs are consistently realised as fully integrated CS forms in Ewe-based mixed structures. However, only the slots of some of the English verbs (e.g. *respect*, *choose* and *use*) can be traced to their Ewe counterparts. The slots of others (e.g. *have*, *sign*, and *believe*) do not match the slots of their Ewe equivalents as the latter are lexicalized phrasal predicates.

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<sup>138</sup> The morpheme order variation that characterizes the *'s* vs *of* distinction does not matter since it is *fe* that is picked for the function.



The Ewe-only ML hypothesis runs into problems because it can account for the distribution of only such verbs as *respect* and *choose*. To explain the case of the likes of *have* and *believe*, it once again, has to support a compromise strategy account, e.g. the notion of Generalized Lexical Knowledge (GLK) of Ewe by which the CS slots are said to have been projected by some Ewe verb lemmas which support no actual surface-level verb forms.

The composite ML hypothesis on its part easily explains these same CS patterns without a resort to the compromise strategy because it expects the English verbs to project their own CS slots but in terms of Ewe morphosyntactic procedures.

### 7.1.5 Mixed noun phrases

English nominals (e.g. nouns, generic cardinals and generic ordinals) occur singly as head elements in the 0-slot in the Ewe NP where they are modifiable by Ewe elements. English cardinals are also acceptable as modifiers and as anchors in the Ewe +2CARD slot. But most English adjectives and all ordinals are unacceptable as singly-occurring CS modifier or anchor elements. To occur as CS modifiers or as anchors, they require the accompaniment of the English PRO form *one*. Ewe morpheme order constrains the placement of a MOD-*one* unit in a mixed NP: e.g. an ADJ-*one* unit occurs in the Ewe +1ADJ slot and an ORD-*one* unit occurs in the Ewe +3ORD slot. Besides these patterns, we also noted the phenomenon of double marking of plurals and determiners.

The two hypotheses seem to have predicted these patterns fairly well in their own rights. For example, the Ewe-only ML hypothesis charges that Ewe counterparts project the CS 0-slots of English nominals and the composite ML hypothesis charges that the English nominals project their own slots. The only problem often encountered with regard to the Ewe-only ML account is that it regularly entails roundabout explanations of the CS distribution patterns for which we find more straightforward explanations in the composite ML hypothesis.

The Chapter also touched on the relevance of Sebba's (1995, 1998) notion of subjective construction of congruence in CS and I claim that it is more compatible with the composite ML hypothesis.

### 7.1.6 Significance of findings regarding the question of ML

Overall, the study underscores the importance of Myers-Scotton's assumptions concerning the notion of ML, namely (i) that language production is modular, (ii) that lexical structure

is both complex and abstract, and (iii) that languages in contact divide responsibilities in what they may contribute toward (ii) during the production of mixed constituents. On the fine details, however, the study disputes the existing account about how Ewe and English divide responsibilities when Ewe-English CS structures are produced. Specifically, it is demonstrated that viewing Ewe-English CS constructions in terms of my composite ML hypothesis yields a more economical and consistent explanation of CS distribution patterns than is possible in terms of the Ewe-only ML hypothesis. The study makes the point that English content morphemes project their own CS slots and that Ewe grammatical resources are expended in projecting those slots. In making these points, the study questions the validity of some assumptions that characterize the existing view that Ewe-English CS is a case of Classic CS that is framed by Ewe-only ML. The questionable assumptions are:

- (i) That there is a matching process where English content morphemes are required to be matched with Ewe counterparts (before Ewe-dominated morphosyntactic operations integrating the English items are deployed).
- (ii) That compromise strategies, including the notion of unspecified Ewe lemmas in speakers' GLK of Ewe, are useful constructs for explaining observable CS patterns.<sup>139</sup>

Via the composite ML hypothesis, an attempt has been made to show that Ewe speakers possess separate mental lexicons—each of which they access in its own rights—but let the formulator at the functional level use only Ewe grammatical resources for building grammatical frames for individual morphemes from either lexicon.

## **7.2 THE CLASSIC CS vs. COMPOSITE CS DISTINCTION REVISITED**

Ewe-English bilinguals are only newly described as users of Composite CS. Hitherto they were regarded as Classic CS users (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a, 2002 and Amuzu 1998). What does their new identity mean for the study of CS?

The basic criterion used previously in classifying them as Classic CS users is their native-level grammatical competence, which I do not dispute<sup>140</sup>. What has not been considered as an equally important variable for determining the speakers' levels of competence in Ewe is their facility in the vocabulary of the language. On this score,

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<sup>139</sup> However, I also made the point (in, for instance, Chapter 4) that the GLK of an ML is potentially a useful notion for CS analysis if freed from the underpinning notion of unspecified ML lemmas and the roles they are assumed to play.

<sup>140</sup> My analyses show that there is consistency between the morphosyntax of CS constituents and that of their analogous Ewe constituents.

speakers themselves are not very optimistic, (see also Asilevi 1990 and Dzameshie 1994, 1996). My contention is that knowledge of vocabulary is the main factor which makes the bilinguals complement their Ewe lexicon with their English lexicon when they engage in interactions for which Ewe is the intended code. In §6.5 I outlined how the composite ML mechanism serves as a means by which the bilinguals keep in touch with their two mental lexicons while deploying only Ewe grammar.

Although Ewe-English bilinguals were earlier mistaken for users of Classic CS<sup>141</sup>, Myers-Scotton's (2002) coverage of factors that promote composite CS anticipates my position in Chapter 6 about the role of knowledge of mother tongue vocabulary in determining the nature of ML:

Composite codeswitching occurs in such phenomena as language attrition and shift. It occurs when speakers—because of psycholinguistic or socio-political factors—do not have full access to the morphosyntactic frame of the participating language that is the desired source of the Matrix Language. Or, possibly the notion of a target Matrix Language is not clear to the speakers themselves. The result is that a composite Matrix Language frames the bilingual CP. Thus, in effect, composite codeswitching necessarily entails convergence. (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105, emphasis mine).

The frequent inability of educated Ewe speakers to sustain ready access to their mother tongue mental lexicon during online speech production—which I argued results in their pervasive use of a composite kind of CS—is being promoted by the socio-political ongoings in Ghana that define the kind of intellectual upbringing they receive.

The study is limited to Ewe-English CS as far as structural analyses are concerned. However, the little incursion I made into Akan-English CS convinces me that Ewe-English bilinguals are not the only ones who possess grammatical proficiency in the mother tongue but use a composite kind of CS due to non-nativelike proficiency in the use of mother tongue vocabulary. This makes it pertinent that we distinguish the kind of composite ML they use from the kind already attributed to bilinguals in attrition and shift situations. The existing literature (see Bolonyai 1998, 2000, Schmitt 2000, and Myers-Scotton 2002) makes it clear that in those cases the composite ML involves encroachment, by the non-target ML (the EL), on the functional level responsibilities of the target ML. Such literature therefore abounds in startling examples of grammatical convergence which we do not find

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<sup>141</sup> The belief that Ewe-English CS is Classic CS was, in fact, legitimized by the fact that the Ewe-only ML (like the composite ML) correctly anticipates that Ewe would constrain morphosyntactic structures of mixed constituents. What kept the composite nature of the structures from being perceived was, as noted, the availability of the notions of compromise strategy and the Generalized Lexical Knowledge.

in the Ewe-English CS and may probably not see for as long as speakers remain as grammatically fluent as they are today in Ewe.

### 7.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

The questions posed in this study are not the only ones that need to be answered. Because I needed to break from the traditional way of looking at Ewe-English CS as Classic CS, many of the questions I attempted relate to the principal research question: of what the ML in Ewe-English CS is. My concerns in the future will likely be different.

#### 7.3.1 Codeswitching typology

I have made only a modest attempt at CS typology in the region where Ewe-English CS is spoken by looking at some grammatical aspects of Akan-English and Fongbe-French CS. Part of what prevented me from doing more on typology is the unavailability of CS data beyond those I could find in published sources. My own lack of familiarity with the grammars in question is another. As I showed in this study, one needs to have a fairly sound understanding of the grammars in contact in order to make informed judgement about what results from their contact. I can only hope that other scholars will become interested in not only the testing of the composite ML hypothesis introduced in this study but also in collaborative research aimed at answering some of the many questions still awaiting answers. One such question relates to the extent to which a model with clear non-composite ML basis—of the type Myers-Scotton assumes for Swahili-English CS—is necessary to explain CS structures used in post-colonial African contexts at all. My expectation, based on the Ewe, Akan and Fongbe cases, is that matching does not need to be a requirement in the CS produced by educated peoples in post-colonial Africa where former colonial languages receive emphasis as media of instruction at school. What one would expect is for such an ex-colonial language to be able to contribute its abstract lexical structure information to the morphosyntactic frame of the mother tongue of the codeswitchers.<sup>142</sup>

#### 7.3.2 The role of a lexical filter in CS

In Chapter 4 on the mixed VP, I argued for the need for a ‘filter’ to prevent certain English verbs (frequently used basic verbs) from occurring as CS forms. Although most English adjectives do not occur as CS forms and although some English nouns cannot occur in certain CS contexts (e.g. *soil* and *land* cannot be modified by the Ewe adjective *kúkú*

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<sup>142</sup> Bearing in mind—giving the lexical (lemma) vs. grammatical (formulator) division of labour between the languages—that the composite ML model explored in this study is not ‘composite’ in the sense of ‘convergence’ pointed to in §1.4.2.3.

‘dead’ as we find in example 19 in Chapter 5), I have not been able to explore the notion of ‘filter’ in those areas of the grammar. It will be useful to determine whether a generalized filter exists in Ewe-English CS.

A verbal filter similar to the one observed in Ewe-English verb distribution has been hypothesized for Akan-English CS (see Forson 1979). At issue is whether this verbal filter is attested in other CS cases too, and, if so, what the phenomenon implies about bilingual language processing and ultimately about the nature of the human language faculty.

### **7.3.3 Optimising the methodology for collecting verbal data**

The interview data I was able to obtain in quest of out-group CS data were not ideal. Given the short time I had in which I had to not only collect verbal data but also carry out a cross-country questionnaire survey, I had to settle for interview situations that did not control for “bilingual mode” (Grosjean 2001). I hope to bridge this gap fully in the future. The challenge will be in the training of out-group persons in the art of interviewing and of talking about the wide range of topics relevant for testing claims already made in the existing literature that have not been adequately tested. One goal in the desire to optimise data collection methodology will be to investigate speaker variation regarding, for example, mother-tongue lexical access and the degree to which it contributes to the pervasive use of CS among educated Ghanaians.

### **7.3.4 The questionnaire survey**

The questionnaire that has been reproduced as Appendix 1, which was completed by nearly four hundred Ewe-English bilinguals and about a hundred other Ghanaians, yielded a comprehensive material on Sociolinguistics in Ghana. Very little of these data has been discussed<sup>143</sup> in this study, which, as put, is more concerned with aspects of CS grammatical structures than with the sociology of language in Ghana. Studying and reporting insights from these data will be one of my immediate priorities.

### **7.3.5 Other gaps in the study**

Concerning the scope of the Ewe-English CS data considered in the study, some gaps are left unfilled. For example, the distributions of discourse particles, adverbs, and conjunctions have not been examined. Findings in these areas will no doubt yield additional / deeper insights into what is going on in Ewe-English CS.

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<sup>143</sup> Such discussions appeared only in Chapter 6 and Appendix 2.

# APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ON PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

This questionnaire asks you a number of questions designed to investigate your bilingual experience especially at home. It first asks you questions about the languages you use to communicate with members of your family at home. Then it asks questions about how other people use the language(s) they know to communicate. The investigation is a part of an ongoing research on patterns of language use in your community.

The information you provide will be kept highly confidential. Please, complete the questionnaire as best you can because your answers will be very valuable to us. If you are interested, we will discuss the results of the questionnaire with you toward the end of the study. Thank you.

## SECTION 1

1. How many languages do you speak? .....

Please, **list them** starting with [1<sup>st</sup>] for the language you speak **most confidently / fluently**, [2<sup>nd</sup>] for the next, etc:

[1<sup>st</sup>] ..... [2<sup>nd</sup>] ..... [3<sup>rd</sup>] ..... [4<sup>th</sup>]..... [5<sup>th</sup>] .....

2. What is your mother's mother tongue? .....

What is your father's mother tongue? .....

3. What language(s) do you speak to the following individuals **at home**?

Please, read this **IMPORTANT** Guideline:

- If you speak **only ONE** language with an under-listed individual at home, simply write **1** in the box against that language (e.g. [1]) and proceed to the next person

**However**

- If you speak **TWO or more** languages to the individual at home, kindly use the following numbering system:  
Write [1] against the language you speak **MOST frequently** (or normally) to the person  
Write [2] against the second language you speak frequently to him/her,  
Write [3] against the third one, etc. Thank you!!

(a) **To your brothers and sisters**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danme     Pidgin English     English

Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(b) **To your father**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(c) **To your mother**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(d) **(Where applicable) To your wife or husband**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(e) **(Where applicable) To your child(ren)**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(f) **To any other person who lives in your home currently.**

Please specify person's relationship with you (e.g. grandma, cousin, maid): ..... ..

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(g) **To any other person who ALSO lives in your home currently.**

Please specify person's relationship with you (e.g. grandma, cousin, maid): ..... ..

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

(h) **To friends you frequently interact with at home, in their homes, in the neighbourhood .....**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language(s), please specify: ..... ..... .....

4. Which **ONE** of the following languages do members of your family use **MOST** frequently when **THEY** address **you** at home? Please mark the box against this language: e.g. [x]

(a) **Your brothers and sisters**

Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danɔme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

(b) **Your father**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**Your mother**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**(d) (Where applicable) Your wife or husband**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**(e) (Where applicable) Your child(ren)**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**(f) Any other person who lives in your home currently.**

Please specify person's relationship with you (e.g. grandma, cousin, maid): ..... ..

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**(g) Any other person who ALSO lives in your home currently.**

Please specify person's relationship with you (e.g. grandma, cousin, maid): ..... ..

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**(h) Friends who frequently interact with you at home, in their homes, in the neighbourhood .....**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**5. SUMMARY of Q3&4: In your opinion, which ONE language is normally spoken by the majority of members of your family during conversations at home:**

- Ga     Akan     Ewe     Danjme     Pidgin English     English  
 Other language, please specify: .....

**6. Which ONE language do you speak most regularly in the following places in the**



town in which you currently live:

- (a) At school, **in** the classroom: ..... (b) At school, **outside** classroom: .....  
(b) At work: ..... (c) In offices, to public officials: .....  
(d) In the shops: ..... (e) At the market place: .....

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7. What is the **first language** you learnt to speak as a **child**? .....
8. What is your **mother tongue**? ..... Which **dialect** (e.g. Anlo, Tongu) do you speak? .....
9. Do you think that your mother tongue is **the Ghanaian language** you speak **most confidently**?  
 Yes  No  Don't know
10. If "No", what is the Ghanaian language you speak most confidently? .....
11. Can you **read** a story written in your mother tongue or the Ghanaian language you speak most confidently/fluenty?  Very well  Well  Not very well  
 Cannot
12. Can you **write** a letter in your mother tongue or the Ghanaian language you speak most confidently/fluenty?  Very well  Well  Not very well  
 Cannot

## SECTION 2

**NOTE:** Some people sometimes **mix** expressions from two or more languages when they converse. In this section, we are interested in your personal experience with this kind of bilingual language use.

14. How regularly do you mix expressions from English and your mother tongue (or Ghanaian language you normally use) when **YOU** speak to **each of the following** (groups of) individuals?

(a) **To your brothers and sisters**, at home.

- Very often  Often  Rarely  I don't

(b) **To your mother**, at home.

- Very often  Often  Rarely  I don't

(c) **To your father**, at home.

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

(d) **To your spouse**, at home (if applicable).

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

(e) **To your child(ren)**, at home (if applicable).

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

(f) **To friends who speak both English and your mother tongue**

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

15. How often do you need to use English words and expressions when you talk in your mother tongue (or Ghanaian language you normally use) about the following types of topics?

(a) **Foreign things, ideas and culture**

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

(b) **Aspects of our traditional society, life and culture**

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

16. How often do you find yourself using English words and expressions when you are conversing with relatives and friends who speak little or no English?

Very often       Often       Rarely       I don't

17. (If applicable) what is the **major** reason why you mix expressions from English and your mother tongue?

.....  
.....

18. In your opinion, which group of speakers of your mother tongue **most regularly** mix expressions from your mother tongue and English?.....

19. **Should we stop** mixing expressions from your mother tongue and English when we converse?

Yes       No       No opinion

Please explain answer:

.....

20. **Can we stop** mixing expressions from your mother tongue and English when we

converse?

- Yes    No    No opinion

Please explain answer:

.....

21. SUMMARY: How would you describe **your feeling or attitude** toward the mixing of expressions from your mother tongue and English?

- Very Positive    Positive    Negative    Very Negative  
 Both positive and negative    Neither positive nor negative

Please explain answer:

.....  
.....

### SECTION 3

22. How old are you? .....
23. Sex:    Male    Female
24. Level of education:    SSS (form.....)    University (level.....)    Other:.....
25. Your occupation, if applicable: .....
26. In which town are you presently living? .....
27. For how long have you been living in this town? .....
28. Is this your home town?  Yes    No
29. (If applicable) what is your last town of residence before moving to live here? .....
30. Do you live with your parents, brother(s) and sister(s) now?    Yes    No  
Do you live with your spouse and / or children?    Yes    No
31. (If applicable) what is your spouse's mother tongue? .....
32. How would you describe the formal educational level of each of the following relatives?
- Spouse:  Univ    Post-Secondary    Secondary    Vocational    Elementary  
 None
- Mother:  Univ    Post-Secondary    Secondary    Vocational     
Elementary    None

**Father:** Univ Post-Secondary Secondary Vocational Elementary  
None

33. How often within one year do you visit your hometown?

Very often  Often  Once/twice  I don't

34. Is your mother tongue the dominant language spoken in your home town?

Yes  No  Not sure

**OPTIONAL:** Your Name (please, we would love to be able to consult you again later):

.....

**Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.**

## APPENDIX 2: SOME FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY

### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

The following findings are based on responses that 381 Ewe-English bilinguals (EEBs) gave to the questions in Appendix 1. The respondents were reached in two regions of Ghana, (a) the multilingual Accra city and surrounding townships—204 respondents and (b) Ewe-dominated towns in the Volta Region—177 respondents. Based on responses to Question 24 in Appendix 1, the following three educational groups emerged in the sample: university (uni), post-secondary (postsec) and secondary (sec):

*TABLE 2.1: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS*

		Frequency	Percent
EDUC	postsec	89	23.4
LEVEL	sec	152	39.9
	uni	140	36.7
	Total	381	100.0

Other respondents whose qualifications were below secondary school level were not included in the database upon which the findings reported below were based.

### 2.1 SELF-REPORTS ABOUT LANGUAGES SPOKEN

The table overleaf displays the number of languages and language combinations the respondents in Accra vs. the Volta Region claimed they speak in answer to Question 1 in Appendix 1. The languages are arranged in a specific order, which made frequency count in SPSS possible. Ewe always comes first and is followed Akan and Ga (where applicable) and then English. Other languages, where applicable, come after English. The order has nothing to do with respondents' levels of proficiency in the languages.

TABLE 2.2: LANGUAGES SPOKEN

Count		REGION				
NUMLANGS		accra	volta	Total		
		2	LGSSPKN		ewe, english	29
3	LGSSPKN	ewe, akan, english	60	44	104	
		ewe, english, aja	1		1	
		ewe, english, dangme	1	4	5	
		ewe, english, french		5	5	
		ewe, english, hausa	1		1	
		ewe, english, ibo		1	1	
		ewe, english, sekpele		1	1	
		ewe, english, siwu	1		1	
		ewe, ga, english	5	2	7	
	Total	69	57	126		
4	LGSSPKN	ewe, akan, english, dagbani		1	1	
		ewe, akan, english, dangme	2	1	3	
		ewe, akan, english, french	6	3	9	
		ewe, akan, english, hausa	2	1	3	
		ewe, akan, english, krobo	1		1	
		ewe, akan, english, nkonya	1		1	
		ewe, akan, english, sele	1		1	
		ewe, akan, ga, english	61	14	75	
		ewe, english, dangme, hausa		1	1	
		ewe, ga, english, french	2		2	
			Total	76	21	97
5	LGSSPKN	ewe, akan, english, dangme, krachi		1	1	
		ewe, akan, english, french, hausa		1	1	
		ewe, akan, english, nzema, sefwi		1	1	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, dangme	7	6	13	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, efutu		1	1	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, french	7		7	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, hausa	5	1	6	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, krobo	2		2	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, wala		1	1	
		ewe, akan, ga, english, yoroba	1		1	
		ewe, ga, english, french, norwegian	1		1	
			Total	23	12	35
		6	LGSSPKN	ewe, akan, ga, english, dagbani, busari	1	
ewe, akan, ga, english, dangme, guan	2				2	
ewe, akan, ga, english, dangme, hausa	1				1	
ewe, akan, ga, english, dangme, logba				1	1	
ewe, akan, ga, english, french, hausa	1				1	
ewe, akan, ga, english, french, swahili	1				1	
	Total			6	1	7
7	LGSSPKN			ewe, akan, ga, english, french, hausa, spanish	1	

Ewe and English were, of course, the only two languages listed by the 115 two-language speakers (i.e. 86 or 48.5% in the Volta Region vs. 29 or 14% in Accra). Akan was cited as the third language by as many as 238 or 89.4% of the remaining 266 respondents who claimed they speak more than two languages. The 238 who spoke Akan include 104 of 126 three-language speakers, 94 of 97 four-language speakers, 34 of 35 five-language speakers and all six and seven-language speakers. The pattern to note is that group proportions claiming they speak Akan increase with numbers of languages spoken. This seems to be a very strong indication that it is unlikely for an Ewe-English bilingual (EEB) to have acquired several Ghanaian languages without acquiring Akan among them. Following Akan, Ga (the indigenous language of Accra) is the next most popular Ghanaian language with respondents. A total of 120 of the 381 of them mentioned it. They include 7 of the 126 three-language speakers, 76 of the 97 four-language speakers, 32 of the 35 five-language speakers, and all six and seven language speakers. Because Akan and Ga appeared so frequently in the lists of languages spoken beside Ewe and English, the following combinations of languages are frequent: 'Ewe-English-Akan' for three-language speakers (104 respondents), and 'Ewe-English-Akan-Ga' for four-language speakers (75 respondents). The four languages appeared in the lists of most of the respondents who speak five languages and they appeared on the lists of all who speak at least six languages. Other languages often mentioned were French (28 respondents), Dangme (27 respondents) and Hausa (13 respondents).

There are no major surprises about these data. For example, it was anticipated that a higher proportion of EEBs who live in Accra would speak one or two languages in addition to Ewe and English and that their brethren who live permanently in the Volta Region would not be as multilingual. This is simply because unlike towns in southern and central Volta Region where the Volta Region survey was carried out, Accra is a highly multilingual city and exposure to multilingualism there is the reality. We also expected Akan to be named so frequently as a language spoken because it is already common knowledge that Akan is the most dominant Ghanaian language, at least in the central and southern parts of the country. The main value of these data, therefore, is that they provide empirical backing for many pre-survey assumptions.

One minor surprise, however, relates to French. We had not expected that just 28 of the 381 respondents would list it as one of the languages they speak. French is the official language of all three countries that surround Ghana (i.e. Togo, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire), and it has been given due recognition in the secondary school curriculum.

Presently, it is the only language beside English<sup>144</sup> that a secondary school student may optionally study irrespective of whether he or she is into Science, Business, Arts, or Agriculture. That is to say French enjoys a privilege denied even Ghanaian languages in the school curriculum: only students who offer subjects in the Arts group may take a Ghanaian language as an elective. Apart from this privileged status, French is also studied as a “modern language” at some of the universities. While the policy reflects government’s interest in the official language of our neighbours, these data show that at least EEBs are indifferent to acquiring the language. For EEBs in particular there is an additional motivation for them to be more interested in French than these data show: the Volta Region shares border with the republic of Togo and speakers of some dialects of Ewe live in that country.

One other finding that is not exactly surprising but nonetheless deserves a mention here is the fact that School Pidgin has not been listed by any of the respondents although it is common knowledge that at least educated Ghanaian males speak it fluently<sup>145</sup>. The absence of School Pidgin (SP) in the lists probably betrays respondents’ unwillingness to be associated with it in a formal document such as our questionnaire: in Ghana, SP is generally despised as school rebels’ English. I believe that if the same questionnaire were administered to bilinguals in Nigeria, where Pidgin English is widely regarded as a national asset, many would have named it proudly as a “language” they speak.

## **2.2 LANGUAGES USED WITH RELATIONS AND FRIENDS**

### **2.2.1 The data**

The findings reported in this section are based on responses to Question 3 in Appendix 1. The findings relate to respondents’ self-reports about the languages they use as First Language of Communication (FLC) vs Second Language of Communication (SLC) with members of three generations at home (parents, siblings and spouses, and children) and with friends.

Without any significant regional variation, most respondents claimed that they speak Ewe as their FLC to parents (approximately 88% with fathers and 91% with mothers). Statistical details of FLCs with fathers appear in Table 2.3 and those of FLCs with mothers appear in Table 2.4.

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<sup>144</sup> English is compulsory.

<sup>145</sup> Ten percent of those in Accra and 8% in the Volta Region (see Table 2.8 in the next subsection) cited School Pidgin as a *language* they use in communication with friends in response to question (3h).



**TABLE 2.3: FIRST LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITH FATHERS**

			REGION		Total
			accra	volta	
FLC with FATHERS	akan	Count	6	2	8
		% within REGION	2.9%	1.1%	2.1%
	english	Count	10	12	22
		% within REGION	4.9%	6.8%	5.8%
	ewe	Count	177	160	337
		% within REGION	86.8%	90.4%	88.5%
	ga	Count	4		4
		% within REGION	2.0%		1.0%
	nil	Count	7	3	10
		% within REGION	3.4%	1.7%	2.6%
Total	Count	204	177		

**TABLE 2.4: FIRST LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITH MOTHERS**

			REGION		Total
			accra	volta	
FLC with MOTHERS	akan	Count	9	3	12
		% within REGION	4.4%	1.7%	3.1%
	english	Count	6	5	11
		% within REGION	2.9%	2.8%	2.9%
	ewe	Count	183	164	347
		% within REGION	89.7%	92.7%	91.1%
	ga	Count	1	1	2
		% within REGION	.5%	.6%	.5%
	nil	Count	3		3
		% within REGION	1.5%		.8%
other	Count	2	4	6	
	% within REGION	1.0%	2.3%	1.6%	
Total	Count	204	177		

There is, however, a difference between choices of SLC with either parent (again without any significant regional variation): in both regions, approx. 26% claimed to use English as SLC with mothers as opposed to approx. 43% for fathers.

Unlike the language choices they make with regard to parents, respondents' sibling languages vary somewhat across the regions. In the Volta Region 90% claimed to use Ewe as FLC with siblings while 74% in Accra claim to do so. In Accra, another 14% claimed they use Akan instead. Consider the details in the following table:

**TABLE 2.5: FIRST LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITH SIBLINGS**

			REGION		Total
			accra	volta	
FLC with SIBLINGS	akan	Count	29	7	36
		% within REGION	14.2%	4.0%	9.4%
	english	Count	13	6	19
		% within REGION	6.4%	3.4%	5.0%
	ewe	Count	151	159	310
		% within REGION	74.0%	89.8%	81.4%
	ga	Count	10	3	13
		% within REGION	4.9%	1.7%	3.4%
	other	Count	1	2	3
		% within REGION	.5%	1.1%	.8%
Total	Count	204	177		

The pattern concerning Akan as sibling FLC in Accra is not surprising given the dominance it enjoys in the city. With regard to SLC, there is again a slight but expected regional variation: 55% in the Volta Region use English as sibling SLC while 45% use it as such in Accra. The higher percentage that is registered in the Volta Region survey for English as SLC may be seen as a function of the fact that most Volta Region respondents speak just Ewe and English and did regularly list them in this order in their responses to question (3a). It should be noted that there is remarkable similarity between the percentages in both regions claiming to use English as sibling SLC and the percentages claiming to use it as SLC with fathers. One may say that the similarity is a reflection of the fact that fathers of many EEBs are educated and are therefore being considered as fellow EEBs.<sup>146</sup>

We will now turn to choices of FLC vs. SLC with spouses and children. There were 235 married EEB respondents (95 in Accra and 51 in the Volta Region). The pattern of language choice with spouses mirrors the pattern observed with siblings except that some respondents whose spouses are non-Ewe speakers use English as FLC with a few citing Akan or Ga. It is with regard to the data on language choices for communicating with children (especially in Accra) that we find a shift in the trend. The Accra survey registered 68% for Ewe as FLC as against 30% for English:

*TABLE 2.6: FIRST LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITH CHILDREN*

			REGION	
			accra	volta
FLC of CHILD	akan	Count	4	1
		% within REGION	4.7%	2.2%
	english	Count	22	8
		% within REGION	25.9%	17.4%
	ewe	Count	58	37
		% within REGION	68.2%	80.4%
	ga	Count	1	
		% within REGION	1.2%	
Total	Count	85	46	
	% within REGION	100.0%	100.0%	

The 25.9% for English as FLC with children in Accra represents a major language shift (compared to FLCs with parents, siblings and spouses). The shift to English in Accra is further evident in the fact that 59% of the respondents there see it as SLC with their children. The shift may be seen as a response to their children's linguistic difficulty in Ewe: it is most likely (see next paragraph) that Accra Ewe children do not have strong Ewe-speaking peer-group support that should help them gain mastery of the language.

<sup>146</sup> The percentage of older women in Ghana that are educated is much smaller than the percentage of older men that are educated. It is the reason there is ongoing affirmative action in girl-child education in Ghana.

Table 2.7 concerns claims about FLC with friends. Choices of FLC in Accra are heterogeneous because friends of many of the respondents there are, predictably, non-Ewe speakers:<sup>147</sup>

*TABLE 2.7: FIRST LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITH FRIENDS*

			REGION		Total
			accra	volta	
FLC with FRIENDS	akan	Count	35	8	43
		% within REGION	17.2%	4.5%	11.3%
	dangme	Count		2	2
		% within REGION		1.1%	.5%
	english	Count	77	26	103
		% within REGION	37.7%	14.7%	27.0%
	ewe	Count	59	124	183
		% within REGION	28.9%	70.1%	48.0%
	ga	Count	10	2	12
		% within REGION	4.9%	1.1%	3.1%
	nil	Count	3	3	6
		% within REGION	1.5%	1.7%	1.6%
	pidgin	Count	20	12	32
		% within REGION	9.8%	6.8%	8.4%
Total	Count	204	177		

Respondents' SLC with friends in Accra are equally heterogeneous in contrast to the trend in the Volta Region where the majority use just two languages: 70% claimed Ewe as FLC, most claimed English as their SLC.

### 2.2.2 Implications of the data for understanding the use of CS

What the respondents' language socialization patterns with family members and Ewe-speaking friends imply is that they are, first and foremost, Ewe-English bilinguals although most of them speak other languages. The regular use of Ewe and English has the effect of keeping the two languages in intensive (cognitive) contact, a contact that nurtures their use intra-sententially. For example, Table 2.8 displays statistics from responses to Question 14a (Appendix 1), which asked respondents about how regularly they use CS with siblings: 1 = "Very Often", 2 = "Often", 3 = "Rarely" and 4 = "I Don't":

*TABLE 2.8: FREQUENCY OF USE OF CS WITH SIBLINGS*

			REGION	
			accra	volta
CS with SIBLINGS	1	Count	45	27
		% within REGION	22.1%	15.3%
	2	Count	83	67
		% within REGION	40.7%	37.9%
	3	Count	57	57
		% within REGION	27.9%	32.2%
	4	Count	19	24
		% within REGION	9.3%	13.6%
	nil	Count		2
		% within REGION		1.1%
Total	Count	204	177	
	% within REGION	100.0%	100.0%	

<sup>147</sup> The heterogeneous nature of the Accra choices of FLC is a function of the broad nature of question (3h): I should have restricted 'friends' to 'Ewe-speaking friends'.

There is even more pervasive use of CS with (Ewe-speaking) friends, as we see in the statistics from responses to Question (14f):

*TABLE 2.8: FREQUENCY OF USE OF CS WITH FRIENDS*

			REGION	
			accra	volta
CS with FRIENDS	1	Count	73	77
		% within REGION	35.8%	43.5%
	2	Count	92	59
		% within REGION	45.1%	33.3%
	3	Count	29	35
		% within REGION	14.2%	19.8%
	4	Count	10	4
		% within REGION	4.9%	2.3%
	nil	Count		2
		% within REGION		1.1%
Total	Count	204	177	
	% within REGION	100.0%	100.0%	

Understandably, higher percentages of people claimed to be using CS with siblings and friends in Accra than in the Volta Region.

## **APPENDIX 3: SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS OF INTERVIEWEES / SUBJECTS**

### **3.1 ACCRA SUBJECTS**

Respondents are presented in the order in which they were interviewed. Thus, although AMI and KOFI are siblings, they are not presented consecutively. The same applies to KUMA and ADZO. The names used are all fictional.

#### **1. AMI**

AMI was a 26-year-old unmarried lady who finished Senior Secondary School (SSS) and went on to complete a catering course. AMI had been living in Accra the greater part of her life but told of occasional visits to her hometown in the Volta Region at such times as Christmas and Easter. She was living in her parents' home together with KOFI (see below) and three other siblings. AMI indicated that she was not fluent in Ewe—by which she was implying she experiences lexical access failures (see Chapter 6)—because of her language socialization patterns in Accra and thought that Akan was her “Best Ghanaian Language” (in response to Question 10). This researcher observed that CS was the unmarked code choice in AMI's home, even with the parents. She was among the pervasive users of CS in the interviews.

#### **2. KUMA**

KUMA was a 29-year-old married man (without children). He held a degree-level qualification and was working as a company administrator. He indicated that he had moved from the Volta Region to Accra some 14 years ago but still spoke only Ewe and English. To question 19, i.e. “Can we stop” using CS, KUMA answered “no” and went on to explain that “people tend to understand my communication better when I use code-mixing”. He is brother to ADZO.

#### **3. KOFI**

KOFI, who is 30 years of age, shares sociolinguistic background with sister AMI. He too indicated a lack of confidence in speaking Ewe (without lexical access problems) and thought that he was better at Akan, his third language. Unlike KUMA, KOFI thought that his use of CS has to do more with his inability to “express myself freely” in Ewe than with whether CS was preferred by others. Indeed, he used CS pervasively in the interviews (see

full text of the interview with KOFI in Appendix 4). He was unmarried. Although he had a postsecondary professional qualification dating at least two years, he was still unemployed.

#### **4. AKU**

AKU, who is a nurse, was a 38 years old single mother of a seven-year-old boy at the time of the interviews. She grew up in Accra in a highly multilingual home and neighbourhood and ended up acquiring, in addition to Ewe and English, four other languages: Akan, Ga, Dajme and Hausa. She told of a vibrant language socialization childhood history with ten siblings and five half siblings. Ga was the preferred sibling language in the absence of their father, who insisted that only Ewe was used at home. Ewe was therefore the only language she used with her parents (and she recalled fondly that her father's "language policy" kept her fluent in Ewe). AKU learned Dajme from her stepmother and used it to communicate with her and her children. Outside home, Hausa was the peer group language but the dominance of Akan in Accra at large meant that she naturally picked it up as well.

She has the attitude that a person may speak several languages without having to mix them. Her "language policy" for her son is the same as that of her late father. She was arguably the most eloquent of the 15 subjects.

#### **5. KORKOR**

KORKOR was a 25 years old lady who spoke Akan in addition to Ewe and English. She indicated that she moved to Tema (near Accra) four years ago on completion of Senior Secondary School in the Volta Region. More recently, however, she commenced university education in the Akan-dominant city of Kumasi and was in the process of mastering Akan, which she started picking up in Tema. She held the kind of view that AKU expressed regarding the use of CS.

#### **6. AKA**

AKA was the oldest of the fifteen subjects, at 42. A teacher by profession (with postsecondary qualification), he had plied his trade in Accra since graduation. He speaks Ewe and English and said that he used English with anyone who did not understand Ewe. He would not mix English with Ewe and insisted that the practice is a trend "in the wrong

direction". AKA was married (to a fellow Ewe) and had two sons with whom he used English at home.

### **7. ADZO**

ADZO is sister to KUMA and shared childhood sociolinguistic history with him. However, since arriving in Accra some 14 years before the interviews, she had experienced somewhat different language socialization, which explains her acquisition of Akan and Ga, which KUMA did not speak. She spoke Ewe largely codeswitching-free during her interview and said that one could do that if one puts her/his mind to it. She added, however, that she would not always try as hard as she did in the interview to not use CS because it is the appropriate code in many situations.

ADZO was 31, was married and had a baby boy. She had postsecondary qualification and practiced as secretary.

### **8. KWAME**

KWAME will be remembered for putting aptly some majority sentiments expressed in the survey. In answer to Question 19 (should we stop using CS?), he wrote:

No: language is dynamic so we may be evolving a new language out of the old one.

He then continued, in response to Question 21 on attitude to use of CS that:

[After indicating that he possessed BOTH positive and negative attitudes to CS:]

I wish I could do better in speaking only the language (Ewe) without mixing, but I grew up in a social context that did not offer me the opportunity. So, although I do not like it I cannot help it.

KWAME was 37 and unmarried. He was an undergraduate but had a long history in (English medium) broadcasting. He had spent all his family life in Accra but attended secondary school (which was for five years) in the Volta Region. He listed Ewe, English, Akan and Ga as the languages he speaks.

### **9. MARY & GEORGINA**

MARY and GEORGINA were the only subjects who appeared together in an interview (the result of a rather busy day). Incidentally, they share sociolinguistic profile. They were undergraduate students at the University of Ghana (aged 20 and 21 respectively) and shared

room there. They told of being childhood friends who grew up in Accra. Both speak the same three languages (Ewe, English and Akan) and thought that they used Akan more confidently than they do Ewe because it is their unmarked choice with siblings. Both of them were positively inclined toward the use of CS.

### **3.2 AKATSI SUBJECTS**

#### **10. PAT**

PAT, a trained teacher aged 25, was teaching at a primary school at Akatsi, a town she moved to a year and a half earlier. She had spent much of her childhood at Ho, the Volta Region capital and in keeping with the dominant Volta Region bilingualism pattern (see §1.2.2) speaks only Ewe and English. She considers herself a habitual codeswitcher although she could be considered one of those who managed to avoid pervasive use of it in the interviews.

#### **11. ALLICE**

Like PAT, ALLICE was teaching in a primary school at Akatsi. The 24-year-old unmarried lady told of growing up in Accra and some Akan-speaking towns. She could therefore speak four languages (Ewe, English, Akan and Ga) and considered herself more fluent in Ga, her sibling language. She told of having deliberately sought posting to the Volta Region so as to improve her Ewe. She had been at post the past two years and hoped to remain a while longer. CS was for her (as was reflected in her verbal behaviour in the interview) a means of overcoming her lack of fluency in the vocabulary of Ewe although she knew that “It does not help the learners to pick up the right vocabulary”.

#### **12. GOK**

GOK was 21 and an SSS student. A native of Akatsi, he had not lived elsewhere. He speaks Ewe and English and indicated that he rarely used English with his siblings and never with his parents. When asked about CS, he stated that it “adds no value to our language and culture” although he “very often” used it with friends (school mates).

#### **13. CELE**

CELE, who was 41 years of age, was married with two children. She had been teaching during the past ten years at Akatsi and indicated that her last place of residence was an Akan-speaking town where she acquired Akan. She used Ewe as the main medium of



communication with all members of her family, including her children, and proved in the interview to be an eloquent speaker of codeswitching-free Ewe.

#### **14. JOHN**

JOHN spent his teens travelling and so acquired both Akan and Nzema in addition to Ewe and English. He returned to Akatsi where he undertook teacher training and stayed on to teach. Like KWAME, JOHN echoed a general sentiment expressed by many respondents. He wrote: "Mixing expressions is not deliberate; it is an unconscious act". He indicated that he "rarely" used CS with members of her family but does so with his friends. A married man with two children, JOHN was 38 years old.

## **APPENDIX 4: TEXT OF AN INTERVIEW**

The following is the full text of one of the interviews, the interview with KOFI in Accra. The interviewer commenced proceedings with an introductory remark in which he outlined the topics to be discussed. The topics were:

### **Turns 1 - 4**

Introductory remarks in which topics to be discussed are spelt out

### **Turns 5 – 73**

Traditional marriage vs. western style wedding, and husband—wife relationships

### **Turns 74 – 186**

Current affairs in Ghana: (a) the Tsatsu Tsikata Trial – 71-125 and (b) the Dagbon Chieftaincy Feud (126-181)

### **Turns 187 – 219**

The economy of Ghana, its impact on the poor and discussants

### **Turns 220 – 290**

Computer, the Internet and Information Technology

### **Turns 291 – 359**

Immorality and the youth

### **Turns 360**

Interviewers' concluding remark

The relevance of these interactions is not the amount of CS that was used (as noted, CS was a marked choice and the participants knew all along that their fluency in monolingual Ewe was what was being investigated). Rather, the relevance of the interactions lies in the fact that CS was, in fact, used pervasively by KOFI (the subject). The most salient feature of the interview is that KOFI used CS in the majority of his turns, i.e. regardless of the nature of the topic under discussion and the presence of the monolingual elderly “audience”, the old lady.

Interviewer:

1

Le egbe ñkekewo me ne nyé be wodo sródenya de ñutsu ađe gbo koa yi ko wotsoa asi eve dọa ta. Ale be mí kaťá míniya be sródeđe'a nu vā wónye. Gake to dekonuninyi fe sródeđe megbea, er đekakpuiwo, ne wo... wo, ne wode nyonu a... er... eđe sró megbea, wogadzina be woako yewo va Ge awawo nui alo ako ye yi dugā me yewo ava de asige asi awo pipponpippon ńu ma. Ko miedi be miakpoe đa be, er nuke nye moxenu de sróde mo eve yiawo nu mahā?

Tsitsiawo hā gbloe be ne agama ku de vu dzi woyo vu koa wotso agama hā eyo. Le xexeme fe akpa de fifi la wo funyafunya wom nyonu ađe, sró nyonu ađe. Nutsu yia neđe va da de afeme be yea... nyonu yia neđe da de afeme be yeava đea... neno ye gbo abe srónyonu ene a, wo funyafunya womee. Ko miedi be nuka koque nye gomeđokpe akuaku ne efunyafunya yiawo wowo nyonuwo mahā.

Ne mieto de afima ko bubu ađe yi hā gado ta đa. Yenyé... er... er... tsitsiawo gblo be enyee no ađu ńu ađu dzea đeka; alo nutsi tae yewođoa efetsu đo. ñutsu kple sró woano 'nyi; evi đeka alo eve 'to ko wobe yewo dzo. Ne nye nenemae ke yewo'a kpló amegbovi, yewoa kpló gbóvi woavano yewo gbo be afe na nyo alo wđakpe de yewo ńu le asitsatsa me. Vo efu yia me gbóviwo no totom fia, menyé ađegblonyae o. Miedi be miaku ke ne nya yia akpo be nuka tutuue do agbogbo de er... er... funyafunyawowo amegbovi yiawo ńu hā.

Nowadays when they talk to a man about marriage, he would hold his head in his two hands (show sign of embarrassment). Indeed, we all know that marriage is very important. But apart from customary marriage... er... young men... after they... they marry the woman... er... after the marriage the woman would still want to be taken to Accra to do this thing, be taken to a big town to be given a ring and blow pipponpippon (horn of a car, i.e. wedding). So we want to find out what is the barrier to these two types of marriage.

The old ones also say that when a chameleon dies on a drum and the drum is mentioned it is the chameleon that is also called. In some part of the world now they are maltreating a woman... the man you marry and brought home that you...er the woman you married and brought home that... so that she would stay with you as a wife, they are maltreating her. So we want to know what actually is the real basis for this maltreatment of women?

When we stop there another (matter) also arises. That is er the old ones say it is the gum that makes the teeth beautiful; and it is because of scratching the skin that we have fingernails. A man and his wife live together and after one, two or three children, they want to go. Otherwise, they must take a maidservant and they bring the maidservant to help them in the house and with their trade. But the suffering the maidservants go through cannot be expressed. We want to find the root cause and what really constitutes er... er... the suffering of maidservants.

Nyitsɔ ya Ghana xɔ yewo dɔkuisinɔnɔ... miedu miafe dɔkuisinɔnɔ nkeke za. Dukɔkplɔla fe kpedɛnuɔ gagblɔ be sedzi mawɔmawo kple vodjvodjinyenye kple vovo agbevɔnɔnɔ va, va edo fievo dɛ dua me. Miedi be miakpoe dɛ be nuka tututue nye egomedɔkpea alo do enkuge ne enya yiawo togbe hã. Ewo be dɛ mivade ngɔgbe le megbeyiyi me lo alo dɛ míva tsi megbe le ngoyiyi mea. Míenya o. Míá dɔ dze le kemawo nu.

Ye miefo nu tso dɔkuisinɔnɔ nu nyitsɔ ko miakpo be... er... miadɔ nku dzi be dukɔ nuto va kpo ame dɛka eve adɛwo dzi alo kpo yewo dumeviwo dzi be woano dowo dowo nu abe dɔkita, nɔsviwo kple tsitsawo, nufialawo. Ko, ewoe ma dziɔɔɔvɔ vɔkpo dzi wò vuu er... ne zu er... nedɔ tefe yi wole be naɔɔ le do nu ko vlavo ko nebe ã, ale yia agbenɔnɔ va le duame a meganyonyom na ye o. Ko woe ma do dɛ dzronyigba dzi. Me ke mie vodada dɛ ge na? Dziɔɔɔvɔ yia kplɔ wo kpo dziwoe mia dɛ vodada na alo wò yia si dzo alo agbenɔnɔ xexeeame? Nana tame bum tso enuti, miakpoe dɛ be alakee nuwo yiyim hã.

Ne míege dɛ edua me fifi laa, miakpo... Le kpedɛnu me míeyi dɛ asime, Madina 'sime 'fia alo Kisema alo Achimota, alo Agbɔgbɔsi (Agbɔgbɔsi sime) fifia: míá adj dɔm. Na be nke nye adja dum míele? Ne fifia nabe yea fo azideti'a wotsɔ kokonte eba ke. Ne nye tadi tutue a, ne menye peyaku o la ke bisie ma wotu ekpi · hafi blu. Ne ebe ye adze ami, n'wo be ami dzie'a, edze be ne wode ama, colour adje ne no ami'a me wòabia nyuie hafi naɔɔ. 'Nyitsi ya a, dɛ wobe pure honey. vɔ sukli wònye wovato. Vɔ

Recently Ghana got her independence... we celebrated our independence day anniversary. The Vice President said again that lawlessness and wickedness and fear and bad living are on the increase in the country. We want to find out what really is the basis or inform such problems. It seems that we have either advanced in going backward or we are going backwards in advancement. We don't know yet. We'll discuss those issues.

When we talked about independence the last time, we saw that... er we remembered that the government has given scholarship to one or two people or has given scholarship to us the citizens so that we would manage the services like doctors, nurses, teachers, teachers. Then, after the government has given you a scholarship for a long time er you have become er... you have reached where you must reach in your workplace and then all of a sudden you say ah you don't like the standard of living in the country. So you go to a foreign country. Who are we to blame? Do we blame the government that nurtured you or you who have run away or is it the world we must blame? Keep thinking about it, we'll find out how things are going.

If we enter the town right now, we'll see.... For example if we go to Madina Market or Kisema or Achimota now or Agbɔgbɔsi (Agbɔgbɔsi Market) now: we are consuming poison. You want to know what is the poison that we are consuming. If you want to make groundnuts soup, they have mixed the groundnut paste with "kokonte". If it is powered pepper you need, you

wonlo de afima be pure yi nye tsimatoe. Ke miabia be  
dee...

might get one that has been mixed with either grounded  
pear seed or grounded kolanut. If you want to buy oil, if  
they say it is palm oil they must have added food colour  
to it so that it becomes very red for you to consume. As  
for honey, they say it is **pure honey**. But it is just roasted  
sugar. Meanwhile they would advertise it as “**pure  
honey**”, which means unadulterated. So I want to ask...

Researcher: 2 Nyitso, mekpo de wobe fresh pure honey.

Recently, I saw such (an advert): they said it was **fresh  
pure honey**.

PTO

Interviewer:

3

Aha, **fresh pure honey**. Efiá bena anyítsi yeye etsimatoo wò nye. Vò ne eḍò nu ma kpo a ḍewohí sukilitò bílbo wonye hafi wovatsò tsi to hafi neva ḍudum. Vò na ha'bia be dedienonò dodzikpolawo, womeli akpo nu yíawo togbee gbo oa?

Ne míe ga va ge ḍe... wobe míele totro yeyewo me... er... yevuwo yce be **positive change**. Totro yeye, wo be ya yeye aḍe ʒoʒom. Ale kee ya vaʒo to mia gbøe? Eya yeye'a va yi eva ʒo to mia gbo a? Wobe... duko be... yewo... **HIPIKI**... yewoa kò yewo ḍokui ḍe duko gagbãwo dome. Amewo be kogladzelawo, wodze agla be yewo nye koḍodukowo. 'Le ke nekpo tso **HIPC**-a ɲu.

Enuwo gava wobe **computer kple Internet**. 'Nu ke nanya tso nu mawo ɲu.

Ese yia ke míe ʒe duko kplala vagblo be... er... sedzimawomawoa, naḍo ɲku Tsikata ʒe nu yia - ne nye be se'a li mí edzi wom o. Le kee se'a le hafi míe dzi wom o? Nukae do efièvo do gbogbo ḍe seawo me be nuwo va do gumaga há? Mía ake gbe ne akpo ḍa be le kee míe te ɲu akpo... er... er enu ḍeka eve aḍewo le me wòanyo aisi mía ʒe luwo, anyi mí abe dukomeviwo ene há. Woawoe nye nu yi ɲu míedzi be mía dzro nya me le egba. Ta ne yeyiyia ḍo dzi koa, míe dzi ho ge ḍeka kpla aho kple eke. Ta akpe na mi.

Exactly, **fresh pure honey**. It means it is fresh unadulterated honey. Meanwhile, if you taste it, it is probably roasted sugar to which water is added for consumption. Then you ask: are there no health authorities who are supposed to inspect these things?

When we return... they say we are in for changes... er... whites call it **positive change**. New changes, they say there is a new wind. How does it blow around you? The new wind has it blown around you? They say... the government says... they are... HIPC... they will join the group of bankrupt countries. People call it debt-defaulters, rogues that claim that they've gone broke. How do you perceive **HIPC**?

Things have come which they called **computer and Internet**. What do you know about those things?

What our president said about er... lawlessness, remember Tsikata's this thing - if there is a law but we don't obey it. What is wrong with the law such that we don't obey it? What is there in the law that makes people to not obey it? We'll explore it and see if we can find one or two things that will build up our soul, strengthen us as citizens. These are the things we want to discuss today. So when the time comes, we'll uproot the tree in unison, along with its root. So thank you all very much.

- 4 (Continues) Eyoo, er efonye KOFI ewoe zo; kple Old Lady, er ewó gbɔ míéva ta ezi le mia te... Nyitsɔ er nu yi, mé... mebe míato 'tsi gbáto. Le egbe ñkekewo me ne ame aɖe do srɔ́ɖenya ɖe ɖekakpuivi gbɔ ko woatso asi eve ɖo ta. 'Labe to edekonɔ fɛ srɔ́ɖeɖekonuwɔwɔ vɔ meá, nyɔnuvia gadzina kokoko be woade asigɛ asi na ye. Ko wova zu wo ame 'vee ma 'fia. Le wò nukpokpo nu 'fia ɖɛ, le wò nukpokpo isi nu 'fia ɖɛ, srɔ́ɖeɖe ka fɔmevi nekpo be ye ya yenyɔ na wò, le egbe ñkuuvuu, le wò nukpokpo ñuti. Ne ɖe nyo na wò nagbloe ke yi nyo na wò nagbloe; ke yi menyɔ na wò, ɖe wo susu fia ko.
- KOFI: 5 According to nyea nye susua, keyi nyo na mee nye mía dekonuwoto. Nyeya er afe tɔe míewɔna, **this tradition** enue míewɔna, eyae me like in the sense that...
- Researcher: 6 Old Lady konue dzi be yease wò nyaa. Edzi be yease eme nyui ta... ta gbloe ne Old Lady, ye ta míéva ɖo, ta gbloe ne.
- KOFI: 7 Abe ale'e megbloe mía dekonutɔa enye er nuia er... wobe **tradition, tradition**, eya ko míenɔ wɔwɔm-a, **tradition-** to...
- Researcher: 8 Dekonu
- KOFI: 9 Dekonutɔa ye nye eya me prefer in the sense that... mevalé ñku ɖe wo ñu uvu 'a, compared to other
- (Continues) Alright, er Brother KOFI you're welcome; and Old Lady, er we've come to you and have already taken our seats. Recently er what I, I want us to start with. Nowadays when somebody talks to a young man about marriage then he holds his head in his two hands (embarrassed). Because after the customary marriage the young woman would still wants the young man to put a ring on her finger at all cost.... So they have become twin marriage ceremonies... In your opinion... in your opinion which type of marriage do you prefer, in today's civilization, in your opinion? The type you like, please identify it, the type you don't like, let us know your thoughts about it.
- According to my thoughts, the type I prefer is our traditional one. For me er it is this traditional thing that we perform, that is what I like in the sense that...
- It is Old Lady especially who wants to hear what you have to say. She wants to understand you perfectly so... so speak to Old Lady, that is why we've come (to her house), so tell her.
- As I said, our traditional one is er er... they say **tradition, tradition** what we perform, the **traditional** one...
- Tradition
- Traditional one is the one I prefer in the sense that... upon soder reflection, compared to other countries...

- Researcher: 10 countries...  
 Duko adewo
- KOFI: 11 ... eyiwo dzadzam... yevuwo n̄uto be **wedding**, kple nuwo mekpɔ be **some difference**... er vovototo adɛ va le me. Vovototo ya va le me 'a meva weigh wo katã mekpɔ be dɛ mia to eva nyo wu yevuwo to.
- Interviewer: 12 Go ka me, go ka mee nekpɔ be eva nyo wu? Ega gome lo alo...?
- KOFI: 13 Ao er ... ega gome 'a enyo gake 'a 'ye labe ne nya 'dewo dzo 'a fomeawo te n̄u léa nya'a gblona, **settle-na case-a**. Wote n̄u dro nya'a wuna yevuwotoa, 'ye fomewowo dɛka ma ele 'me hã wu... e **church**, because of, nu ma l'abe **most at times-a** ezu na fomeni. Ehẽ.
- Researcher: 14 fomeawo no 'nyi er... ewo nui ta...
- KOFI: 15 Eno 'nyi ehẽ heno... evazuna fomeni ta fomeawo vazuna dɛka. El'abe **church kple wedding** kple nu ma wom wo lea, ehe evovototo....
- Interviewer: 16 Old Lady, enya 'dɛ li na abie nam gbã hafi mato asi dɛ nua?
- Old Lady: 17 U, enu le nye be fifia yeyi yi me mie lea eyia nyo ne miawo 'a yema. Taa ne nye be wòawoa egba ya me 'fia woa nagagblo na 'me adɛ fe nyɔnuvi 'fia be aha tukpa dɛka yia
- Some countries
- ...those that take place... the white man himself calls it **wedding** and I've noticed **some difference**... er some difference. The difference when I weighed all, I've noticed that ours is better than that of the white man
- In which way, in which way have you noticed it is better? Is it the money involved or...?
- No, concerning money involved it is better but er and when there is a case the families settle it, **settle the case**. They settle the case better than in the case of the white man's, and the togetherness that traditional marriage represents is greater than what the church wedding can mean... because of, because **most at times** it (the marriage) becomes a family affair. Yes.
- Because the family sits down to do things (deliberate over things)...
- Becomes together, it becomes family affair. So the families become one. Because a **church** and **wedding** and what they have been doing, yes, they bring differences...
- Old Lady, do you have any question to ask before I continue?
- Yes, the thing is that the era in which we live, that is what is good for you. So if today you tell somebody's daughter in this day that the one bottle of drink that was used in



marrying in the olden times is what you will give to marry somebody's daughter, do you think the girl and her parents will agree to take the bottle of drink so that you become a husband?

I take it that it depends on the family.

You see, what [we] are saying... we dance according to the rhythm of the day. Nobody drums the ancient "agbadza" while dancers perform "bobobo". In the olden days, as the old lady has said, one bottle of drink. But today do you think the girl will agree, and the parents will agree, that you bring the bottle of drink?

I want to ask Old Lady one question before he (KOFI) answers that question. Even in the olden days don't you give cloth and other things together with the bottle of drink (as dowry)?

O, formerly wasn't it only one pound, one shilling and one bottle of drink?

So you don't give cloth, metal basin ...

Concerning the cloth, when she becomes pregnant and gives birth and you are glad and you want to show appreciation... then you buy one piece or two pieces of cloth for the woman... You are not going to the same length as today. When she has given birth and you are glad you can still give cloth. If you don't give the cloth that is not going to worry anybody.

tsātoowo nana ko wòzu be dè wode srõ vce ma, yagatso aha tukpa dèka ma yi ne ame aḍe f'e nyonuvu egba ya 'fia dè, eka dè dzi be nyonuvia nuto kple dzilawo woate nju alõ axo aha tukpa dèka na wò ko nanye srõḍela a?

18 Nye 'a matsoe ko be e-depend dè f'omea nju.

19 Ekpoe nu'i gblom... mibe dè euu'i to l'amenpli dè ye woḍuna. 'Me aḍeke mefona blema gbadza wovaḍua bobobo dè nju o. Etsāa, ye ma nyagā gblo, aha tukpa dèka. Gake egba 'fia eka dè dzi be nyonuvia lolõ ge, kple 'dzilawo lolõ ge, be nagatso aha tukpa make ve a?

20 Mabie, mabie nya dèka Old Lady hafi wòḍo nya ma nju. Etsā hā dè miena avo kple towo kpema dè aha nṛtsia?

21 O, etsā menye pɔɔj dèka shi dèka koe kple akpeteshi 'tukpa dèka?

22 Ko me avo ko g'akpe dè ḍevia nju... gagba...

23 Avo ya la, ke yeyiwi wofo fu edzi vi n'wò, wò nuto edzi dzo wò ne be yeakpe fu... ye n'avo kpofā dèkaso, eve e o, ye nefefle ge ne nyonua... Menye agba doge nala abe egbatso ya ene o. Ne wodzi vi na wò edzi dzo wò agate nju ana... ana 'vo. Ne menae o hā, menye nu wònye edje fu o.

- Researcher: 24 Ke ma menye sr̄wòdzi kpokpo koe ma?  
 Old Lady: 25 Ya wò ñutœ, wo ñutœ do vivi ðe sr̄wò ñu. Ya ye ma. Gake egbeto 'a ya evazu... miebe yevugbe megano 'me o... evazu etotete nane be ele be woatsɔ 'vo kpofa woame ade alo wuieve **kura** po ado agba nam; taku nano dzi, koga nano dzi, 'sige nano dzi. Yenye gbãto ma. Yɛ nye afemeto. Ye wowɔwɔ ge hafi miayi ðe tsotsi azo aɗawo tsotsito. Yɛ nye egba. Ko amekɛe lolɔ ge 'fia be yeaye ne yekpo ale nui'a menyo na ye o. Yaye 'a y'agaxo aha tukpa ðeka le 'gba ya me?
- Interviewer: 26 Aha. Enu ma mebia wòm, KOFI...  
 KOFI: 27 Be ma set example, be ma tso example-a, this Saturday ya ko, nye cousin...  
 Interviewer: 28 Memliɗa ya va yi.
- So is that not just a matter of looking after your wife?  
 That's your own, your own appreciation to your wife. That's all. But today it has become... you said English should not interfere... (pause) it has become compulsory for them to give the woman six or even twelve pieces of cloth, head-kerchief must be on top of them, necklace must be on top of them, ring must be added. That is the first round. That is the customary one. That is what is done before you go to the church to perform the one that is there. That is what is done today. So who will not agree that this is good that she will instead take one bottle of drink?  
 Yes, that is what I was asking you, KOFI...  
 To set an example, to give the example, this Saturday my cousin...  
 Last Saturday

PTO

29 KOFI: Memliḍa ya va yi nye cousin [name withheld], haḍi nyitso nyitso ya ko wove ḍe srɔ̄. Míeva, míeva wo, míe perform enua... woyi veḍo agoo first; wotso aha 'ḍe ko yi. Ye Saturday-a ale'e negbloe, avɔ kple nuawo... wo, wo pastor wova nua te. Míawo míe present, míetso nua ko na anyinɔḍea ... enu viadɛwo koe, menye nu gbogbo aḍeke o. Wonye fomeawo no 'nyi gbloe ho. fomea no 'nyi gbloe ho... enua enyae wònye wo kaḗa woso nu be ale, ale, ale, ta ḍe, ḍe ko wowo nua kpuie. Menye nu wovazu nu su gbɔ ḍeke o. Ḍe ko wogbloe xome ko woyo, woyo wo invite Osofoa. Ye wòva. Afima, tempa nɔɔ ye wogbloe, nusianu, afima godzi. Ye mie end. Ta wogbɔgbɔm be er... egba ye wobe yewoava register. Ke wedding mawo kaḗa ye koe nye Saturday to kple egbatɔ ye woyina sign ge. Ta me... vovototo va le 'me, tso wedding wedding kple nua in terms of expenses. Ega'a le 'me, egagbegble kple nuawoa meva le me l'abe egayi ḍe... awɔ afemetɔ agayi ḍe tsɔtsi o.

30 Interviewer: Ke ne nyɔnuvia, ne... ne... nekpo nyɔnuvia ḍe 'fia y'wo ŋu lé dzi n'awo, be yewom' akpeteshi ḍeka ma dzim o. Ale'e yewowone le egbe ŋkuuuu me ta wò hã nawoe naye nenema; ko ŋutete mele asiwò o; ko aleke newɔ gee 'fia? to do now?

31 KOFI: Ele'e ko míawo hã, míagbugbo awoa. What we can do, we will do it.

- Interviewer: 32 Ega meli o!  
 KOFI: 33 Ye wònye ega meli oa, ke ɔ ko miawo... ale'e be yeadzæ ko edzodzɔ ge because ye ga meli oa, nye hã melõ nyemete ɲu gbogblo ge be m'asi ɔ ge enu o. Ese gome ɔæ? Ta enyo be miagano 'nyi agabu tame tso enu, alee miate ɲu awo tso enu, ale'e miate ɲu awo nua...
- Interviewer: 34 Ke me' gae ma neyina dodo ge 'fia?  
 KOFI: 35 A ne, eva, eva, evadzo ɔ dzi nenema, ke... miawoe nenema.  
 Researcher: 36 Ke me nye ve gã 'ɔ ɔ ye mia te no gea?  
 Interviewer: 37 O, ye wònyagbloe ya koa, ebe ɔ ɔ ɔ mia te hafi mievaɔo afea me. Enya nyuie ɔ du ɔ ɔ 'gbloɔ. Fifa nyanua vado ɔ afea me. Kaka wòawo nu vi' aɔ ko, nuka nyonu ya... .medo asi ɔ ɔ gbo. Nyonu ya yegble ga... yewo wedding na me' ye 'a o. Ne metso asimegbe fui matso akpleɔatsi afui Nuka tae mienco funyafunya wom mia sròwo?
- Researcher: 38 Ne menye ga tae oa nuka tae?  
 KOFI: 39 Oo, enúa fifia, eɔewo tsoa ga... gagbegble ma ta. Ne enu ma dzo nenema because enye veve le lãme na wò be ɔ enu'a mele dzi dzi na wò be nawo oa, wo force wò newoe. Ese gome ɔæ?  
 Researcher: 40 Efia be gae negble ɔ enu ta...
- There is no money!  
 If there is no money, what will happen will happen because if there is no money and I cannot also say I will leave the girl. Do you understand? So it is good we sit down again and think about what we can do...  
 So you're going to borrow money?  
 Yes! If it so happens, so be it.  
 Sowon't there a hole under you.  
 In accordance with what he said, there will be a big hole under you before we reach home... Good tiding always summons its spokes person. Now the woman has come home... Just for a little mistake, I say "what, woman..." and then I beat her. The woman, I wasted money... I performed wedding for, she is not the one. When I beat her with the back of my hand, then I beat her with stirring stick for cooking akple. Why do we maltreat our wives?  
 If it is not because of money then why?  
 O, some of these things, they are caused by the waste of money. When it happens like that it is painful that something you don't want to do, they forced you to do it. You understand?  
 It means the money you've spent on her

- 41 KOFI: Ye hã nye akpa ðeka.  
That is one part.
- 42 Interviewer: Ke efia be nyonu vatro zu kluvi... nya'a ne gblo...  
It shows that woman has become a slave... what you have just said...
- 43 KOFI: Enu'i, edzona, edzona nenema. Edzona nenema... Edzona nenema... Ede hã dzo nyitso, nyitso'a ðe le nu'i... Er, this thing, it happens, it happens that way, it happens that way... Something like that happened recently at... this thing... They took a girl... they killed her and her sister. He killed his wife, the man killed his wife and her sister just recently.
- 44 Interviewer: E... Le Madina... Zongo.  
Yes, at Madina... Zongo.
- 45 KOFI: Ebe ye srõ yedze 'agba kpo dzi uuu, fìle machine ne, dii do. Fifa wògave ñutsu bubu kpom. Ekpoe, ye hã gavazu, one way or the other, èkpo be... evagble ga ðe tefe ađe. Ega ma wògbìè, evazu... wòvazu... ehe... wovazu tefe bubu tom hã eva eva feel-m be... ehe... wòvanye vevese ne be ema wom wòle'a...  
He said he tried and looked after her for a long time, bought a sewing machine for her and sent her for apprenticeship. Now she is seeing another man. To his mind, it has also become... one way or the other; to him, he wasted his money on her. The money he wasted became... it became... yes ... she was being unfaithful, he came to, he came to feel it... yes it became painful to him what she was doing...
- 46 Interviewer: Ke efia be menye lolõ tae miege ðe srõðegbenono me o ðe?  
So it shows that it is not for love that we are marrying?
- 47 KOFI: Lolõ ñuto menye ganya o. Ne ganyae a...  
Love is not based on money. If it is for money...
- 48 Researcher: Ne ga va'a, ke mieko lolõ ku ati. Mekpoe le uu ađe dzi lolõ ku ati.  
In the presence of money, we abandon love. I have seen it (written) on a vehicle – "Abandoned Love"
- 49 Interviewer: Xemayi miemo nu kom'a fifa wovado d'afeme dome vatro 'labe ga mevali miawo nu'i... ke miano funyafunya wom nyonua, menyo o.  
Formerly you both were all smiles... now she has come to the house and there is no money so so you maltreat the woman. It is not good.

- 50 Researcher: Gake susu bubu ade hã gali'i woate ñu awo funyafunya nyɔnua?
- 51 KOFI: O. eli, eli ya moŋ.
- 52 Interviewer: Abe nuka hawoe... Nuka hawoe ana gomeɔkpe akuaku be ñutsu nawo funyafunya srõ'i wòɔɔ da ɔe afe-me?
- 53 Researcher: Fifia ne mieto asi nya mawo dzi koa nu'i ɔewohi míanye mo ne nya koa, atsi nu mawo ñu.
- 54 KOFI: O, O.K. maitso ñu be mia miafe system'ia me miele, eɔewo li wobuna be ɔe ñutsuwo ɔe, nyɔnuwo **all the time**- a woano wo **respect**-m, woano ñua 'ɔewo wom. Ye nye ñutsu aɔewo li, afii wohe wo tsoa be wò ñutsua, **all the time**-a, ele be srõwò wòano nu'i wom na wò. Eɔewo li hã, nyɔnua le srõ gbo ano dodom. Eɔewo lia ano...
- 55 Researcher: Uhu, ...o... gbloe...
- 56 KOFI: ... sakpli sam ehẽ. Eɔewo lia ano... ano, ano ano zɔzom gadom si ano tsatsam amewo dzi ano ga dom si womegbɔgɔ ge ne wò srõwo o, kple nyawo fũu.
- 57 Interviewer: Ko ne mieno 'nyi egbloe... enui... menyo wu be nado asi ɔe 'gbe afuia?
- But is there any other reason for maltreating women?
- O there are, there are many others definitely
- Like what?... What particular cause is there for a man to maltreat the wife he has brought home?
- Now if we can point at those causes, then, this thing, perhaps we'll know the truth and be in a position to stop those things.
- O, O.K. I will start by saying that the system in which we live... there are some people, they think that men... no women, should respect them **all the time**, that they should do certain things for them. There are some men, where they were brought up, **all the time**, your wife must do things for you. There are some people, the woman is with her husband but flirts with men outside. And there are some who...
- Well, oh, say it...
- ... tell lies, yes. There are some... they, they go about borrowing money... they roam about borrowing money and won't tell their husbands about it, and other such behaviour.
- So if you sit down and talk about it, this thing, ... is it not better than striking her with your fist?

- KOFI: 58 E... ele 'me nenema. Edjowo li'a ekpoe nu'djowo li mete nju control-ge o. M'amesiame koe ate nju ale dzi de fo o. Ehē. Eme adjowo li'a de ko wòdzona hafi wo regret-na. Ehē.
- Interviewer: 59 Yoo, nyaga nya 'de lia? Hafi magato atsi bubu ne a?
- Researcher: 60 Nyɔnufo nyɔnufo-nya, nyɔnufo-nya 'ia.
- Yes, ... it is true. There are some people, you see? There are some things you cannot control. It is not just everybody who wait patiently. Yes, there are people, it has to happen before they regret it. Yes.
- All right, old lady, is there something to say before I open another topic?
- Beating of women, beating of women, this beating of women.

PTO

The things is that er what he has said that someone claimed he had look after somebody (a woman) to learn a trade but she was having affair with another man; that was a bad thing, an abominable offence she was committing. For that the man had a right to beat her. But the anger that made him kill both was too bad, because he destroyed them. If he had beaten her or handed her over to her parents that he had spent money on the woman so that he would marry her but in the end this is the way things were going, the way things were going and that he didn't like it so he brought her to divorce her, that would have been far better than getting angry and killing her. By killing her he has wasted her for er her parents. Probably, they will execute the man or they will not. So if they don't execute him then he has wasted the woman for her parents. When you bring somebody's daughter to stay with you and you find out that you don't like her behaviour, you must not kill her. You must send her to her parents.

Where you bring her from you send her back there.

Yes, you send her back to her people.

But perhaps, he thought he had spent money, he had spent money (all speaking at the same time).

Like is tedious in the country

(continues) he had spent money. That alone, that alone

Enu le nye be er ema wògblo be 'me ađe be yekpo 'me ađe dzi ye wòstro do gake wògazozom kple ntsu bubua; Ya'a enu gbeblē, enu v̄ wonye nyonua w̄w̄om. Ya ntsu kpo mo w̄ate n̄u aƒui. Gake 'a dziku ma wodo wu wo kpakple eve ya esesē. Elabe ɖe w̄otr̄o wo. Ne nye be w̄ofui alo wokploe kpo yi ɖade asi ne dzilawo be nyɔnu ya yegblē ga ɖe n̄u be yewo kpakpli yewoano 'nyi, gake enuwuwu ale'e w̄oɔa yimee, ale'e va yimee menyo na ye o, ta ye kploe ve ne y' ađe asi n̄ua, enyo n̄uto, tso wu yi w̄odo dziku ewui. Wuwu ma w̄owui edee ahe ne n̄utowo. Ɖewofia woabe woawu n̄utsua ɖe n̄u lo alo womawui o. Ko ne womewui koa ede ame'a ahe n' amenutowo. Hafi na akplo ame ađe ƒe ame ada ɖe ɖokuiw̄o gbo ye yiƒe nuwona madze 'dzi na w̄oɔa, mele be nawui o. Ele be nakploe ayi ne n̄uto.

62 Afii nekploe tsoe nagakploe aɖo ɖa.

63 ɛ nagakploe yi ne n̄uto.

64 Gake ɖewohi yea tsoe be, yegblē ga, yegblē ga... (all speaking at the same time)

65 Duko me sesē lo, dukamesesē.

66 (continues)... Yegblē ga yegblē ga. Ye koe. Yewo nu koe

Old Lady:

Interviewer:

Old Lady:

Researcher:

Interviewer:

Researcher:



- tsi tame nɛ.  
 Interviewer: 67 Ega ma ɔo enui... tame nɛ ko miévaɔo afe ko wòe ma be yeavawo nu'i... Ao ɔe...  
 Old Lady: 68 Oo, ema gbegebe'a...  
 Researcher: 69 ... yeme mo na gee gbedegbede wòagato afi adekeo... ah, ema woa, yena be tsátowo'a...  
 Old Lady: 70 ... mewo ge hã o. Ye nabe nyonu tsukunowo bo tsã nuto. Ne nyagbe yi gbodoame, ne egbo koa, kaka nage ɔe nutsu'a 'feme ko edze aɔava. È ...ko y'a wò nuto....  
 Researcher: 71 Meye nye afodada wogblnaa?  
 Old Lady: 72 ...wò nuto wò gbegbieã fe viɔee ma nekpo. Gake egba ya me miele 'fia nya mawo ɔeke megali o.  
 Interviewer: 73 Yoo, ke mígayi ɔe bubu dzi zi ɔeka.  
 Old Lady: 74 Dukokplala fe kpedenuto fo nu tso sedzi mawomawo le duko me nu. Vo ese 'a, ese 'a wowo da ɔi mie' dzi wom o, er... Eɔo nku Tsikata fe nya 'a dzi. Ale kee nekpo tso sea nu?  
 (laugh)  
 KOFI: 75 Tsikata kple...
- preoccupied his mind.  
 Money matters have taken hold of his mind ... so we've come home and then you want to do this thing... No!  
 O, that was too much  
 ... that he won't allow her to abscond with other men... ah, that's why people of olden time...  
 ... you (a woman) dares not do it even. That's why mad women were common. As soon as you indulge in any extra-marital affair, the moment you re-enter your marital home, you become mad. Yes. ... then you yourself....  
 Is that not what they call "afodada" (missing steps / disorientation)?  
 ... you yourself, you have received the result of your own bad life. But today there is none of that.  
 Alright, let us go to another topic at once.  
 The Vice President talked about lawlessness in the country. But the laws, the laws we are not obeying them er.... Do you remember Tsikata's case? How do you see the laws?  
 (laughter)  
 Tsikata and...

- Researcher: 76 Tsikata fe nya ma'a dada mesee ya o ta, wòle be nađe me ne: enu'i tututu edzo be Tsikata kple dziđudua...
- KOFI: 77 Tsikata'a wogbogblom be wònye... wòdae... wòle GNPC nu'a, enye Petroleum enu'i...
- Interviewer: 78 Amikudowɔfe.

Petroleum company.

PTO

Petroleum company. He was the head (boss) there ... was taking care of the place. It happened that he **contract(ed)** loan... he borrowed money from a **company** and gave it to another **company** here in Ghana, which they say is called **Valley something Farms**, for investment. The **company**, it happened that the **company** did not find money to **repay**, so Tsikata endeavoured and took money from the **company** the **oil company** he works for, to clear the loan. So now this government, the new government is saying hat... this thing... what he did was wrong, illegal. That is, the way the loan was contracted for the **company**, he did not... it was not good, because he should have followed some procedure before the loan was granted. And the government is saying that because he did not abide by the law he must be summoned before... er this thing... court or... And it happened that constitution governs the running of the country. So he (Tsikata) too is making a case against them (government). Some things are true that... **but...** but there is a law, there is a law... they say, they say there has been a law since 1993 but it came into effect in **July** (1993). Tsikata is saying that... that law... he did, he did, he **contract(ed)** that **loan** before the law was promulgated, yes, so that...

They cannot try him with that law.

Yes, that's what he's saying. Yes... so that is what they are disputing now... yes.

Amikudowo fe. Ye nye amegã le afima godzi, no... ebe íém ne te'fea. Ye wòvadzo be eva **contract loan**... evado ga le **company**-a'ðe gbo ko ne **company** a'ðe le Ghana 'fi godzi wobe enye **Valley nuka Farms**, be woako wodo. Ye **company**-a evadzo be **company**-a mevãkpo ega pay, ta Tsikata dze agbagba tso ga le **company**-a **oil company** ya wolea, ami - **company** ya wole, ko xe fe'a. Ke fifia dzi'udu 'ia va dzi'udu va gbogblom 'fia be ðe enu'i wòwò, mewoe nyui o. Ta emó'yiwo dzi wòto hafi va do ga na **company**-a mewo ðe... menye emó nyui dzi woto o ta ðe elebe wòto tefe a'ðewo hafi wòate ñu awo do ma. Eye esi dzi'udu va gbogblom be ðe mewo ðe ese dzi ta ðe ele be woasabae ðe enu'i, ðe vonudro'fe alo... Ye wova dzo be ðuko hã ese míeko duko ' kpló mee. Ye yi hã tso enu ðe wò ñu... ko nu a'ðewo le 'me be ale... ale ta ... **but ... but** ese a'ðe li, ese a'ðe li wobe... wobe ese a'ðe va keke 1993, gake eva **July** me. Ye Tsikatae gbogblom be ðe... ese ma... yewo, yewo, yewo ye- **contract loan** ma hafi ese ma va ...ehe, ta ðe...

Womate ñu atso ese ma ako kpló ye o.

Yes yegblom wole'e ma. Ehẽ, ta yenye nya ya le toame wono... wo'hem 'fia, ehẽ.

79 KOFI:

80 Interviewer:

81 KOFI:

- 82 Old Lady: Ko ke ye nya 'a le toame 'fia wohehem dɛ, Tsikata tɔe gblɔm wòle kple eya gblɔm wole dɛ, ke miawo miekpɔ be ye nye nyuitɔ wu? E'labe yeabe ese xoxoa me yewo le hafi se ye ye va. Ta se ye ye meɖu... me, me, meɖu ye alo ye me... ē, se ye ye mateɖ, womat'aj tso se ye ye ako kplo ye o. Ye medze ago... ye medze ago le se ye ye'ò dzi o. Ese xoxoa me yewo nu'a le, ta wome se ye ye tso ge akplo ye o. Eto dzo lo alo egbɛ?
- 83 KOFI: Le nye 'a nye nukpokɔ me megbɔblɔm be dɛ megblo be yemewoe o. Ya Tsikata gɔgbɔlɔm be yemewoe o. Gake wonye ese ... yi ta... eya megblo be yemewoe o. Ke ye ko 'yato koe nye... y'a ko sea, ko sea edokui defend-mé vasede time'yi ke wodzi efo nyui aɖe vabu tso enui because efo kaŋa...
- 84 Old Lady: Efo 'ya bumee wole'a me nenema e o.
- 85 KOFI: Efo 'ya bumee wole dɛ enutia mele agbalé me be woabu foe nenema o. Ehe!
- 86 Researcher: Nya bubu aɖe hã dzo do nɔgo ne ema kura. Wobe yewoa... eyi wobe yewoako nya dɛ enua wokoe yina dɛ vɔnu aɖe yi ke woyoyɔm be kabakaba- Fast-Track Court. Ye wòbe ā, ā miete nu nye koge ayi... vɔnu ma o; medze kura be woate nu... Hafi enya dɛ dzo.
- 87 (Continues) Fi ma hã dada mese eyia o.
- So if that is the case they are disputing, what Tsikata is saying and what they are saying, which one do you think is the better?  
Because he says he did it under the old law before the new law was passed. So the new law can't judge... can't judge him.... yes, the new law can't, they can't use the new law against him. And he is not guilty; he is not guilty under the new law. He did it under the old law, so they can't take the new law to try him. Is he right or wrong?  
In my opinion, he isn't saying that, he didn't say he did not do it. He, Tsikata, isn't saying he did not do it. But it was the law... he didn't say he didn't do it. But he... his strategy is to use the law, using the law to defend himself until such time that they can find another way to get him because all the cases...  
The guilty verdict that they are pronouncing against him, it is not right.  
The guilty verdict they are pronouncing against him, it is not in the (law) book that they can do so. Yes!  
There was even another case which preceded that one. They wanted to try him, they were taking him to a type of court called Fast Track-Court. And he said, ah ah you cannot try meat that court; it is illegal that they could... Then something happened.  
(Continues) That case too, our mother do not know about

it.

This thing, it happened that the country er... when this new government er they established a type of court called **Fast Track Court**. The **Fast Track Court**, they said there are cases, only some cases will go there. Yes. So they say if it is **civil cases** er because er **I don't know how to put it... Civil cases or criminal** and what not cases, they are not included. One or two cases are sent there. It became clear that the case, the charge brought against him looked like a **criminal case**. You see? You see? Now he is saying the **court**, they established is not constitutional. So he took the the government to the **Chief Justice** that **Fast Track Court...** he went to defend himself that the law, er that court is not er...

...is not lawful.

It is not lawful to try his case.

... to try his case, for him. It seems it is a new **court**. So he knew his case should not be sent there. So now, what is the government saying to him about this case?

Now he has won the case at the **Supreme Court**. Now the government is saying that he won because the people who **judged the cases**, they did not... the **judges... supreme court judges**, they did not do this thing... well... they didn't try the case well so they will send him again to another **normal court**, they said **normal court**. There is a court particularly called **High Court**. That is, this

88 KOFI: Enu'i, eva dzo be de eduko er... edzidudua va wovado er... court ade wobe engkoe nye **Fast-Track Court**. **Fast Track Court-a** wobe enya dewo lia, enya deka deka 'dewo ko afi ma yi ge. Ta wobe elabe ne nye **civil cases** er elabe er **I don't know how to put it... civil cases** alo **criminal kple nuwo cases** womele me o. Nya deka deka adewo koe ayi. Ye wova dze be case, charge yi watsɔ nea wovale abe **criminal case-e**. You see? Ekpom dae? Ye fifia ya gbogblom be de court ya wo- establish ha mele se dzi o. Ta ye wovazu be wova kplo, wovakplo dzidudua yi de **Chief Justice**, be **Fast Track Court-a...** va defend edokui be ese ma... er... court ma menye er...

89 Researcher: ... mele se nu o

90 KOFI: Mele se nu be woadro yewo nya o.

91 Old Lady: ... woadro ye wo nya na ye. Edzem abe court yeye wonye va ene. Ko y'akpoe be yewo nya meten' afima yi ge o. Ko ke fifia de nuka gblom dzidudua le ne tso nya 'ia nuti fia.

92 KOFI: Fifia ale'e vazu fia evadu dzi le **Supreme Court-a**. Fifia dzidudua gbogblom be de, edzidudua y'a ame 'yiwo va judge cases-a, wome... judges-a... **supreme court judges** wo womewo nu'i nyuie o... womedro nya nyuie o ta fifia wogakpoe yi de another normal court, wobe normal court. Court ade li wobe **High Court** koɲ. Ya nye nu'ia... amesiame recognize-e already a... Ke fifia nuse,

thing... Everyone recognizes it already... But now power, er this government, er this Chief Justice is er is er...

The judge

The judges er... this thing, said that they would go for a review. And they said they still want to investigate, this thing, the case er Supreme Court's decision was not right Yes. What they said shouldn't have been that way; it should have been the other way round. It must be the other way - the other way round.  
(Old Lady laughing)

They must overturn the decision. They must overturn the decision.

So that they will win; that the government wins to keep the fast track court in place.

The fast track court is not good.

... to judge all those cases. Because they also observe that everything will be wrong. If because of Tsikata's case they should destroy or remove the fast track court, the many cases that were judged, the people imprisoned...

... in the same case.

...yes, in those cases,...in the fast track court

...because of the fast track court.

er zidjũdu yia, er Chief Justice' yia le er le er...

vonudro la

vonudro la to er nu'i be ye wobe yeawo, aga de review. Ye wobe yewoaga ku nu'ia me ke, enya yia Supreme Court-towo gbloe medzo o. Ehe ale'e wogbloe menye nenema wonye o ta de ele be woanye the other way round... ele be woganye the other way - the other way round.  
(Old Lady...laughing)

Ele be woatro nya'a. Ele be woatro nya'a

Be yewo to na dzo; dziũduũ fe nya nadzo be kabakaba vonju'a nana te.

Kabakaba vonjua menyo o.

...adro nya m'wo kata. 'Labe woawo ha kpo be nu ge de gbegbi-ge. Ne woanye be Tsikata fe nya 'ia ge de 'me ko wosro, er kabakaba vonju ma, vonju gbogbo yi wodro do tso, wo ame yiwo wode ga...

...de nya ma me...

... de nya ma... de kabakaba vonju ma...

...de kabakaba vonjua ta...

- 102 Researcher: ɛ... ke nya mawo katā woga woko -ge dzi  
 103 Old Lady: Ele be woagatro agagbo.  
 104 Researcher: ...aḍe asi ame mawo katā ŋuti woava ʼfeme be uɔŋua  
 menye uɔŋu yi ke wo, adro nya na ʼme hafi o. Ta woawo hā  
 ŋku bia nʼwo · ʼLeke wogblone?  
 105 Old Lady: ʼyi koe ma...  
 106 Interviewer: Wo ʼfe mo do uusra.  
 107 Researcher: Mo do, mo do uustra- Edze be... Ko mevanye Tsikata deḍe  
 ʼfe nyae nye ya vadze to o lo. Le esewo ŋu ne nanewo dzo  
 nenemaʼa ke atenju awo ŋuʼi, agblē nu le nu geḍe nu. Nya  
 yiwo wotsɔ de amewo ŋu efe ʼfe ʼfewo, ʼfe deka blibo ʼya  
 va yia, ʼme mawo katā wofɔfo ge abe aleʼe be nʼwo, ame  
 yiwo ku hā woafɔ woa, Yesu fo ko woawo hā fɔfo gea, ɛ  
 nenema togbi woawo hā fɔfo ge keŋ. Ye womedzidzim o.  
 Ta yenye ŋku bia ya de nya ya dzi. Ta menyɛ Tsikata deḍe  
 ʼfe nya ŋuto ko wole de ŋgo fifia etotrom et... nuʼi...  
 108 Old Lady: Ke fifia de Tsikata wo nya de woa ʼsi de ge ŋu loo.  
 109 Researcher: O ŋu ma, de wolēm, de wolēm gakeʼa...  
 110 Interviewer: ... Wolēm gakeʼa way yi ŋu woato aliʼa womete ŋu mo ma  
 kpom o, elabe dukplosea ese le dua shi woko kplom lo. Ye  
 ne mibebe... mīese ma zam a ke se ma mete ŋu Tsikata le ge  
 o.
- Yes, they will re-open those cases.  
 They must be re-visited.  
 Those imprisoned would be set free to go home because  
 the court should not have tried their cases. So they  
 (government) were determined. How is it said?  
 Thatʼs it.  
 Their faces became bloody/reddened.  
 Their faces became bloody. So it wasnʼt Tsikataʼs case  
 alone that is at stake. According to the law when things  
 like that happen it can destroy so many things. Cases that  
 were brought against people during the year will all be re-  
 opened in much the same way that the dead rose when  
 Jesus resurrected. Thatʼs exactly what they do not want.  
 So that is why there is this seriousness regarding this case.  
 So it is not only because of Tsikataʼs case that they  
 (government) are now serious and et....  
 So now Tsikataʼs case, are they going to abandon it?  
 Oh that case, they are holding on to it, holding on to it but.  
 They are holding on to it but the way by which they could  
 ensnare him is illusive because of the constitution, the law  
 that rules the country. And if we say we are using the law  
 then that law canʼt ensnare Tsikata.

- Researcher: 111 Ne melé Tsikata o ko ke fia be ame mamle le xomea. ...ame mamle yiwo há m'ede xoa...
- If it doesn't get Tsikata then it shows that the rest of those who were imprisoned... the rest whom we have been put in prison...
- All: 112 ...ele be miahe woawo há de go.
- ...they ought to be set free.
- Researcher: 113 Ko enua nuto d'wo vazu abe ale'e ko nano fu gbám vuu keke ko agba 'de ya ko woade fu n'wò
- So the issue is just like when you are cracking bones and end up cracking one particular that causes you lots of problems.
- Interviewer: 114 É, Atanayi-abonaxaxa, atanayi-abonaxaxa nyae ma! Ehé nano efu'a deziade gbám, ke'a ne gbé koa woaxaxa de...
- It is a case like the head has gone in but the arm could not Yes, you crack every bone but one crack will stuck into
- Researcher: 115 ...adua nagblé.
- the tooth breaks
- Old Lady: 116 Desiade kple deziade há er ne dziɖuɖu xoxo aɖe wo se aɖe da ɖi 'ye dziɖuɖu yeye aɖe va ye ame aɖewo yi mo me'a, mešē nē be wod' asi ame yiawoŋu...
- By and by, there was an old government which had made laws and a new government came and sent them to prison, it is not difficult to release them.
- Researcher: 117 É wote ŋu d' asi dewo ŋu. Ye togbi'a dzadzom' fia.
- Yes, they can release some of them. That is what is happening now
- Old Lady: 118 Ke fifia...
- So now....
- KOFI: 119 Wobe ema, amne... amnesty alo ke ma gblom wòle.
- They say amne... amnesty or the one they're talking about...
- Interviewer: 120 Ya ne dziɖuɖu yeye aɖe va dee, ate ŋu aɖe asi ame yawo ŋu.
- So if a new government comes, can it release those people?
- Researcher: 121 Ema yea yea...
- As for that, as for that...
- Old Lady: 122 Gake ye wonye yele, le zi dzi'fià hafi tso Tsikata wo nya ve ta, m'asi de ge o
- But it is the sitting government that is talking the case against Tsikata, it won't leave the case.



- ta, m'asi dɛ ge o
- 123 Interviewer: Ao. Ne d'asi Tsikata fe nya nua, ame yiwo kafã wode xo wo' asi dɛ ge wo nju. If it leaves Tsikata's case all those who are imprisoned will be released.
- 124 Researcher: Ame yiwo kafã wode, wode xo dɛ... dɛ uɔnu ma fe ako nju ko ye wo asi dɛ ge wo nju. Ke miawoe ma va du njukpe. The people whom they have imprisoned via that court will be released. Then they (government) will be ashamed.
- 125 Old Lady: Ta ne nyé Tsikata toe nye dzodzoe'a hã gake ese ya ta, ele be woabu fo kokoko be eto menye dzadzoe oa? So, if Tsikata is right but because of that law, must they condemn him?
- 126 Interviewer: E... vo womekpɔ mo... Yes... but they haven't found a way
- 127 Researcher: Womekpɔ mome hadɛ ke o. They haven't found a way yet.
- 128 Interviewer: Tsikata vato 'se, ese yia wówo da dja etso ese, ewo hem azo. Ke fifia wo njuwo toto le wo dokui mé. Tsikata is using the law against the law they have made. So now they are confused among themselves.
- 129 Old Lady: ē, wo' toto ge wu kema. Wo toto ge wu ema. Yes, they will be more confused than that. They will be more confused than that.
- 130 Researcher: Ke fifia dɛ enju'i mídzese enu nya gblóm 'a nane hã vadzo le Gbegãzi. So now er, this thing, as we are talking about the law, something also happened in the North.
- 131 Interviewer: Gbegãdzi nutoame, Gbegãdzi vato dzo... Northern Region, the North is on fire...
- 132 Researcher: Gbetoviwo ... Human beings...

- 133 Interviewer: Naḍo ṅku dzi be tsā adeyevi ta ye Peki kple Tsito towo wo ava ḍo. Nu yi dzo ḍe Alavanyo kple Nkonyatowo domia, 'me aḍe medzi be yeagbloe o. Te mabimabi tae amewo ta dzi dzo va gba ḍo. Gbegādzitowo to dzo kpo: tsaxe ḍeka fe azi tae. Fifia fia, nya va do ta ḍa. Mili milia, amewo lé na. Mietsoe mietsoe ko vo keṅ amewunya va ge ḍe me. Wotso tu eḍa nyamanyama le Dagbon nuroame. Fifia dukokplola be afi ma ḍo vovo, ezu vovodofe ta er teḍea megafa o ta evalo kpovito, gbadagbawo kple... va'a ko ḍe afima 'fia...
- 134 Researcher: Nɔvinye ḍeka há l'afima 'fia.
- 135 Old Lady: Wònye nya yeye fia?
- 136 Researcher: Wonye nya yeye. Wowu fia...
- 137 Interviewer: Wonye nya yeye fia wotso eḍa wo ta... Wotso eḍa ta...
- 138 Old Lady: E?
- 139 Interviewer: ... etso ta ṅu... eḍii... eḍii...
- 140 Old Lady: E? Ye ame kee ame flim-a?
- 141 Researcher: Wo ṅuto wo de towo.
- 142 Interviewer: Aha... ame ya áme wum'a, wo ṅuto wo de towo. Fifia wogbɔgbɔm be ame ma' a, ne ame'i ate ṅu akplo ame ma
- Remember that long ago because of catfish Peki and Tsito people went to war. What happened between the people of Alavanyo and Nkonya can't be revealed. It is also for not-well-roasted yam that peoples' head broke. The Northerners once burned down thatched fence: it is because of the egg of a guinea fowl. Right now there is a problem. The one who calls for help receives it. "Let's catch him, let's catch him", that results in the death of someone. There were shoot-outs in Dagbon area. Now the President says the place is not safe, it is a place of fear so... the place is not peaceful so he has deployed the police and the army there now.
- One of my brothers is there presently.
- Is it a new occurrence?
- It is a current development. They killed a chief.
- It is recent happening – a chief was beheaded. A chief has been beheaded....
- Is that so?
- ... was beheaded and chopped into pieces...
- Is that right? And who is cutting a human being into pieces?
- It is the decessor's own subjects.
- Yeah...the killers, they are his subjects. Now they are saying anybody who can get the culprit they will reward

- Researcher: 143 ve 'a yewo ga sisi **million** ewo ko ge...  
 ...reward him with ten **million**. That money is...
- Old Lady: 144 Ame ya wu amea, ameya wu ame'a?  
 The murderer?... the murderer?
- Interviewer: 145 é, ne... ne ame ađe te ɲu kplo ame ma ve ko...  
 Yes, if anybody can get the murderer.
- Researcher: 146 Alo amewo ve koa...  
 Or the culprits ...
- Old Lady: 147 Afi ke wòkpò ge le?  
 Where will they find him?
- Researcher: 148 Aha, Nu'a, 'leke'e nekpo tso nu yiawo kple 'se ɲu? Nu  
 gedɛ dzodzom ɔe nyawo megbe...  
 Yeah, the thing..., how do you see these things and the  
 law? A lot is happening after the main event...
- KOFI: 149 Enya, nya ya dzodzom 'fia, ke mevase, mevase wo gogblom  
 be wobe tso keke Acheampong time wobe ezu efiawo fe  
 viuli tso keke Acheampong time, wobe 1973 alo 74.  
 What is happening now, I head it being said, they said  
 since Acheampong time there had been a struggle among  
 chiefs... since Acheampong time, they said 1973 or 74.
- Interviewer: 150 73, meɔo ɲku 'dzi.  
 73 I remember it.
- KOFI: 151 Abe 73, ye Acheampong tso efe ɲuse ye wotso ame 'a ko  
 da ɔe 'dzi, enui, efiya ya kukum fia, ko da ɔe 'dzi by force.  
 By then wobe ele be akpa 'velia...  
 Round about 73, Acheampong used his influence to  
 enskin the deceased person, to make the deceased the chief  
 by force. By then, they said the other faction...
- Interviewer: 152 Abudu fomea  
 The Abudu family
- KOFI: 153 Ehe, ye wole be woadu efiya hafi gake wotso ame ya kple  
 akpasese ko vada ɔe 'dzi. Ta enya 'a le toame wo dea  
 xoxoxo. Elabe kosida eve ya, kosida ɔeka, kosida eve yia,  
 wobe er wogbona wofe festival ɔe ɔuge, wobe enui...  
 Yes, the chief should have come from [that family] but he  
 imposed the deceased as chief over the people. So the  
 case is going round in the town long ago. Round about  
 two weeks er one week, two weeks ago they said er they  
 were going to celebrate their festival, they said er this

- thing...
- Interviewer: 154 Edzo zā  
Fire festival
- KOFI: 155 ...edzo zā dẹ dẹ ge... fire festival aḍe. Ta wono enya dẹwo sem. Ta ye be new government, amẹ'a le... Interior Minister... eḡui.
- Interviewer: 156 ...duko fe amẹ'a kpo duko fe tomafafa kple dedienono dzia, yi nye Alhaji Malik Alhasan Yakubu.
- KOFI: 157 Eiso nya'a...
- Interviewer: 158 ... yi ke nye Gbegadzitwo. Fi ma ke wòiso. Wotso nya ko dọ eḡuku me nḡ. Ye wogbloe nea ko ya ko so far nyemenya aleke wovadzoe o. Gake wogbogblom be melé nku dẹ nya me o. Ele be woano very ... woano... woalé nku dẹ nya me nyui elabe enu ma ate nju...
- Researcher: 159 ...agblẽ nu.
- KOFI: 160 ...agblẽ nu. Ehẽ. Evazu be
- Researcher: 161 ...metso fobubu, metso foléle aḍeke ne...
- KOFI: 162 Serious. Ehe -Ehe. Ye wòvazu, ye wòvazu be enya 'a vadzo. Gake wogbogblom be dẹ hafi wòdą dzi'a, woava zu MP le 'fima godzia, wobe, wogbogblom be dẹ edo er e-promise wo...
- ...going to celebrate a Fire festival ... a Fire Festival. So they were hearing about some developments. So the new government, the person who is [their] Interior Minister... er... this thing...
- The Minister of Interior who is Alhaji Malik Alhasan Yakubu
- He took the case...
- (continues) who is also a northerner. He comes from that place. They reported the case to him, they informed him and so far I don't know how things went. But they are saying that he didn't take any action. He ought to be very, he ought to be... he ought to look seriously into the matter because that issue can...
- ...be destructive
- ...destructive. Yes. It turned out to be...
- ...he did not take any blame; he did not show much concern...
- Serious. Yes, yeah, And it so happened that the worst happened. But they are saying that before he won, before he became MP for that area, they said, they're saying he made er he promised them ...

- Researcher: 163 Edo n̄ugbe na wo. He made a promise to them.
- Old Lady: 164 Edo n̄ugbe na wo. He made a promise to them.
- KOFI: 165 Edo n̄ugbe na wo be d̄e, ne yeḍu, ne yeḍu dzia d̄e.... He made a promise to them that if he wins....
- Old Lady: 166 ...ye'a wo nane na wo ...he would do something for them
- KOFI: 167 ...ye'a wo nane tso en̄i'a n̄u. Gake wode t̄woe, wo is from their tribe.... tribe. There are two families/factions. So when the incident occurred they said dz̄o, wobe etu yia wo t̄gbi woza menye er gbodome tu the types of guns used were not the locally made types. yiawo t̄gbi o. E... gbadagba f̄e tu w̄nye woza le 'fima... Yes, soldiers' guns were used there.
- Researcher: 168 Ameke koe n'wo? Ame aḍe ko tua n'wo. Who gave them the guns? Some body in particular gave then the guns.
- Old Lady: 169 Wonye dziḍuḍu f̄e tu? And they are guns belonging to the government?
- Researcher: Ah well, ame aḍeke menya o. Ah well, nobody knows
- KOFI: Ame aḍeke menya o. Nobody knows
- Old Lady: 170 A ye wonye gbadagba wo tua, me' dziḍuḍu t̄ nye ge w̄a laa? Alo ye n̄uto ate wo to. Ah, if they were soldiers' guns, wouldn't they be for the government? Or can they make their own?
- Researcher: 170 Fifia dziḍuḍua be hafi nafo n̄ua, ne nan̄lo nu tso nya n̄ua, ada d̄e p̄pa mea, edze be yewoa... Now the government says that before you express yourself, write a comment in the papers, they (government) have to ...
- KOFI: 171 Wogb̄gbl̄om be Interior Minister nya nan̄e tso en̄u, wo' They are saying that the Interior Minister knows

- kple er **Regional Minister** wonya nane tso enju. Ta de ye wobe woayi de enya me'a, efe be woawo nui...
- Interviewer: 172 ...woade asi do nu... ne woku nya me'a woade asi do nu.
- KOFI: 173 Vo wogboblom be de nye ya wo wo **accuse-m nenema** na'a nya ma vazu nenema elabena adewo lia, **journalists-adewo lia** ame yiwo no... wote n' **high na, high na tension** because wovazu woavazu er ame dziqudu fe amewoe ene. Ta wodzi be de woa....
- Researcher: 174 ...woade asi do nu hafi...
- KOFI: 175 Ehé, woa, woa, woa, **cease journalists from coming out** with er... nui...
- Interviewer: 176 Nyadzodzodowolawo, woado woado asi nyadzodzodowolawo dzi.
- KOFI: 177 **Because** wo gbogblom be wova na **curfew. Curfew** yia wovana'a ye wogava na **light-off** ake.
- Researcher: 178 Nukae nye **curfew**?
- KOFI: 179 **Curfew** nye be wovade se te-fe dzi be de nefo l'abe ga 'de godzi ame adéke mega le...
- Interviewer: 180 ...do go le afe me o.
- KOFI: 181 ...do go le a feame kple nuwo. Ye wogatso kadj há gatsi le
- something about it, he and er the **Regional Minister** know something about it. So they wanted an investigation into the case; that he (the Interior Minister) must do... this thing...
- ...resign his post ... for the investigation to proceed, that he must resign.
- But they (government) are saying that the case has become highly publicised because some people, some **journalists**, they **high[ten] tension** because they (ministers) are government officials. So they wanted him to...
- ...to resign before
- Yes, they **cease** (i.e. stop) **journalists from coming out** with er this thing.
- Journalists, they stop journalists.
- Because**, they are saying that they ordered **curfew**. Beside this **curfew** there was **light-off** too.
- What is **curfew**?
- Curfew** is a law given at the place that from about six o'clock nobody should...
- ...go out of his house.
- ...go out of his house and other such stuff. And they

also put off the lights in the town. So people went, under cover of the curfew, to kill the chief. And they cut off his head and took the head away.

They haven't seen that head?

So now who will be questioned?

Nobody knows where the head is, so...

Are they going to ask the President, or?

Well, if a fish will rot is it not from the head? Yes, it starts with the head!. They questioned the Regional Minister and the President's minister for Interior. And they must question the president himself. Now the regional and interior ministers have resigned. The person who was, who was suspected to have cut off the person's head they can't find him, Now they have again set aside one million cedis, to be rewarded anyone who brings the culprit.

OK. Now let's leave those cases but remain in the town. Yeah... we've changed Government. They say the government... the new government that is in power now, the old one no more exists. It is a kind of change, people say it is a new change. Positive change is what they are saying. They have stayed in power for one year. Now, what is your opinion about their performance in their over one year of rule?

For me, the way I see it, what they are saying positive

duame. Ta 'mewo to curfew ma me 'ye wovawu efia... 'Ye wose ta nu tso ta ko dzoe.

182 Researcher: Womekpo ta 'fia?

183 Old Lady: Ke fifia 'me kee wo nya 'a bia ge fia?

184 Researcher: Ame adeke menya 'fiyi eta ha le fia o ta...

185 Old Lady: Edukplola bia ge woa la loo...

186 Interviewer: A ne la be yeafafa, me' ta gbo wotsona? E eta gbo wotsona... nutoamedzikpola kple dukokplola fe ame yia woɔo dedienono kple tometafanyawo gbo wobia gbewo. 'Ye woatso gbe bia dukokplola nuto ha. Fifia ame yia wo tso nutoame kple ame yi le tometafanyawo dzi kpoma, yema vadɛ asi do nu. Ame yi wobu, wobu naza do be yetso ame fe ta, wome' amea kpom o. Fifia wobe wo ga sidi million dam di be ame yi kplo ame ve woatso ga ma ne.

187 Researcher: O.K. fifia mɛde asi enya mawo nu miagano dua ame ko. Er... mitro dziɔdu. Wobe dziɔdu... dziɔdu yeye yia li fia, eyia mienya tsã meli o. Tatro adɛ wɔnye, amewo be tatro yeye wɔnye, Positive Change 'e wogblom'ee. Efe deka yia va yi wole zi dzi. 'Lekee? Nya kae nekpo nagblo tso wofe dziɔdu fe deka kple edzi-vɔ va yi 'fia me?

188 KOFI: Ny'a ale'e me nua kpome fia ale'e wogbogblom be positive

**change, positive change, positive change...**  
 Previously we were under the old government and things weren't good and I thought that if we shouted for **positive change, positive change** things will improve. But the way I'm looking at things now, how things are not **reflecting** in my pocket, I'm therefore not **feeling** it. I'm not seeing the **positive change**. It has now become a different thing. They say the **economy, economy, economy, economy**; we do not understand it too very well...

And they also said that those who are unemployed would be employed. What about that?

They would be employed, yes.

That is just a joke. They merely said that **because** since they came almost two years, we haven't seen any **change up till now**.

They said when you go to the hospital you won't pay bills.

It is a lie, it is a lie, it is a lie

But I've noticed that...

**Three days ago** a man took a **hammer** and hit the wife's head. A woman, say after her recovery, was asked to pay **2.8** (million) cedis before she could leave. Right now as I talk she is at **37** (military hospital). So they said **cash and carry**, they said, they

**change, positive change, positive change...** Tsã míele dziɔɔɔdu xoxoa me eɔuwɔ meva nyonyom o ta mébuna be ne míe yli dom be **positive change, positive change-a**, eɔu avanyo wu tsáto. Gake alé'e me ɔu kpom fia, alé'e me ɔu kpom fia, alé'e eɔu me **reflect-m** ɔe kotoku me nam o ta ɔe, nya'a nyeme **feel-m** o. Nya'a nyeme **positive change aɔeke** kpom o. Mekpo be evazu nu bubu. Wobe **economy, economy, economy, economy** há míegome sem tutu o....

189 Elabe wogblo nya ɔe há be ame yiwo mekpɔ ɔo, wo ɔo kpɔ ge. Lekee?

190 Wo ɔo kpɔ ge. Ehe.

191 Oo enya ma, enya ko wogblo. Enya ko wogblo **because** wova la, eyi na ɔe fe eve yia me míeyi na, **up till now** mfekpɔ totro'ɔeke o.

192 Wobe né eyi kodzi ko mega le fe xege o.

193 Alakpae, alakpae, alakpae.

194 Gake mekpɔ be...

195 **Three days ago**, ɔutsu aɔe tso **hammer** ko fo'sro fe tame. Nyɔnu, say wo haya vo wobe wòaxe **2.8** hafi woadzo. Fifia míele nya 'a gblom-a ele **hospital** 'fia, **37**. Ta wobe **cash and carry**, wobe wobe yewoa...



said they would...

That is what is happening.

That is what is happening.

But they didn't think one year is too short for them to change some things that have been as well-grounded as an anthole...

Yes, ant hole

You have to remove the ghost of the ant

It has to do with how they spoke, how they promised us. They did not say that when they come they would take twelve or eight years to fulfil their promises. We know we gave them **four years**.

Somebody called a proverb the other day. He said that when a child (baby) soils itself it cries for you to know so that when you pick it up you would sense what is the trouble with him. But when after soiling itself the baby smiles cheerfully, you'll not know that it has soiled itself and so you would carry it. Because of that, you are likely to pat away at its buttock cheerfully. Before you realised it, your hands have been soiled with excreta and you would only manage to exclaim, "oh, oh you have soiled yourself!". He was explaining that this in exactly what has happened. **Rawlings' government** was full of joy, like a baby who had soiled itself but remained

Researcher: 196 Yi koe ma dzɔdzɔm.

KOFI: 197 Yi koe ma dzɔdzɔm 'fia.

Researcher: 198 Gake dɛ mewɔ n'wo be fe dɛka le kpuie akpa ne woakɔtro nane yi ke wodo anyi abe anyi, anyi; 'le kee, anyido a?

Interviewer: 199 ...ɛ anyi, anyi, anyikɔ.

Ele be naɖe anyi fe ɲuli ma ɖa

KOFI: 200 Eku dɛ ale'e ke wo kɔ fo ɲu'a ɲutsi, ale'e ke wo-promise mi'a. Womegbloɛ na mi be dɛ ne ye wo va ye wo le abe fe wuive alo fe nyi wotso le nua wo ge o. Mɔnya be **four years** ko mie na wo.

Researcher: 201 Ame aɖe do elo aɖe nyitso. Ebe dɛ ne vidzi nye mi dɛ eɖokui ɲua eno 'vi fam ko na nya be vidzia nye mi. Ne eva koe koa enya ɲu'e dzo dɛ 'dzi. Gake ne vidzia nyemi dɛ ɖokui ɲutsi eɲu kom, eɲu kom eɖidzo kpom'a; menyanyage o lo, ke neva koe. Woaɖe ko neko ge kple dzidzo ko ano meɲinu fom ne. Kaka nakpɔ ko mi ma fom nele papapa hafi abe "tso, dɛ nenye mi'a." Egbagblom be dɛ ala tututu nua dzoe ya. **Rawlings fe governmenta** wono nu kom. Enye dɛvi nye mi dɛ eɖokui ɲutsi gake nu kom. Eyi ame wovaxo dziɖuɖua er amewo va kpɔ be wo meɲinu fom ne hafi vakpɔ be oo, oo egbɛ go. ... Ta dɛwofɔ ga yi me ke enui, wono nugbe dom ne mi be ne yewo va ko

yewowo nu yi-ale, ne yewova ko, yewowo nu yi ale wobuna be vidzia nu kom ko naneke adzom o. Wonya be nane adzom gake womenya be enye mia zā nenema o.

cheerful. When other people took up government er it was when they were stroking its buttocks that they realized that oh, oh, it has soiled yourself... So, perhaps the time, this thing, the time they were making promises to us that when they come they would do this and do that, they were thinking that since the baby was all smiles nothing was wrong with it. They knew that something was wrong but did not know to what extent.

202 KOFI: Oo alakpae, oo alakpae. Because me... meḍo ŋku dzi be J.H. Mensah at that time-a ye nye anui - wobe wobe... parliamentary accounts, chairman of accounts committee.

Oh, it is a lie, o it's a lie. Because I, I remember J.H. Mensah at that time, was er, this thing, they say parliamentary accounts, chairman of accounts committee.

203 Interviewer: O.K..

O.K.

204 KOFI: Yes ye nye J.H. Mensah; aine yawo le government fifia ye nye account, chairman of the accounts committee. Ke ne nene dzodzom nenema ele nyanya me n'wo. Yewo de asi ega de te hafi government-a zāna.

Yes, it is J.H. Mensah; the people in government now, he was accounts, chairman of the accounts committee. So if there was anything like that they knew. They endorsed every account before the government used it.

205 Researcher: Gake wobua mo na bubuwo

But they did not disclose all.

206 KOFI: Ao, alakpa koe. Menye ale'e woano zia dzi yakoe oa? Ezia dzinɔɔ yea ko dzim wole. Emɔ yi woato ano zia dzi yema wowɔ.

No, it is just a lie. Is it not a ploy to win power? They only wanted power. The means to win power, that was what they employed.

207 Interviewer: Lekee... er... lekee wo wobe ya yeye fɔfom ya hā mefo to gbowo nyui oa?

How is it...er... why, they say there is a new wind; has it not reached you well?

- KOFI: 208 Ao, ya ʔeke mefofom o.
- Interviewer: 209 Ke wo ɲuto ɔɔ suku dem ne le alo nuka wom nele ʔfia.
- KOFI: 210 Nyea fifia me ɔɔ dzim.
- Interviewer: 211 Edo dzim.
- KOFI: 212 Medo dzim.
- Interviewer: 213 Nuka ne dzi, nuka ɔɔ ne dzi be yeawo?
- KOFI: 214 Enye'a mele **hospitality, hospitality ei mele hotel wo side hotel.**
- Interviewer: 215 Abe nuka ɔɔwola hã ne?
- KOFI: 216 Er...
- Researcher: 217 **Yes. Miekpo hotel nyawo gbo.**
- Interviewer: 218 Enuɔɔɔɔ lo anyimomlo
- KOFI: 219 Enuɔɔɔɔ, anyimomlo kple misianu: **entertainment wo katã.**
- Interviewer: 220 **Next time... nu yi woɔ be computer enye nane tso ɲua?**
- KOFI: 221 ẽ **computer**
- Interviewer: 222 Ate nu aɔɔɔɔ dzi vie na: nyagãwoase a?
- Researcher: 223 Ale'e wòkpekpeɔm ɔɔ wɔɔwona ɲu. Edo ma wom nele'a ɔɔ gãe lo.
- No! no wind is blowing.
- So you, are you a student or what do you do now?
- I'm now looking for a job
- You're looking for work?
- I'm looking for work.
- .What do you want? What type of work do you want?
- I'm into **hospitality, hospitality, yes I'm into hotel side (i.e hotel and the like) ... hotel**
- As what type of worker?
- Er...
- Yes. You take care of the management of a hotel**
- Food or lodging?
- Food, lodging, everything: **entertainment, all.**
- Next time. What is called a computer, do you know anything concerning it?**
- Yes, computer.**
- Can you talk briefly about it to the old lady?
- How it's helping your work. Your work is very important.

- KOFI: 224 **Computer...** Ke matso ko te de nye dawawo nu. Ehē. Enu'a machine ađe wònye. Machine-a enui message er...  
 Researcher: 225 Emo ađewo nye. It's a machine  
 KOFI: 226 Emo ađe wonye... wo ko dọ na enui, ko send-na message gako xona message.  
 Interviewer: 227 Ne ebe yeado nya de ame ađewo If you want to send a message to some people.  
 KOFI: 228 Ya koe. It is just what you need.  
 Interviewer: 229 Ne ebe yeaxoe hā If you want to receive it too.  
 KOFI: 230 Ehē, Ehē. Enu wonye be de ne ewoe'a tempa nɔɔ ko nekpo ge. L'abe minute deka, minute eve ekpo ge. Ekpom dae. Fifia mitsoe be post office fia ne be ye'a post letter fia a'take abe kosida deka kosiḍa eve hafi yeateŋ post letter yi tefe ađe. Fifia ne 'le computer nu fia makpo'de eve two minutes ko ewo enya'a na be ya enui na send na 'me ma exoe. Yes, yes, it is something that when you do it immediately you see it. About one or two minutes you will see it. You see? Now let's take it that at the post office when you want to post a letter it will take about one week or two weeks before you post the letter to a place. Now with the computer before two minutes then you know that er this thing which you have sent the other person, s/he has received it.
- Old Lady: 231 Wo hā enu doḍo xo ge 'numakea? Would you also receive the reply immediately?  
 KOFI: 232 Mexo ge nenema ke gbemagbe ma nɔɔ. I would receive it immediately.  
 Researcher: 233 E! Yes!  
 Ewo abe na, nafo ka ene. Gake ke ya letter ko naxo. It's like making a phone call. But this one it is a Vovototo yi le'mea ko nye be er, er ekafofo mie mia fe gbewo sem ke eyia ṅṅlowo kpɔ ge mia la, tempa tempa ko ve hā knom abe ahuhoe. The difference is that with telephone you will hear each other's voice. But this one it is the writing you'll see immediately,

immediately the other person will see it like a mirror.

That one is **letter**, that one is **letter**

There is the **voice** mail too but it is not common.

So the **computer** you talk about, it helps you very much in your work?

Very, very much

They say there a facility in the **computer** called the **Internet**...

**Internet!** Yes, The **Internet**, it is what is what I was talking about in the sense that er I've seen that... I'll say that it depends, it is about er, er it takes care of post office services, etc, yes.

**OK.** What are the disadvantages of it? Regarding the **computer**, what are the disadvantages?

**Computer**, one thing

**Internet** especially

**Internet** in particular, the thing about it is that there is no **secrecy**, there is none in the **computer**.

Secret thing

...yes... it is not in the **computer**. Some people, because people **feed** it, send **messages** with it. Do you understand? Yes! But you won't see the people.

ko ye hā kpom abe ahuhoe...

Old Lady: 234 Ya **letter-e**, ya **letter-e**.

KOFI: 235 Enuia hā **fofo**, **voice** se nu hā li gake meboo.

Interviewer: 236 Ta **computer** yia gblom nele, ekpe na dɛ ɲutsi wo paa.

KOFI: 237 Papapapa.

Interviewer: 238 Wobe nane hā gadze le **computer** nu woyɔ be **Internet**.

KOFI: 239 **Internet.** A **internet-a** hā ye gblom mele be in that sense-a mekpɔ... magblo be dɛ eku, etso, e-take care of say, e-take care of post office services eɲu aɖewo, ehɛ.

Interviewer: 240 O.K. nugbegblɛ ka woe le eɲu fia? **Computer** ɲu, nuka woe nye nu gbegblɛ le ɲu?

KOFI: 241 **Computer** nu dɛkae...

Researcher: 242 **Internet** koɲ

KOFI: 243 **Internet** koɲua, eɲu nye bena dɛ, **secrecy** mele **computer** me o.

Interviewer: 244 Enu yayla...

KOFI: 245 ...yes...meva le **computer** me o. Ame aɖewo, elabe amewo **feed-m**, wò **message-wo send-m**. Ese game dɛe? Ehe! Gake woa-me' amewo kpɔ ge o. Eye ame aɖewo li nye

And there are some people, they are viruses; this means that they (viruses) destroy your messages.

That is virus

Yes! It is virus yes, yes, if in case you're not working, or it is destroyed, you can no longer use it because it needs... yes ... So it has main disadvantages too. But...

I've heard that there are other bad things on it which children learn and practice now.

There are many! There are many!

What really are they?

There are many! It happens that ... let me... let me use a news paper to set an example. There is a newspaper called P&P and some other newspapers like Ebony and others. They went to the computer, they say some of our country folk, Ghanaians, many girls, they went er abroad, they don't do any work, prostitution is the only work they do. They present themselves as exhibits... on the Internet... there are so many things which should not have been put on it (internet) but...

... unabashed pornographic materials and the like...

Yes, it has become ... person... different cultures are at work so that's how it will become... it is not... yes

virus; efia be egble na wo messages.

246 Enye dolé kui.

247 Ehé enye dolé kui ehé... ehé... Ne in case be megado há wom o, wovagblé há, afima megate ɲ' za ge o because ehia na. Ehé. Ta nu geḍe há le ɲu be menyó o. Gake...

248 Interviewer: Mese be nanewo gale edzi nye nugbegbléwo ḍe wiwo kpona fifia no wowa.

249 KOFI: Woli, woli za, woli za.

250 Interviewer: Nuka hawoe ma?

251 KOFI: Woli za! Evadzo be... matsó... matsó pɛpa aḍe ko set example. Pɛpa 'ḍe li wobe 'P&P' kple pɛpa-s aḍewo 'Ebony' kple ɲuwo. Woyi ḍe computer dzi, wobe mia deto aḍewo, mia Ghanato aḍewo li, nyanuvi geḍewo, woyi ḍe er ablotsia, womeva ḍo ḍeke wom o lo, heteli ḍo ko wova wɔwɔm. Atso wo ḍokui awo exhibit ... ḍe Internet-a wo dzi... Nu geḍewo li menyé nu wonye be woade, woade edzi o gake...

252 Interviewer: ... gbododo mawo togbi kekenj...

253 KOFI: Yes, wovazu be ... ame... different cultures wova ge ḍe me ta ḍe nenema ko wòle be woazue ma... menyé... ehe.

- Old Lady: 254 Ke menye njukpe dodo duko alo ale'e kee.
- KOFI: 255 njukpedodowo nye... O.K.! Ele 'me nenema be duko yia koe, eyi ge de duko dzi...
- Old Lady: 256 ē, duko meviwoe nu ma wom ta ye wonye dukomeviwoe nu ma wom ta ezu njukpe na duko.
- KOFI: 257 Ezu njukpe na duko...
- Old Lady: 258 Ke asi totro ka womee duko le tso numa njutsi fia.
- KOFI: 259 Enu ma, asesē...
- Researcher: 260 Duko de ko wò nu kpom gbēee.
- KOFI: 261 Oo, duko wo nua ese... because matso ma, ma ma set example ade n'wo. Busy Internet. Ne mie yi afi ma godzi, yi de afima godzi fia, ye afi ma computers-wo kple Internet enu' iwo 'ye wo paste enua de afima godzi be de enua adewo li mele be ame adeke mevua 'fi ma o. Ta ye wo puto wo tso nua adewo ko da de... guidelines adewo, le fi ma godzi be nakpo...
- Researcher: 262 Nuke nye guidelines?
- KOFI: 263 Enui...
- Researcher: 264 ... afofofe'
- KOFI: 265 Afo dofe adewo li, ehē, afia nayi, afia megana yi o, megayi
- Is that not a disgrace to the country or what is it?  
Disgrace it is ... O.K. it is true that the country... it will go to the country.  
Yes, it is citizens who behave like that so since citizens do this sort of things they cause disgrace to the nation..  
It is a disgrace to the country.  
So what solution is the country finding to stop this?  
That is difficult...  
The country is looking on sheepishly.  
Oh, it is a difficult problem for the country... because let me, me, me, me set an example for you. 'Busy Internet', when you go there, go there now , and computers and Inter... Internet er, those things, and they paste the thing there; there are sites not everybody should visit (open). So they themselves put some things, some guidelines, there for you to see.  
What are guidelines?  
Er, this thing...  
Steps to follow (guidelines)  
Steps to follow, yes -- where to go and where not to

- o. Ta dukɔ ŋuto mete ŋu control-ge too much because er dɛwo li afima wowɔne tsona hafi vana. Ta ŋuse meli dɛ Ablotsi, Ablotsi nu.
- 266 Old Lady: Ke ne nye be menyɔ na Ghana du, Ghana dziɔɔdu o dɛ, dɛ wole be wɔadɛ mɔ be nu ma neva dukɔ me na yea.
- 267 Researcher: Eŋu, yamee wɔtso, yamee wɔtso. Eye fofo ta... ne machine ma ne emɔ ma le asi woa, ate ŋ' akpɔ.
- 268 Old Lady: Ta menyɛ Ghanae dzim o?
- 269 Researcher: Aa...
- 270 Old Lady: Ke ale ke wole be woawo nu'yi le? Dɛ wonyo ne dukɔa?
- 271 Researcher: Menyɔ na dukɔ o gake al'e ke wɔvakpe ke woa...
- 272 Old Lady: Eyi menyɔ ne dukɔ o dɛ, ke nukɔa wamee dukɔ le fifia abe yeadj dɛ?
- 273 KOFI: Eŋu adɛwo lia, ekpɔe, nu ma koe menyɔ le ... ŋu mawo koe menyɔ le... Enu gedɛwo li wonyo...
- 274 Old Lady: Gake ne nane nye nugbegblɛ dɛ, ye nenyɔ be nu yia menyɔ o dɛ, womedɛne dɛa?
- o. So the country herself cannot control too much [of it] because er some things are brought to us. So we don't have any power over manufacturers abroad
- So it that is not healthful (good) for the government, should she allow it to be brought into her country?
- The thing comes from the atmosphere/airwaves, it come from the atmosphere. Because of waves... if that machine, if you have that machine, you can see...
- So if is not Ghana that wants it?
- No...
- So how should this be handled? Is it good for the country?
- It is not good for the country but it has taken the country unawares.
- Since it is not good for the country what is the country doing to eradicate it?
- There are certain things... You see, only those ones are not good about... those are not good about... there are a lot of things which are good.
- But if something is wrong, and you know that it is wrong, can't you remove it?



- KOFI: 275 O, enju' nyemeka de edzi be wote nu de ge da o.
- Interviewer: 276 Evazu abe axõ va l'avu nu ene... È eva l'abe axõ le...
- Researcher: 277 U, menye axõ l'avu nu hã o... er, er. Xlomadekotoku, kprakpla nye do, makplamakpla nye ahohwe.
- Interviewer: 278 È axõ ma togbi nona enyiwo nu de...
- Researcher: 279 Yi togbie ma nyem wole. Ke aleke e? Anoyiea? Ko ne be anoyi nyae ye nyea, ke edze be nalõ be axõ neno ye fe nyi nu...
- Old Lady: 280 È woyone be totamexe.
- Researcher: 281 Yi togbie nye ya fifia. Ne ebe yea nyi nyi a, edze be nalõ be axõ neno nu ne anoyi ha...
- Old Lady: 282 ...na kpo ye wo nuđuđu.
- Interviewer: 283 Evo ne medzi be yeanyi nyi o ko nu ma mevava ge o. Nu yia ne be heteli, heteli yia negbloa...
- Old Lady: 284 Er, er, er... mia fe gbegbliè geđe geđewoa ke me duko bubuwo me tsom wole va na mia?
- Researcher: 285 Ye tututue ma. Ema yi koe ma.
- Interviewer: 286 Ahã.
- Oh er this thing, I don't believe it can be removed.
- It has become like a tick in the hairs of a dog. Yes! It has become like a tick.
- Yes! Not even a tick on an dog er, er a porcupine that cannot be bagged; taming it is tedious and not being able to tame it too is a curse.
- Yes, that type of tick which lives on cattle...
- Yes that's the type. So how is it? Is it the ibis? If it is the ibis then you must agree that it must take some ticks from your cattle.
- Yes, it is called buffalo bird.
- This shows that if you want to rear cattle you must allow ticks settle on them. For the ibis...  
...to find their food.
- But when you don't want to rear cattle then that will not happen. What you've said, about prostitution, prostitution...
- Er, er, er... our excessive immorality, is it not coming from other countries?
- That's really true. That's is that.
- Yeah

- 287 Researcher: Etsɔ meyi dɛ fʊta...  
 Yesterday I went to the beach...
- 288 Old Lady: Ye wotso dukɔ bubu me va na mía, enyo na mi. Menye ye míawo há míexo dɛ mía de dukɔ mea?  
 When it came from other countries, we like it. Isn't it why we also embrace it into our country?
- 289 Researcher: Etsɔ meyi dɛ fʊta 'ye mekpɔ nanewo.  
 Yesterday I went to the beach, and saw some things.
- 290 KOFI: Gbegblɛ dɔ bla ali dzi. Gbegblɛa le du yia me gake meno dzedzem enua dzi o. Míeno sem abe alesi fifia mieva kpoe le internet kple nuwo.  
 Indecency has girded itself. Indecency was in this country but it wasn't as visible as now. We do not hear about it as much as we see it displayed on the internet and so on.
- 291 Interviewer: O.K. Tsitsi aɔɔ gblo be er... er kuku wó ku metso bligbledela gbo o. Eye menye ati makpɔ dɔ tae xɔtsukpi woaɔɔ yɔ o. Esefé wòtso. Gbegblɛ yanya li gake woawoe vado gbegblɛ'a dɛ dzi.  
 O.K. The old say er er death is not the maize farmer's fault. And it is because it cannot get a tree to eat that the grass-cutter eats grass. It is fate that determines this. Immorality was in existence long ago but they have caused immorality to reach the height it has now reached.  
 If they say you are stinking, you're smelling and you go on to fart then the stench will be even stronger. We were talking about 'hoteli' (prostitution), 'hoteli'. Let's explain 'hoteli'. I'm going to explain it to you now. Do you understand 'hoteli'?
- 292 KOFI: ɛ mese go'mee!  
 Yes, I understand it.
- 293 Interviewer: Ame yi ho ete eɔɔ. Yenyɛ hoteli  
 A person who relocates the millstone, she is a prostitute.
- 294 Researcher: Nya'a mese bubu lo.  
 I've heard a different version.
- 295 Interviewer: Aho, ete dɔ. Ne nyɔnu dɛ, wona menya be ne nyɔnu dɛ srɔ,  
 Yes, millstone... when a woman marries and I was

ne woḍe nyɔnu ɔe ete ye wokɔna kpɛna ɔe nu. Ete dzi wotua nu ɔsiade le. Ta ne wotu ete ɔe afe yia me na'wo ko afima no ge na la tegbetegbe. Ne etso etea ho koa elabe edzo le nɔtsu gbo, evaɖii ɔe afi bubu. Ne egahoe gaɖi... Ne zu hoteɖi: ne ga hoɔe gaɔɔɖiɖim... Nenema ame aɔe gblo nam.

Researcher:

296 Nya nya'i mese tso **hotel** hotelia nu enye be eisã ye yevuwɔ va ma, woko heteli nya yia ko vɛ, **hotel** wonɔna. Ale be mia fe nyɔnuvi yiwo vawɔ nenem numawo wogbo wovadɔna le **hotel**. Ke fifia mia towɔ mete nu **hotel** yɔ ge o a., ye wobe "hetelito" ye amea nye. Ke ma to wovadɔe to ma hã ɔa ko vazu heteli, ame 'ya heteli gake hetelito efia be **hotel**. Ta miawo mienye **hotel**-towo ta ke efia be nakpo gbo be hetelitowo mele yewo fe **hotel** o.

KOFI:

297 **Hotel**-a nuto me'ɔo ma wokɔnɛ wo nɛ ma o. Tefe... tefe aɔe wonye be ɔe ne ame-dro aɔewo va dua ɔe me, womekpo tefe aɔeke be ye woado afima ko wovadɔ na ma. Eɔewo li ne wova **business trip** ye wova nuwo...ehe...afi ma wo ɔo na ma. Ta menye hetelitowo wotu tefe ma na be woava no ɔo ma wɔm o. Ao!

Interviewer:

298 Mabilia nya ɔe wò. Menye ɔe ne be yedo dzim a?

made to understand that when a woman marries, when you marry a woman, the millstone is what she takes along. It is the millstone that is used in grinding everything. So when they erect your millstone in a certain house, then that is where you'll stay forever and ever. If you remove the millstone then you've divorced the man; you go and re-erect it elsewhere. If you remove it again and only to relocate it, then you've become a relocater of millstones (a prostitute). That's what somebody said.

As for me, what I've heard about **hotel**, **hotelia** is that formerly when the whites came the brought this word – they lived in **hotels**. So our girls who dealt in such business slept with them in the **hotels**. But now our people can't pronounce 'hotel' and so they call it 'heteli-to' (a person associated with hotel). So you are proper **hotel** workers so then you should make sure no *hetelito* plies her trade at your **hotel**.

**Hotel** itself is not meant for that job. It is just a place... a place for strangers who are in town and they have no place to sleep. There are others when they come on **business trip** and they come to...yes... that's where they sleep. So it is not for ... prostitutes that such places are built for. No!

I want to ask you a question. You said you want work?

- KOFI: 299 È,  
 Interviewer: 300 Woasi meke do aḍeke nu o a?  
 KOFI: 301 Ao.  
 Interviewer: 302 Ne nye be nekpo monu aḍe fifi 'la be ya va'e yi ḍe yevu blotisia, meyi gea?  
 KOFI: 303 Meyi ge!  
 Interviewer: 304 Evo ne nye be duko dziḍuque kpo dziwo uuu nevaḍo te'fe yia wodze be nakpo do le, eva me kpo do o, nekpo anyigba dzi er... dzro nyigba dzi; eva wokpo dzi wo. Me ke mie vodada ma ḍe ge na?  
 KOFI: 305 Er...  
 Interviewer: 306 (laughing). Ekpe ke wo vie, dze 'agba na ḍo nu  
 Researcher: 307 Ewo, alo fofowò alo ḍo... ameyiwo me ḍo kom na wò lo alo dziḍuqua?  
 KOFI: 308 Magblo be dziḍuqu koe.  
 Interviewer: 309 Aḍe vodada na dziḍuqua? Le go ka me?  
 KOFI: 310 Wónye ne ekpo dzi nye le suku, ebe mawo nuyi me be mawo, mewoe vo, meḍo dzim nyeme ḍo kpom o, eḍo hā mele asiwò neva **train** me le 'fi ma godzi. Ke nuka ta ne **train-m**. Ta at least afii meḍo kpo ge lea ele be mayi.
- Yes!  
 You haven't got any work?  
 No!  
 If you got a chance now to go to Europe will you go?  
 I'll go!  
 But if it is the government which took care of you to this stage and you should work but you do not get a job and you get another country; meanwhile you can't get any work here, but you get it abroad on a strange land. Who are we to blame?  
 Er...  
 (laughing). A bit difficult for you! Try to answer.  
 You or you father or those who are not employing you or the government?  
 I'll say only the government.  
 Will you blame the government? In what sense?  
 If you sponsor my education, you expect me to work. Now I've finished and I am looking for work without success. You don't have work but you did **train** me. So why have you **trained** me. So at least where I can find work, that's where I should go.

- 311 Researcher: Ao, Govern... egui... dziɖuɖua meɖoa hotel-o ɖɛ.  
No! Govern... er this thing... government does not establish hotels.
- 312 KOFI: Ele eme  
It is true
- 313 Researcher: Dokuisi no... ɖokuisi... ɖokuisi...  
Dokuisi do woƒe wofe. Nukatae mate ɲu aɖo  
ɖokuisi do woƒe o nebé yeayi ɖɛ dzro nyigba dzi.  
Self, self, self – employment. Why can't you set up your own business and you want to go abroad?
- 314 Old Lady: Ɖokuisido ɖɛ menye ga wotsɔ na?  
Self employment, is it not money that is used in establishing it?
- 315 KOFI: Old Lady, ya koe mala. Eganya!  
Old lady, that is exactly the problem. It is a question of money.
- 316 Old Lady: Ega hã mele asi wò o. Nukae natsɔ ge ɖo ɖokuisidoe fia?  
You don't even have money. What are you going to use in establishing a business?
- 317 Researcher: Er... Ne yi ɖɛ ga hã xo gea wobe natsɔ xo nane ade meɖbe.  
If you want a loan they demand a house or some collateral security
- 318 Old lady: Evelia, ɖokuisidoe ma hã ɖɛ ne nane lé ge ɖɛ asi hafi ano agbana xom ano me dem. Ke ne nyatefetoto le me wò ye ma. Ne nye nyatefetoto mele me wò o ye ame aɖe kpo wo nublanui ye wo n'wo koba de netsɔ dze do gome gake me ga tsom yi mee o, ye ame yiwo agbana dom na wo hã me agbana fea xem o, ke ɖɛ ma mete ɲu ɖokuisido hã wɔwɔ ge o enye ema.  
Secondly, for self-business you must have some of the goods before you take credits in addition. That is if you are honest. If you are not honest and somebody sympathizes with you and gives you money to start the business but you don't return it to the owner and you don't pay your creditors then you can't do the business.
- 319 Interviewer: Ke sedzi mawɔmawɔ, miégakoe va' fi ma ke. Egba fe tugbedzevi, ɖekakpui kple tugbevi yiawoa, eɖewo ne wodo go fifi lae yina awu yia wodo na, fiya ke wova nona. Ne  
So lawlessness, we identify it in this case too. Today's young ladies and young gentlemen, when some of them are going outing, this is where their

dresses reach. When they bend to pick up something then all their intestines...

...then she becomes nude.

Yes. Who are we going to blame for that? Is it parents or the children's peer groups or their era? Who are we to blame? Meanwhile, the Bible is also saying that train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it. The tortoise never gives birth to a snail but today little tortoises now resemble snails. Who are we going to blame now?

The white man says "charity begins at home"

Yes. Charity begins at home

It's the children who are becoming indecent!

wobobo be yeako nane le anyigbā ko wo fe dokaviwo katā....

Old Lady: 320 ...ke eḡe añiama.

Interviewer: 321 Ehē. Ame kee mie vodada ma ḡe ge na? Dzilawoe lo alo ḡevia fe hadedee lo alo xexea me wovado ḡo. Mekae mie vodada ma ḡe ge na. Eyo Bibla hā gbogblom be aha ḡevi ḡe mo yi dzi woto ne tsia mate ḡa le egbo o. Eklo medzia vi wodja abobo o gake egba fe kloviwo wo 'bobo hā dim. Ame kee mie vodada ma ḡe ge na 'fia?

KOFI: 322 Yevu be charity begins at home.

Interviewer: 323 Eh. Tababla afee wò tsona.

Old Lady: 324 Devia nuto wo gbegblee!

PTO

Yeah... I take it that the fault lies with the family, er this thing... the parents. They have to train the child, they must train him/her. All such bad behaviour start at home. If he/she wears those things and the parents see them but do not tell him/her, then s/he feels that it is a good thing s/he is doing. She does not simply start doing such things. Shs has seen it done somewhere and copies it. Do you see it (what I mean)? Irrespective of where they see it, by all means they come home to start copying it. She will wear it inside the home. S/he will wear it inside the house before s/he comes out. So if your parents see you and they do not tell you anything, then you feel that it is a good thing you're doing. So that is all. I want to say we parents are involved. Yes, that's it!

Meanwhile, when the parent sees the dress the child wears and s/he tells the child that... sometimes when we enter the town, the child dresses at home decently, i.e. she dresses to cover herself. But when she goes outside she changes into another dress. The one that stops at the this thing... navel, uncovering the buttocks.

Then we can say that her friends' (peers') influence may be involved. Ehe... her friend's influence is included – they say group influence.

Yes, courting evil and courting friendship.

They are all, er this thing included. As in a school by

Ehē... nyea ɔe ko matsɔe be etso fɔmea, enjui, dziɔlawo gbɔ... elebe woahɛ ɔɛvia , ele be woahi nene ma totɔɔbe. Enu mawo katã wotso aɛeme. Ne e nu ma dom dziwɔlawo wokpɔm womegbɔblɔm na woa, ke ye wo feel be ɔe enu nyui' wonye wɔm wole. Me ɔe ko wotso ko dze nu ma wɔwɔ o, ɔe wokpɔe le teɛfe aɔe wɔwɔm. Ekpɔm daa? Tefe ma wokpɔo nenem nua le a, by all means-a égbɔna egome dze ge tso àɛeme. Aɛeme tso ge woala hafi dodo ge. Ta ne dziwɔla kpɔ wò menya aɔeke gbɔgbɔlɔm na wàa nenema ye wo feel be nu nyui wɔm wo le. Ta ya koe ma. Magbɔ be mia dzi lawo hã le eme. Ummñ.

Vɔ, ne dzila kpɔe be awu ya wodo wɔgbɔlɔm ne ɔɛvia be... yedewoyia ne miege ɔe dua me, ɔɛvia do awua a fɛme pɛ. ado awu woavado afia ke. Ne wodo ɔe afime ko etso awua ɔɔli. Ke ya wodo fɔfolika va ɔo nui afiá ne ale meɛfia katã vadze go.

Ko miagblo be may be exɔlɔ hã fɛ influence ele 'me. Ehe exɔlɔ fɛ influence ele 'me. Ye wole peer group influence.

Eha vɔ dede kple hadede

Wo katãwo le enui me. Abe suku ene by all means ne éyia

KOFI: 325

Interviewer: 326

KOFI: 327

Interviewer: 328

KOFI: 329





- Interviewer: 335 Mía 'gbe nyɔnuviwo, ekpo nui le asinyea, phone yia le asinye, nyɔnuvi aɖewo, nyemekpo wo kpɔ o ko woyɔem le dzi be yewoava do gom le afeme. Wovaɖo gbonyea, ale'e wodzedze mee yeaɖewoyi ne menye ameyi aɖu ɖokuiwo dzi oa, ede egbo ho hafi anya be yewo nu ma. Ke menye, menye ɖutsu fe vodada ma o ɖɛ; ta ewo be nyɔnuviawo hã fe ɖukekle vagbo som akpa. Ta ebe awu yia, ye ga to, ye wododom. Mele esi o ta, ele be woaɖe, woaɖe, woaɖe amama, woaɖe asi le eɖokui ɖuti afia ne waokpo ga aɖe afi ako fie nua. Ne menye nenema o a, wogbogblo ge be yea koɖeto wonye alo ame, ame, ennui - yea efe ɖku me vu o.
- Old Lady: 336 Etsi etsi nu te. Meko ɖkume o.
- Interviewer: 337 Meko ɖku me o.
- Old Lady: 338 Ū, ū
- Interviewer: 339 Ta yi ta mebe 'me kee mie vodada ma ɖe ge na?
- KOFI: 340 Eɖe woli nyɔnu aɖewo, nyɔnu aɖewo li ɖe wobuana ɖe wobuana wona nu ma be woa attract ɖutsuwo.
- Interviewer: 341 Woahɛ ɖutsuwo.
- KOFI: 342 Eɖewo li etso afeme. Abe ale'e miɛgbogblo, problems-wo abe ega, elabe nye fɔme hã menyo tutu o... ekpom ɖae... Ke nyɔnuvia hã at least ele be waokpo nane ako wɔ nui...
- Our girls of today, do you see what I have in my hands? This **phone** that is in my hands, there are some girls I haven't seen before; they always call me that they want to meet me at home. When they come to me, their appearances... sometimes if you are not the self-disciplined type you'll have had an affair with them before you realize what you've done. So it is not, it is not the men who should be blamed for that; it seems the girls are becoming too greedy / tempting. So she says she doesn't have the dress in vogue so she must, she must, she must be nude, she must sell her body to get money to buy the thing. If she doesn't, people would say she is a villager or someone who is er this thing... who is uncivilized, unfashionable.
- You are backward... you're uncivilized.
- You're uncivilized
- Yes! Yes!
- So that's why I am asking who are we to blame?
- There are some, there are some women they intentionally do things to **attract** men.
- They pull (attract) men.
- There are some, it depends on the home. As we're saying **problems** like money... because my family is not very wealthy... you see!... so the girl also **at least** must get some for... this thing...

But if that girl... she is from a respectable family, when their peers are splendidly dressed, she is not bothered, it isn't really her concern. She is satisfied with her condition. But if the girl is spoilt, those who don't respect themselves they bring those bad conditions upon themselves.

I'll raise one last topic before we close: maid-servants. Sometimes when they come to us the way we maltreat them cannot be verbalised. It seems, they say... we behave as if the children were somebody's puppet as if we bought them. Meanwhile, when they are going to ask for them from their parents they would say when they stay with them they will give such and such things as thanks-giving to them after two or three years. But when they come to you, women especially maltreat the maid-servants. Sometimes when children commit the least mistake, what is used in holding clothes on drying line, er this thing, peg is used to hold their ears or cause them to go hungry. Why do they maltreat maid-servants so?

Actually, I don't understand such things for them ...er...because it is you who have gone for somebody's child to be helping you, to be working for you. If she commits any mistake at all why don't you take her like your child or, even, it may be your own child who did it. So, if, if, if you want to advice her or whatever you will do to her you do it accordingly. So sometimes I feel that there are some people who

343 Gake ne nye be nyanuvi ma ... etso efome yi ke bua dokui me ne ehavi do atsyo kpete ka ha, meke o, meke o lool! Ale'e ko ya le koa ele nene ma. Gake ne nyanuvia nuto ha nye nenem me, wo nutowo mebua dokuiwoa, woawoe he nonomea akpa gato yiawo fomeviwo ve.

344 Matc atsi nya mamle deka'de hafi miawo enui: amegbonviwo. yeadewoyi ne wova do mia gbo de efu yi miwona dewiwo de menye adegbonya o. Wowo abe wobe dewiawo wozu be ame adu wo atikonu mievaxoe alo de miewa fle wo. Vo ye woyina dewia xo ge le dzilawo o gbo de ne gblo be ne va ye gbo de ye nui kple nuiwo wo ge ne abe akpedadzesi le fe've alo fe 'to megbe. Gake neva do gbowda, nyanuwo korjue woa funyafunya megbonuwiwo. yeadewoyi ne dewiwo wo nu vodada sueto ke nu yia wotso ko le awu de ka nu, enui peg woko le to ne alo woagblee de dofu dzi. Nuka ta wono funyafunya wam amegbonovi nenema do?

345 Enu ma nuto kura nya nye mesea gome nawo o.... er.. because ewoe va tso ame fe vi be woano kpekpe de nu wo, woano do wam na wo. Ne ewo nu gbeble de kura me' de ko natsoe be viwoe alo anye viwo krae wo nu ma. Ale'a ne, ne, ne nufo ge ne alo nene nui wo ge ne, nenema koe natso ne a'ime ma ha. Ta sometimes mefeelna be de ame adewo li etamesese koe, tamesese ko. Anea kpekpe de

Old Lady:

Interviewer:

KOFI:

are just so wicked, so wicked. The person is helping you. You can't do it that's why she is helping you. You have to take good care of her, the person, i.e. the child. You see? So she made a little mistake then it become like I have fallen on you thing they you hold her like that. That is problematic. It is problematic.

But sometimes too let's, let's turn to some men. The lifestyles of maid-servants make, the lifestyles of some women make men have affair with maid-servants.

It happens! It happens! There are some people [who go after] girls who are mature... yes... those who were bred at home (in the village), such types...

About how many years?

Let me take it from 18 or 19 onwards.

Eighteen years.

There are some people, they think about the third one.

Meanwhile your wife is living with you!

Your wife is living with you. I... I... I know there is a case. The man and his wife were living together. The woman did not know any house-chores. Her way of life was to dress up and polish herself and go out. Then the maid would be doing all the work and all other things in the house. Then one day, one day,

ɲu wò. Mete ɲu woge o, yata wova kpekpeɲe de ɲu wò. Ebe ko wole be nalé ne, nalé be ne, amea, deɲia. Ekpɔm dae? Ko nye be ewo nu via 'de ko wovazu be meva dze wò ɲu dzi ko nalée ade fu nenema. Nu'ma de wodá'a fu. Edaa fu.

346 Interviewer: Gake yeadeɲiwo há mía, mía miatɔ de ɲutsu adɛwo gbo. Menye gbɔnɔviwo fe agbenɔnɔwoa enana nyɔnu adɛwo fe agbenɔnɔwo nana be ɲutsuwo ade asi, doasi de amegbɔnɔviwo gbo.

347 KOFI: Edzona de, edzona. Ame adɛwo lia, nyɔnuvi yiwo tsi, é, esi wo tsi le afe ma toto ɲugbii...

348 Researcher: Abe fe nenie godzie ma.

349 KOFI: Matsɔe ko be from 18 alo 19 yi na godzia.

350 Interviewer: fe wuienyi

351 KOFI: Ame adɛwo li, wobu na etolia ɲuti

352 Interviewer: Eɔ srɔwò le gbo wò.

353 KOFI: Srɔwò le gbo wo. Me... me... menya case adɛ li. ɲutsua kple srɔ woli. Wòvazu be nyɔnuwa menya nane ke wovawo o. Yea eto koe nye woatso ata vo asi polish ko ado go adzo. Ko maid-a, gbɔvi ano dowɔm kple nuwo afeme. Ko one day, one day, one day wòvaglio ɲutsua ko wo kple

ɲiamawo wɔda maid a

one day the man got fed up and he and the maid had an affair.

So in your opinion when you have a wife and a child, how old do you think the maid should be to come and serve you?

Oh, I don't think I'll accept a maidservant.

You don't want a maidservant?

No!

If, if, if you have two children, your wife goes to work and you also work. Now you're saying you don't want somebody to look after the house in your absence. Are you saying you don't accept a maidservant?

It's happening right in my home. My sisters... my mother, right now, she is unemployed, she is only doing house chores. So when it happens (i.e. when sisters have babies), it is she (mother) who cares for them

What is the troubling me is that some maids, because of the behaviour of the man, behaviour of the woman or through the man's fault the maid-servant can enter the bedroom and dress the bed. As you have said, cutting nails for the man - that is the duty of a wife. The maidservant is now of age. As I've said, her breasts resemble unripe pawpaw; looking at them is

nyomevia vado, maid-a.

354 Interviewer: Ta le wò gome ne eḡe srõ kple vi le asiwò, fe nenie ne ka ḡe dzi be gbovi ma na xo hafi woano gbo wò?

355 KOFI: Oo. Gbovia ɲuto nyemeka ḡe dzi be mexo ge o.

356 Interviewer: Medzi be yeaxo gbovi o?

357 KOFI: Aa.

358 Interviewer: Ne, ne ne édzi vi woame eve. Srõwo yi na ḡe dome wo há ne yi na ḡe do me. Fifia negbogblom be ame aḡe neno afea dzi kpom. Ee negbogblom be yeme gbovi xo ge o a?

359 KOFI: Edzodzom nye afeme 'fia. Nye sisters-wo... nye mother, afi wòle fia, me dome dem o, afemedo wom wòle. Ta nedzo a, ye koe xona wo.

360 Interviewer: Nu yie fu ḡem nam nye be há gbovi aḡe woa etso ɲutsu fe agbenoɔ, nyɔnua fe agbenoɔ alo ɲutsua gbo ta gbovi te ɲu gena ḡe xo gã me aḡo aba. Eḡe ma negblo, akpe fetso na srõ ɲutsu - wònye nyome fe do wonye. Gbovi le mavatsi. Ye megblo be eno fe ḡe akota ne abe aḡiba gbogbi ene, ekpokpo ḡe ko wòle abe zi no kpodzi bia ɲu na adelã ene.

Afeno li me do aḍeke wom o. Gbovia do ḍesiade wom. Tso ne woḍa nu'a menye afeno le ḍa o, gbovi le ḍe nu woa vivi anye nu miedu. Ye tafiatsa avete yi nḍutsua dona gbovia nya ne. Enya yayla yiwo le afeme kenkeḅ. kenua gbovia sii. Ko nyonuto enye nate sisikeḅ ato fia, lipolipo keḅ koa eḍo gbodome. Ao ḍe, ke nḍutsuvi yia, afeato ate nu ado asi ḍe gbovia gbo. Yita mebia be gbovia fe neni woḍze be woaxo ne be yeaye medzi be gbovi ne no ye gbo o. Nexo ge gbe ḍeka, nye hā mexo ge...

Yoo, ewo be egbato hā vazu kolokuati. Mía ko eyia se ḍe afii. Er... efo KOFI, ewoe er.. wo edo. Nyame ko miedzro hena dukofe nyonyo kple ngoyiyi.

Ne le eyia megbe miegase nye nko o, gbe nyo ma ko gale eduawo fe nyaḅuḍela [name withheld]. Ne meto nko wo be ekekevo wobe ye nye.Honu magidi ne meto asi di ḍo ko wobe Nyidevu meda kevu agave nyiwo de 'ke kpo ge ke nyee ma. Nukpeza mekpo keli o, ne kpo ko zado keli do.

Ke ewoe do wom loo, egazu nkeke bubu. Akpe, akpe, akpe!

like a buffalo on hilltop that entices a hunter. The housewife does not do any work. Only the maid does everything. When food is ready it is not the wife who has done the cooking, rather it is the maid who has prepared the delicious dishes and all of them will eat. Even the man's pants (briefs) are washed by the maid. The maid has also heard all the secrets in the house. The only thing the wife does is to wear rich clothes and lipsticks and she goes out. No! the young man - the husband can have affair with the maid. That's why I'm asking how old should a maid be and you answered you do not need a maid. You will take one some day and I'll also take one.

Okay, it seems today's programme has ran its course. We'll stop here today. Er... Brother KOFI, thank you; we have just discussed matters for the betterment of our country and its progress.

If after this you don't hear from me, it is the voice of the people's spokesman [name withheld]. (Appellations).

You are doing a good job, we shall meet again some other day. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

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