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Table of Contents

	Page
Elvis Yevudey <i>The Pedagogic Relevance of Codeswitching in the Classroom: Insights from Ewe-English Codeswitching in Ghana</i>	1
Mercy Akrofi Ansah <i>Expressing Property Concepts in Leteh (Larteh)</i>	23
Ibrahim Esan Olaosun <i>Creating New Brand Identities: a Stylo-Rhetorical Study of Car Appellations in Nigeria</i>	41
Conference Reports	55
International Conference on Hausa in the Diaspora, June 2013 Linguistics Association of Ghana, 6 th Annual Conference, 2013	
In Memoriam: Alan Steward Duthie	59
Contributors to this Issue	61
Preferred Formats for References	63

THE PEDAGOGIC RELEVANCE OF CODESWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM: INSIGHTS FROM EWE-ENGLISH CODESWITCHING IN GHANA

Elvis Yevudey

ABSTRACT

Codeswitching as a code choice in the classroom has been a debatable issue among scholars interested in language of education, especially in Africa. Some studies promote the exclusive use of the L2 ‘target language’ in the classroom, while other studies recommend a bilingual mode of communication such as codeswitching. Against this backdrop, this research explores the pedagogic functions of codeswitching patterns in both Ewe (L1) and English (L2) primary school lessons. The current language policy of education in Ghana, under which the classrooms being observed operate, is a bilingual literacy programme, NALAP, which stipulates that the mother tongue of the pupils should be used as a medium of instruction while English is introduced as a second language with a transition to English medium of instruction from grade 4 onwards. The data for the research are recordings of classroom discourse, responses to questionnaire surveys and interviews conducted in the Volta Region of Ghana. This paper presents both a qualitative analysis of the data, which reveals that teachers and pupils use intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching to perform various functions in their classroom interactions, and a quantitative analysis of the data, which shows that teachers have predominantly positive attitudes towards codeswitching. Based on these results, it is argued that codeswitching between Ewe and English within the lessons enabled students to understand concepts in both languages and to participate actively during lessons.

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1. Introduction

Codeswitching is encountered more and more frequently in Ghana. In particular, using two or more languages concurrently within the same conversation by like-bilinguals is on the rise due to high mobility of and contact between people. This makes codeswitching an unavoidable code choice, especially in multilingual nations or communities (Liu 2010). The phenomenon of codeswitching generally refers to the use of two or more languages within a given interaction. Code, as used in this paper,

refers to “any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication” (Wardhaugh 2010:84). Wardhaugh (2010) explains that this term is a more neutral term than other related terms such as dialect, language, style, pidgin and creole, which usually attract some emotional attachments. The term code is therefore used to refer to any form of linguistic patterns that are used in the classrooms observed in this study.

Ghana is a multilingual country having about 79 indigenous languages (Lewis 2009) and English as the official language. Nine of these indigenous languages are officially acknowledged in the country’s constitution and receive government support: Akan, Dagaare, Dangme, Dagbane, Ewe, Gonja, Ga, Kasem and Nzema. Akan has three dialects Asante-Twi, Fante and Akwapem-Twi, which all have standard official orthographies plus a fourth one, the Unified Akan Orthography, which however seems little used or taught. Over the years, the policy of Ghana on the language of education especially for the lower primary/grade can be characterized as a succession of multiple, sometimes conflicting, decisions (Owu-Ewie 2006:76). Currently, the language policy in operation, which is employed in the classrooms observed in this research, is called the National Literacy Acceleration Program (NALAP). This policy is a bilingual literacy programme, which stipulates that Ghanaian languages should be used as the medium of instruction at the kindergarten and the lower primary levels (primary 1-3) with a transition to English-only medium of instruction from primary 4 onwards (Primary Teacher’s Guide 2008). However, there is provision for English to be used where necessary in primary 1-3. One important feature of NALAP, which is stated in a handout on the programme, is that the Ghanaian language-teaching period and the English language-teaching period have been merged into what is called the Language and Literacy period. The Language and Literacy period has two sessions. During the first session of the lesson, the teachers teach a given topic in the Ghanaian language, in this case Ewe, and during the second part of the lesson, they treat the same topic in English. What is noticeable in the classes, however, is that the two languages are not used exclusively, as the teachers and the pupils use either of the languages where necessary. This flexibility in language use pattern leads to codeswitching the classrooms.

In the literature, the use of CS in the classroom context as a medium of interaction is a debatable concern among scholars interested in language of education and bilingual education. In a paper based on second language (L2) instruction, Lightbown (2001:598-9) raises these concerns. Firstly, the paper indicates that, among other things, time and exposure of an L2 learner to the language is a prerequisite for achieving competence and that “only students who are exceptionally gifted or motivated or who have out-of-school exposure acquire the ability to use English effectively.” From this perspective, the paper indicates that early exposure will facilitate the acquisition of the L2. Secondly, Lightbown (2001) raises the concern

that developing of the first language (L1) of the speakers while introducing the L2 is also prudent. These two points of view reflect the debates on the use of L1 in L2 context, and more specifically on the use of CS in the classroom.

Against this backdrop, this paper explores two research questions. First, what are the pedagogic functions of codeswitching in the classroom interaction between teachers and pupils? Secondly, what are the attitudes of teachers towards codeswitching in the classroom, and how do these attitudes reflect in their classroom language use? To explore these research questions, the remainder of the paper constitutes a review of literature on classroom codeswitching in Africa, the methodology and the conceptual framework adopted for the data collection and analysis respectively, presentation of results and conclusion.

2. Codeswitching in the Classroom in Africa

The phenomenon of codeswitching in the classroom in post-colonial settings, for example in Africa, has been the subject of scholarly attention for many years. For example, Clegg and Afitska (2011) present an overview of studies that assess the pedagogic relevance of teaching and learning in two languages in African classrooms. They show that language practices such as codeswitching in the classroom in sub-Saharan Africa is a controversial issue as authorities often condemn its use and teachers do not accept its use in the classroom. Despite these negative attitudes, however, Clegg and Afitska (2011:71) show that codeswitching plays important pedagogic roles in the classroom. Codeswitching is useful for explaining and elaborating on concepts, increasing classroom participation, establishing good classroom relationships, ensuring the smooth running of the lesson, and making connections with the local culture of learners. The authors therefore recommend teacher-education systems that would factor in the importance of bilingual pedagogy and various language practices that teachers could adopt to facilitate pupils' understanding and participation in the classroom.

Similarly, based on ethnographic study, Arthur (1996) investigates the interactions between teachers and pupils in standard (grade) six classes in two primary schools in northeastern Botswana. The policy under which the schools operate prescribes the use of Setswana, which is the national language, from lower school to standard 3 with a transition to English medium of instruction from standard 4. Arthur (1996) indicates that teachers use codeswitching to encourage participation by pupils. Codeswitching by pupils, on the other hand, is not always an accepted code in the classroom as the policy stipulates English as the only medium of instruction. For example, in a transcript on interaction between a teacher and pupils in a science lesson, the teacher asks a question switching from English to Setswana. The teacher, however, rejects a pupil's answer in Setswana. Although teachers in these classrooms use codeswitching

to achieve certain pedagogic goals, they “are ambivalent in their views of code switching and reluctant or even ashamed to admit to its part in their classroom practice” (Arthur 1996:21). These differences between what is actually done, i.e. using codeswitching in the classroom context to achieve certain teaching and learning goals, and what is said to be done, i.e. on the perceptions of students and teachers towards codeswitching, show a contradiction. Similar types of contradictions are encountered elsewhere. Swigart (1992) reveals that pervasive use of codeswitching among speakers of Wolof and French in Dakar, Senegal is contrary to their negative attitudes towards Wolof-French codeswitching.

In Ghana, codeswitching in day-to-day interactions in general and its use in the classroom in particular has been studied since the 1970s. Forson (1979:61) indicates that codeswitching was not a code choice in Ghana until after the early 1950s when English was introduced as the medium of instruction in the elementary schools. Working on Akan-English codeswitching, Forson (1979:123) records that during meetings of bilingual Akan and English speakers “[a]ny slip into codeswitching was an occasion for spontaneous giggling, the speaker usually finding himself a participant in the ridiculing.” Over all these years, attitudes towards codeswitching have changed. Recent research, for example Amuzu (In press) and Yevudey (2012a), acknowledge that codeswitching in Ghana has become an expected code choice as its normality and acceptability has increased among bilinguals and multilinguals. It is encountered in domains such as on radio and television, and in churches and classrooms. These, therefore, signal what Myers-Scotton (1983) refers to as marked and unmarked code choices. Whereas codeswitching was a marked code in the early 1950s, it has become an unmarked code among recent bilinguals (cf. Amuzu 2012).

A number of studies show that teachers and pupils employ codeswitching during lessons to achieve learning and teaching goals in the classroom (Opoku-Amankwa & Brew-Hammond 2011, Adjei 2010, Ezuh 2008). In a research based on Ewe-English codeswitching in a rural primary school, Adjei (2010) presents three codeswitching patterns used by teachers: intrasentential, intersentential and repetitive. Intrasentential codeswitching involves mixing two or more languages within the same sentence while intersentential codeswitching refers to switching at sentence boundaries. The third type of codeswitching, which the author refers to as repetitive intersentential codeswitching (RIC), involves the repetition of the same sentence in one language into another. Teachers employ repetitive intersentential codeswitching due to the pupils’ low comprehension of concepts introduced in the L2 (English) by translating the same ideas into the L1 (Ewe) (Adjei 2010:24). This type of translation is necessitated by low participation by pupils when only English is used. Adjei (2010) indicates that teachers have positive attitudes towards codeswitching as they believe it is the code choice that will increase pupils’ understanding during lessons.

Based on a study conducted in two senior high schools in Ghana, Ezuh (2008) investigates the effectiveness of the use of codeswitching as a medium of instruction in the classroom. To point out, the pattern of codeswitching referred to in that work is when both English and the dominant L1 are used in explaining difficult concepts and terminologies to facilitate students' understanding and participation. In exploring the mode of instruction that facilitates the students' academic performance, Ezuh postulates that the students from the two schools performed better when they were taught via codeswitching whereas their performances declined when taught using English-only medium of instruction. In a response to a questionnaire survey, both teachers and pupils have positive attitudes towards codeswitching in the classroom and encouraged its adoption as a medium of instruction. Based on these findings, the author argues that teachers over the years have been using codeswitching as a medium of instruction "illegally", thus using code choice that is contrary to what the policy stipulates, to facilitate teaching and learning process, and that what is required now is to have "a scientific research" to authenticate its use. This conclusion reflects Arthur and Martin's (2006) argument that the use of codeswitching in the classroom should be viewed as a "teachable pedagogic resource". The implication is that teachers should be introduced to the strategic use of codeswitching in the classroom; therefore, it should be incorporated into the teacher-training curriculum.

Likewise, Amekor (2009) studies the use of codeswitching in the classroom in selected schools in the Keta Municipal and Akatsi District in the Volta Region, Ghana. The research aimed, among other things, to explore the language use patterns in classroom settings where English is the expected code choice, and the motivations behind any code choice in those classrooms. Presenting evidence from recorded data and questionnaire surveys, the author indicates that all the classrooms were characterized by pervasive use of codeswitching. The teachers indicated that they used codeswitching because they judged their students' command of English to be insufficient for it to be used as the sole medium of instruction. But it is not just the students who do not have a good command of English. Amekor (2009:79), further shows that some of the teachers are also less proficient in English and that also contributed to the use of codeswitching in the classroom. As codeswitching seems to be an unavoidable code choice in the classroom, Amekor (2009) suggests that teachers should be introduced to the concept of codeswitching to enable them to know the types that exist and which of them is appropriate to enhance both content and language acquisition.

Finally, Brew-Daniels (2011) delves into the code choices of teacher trainees from selected Colleges of Education in the Ashanti Region of Ghana via audio recordings of classroom interactions, questionnaire surveys, and interviews in order to ascertain their language use patterns and their effects on students' performances. In view of the

data, the author points out that there is a pervasive use of codeswitching inside and outside the classroom by these teacher trainees. The teachers indicated that they code switch in the classroom to facilitate pupils understanding and participation, and also “to cover up for their inability to express themselves comprehensively in one language” (Brew-Daniels 2011:50). Ascertaining the academic performance of the students per the language choice, the teacher trainees in the research were asked to teach one lesson using English-only medium of instruction and another lesson alternating between English and Twi, which is the pupils’ mother tongue. In each of these cases, the author asked the teachers to conduct a class test and record the marks. Conducting a comparative analysis of the class tests, Brew-Daniels (2011) indicates that the students performed better when taught in Twi-English codeswitching, whereas there is a decline in performance when English only was used. Therefore, the author concluded that codeswitching in the classroom does not necessarily cause “a blockage or deficiency in learning a language”, but on the contrary, as it fosters pupils performances. However, Brew-Daniels cautioned that it should be used sparingly as its pervasive use might have effect on the students’ competence in the languages.

In conclusion, although some research recommends that codeswitching should be discouraged in the classroom, most studies suggest that it can play an important role in the teaching and learning processes as pupils’ participation and understanding may increase when they are free to use the language(s) that are most familiar to them. In sum, issues pertaining to attitudes and the actual use of codeswitching by teachers and pupils have been some of the main concerns of codeswitching research.

This present study aims to contribute to the existing discussions on the relevance of the use of pupils’ L1 in fostering both L2 acquisition and content comprehension by exploring the language mode of teachers and pupils in lower primary (grades) 1-3 based on the functions of codeswitching in the classrooms. The paper also looks at the attitude of teachers towards codeswitching in the classroom, and unravels the pedagogic relevance of codeswitching in the classroom and how its use facilitates pupils’ understanding and participation.

3. Conceptual Framework

Drawing insights from the findings above on the functions of codeswitching in the classroom, this work explores the functions that codeswitching plays in both Ewe and English lessons and illustrates how these functions compare in other classroom domains investigated in the literature. Furthermore, the work explores the language mode of teachers and pupils during Ewe and English lessons based on the transcripts of the classroom recordings, in addition to the interviews and the questionnaires. As Grosjean (1982; 1998; 2001; 2013) indicates, studies on language mode in bilingual research plays an important role in understanding how much one of the languages of

bilinguals is used over another, and additionally how the two languages are used equally. Language mode refers to “the state of activation of the bilingual’s languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time” (Grosjean 2001:3).

The state of activation of two languages is said to be in a continuum during an interaction. On this continuum, bilinguals may be in monolingual mode, intermediate mode or bilingual mode. For example, as illustrated in Grosjean (1998:136-7), if language A and language B are the linguistic repertoire of a bilingual, the speaker may be in a monolingual mode if talking to a speaker who is a monolingual in for example language A, and/or when the topic and the situation of the interaction require only the use of A. In an intermediate mode, language A is actively used with some amount of activation of language B. Bilinguals are said to be in this mode when one of the interlocutors does not want to use, for example language B while communicating in language A or with speakers who have less proficiency in language B. The bilingual mode is reached when speakers interact with like bilinguals and with whom they feel comfortable mixing the two languages. The identification of the language mode of bilingual(s) is based on “the participants within the interaction, the situation, the form and content of the message, and the functions of the language act” (Grosjean 2001:5). This type of understanding of bilingual language processing is one of the least concerns in bilingual research and more specifically on the use of codeswitching in the classroom. In this work, the participants and the situations are briefly discussed, as well as the form and content of the message. The main focus is on the function of the language act in reference to the theoretical framework.

4. Methodology

As emphasized in Silverman (2010:64), multiple methods help to provide multiple perspectives from which a phenomenon can be explored. Therefore, multiple methods were adopted for this work in exploring different aspects of codeswitching phenomenon. These include observation through recordings of classroom interactions, interviews and questionnaire surveys. The classroom recordings provide insights into the types of codeswitching that are used in the classrooms. The interviews and questionnaire surveys provide a background to explain the various language use patterns in the classrooms and on attitudes of teachers towards codeswitching.

Two mission schools were selected in the Ho township of the Volta Region of Ghana. Ho township was chosen because this is one of the towns where Ewe is predominately spoken, and both Ewe and English are used in schools as mediums of instruction as well as subjects of study. The data sets for the work consist of classroom recordings of 4 teachers with an average total of 20 pupils per teacher. For ethical considerations and anonymity, the two schools are referred to here as School A and School B. In school A, three classroom recordings were made in addition to three

interviews with the teachers who participated in the classroom data collection and one interview with the head of school. This head of school was the head of school for school B before being transferred to School A. From this background, the interview with this head of school provides information that reflects the sociolinguistic situation in the classroom in the two schools. Sixteen questionnaires have also been distributed to teachers in this school.

In school B, two classrooms were recorded, however, one of the data sets was not analysed for this paper, as the lesson was a revision of a previous lesson and therefore there was no active interaction between the teacher and the pupils. In addition, interviews were conducted with two teachers, and three questionnaires were returned during the questionnaire survey. There was no opportunity to interview the head of this school due to work schedules. In total, there were 05:43:11 hours of classroom recordings and interviews and the corpus based on the transcripts consist of 21,180 words, and 19 questionnaires. The classrooms are named randomly as classroom 1-4 for the purposes of analysis. For example, T1, Ps 1 and P 1 refer to the teacher, the pupils and a pupil respectively in classroom 1.

5. The Function of the Language Act: The use of intersentential and intrasentential codeswitches in the classrooms

Within the classroom interactions, teachers and pupils use intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching to fulfill teaching and learning goals. Generally, intersentential codeswitching refers to the mixing of two or more languages at sentence boundaries. Intrasentential codeswitching refers to the use of words or phrasal constituents from one language into another within a sentence. During Ewe and English lessons, teachers and pupils use codeswitching to perform various functions. Below are some of the functions identified from the classroom interactions.

Function 1: Explanation

The teachers used various types of codeswitching to explain questions or statements that they felt were incomprehensible to pupils. Example 1 is an extract from an interaction in classroom 2 between the teacher and the pupils. The teacher was teaching a lesson on road safety using monolingual English during the English session of the lesson, and during the lesson the teacher directed a question to the pupils on what they would do when they want to cross the road. In response, the pupils provided different answers such as “Red means stop” (line 132) and “Yellow is get ready” (line 134). When the teacher realised that the pupils did not understand the question in English, she switched to Ewe using intersentential codeswitching (line 133) and intrasentential codeswitching (line 135) in order to explain the question to them. This

interaction draws our attention to two main pedagogic findings. First, the teacher, although keen to use unilingual English, recognizes the importance of the L1 (Ewe) for explaining incomprehensible concepts to the pupils. Secondly, the pupils' inability to provide the correct answer could be attributed to the restricted language use pattern in the classroom, where the teacher expects the pupils to answer in only English. The English-only medium of instruction adopted by this teacher and the outcome suggests that a monolingual mode of instruction, especially during English lessons, does not aid pupils' understanding and participation, and as such less activation of the pupils' L1 leads to the recitation of English words and sentences as opposed to understanding of the concepts. In other words, this emphasizes the point that the bilingual mode of instruction, i.e. the use of both Ewe and English, in a form of codeswitching will help in facilitating pupils understanding and participation. Equally, there will be effective contribution from the pupils when they are free to use the language they know better.

*Example 1: Use of codeswitching for explanation during English lessons.
(Classroom 2)*

132 P.2: Red means stop

133 T.2: Red means stop

Mebede, nuka woe awɔ le emɔdzi be evu mafowo o? (*I say that, what things will you do on the road so that you don't get knock down by car?*)

What will you do on the road when you stand by the road side and you want to cross? What will you do? Yes

134 P.2: Yellow is get ready

135 T.2: I know yellow is get ready

Mebede (*I say that*), when you stand by the road side and want to cross the road, you look at your left first, then you look at your right, look at your left again before you cross the road. Ok, ɛ.

136 P.2: Yes

137 T.2: you can't look at the right then you cross, No.

When you look at your left and you look at your right, a car can be coming from your left so you look at your left again before you cross the road.

Ok, what will you do to be saved, what will you do to be saved? When somebody is on the road, what will you do to be saved when crossing the road?

You will look both ways when crossing the road.

You will look both ways when crossing the road, you will look both ways when crossing the road.

What will you do to be saved on the road? You will look both ways when crossing the road.

What will you do when crossing the road?

138 P.2: You will look both ways when you cross the road.

139 T.2: ahã, what will you do to be saved when crossing the road?

What will you do? Yes (*Teacher calls on another pupil to answer.*)

140 P.2: I will see both ways when crossing the road

An interview with this teacher presents insights into her strict monolingual language use during the lesson. When asked whether she uses codeswitching during lessons, she answered:

(...) Not mixed up per-se. When it is lesson for Ewe then we use Ewe throughout. When it is English then you use it throughout. Not mixing it. (...) mmhh. At times if you don't know and you mix it you confuse the children. (...) but when it is Ewe, use Ewe throughout. Anything that you will say, it should be in Ewe. (...). So when it is time for Ewe, teach Ewe throughout you don't mix it with English and when it is time for English too then you take the English one. You don't mix it unless maybe you asked a question in English and the child will answer in Ewe. At times, it does happen. When it is answered in Ewe, you will say it to the child in English again for him or her to repeat it after you then she will pick it.

The above classroom interaction and the interview also show how there are parallels between what teachers say they do and what they actually do.

Function 2: Introduction of English lessons

On a typical day for lessons on Language and Literacy, as explained earlier, teachers take the first half of the classes in Ewe then the second half in English. However, the languages are usually not used exclusively as teachers and pupils use either of the languages where necessary. For instance, codeswitching between Ewe and English is used at the transition point of the lessons from Ewe to English including both intrasentential and intersentential codeswitching. This trend surfaced in all the four classrooms observed. The language mode of the teachers and the pupils in this type of classroom interaction may be said to move across a continuum from a bilingual mode to an intermediate mode then to a bilingual mode. For example, in classroom 3 as in example 2 below, the teacher ended the Ewe part of the lesson in monolingual Ewe and introduced the English lesson initially in monolingual Ewe (line 364). She then switched using intersentential codeswitching (line 366) by repeating the same

sentence from Ewe in English. The rest of the classroom discourse went on in English with codeswitching to Ewe where necessary.

Example 2: Using codeswitching at the transition point of the lesson. (Classroom 3)

- | | | | |
|-----|------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 361 | P.3: | Sukuviawo zi dɔdɔe. | The pupils kept quiet. |
| 362 | T.3: | Sukuviawo zi dɔdɔe. Mhh | The pupils kept quiet. Mhh |
| 363 | P.3: | Wonɔ anyi. | They sat down. |

Transition from Ewe to English: Lesson on the same topic as discussed in Ewe.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|--|---|
| 364 | T.3: | Eye wonɔ anyi kpoo. Enyo, ke miayi de Yevugbeme to dzi. Emekɔ-a? Miatso. | And they sat down quietly. It is good, so we will continue with the English part. Is that clear? Lets stand up. |
| 365 | Ps.3: | <i>(Pupils stood up.)</i> | |
| 366 | T.3: | Yevugbe me nyaka woe miede dzeɔi le efima eyike wonye gbededewo? The English words that we identify over there as commands. Give me some words. | What English words did we identify there that are commands? The English words that we identify over there as commands. Give me some words. |
| 367 | P.3: | Shout! | |
| 368 | T.3: | Shout! Fine, give her a hand | |
| 369 | Ps.3: | <i>(Pupils clapped for their colleague.)</i> | |
| 370 | T.3: | T.3: Another one, [name] | |
| 371 | P.3: | Quiet! | |

Function 3: Correction of pupils

Additionally, codeswitching was used to correct pupils when they provided incorrect answers. Example 3 is an extract from an English lesson in classroom 4. During this part of the classroom discussion, pupils were asked to provide examples of words that had the orthographic letter 'u' in them. In line 457, a pupil mentioned "pot" as an example. In an attempt to correct the pupil, the teacher switched back and forth from Ewe to English. The teacher, with great displeasure, asked the pupil whether s/he had heard any 'u' sound in the word "pot" and asked the pupil not to behave foolishly. In this classroom, both the teacher and the pupils were in a bilingual mode as both Ewe and English were activated, and both parties were free to use any of the two languages. During an interview, this teacher indicated that due to low proficiency of

the pupils in English she adopts bilingual mode of instruction to facilitate effective communication.

Example 3: Use of codeswitching to correct pupils. (Classroom 4)

- 453 T.4: 'Run' is on the board. 'Run' is on the board. Mhh, 'but' is one. 'But'. So all these words: 'gun, hut, hunter, hungry, fun, sun, sunlight, but'; they all have the 'u' with what, the 'a' sound. 'u' with 'a' sound. Now, let's come to the 'u' sound. They gave examples of what, 'flute' and 'broom'. Yes, give me more examples. We can have 'push', /u/, /u/. /u/-'push', 'pull', 'pull'. Yes.
- 454 P.4: Put.
- 455 T.4: "Put. Fine, yes. Mhh
- 456 P.4: Pot
- 457 T.4: eh hh, **wóbe** /u/ sound, **wobe** 'pot', **wose** /u/ ɔ̃ le efima? Meganɔanyi nano asokum o. Yes.
(eh hh, they said /u/ sound, you said 'pot'. Did you hear any /u/ there? Do not be acting foolishly.)
- 458 P.4: Boot.

Function 4: For acknowledgement and calling on pupils

During Ewe lessons, teachers used intrasentential codeswitches from English in the form of tags. Some of these English tags were used to acknowledge pupils or to call on them to respond to class discussions. The example 4 below presents a section of the Ewe lesson in classroom 4 where the English tag form *fine* in line 87 is used to acknowledge pupils' response. In the same line and line 93, the teacher used another English tag form *yes [name]* in order to call pupils to answer questions. In all the four classrooms, pupils got to know it was their turn to talk in class when the tag form *yes* or *yes* in addition to the name of the pupil was used. These tag forms were used in both Ewe and English lessons. However, they were used as codeswitches during Ewe lessons. The activation of English in forms of these tags during Ewe lessons went unnoticed as they formed part of active vocabulary of the classroom interaction.

Example 4: Use of intrasentential codeswitching in form of tag switches for acknowledgement and to call on pupils (Classroom 4)

- | | | | |
|----|------|---|---|
| 85 | T.4: | Ame sia ame se-a? | Has everybody heard it? |
| 86 | Ps.4 | Miɔ̃ku ee. | Yes please! |
| 87 | T.4: | <u>Fine</u> , fifia miakpɔ̃ ekpea dzi ɔ̃a. | <u>Fine</u> , now look on the board. What |

		Nya gbãtɔ be leke? Mhh,	is the first word saying? Mhh, <u>yes</u>
		<u>yes</u> [name of pupil]	[name of pupil]
88	P.4:	Baba nawo	Sorry for you.
89	T.4:	Baba nawo. Woagblɛ mase ɖa.	Sorry for you. Say it to my hearing.
90	Ps.4	Baba nawo.	Sorry for you.
91	T.4:	Baba nawo.	Sorry for you
92	Ps.4	Baba nawo.	Sorry for you
93	T.4:	Xekayie miedona baba na	When do we say sorry to someone?
		ame? Xekayie agblɔ na nɔviwo	When would you tell you sibling
		be baba nawo?	sorry for you?
		Xe ka yie? Yes.	When? <u>Yes.</u>
94	P.4:	Ne meɖo aɖo nɔvinye dzi	When I step on my sibling I will
		magblɔ ne be baba nawo.	him/her sorry for you.

Function 5: Repetition of sentences to facilitate understanding and vocabulary acquisition

During some of the English lessons, teachers used codeswitching through translation of English statements or words into Ewe and sometimes back into English. This repetitive codeswitching strategy was used by these teachers to facilitate pupils' understanding and to increase their participation during lessons. An instance of such repetition occurred at the transition point of the lesson from Ewe to English in classroom 1. In this lesson, as illustrated in example 5 below, the teacher, although was expected to use Ewe during this part of the lesson, had introduced the pupils to the English counterparts of Ewe lexicons during the Ewe lesson. In the English lesson, the teacher recapped the English equivalents of the Ewe expressions learnt. As indicated in the introduction, most of the teachers do not use Ewe and English exclusively during the Ewe and English sessions of the Language and Literacy period. They usually use both languages, especially during the Ewe lesson, when introducing the topic. From this perspective, the teacher and the pupils were in their bilingual mode during the classroom discussion. To this extent, the teacher continued using Ewe frequently and in line 260, she drew her own attention to her use of Ewe during the English lesson. This shows the activation of the two codes during classroom interactions.

Example 5: Repetitive codeswitching during English lessons and vocabulary acquisition (Classroom 1)

242 T.1: **Âku, eyeta ne nɔviwo le xaxame** You will die, so when your

- edze be nawɔ nuka?**
- brother/sister is in difficulty
you have to do what?
- 243 Ps.1: **naɖe tso eme.** You should help him/her out.
244 T.1: **Naɖe le xaxa me. Yoo, akpe.** You should help him/her from the difficulty. Okay, thank you.
- 245 *Transition from Ewe to English: Lesson on the same topic as discussed in Ewe.*
- 246 T.1 **Mie edzi yige le Yevugbe me. Nye duster ɖe? Fifia hafi miele eha ma dzige loo. Miatu agbalẽ wo. Ne etui ko nade ɖi kpoo alo na de ɖe wo desk me. Nuyi srõge miele le Yevugbeme-a fe Uegbemetɔ miesrõ vayi. Miele efe Yevugbemetɔ srõge. Tutu afiya nam. Va tutu afii.** We will continue in English. Where is my duster? It is now that we are going to sing that song. Let us close the books. When you close it, you should put it down gently or you should put it in your desk. What we are going to study in English, it is the Ewe one we studied earlier. We are going to study the English one. Clean that portion for me. Come and clean here.
- 247 *(The class is getting ready for the English part of the lesson.)*
- 248 T.1 *(Bell rang)* Assembly **hã?** It is assembly?
249 Ps.1: Ao loo It isn't
250 T.1: **Ahã, mietrɔ va bubu gbɔ. Commands, wogblɔe** Okey, we turn to another one. Commands, say it
- 251 Ps.1: Commands
252 T.1: Commands
253 Ps.1: Commands
254 T.1: and instructions
255 Ps.1: and instructions
256 T.1: Commands and instructions
257 Ps.1: Commands and instructions.
- 258 T.1: **mhh, miesrõ gbediqiwo kple afɔɖofefiafiawo. Efe Yevugbeme to yenye eya. Commands, gbediqiwo, and instructions, kple** Mhh, we learnt commands and instructuions. Its English one is this one. Commands, commands, and instructions, and instructions. Instructions-s are instructions. Is

- afɔdɔfɛfiawo.** Instructions- that understood?
wo nye afɔdɔfɛfiawo. Eme
kɔ-a?
- 259 Ps.1: **Mideku** ɛɛ **Yes please.**
 260 T.1: **Yoo,** **gbedɔdiawoa...aa** **Okey, commands..aa I have come**
megava vɛgbeme. Commands, **back to Ewe.** Commands, when
 when they tell you something they tell you something you will
 you will obey, ɛɛ. obey, **okey.**
- 261 Ps.1: Yes

6. Attitudes: Attitudes of primary school teachers toward codeswitching in the classroom

In addition to observations via classroom recordings, questionnaire surveys and interviews were used to explore the attitudes of primary school teachers toward codeswitching in the classroom. The age range of the teachers was from 25 to above 50 years, with 95% being females and 5% male. Table 1 below presents the various classes the teachers teach, which shows a representation from most of the primary classes.

Table 1: Classes taught by the teachers

Classes	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Primary (P) 1	4	21
P2	5	27
P3	3	16
P4	3	16
P5	2	10
P6	0	0
(Others)	2	10
KG		
Total	19	100

The teachers were asked, as shown in table 2 below, whether they would encourage codeswitching in the classroom. The responses showed that 73% of the teachers expressed encouragement while 27% discouraged its use. The quotes below present some of the comments put forward by teachers who encourage its use:

“All the ability groups will be able to understand what is being taught.”

“It is widely accepted that children learn to read better in their mother tongue which is familiar to them, when this concept has been established they learn to read in the second language.”

Teachers who did not encourage its use indicated that,

“It will cause the pupils to relax in making effort to understand the English language.”

“It will not help pupils to use the right expressions for English and Ewe.”

“It should be done only at the lower primary.”

The points put forward by the teachers who encourage codeswitching indicate that the use of codeswitching will help in catering for all levels of learners in the classroom. However, teachers who do not encourage its use point out that codeswitching in the classroom will make pupils feel reluctant to make efforts to learn the English language and also that its use should be limited to the lower primary schools only.

Table 2: Do you think that mixing Ewe and English expressions during lessons should be encouraged in schools?

Response	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	14	73
No	5	27
No opinion	0	0
Total	19	100

In addition, table 3 below presents details of a quantitative analysis of the questionnaire survey on teachers' perception. The findings reveal that 42% of the teachers had a very positive attitude toward codeswitching while 31% are positive and 11% are uncertain. Also 11% of the teachers feel negative towards it while 5% feel very negative. Overall percentages show that 73% of the teachers felt (very) positive towards codeswitching in the classroom, 16% expressed (very) negative attitude, and 5% were uncertain. An overview of the responses shows that the majority of teachers in these lower primary schools had a positive attitude towards codeswitching.

Table 3: How would you describe your feeling or attitude toward the mixing of expressions from Ewe and English?

Response	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Very positive	8	42
Positive	6	31
Uncertain	2	11
Negative	2	11
Very Negative	1	5
Total	19	100

7. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper set out to explore the pedagogic functions of codeswitching in the classroom based on the interaction between teachers and pupils, and to ascertain the attitude of teachers towards codeswitching and how it reflects in their classroom language use. The analysis of the classroom data, the interviews and the questionnaires reveal that teachers and pupils use intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching in their classroom interactions to perform certain teaching and learning functions. The pedagogic functions include explanation of concepts, introduction of English lessons, correction of pupils, acknowledgement and calling on pupils, and for facilitating understanding and vocabulary acquisition. These pedagogic functions of codeswitching in these classrooms show that codeswitching is an important tool in language and content acquisition (Ncoko et al. 2000). Equally, the attitudes of the teachers towards codeswitching in the classroom are predominantly positive, however, teachers who have a negative attitude towards it avoid using it in the classroom to some extent.

The amount of codeswitching, the type of vocabulary needed, the topic and the languages used play a role when describing the language behaviour of bilinguals. There is a higher occurrence of English switches during Ewe lessons than Ewe switches during English lessons. Thus, English is more highly activated during Ewe lessons than Ewe is activated during English lessons. This is due to the high occurrence of vocabulary drills during Ewe lessons. In addition, the use of codeswitching by speakers within an interactive event may be conditioned by lexical need and this may present the stage that they are at on the language mode continuum (Grosjean 2001). Codeswitching in these classrooms may not be associated with lack of competence or lexical need (cf. Asilevi 1990), but more with speakers' delay in accessing some native Ewe words that are not frequently used, for example

mometsofeɸiadzɛsi ‘zebra crossing’, during an ongoing interaction (Amuzu 2005). In Romylyn’s (2009) terms, codeswitching in these classrooms has communicative functions as it helps teachers and pupils to express themselves more easily.

From the classroom interactions, the language mode of the teachers and the pupils may be said to move across the continuum from bilingual mode to intermediate mode then to bilingual mode. For example, in classroom 3, the teacher begins the Ewe lesson using codeswitching and the lesson continued with little use of English, therefore reflecting intermediate mode. English is then reactivated during the vocabulary drills where pupils provide both Ewe and English equivalent of the words they were taught. This same pattern continues in the English lesson. The monolingual mode, however, is rarely the case as teachers and pupils are often free to use the two languages and each of the interlocutors is aware that their interlocutor will comprehend their mixed language (Grosjean 2001). A monolingual mode can be said to be reached during the English lesson in classroom 2, and this leads to pupils’ diminished understanding of the lesson. The teacher therefore resorts to the use of intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching to facilitate pupils’ understanding. These present two factors: first a change from Ewe as the base language to English, and second a change to a low level of activation of Ewe leads to less comprehension of concepts by the pupils (Grosjean 2001:4). In other words, pupils understanding and participation increases when Ewe and English are activated while there is less understanding when only English is activated. This finding on the use of language and its effect on pupils understanding and participation is reflected in other studies such as Brew-Daniels (2011), Amekor (2009), Ezuh (2008), Arthur and Martin (2006). These studies also show that pupils understanding and participation as well as their academic performance are enhanced when they are taught bilingually, whereas there is a decline when they are taught in only the target language, English.

Furthermore, codeswitching within these classrooms has functional relevance (Matras 2009:101). The uses of intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching in these classrooms occur in various forms to perform certain functions. Intersentential codeswitching occurs in the form of repetition of the same sentence or idea in both Ewe and English for the purposes of explaining concepts for pupils’ understanding and participation (see for example Function 2 line 366). Similar patterns of repetition of the same sentence are used when introducing English lesson after the end of the Ewe lesson. Repetitive use of sentences from two languages in juxtaposition is referred to as repetitive intersentential codeswitching (RIC) (Adjei 2010:23). Adjei (2010) indicates that teachers adopt repetitive use of intersentential codeswitching during lessons to facilitate pupils understanding and participation. There are, however, intersentential codeswitches from Ewe and English in juxtaposition that express different or similar concepts (see for example Function 1 line 133). Intersentential

codeswitching of these types are referred to in this work as non-repetitive intersentential codeswitching (NIC). Non-repetitive intersentential codeswitching is also used in explaining concepts in order to facilitate pupils' understanding and participation. Intrasentential codeswitches in the classroom data are mainly used to perform functions such as vocabulary drills, acknowledgment of pupils, and calling on pupils to contribute to classroom discussions.

Finally, outcomes of attitudinal studies towards codeswitching are changing. Attitudes towards codeswitching as recounted in the early 1950s to 1970s have been negative (e.g. Forson 1979). However, current trends of attitudes are more positive (e.g. Asare-Nyarko 2012). The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the questionnaire and the interview responses do not point to outright acceptance or rejection of codeswitching use in the classrooms. As also noted in Romylyn (2009), the attitudes of the teachers towards codeswitching can be described in terms of agreement, disagreement and conditional use. In terms of agreement, teachers indicate that codeswitching is an important medium of interaction as it fosters understanding and participation of pupils, and that the principle of literacy is from the known to the unknown. Attitudes of disagreement are on the grounds that the use of codeswitching in the classrooms will not enable pupils to learn the right expressions in both Ewe and English. In addition to this, codeswitching is to be discouraged in the classroom because its use may not encourage pupils to make efforts in learning English. In terms of responses on its conditional use, codeswitching is to be reserved for the lower primary school (grade)1-3 due to low proficiency of pupils in English at these levels. Adopting it as a code choice in the upper primary and beyond is to be limited to explanation of difficult terms. This response on the level at which codeswitching should be adopted describes the form of codeswitching patterns investigated in Ezuh (2008), where the teachers in the Senior High Schools observed in that study adopt codeswitching to explain difficult concepts and terminologies. In general, the attitudes of the teachers, based on the responses, show that majority of teachers in these lower primary schools have positive attitude towards codeswitching.

Lastly, there is a parallel between what teachers say they do and what they actually do, i.e. teachers who are positive towards the use of codeswitching in the classroom use it pervasively, whereas those that encourage monolingual Ewe and monolingual English adhere to that to some extent. This is contrary to what Arthur (1996) finds among teachers in Botswana. Arthur (1996:21) indicates that the teachers in Botswana have negative attitudes towards codeswitching, however, contrary to these attitudes their classroom language practices are characterised by pervasive use of codeswitching.

In conclusion, this study reflects the pedagogic relevance of codeswitching in the classroom and how it can be adopted to meet the classroom language needs. As

equally posited in other studies, for example Brew-Daniels (2011), Clegg and Afitska (2011), Ezuh (2008), Arthur and Martin (2006), codeswitching should be considered as a teachable pedagogic resource, therefore, should be incorporated into teacher training syllabus and teaching methodology in Ghana. By so doing, teacher trainees will have knowledge of what codeswitching is, the types of codeswitching that could be used in the classroom, and the level at which codeswitching can be adopted to enhance teaching and learning. This would enable teachers to use codeswitching more purposefully and systematically in the classroom to achieve teaching and learning goals.

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EXPRESSING PROPERTY CONCEPTS IN LETEH¹ (LARTEH)

Mercy Akrofi-Ansah

ABSTRACT

Languages have diverse strategies for expressing property concepts. This paper discusses various ways by which property concepts are communicated in Leteh (Kwa: Niger-Congo). In Leteh, property concepts are indicated by the use of a small class of adjectives, made up of thirteen monomorphemic members. The thirteen members represent semantic classes of dimension, age, color and value. In addition to the small class of adjectives, some nouns and verbs in various forms are also used to describe property concepts which denote physical and human attributes. Nouns which are used to designate property concepts may be put under three groups: nominal adjectives, noun modifiers, and noun reduplicatives. There is a special class of intransitive verbs which may be used to describe property concepts. It has been observed that these intransitive verbs are synonymous to some members of the adjective class. Furthermore, there is a set of verbs which make use of the 'have' verb: **bò** followed by an abstract noun to signify human propensity. Finally, relative clauses are employed as modifiers where the relativizer **né** introduces the property concept. Data for the study is from a Leteh corpus built by the author. The study contributes to the ongoing debate on the typology of adjective classes.

KEY WORDS: Leteh; noun modifiers; adjectives; noun reduplicatives; relative clause.

RÉSUMÉ

Les langues passent par diverses stratégies pour exprimer des concepts de propriété. Ce document passe en revue les différentes façons par lesquelles se fait la communication des notions de propriété en dialecte Leteh (Kwa: Niger-Congo). En dialecte Leteh, les concepts de propriété sont indiqués par l'utilisation d'une catégorie restreinte d'adjectifs composée de treize membres mono-morphémiques. Ces treize membres représentent les catégories sémantiques suivantes : dimension, âge, couleur et valeur. En plus de la catégorie restreinte d'adjectifs, certains noms et verbes sous différentes

¹ The name of the language under discussion is known by its speakers as Lete; in the literature and elsewhere, it is spelt as Larteh which is synonymous to the name of the town where the language is spoken. However in this paper, the spelling adopted is Leteh, for ease of electronic accessibility.

formes sont utilisés pour décrire des attributs physiques et humains. Les substantifs dont l'utilisation désigne les concepts de propriété peuvent se classer en trois groupes : adjectifs nominaux, modificateurs de nom, et reduplicatifs nominaux. Il existe une catégorie spéciale de verbes intransitifs. Ces derniers peuvent être utilisés pour décrire des concepts de propriété. Un constat a été fait selon lequel ces verbes intransitifs sont synonymes de certains membres de la catégorie d'adjectifs. En outre, il existe un ensemble de verbes qui font usage du verbe « avoir »: **bò** suivi d'un nom abstrait pour signifier la propension humaine. Enfin, les propositions relatives sont utilisées comme modificateurs dans les cas où le relativisateur **né** introduit la notion de propriété. Les données de l'étude sont issues d'un corpus en dialecte Leteh créé par l'auteur. L'étude joue son rôle dans les discussions actuelles sur la typologie des catégories d'adjectifs.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Adjective Class

Linguistic literature is rife with discussions on the adjective class in the world's languages. This paper seeks to contribute to the discussion on the typology of adjective classes by describing the range of linguistic devices used in Leteh to describe property concepts. Issues related to the adjective class which have sparked off debate in the literature include its universality, nature and size (see Backhouse 1984; Madugu 1976; Omoruyi 1986; Dixon 1977, 1982, 2004; Osam 1999, 2003; Dakubu 2003; Dorvlo 2009). Linguists have also been interested in investigating how languages with few adjectives denote property concepts which the few adjectives are not able to express (see Ameka 1991, 2003 concerning Ewe).

One way by which linguists have tried to confirm the existence of the adjective class in a particular language has been to try to distinguish it from verbs and nouns. This approach is based on the assumption that each word class possesses unique grammatical properties (Schachter and Shopen 2007). For example, in many of the world's languages, it is only verbs which are known to inflect for tense and aspect. Nouns on the other hand have been found to share a number of morphosyntactic properties with adjectives. Nevertheless, Dixon (2010) proposes further tests which could help to differentiate between nouns and adjectives, for instance, the function of adjectives as parameters in comparative construction seems to be exclusive to adjectives.

Furthermore, languages differ with regard to the size of adjective classes. Whilst some languages, like the European languages have large and open class membership, others like Igbo, Yoruba and Ewe have small closed adjective classes, numbering less than ten members (Dixon 2004; Ameka 1991, 2003).

It is further noted that regardless of the size of the adjective class of a language, members of the class usually represent four core semantic types: dimension, age, value and color. In addition to these, medium and larger classes may include semantic types of human propensity, physical property and speed (Dixon 2004).

1.2 The Adjective Class in some Kwa Languages

This section gives an overview of the nature of the adjective class in selected Kwa languages: Akan, Ga, Ewe and Logba. Osam (1999, 2003) and Amfo, Boateng and Otoo (2007) discuss the nature of the Akan adjective class. Although these do not report on the exact number of adjectives that Akan possesses, the discussions indicate that Akan makes use of both underived adjectives (deep level adjectives) and derived ones which originate from verbs and nouns. It is detected however that, Akan adjectives that develop from nouns outnumber those derived from verbs (Osam 1999).

Similar to the underived Akan adjective class, that of Ga is also small. Derivational processes that Akan and Ga undergo to generate adjectives from verbs and nouns are alike, for instance, the two languages utilize suffixation to derive adjectives from verbs. Furthermore, a class of derived adjectives which Osam (1999) describes as 'adjectival verbs', characterized by verb-adjective symmetries are said to be present in both Akan and Ga, but absent in Ewe (Amfo, Boateng and Otoo 2007).

With regard to Ewe, Ameka (1991, 2003) identifies five underived adjectives, and a large class made up of derived adjectives of nouns and verbs origin. In comparison with Akan and Ga, Ewe is known to have more derivational processes that produce adjectives. The processes include suffixation, reduplication, compounding of verbs and their complements and compounding of clauses and clausal parts. Furthermore, Ameka (2003) reports of a peculiar class of adjectives whose source has not yet been identified. He however suggests that those adjectives may have been historically derived.

In answering the question as to whether Logba (Kwa) has an adjective class, Dorvlo (2009) argues for its existence in the language. According to Dorvlo (2009), Logba has only one non-derived adjective which connotes the meaning of 'value'. Other lexical words for descriptive purposes are formed through suffixation of verbs, reduplication of nouns, and the compounding of an intransitive verb root and a noun. In Logba, ideophones are used as qualifiers of nouns. It is interesting to note that adjectives in Logba are only used attributively.

The discussion so far has pointed out some similarities that underived adjective classes of some Kwa languages, including Leteh have in common. The most striking common feature is their small sizes. In the case of derived adjectives, they are noted to be of verbal and nominal origins. However, in some instances, there is evidence that derivational processes that produce adjectives in Kwa languages differ. The present paper for example, will demonstrate that in Leteh, the only derivational process which yields lexemes that describe property concepts is reduplication of some mass nouns. In addition, nouns and verbs in various forms are employed to convey other property concepts that indicate physical and human attributes.

The discussion will proceed as follows: section 2 dwells on some grammatical features of Leteh which are relevant to the present discussion. Section 3 pays attention to the Leteh adjective class and the morphosyntactic properties of its members. In section 4, other means of connoting property concepts in Leteh are described. The function of these expressions will also be demonstrated. In section 5, the order of adjectives in the Leteh simple noun phrase will be dealt with. Section 6 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2.0 Some Grammatical Features of Leteh

In this section, I present the Leteh language and some grammatical features which will be useful to this discussion. Lewis (2009) sub-classifies Guan (Kwa, Niger-Congo) into two language clusters: North Guan and South Guan. Leteh, the language under discussion, is a member of the South Guan group. The language is spoken by about 8,310 people (Ghana Housing and Population Census, 2000) in Larteh, a town located in the South-eastern part of Ghana, West Africa.

2.1 Leteh Basic Constituent Order

The study of word order typology has attracted linguists' attention, because studies have shown that the order of the three core constituents of a clause: Subject (S), Verb (V), Object (O), has implications for the ordering of some pairs of elements at other syntactic levels (Dryer 2007).

Like many African languages, Leteh has a basic constituent order that is fixed: the subject and object occur in a fixed position in relation to the verb in the basic word order. The unmarked clause (1) exemplifies the basic constituent order of Leteh, which is SVO.

1. **Ananse** **dɔ̃** **[fɔ̃** **a]**_{NP} **ntente.**²
 S V O DEF (ADV)
 name climb barn DEF quickly
 ‘Ananse climbed the barn quickly’.

In (1), the subject is a lexical word (a proper name), followed directly by a verb. The object, a noun phrase, consists of a lexical word and an article. In a simple transitive clause such as (1), the subject, verb and object are obligatory constituents. The adverbial occurs as an optional element in the clause. Adverbials may be temporal, locative or describe manner as in (1)) and their position is clause-final with the exception of temporal adverbials which can also occupy the clause-initial position (Akrofi Ansah 2009).

2.2 The Structure of the Leteh Simple Noun Phrase

The Leteh noun phrase in the simplest form can be constituted by a lexical noun (2) or a pronoun (3). Whilst the lexical noun may occur with modifiers, the pronoun is not modified. The internal structure of a simple NP where the head noun is modified may be represented as in (4).

2. **ɔ̃-tse**
 SG-woman
 woman
3. **wonɛ**
 2PL
4. NP → N (ADJ) (QT/NUM) (DET)

The head noun is the obligatory element, and it may be modified by an adjective, a quantifier, a numeral and determiners in the form of an article (definite and indefinite) or a demonstrative. In the noun phrase, the adjective follows the noun directly, and it may also be followed by a quantifier or a numeral and then finally by one determiner. The order of the elements in the NP is exemplified in (5b).

- 5a. **[ɔ̃-tse** **ɔ̃-kpɔ̃mkpɔ̃** **a]**_{NP}
 SG- woman SG-big DEF
 ‘The fat woman’.

² Verbs are tone-marked to make tense/aspectual distinctions.

- 5b. [ɛ-tse m-kpɔmkpɔ ɛɛ-nyɔ a]_{NP}
 PL- woman PL-big CLF-two DEF
 ‘The two fat women’.

Examples (5a) and (5b) further demonstrate that there is number agreement between the adjective and the noun.

2.3 Structure of the Leteh Relative Clause

In Leteh, what marks a relative clause is a clause-initial **né**. This is similar to Ewe (Ameka, 1991) and Akan (Schachter and Shopen, 2007) where it is relativizers that are used to mark relative clauses. According to Dryer (2007: 96), “Almost all VO languages place the relative clause after the noun... .” The ordering of the adjective and the noun (N, ADJ) in a Leteh simple NP is the same as that of a relative clause and the head noun (N, RELC). Generally, relative clauses “...carry information that a speaker wants an addressee to assume in order for him/her to process the rest of the discourse more easily” (Ameka 1991: 275). In addition to this function, a Leteh relative clause may be used to modify the head of a noun phrase as exemplified in (6). It may also be used to modify a direct object (7). In both instances, the relative clause which modifies the subject NP and the direct object occurs directly after them correspondingly.

6. **Akutu** [né bo ɔfa]_{RELC}
 orange REL has sweetness
 ‘sweet orange(s)’.
7. **Ama** wòrè n-ataale [né bo oni]_{RELC}
 Name PRES.wear PL-dress REL has hardness
 ‘Ama wears expensive dresses.’

2.4 Leteh Comparative Constructions

It is attested that there is some correlation between the order of verb, object in a clause, and that of elements in a comparative construction. It is expected that the order of elements in a comparative construction in VO languages should be: marker of comparison; standard of comparison (Dryer 2007). Leteh expresses comparison through a grammaticalized comparative construction where the elements are the known standard against which the subject of the clause is compared; the marker *nyà* ‘exceed/surpass’ that signals a comparative construction, and the quality or parameter, usually a predicative adjective (8) or its adjectival verb equivalent (9) (see section 4.) by which the subject is compared with the standard.

The structure of a Leteh comparative construction is illustrated in (8) and (9).

8. **Afi gyí ɔ́tɔ́ntɔ nyà Ama.**
 OC COP.be long/tall exceed/surpass SC
 ‘Afi is taller than Ama.’
9. **Afi kpa nyà Ama.**
 OC long/tall exceed/surpass SC
 ‘Kofi is taller than Ama.’

3.0 Underived Adjectives

The Leteh adjective class is constituted by thirteen monomorphemic lexemes (table 1) which do not originate from any word class. It is noteworthy that all the adjectives have vowel prefixes. The thirteen adjectives span the four core semantic types put forward by Dixon (1982). With the exception of the semantic class of color, each semantic class exhibits at least, one antonymic pair. Within the semantic class of value for instance, the antonymic pairs are good/bad; true/false.

TABLE 1

DIMENSION	COLOR	AGE	VALUE
atimi ‘short’	ofufuru ‘white’	ohue ‘new’	okose ‘good’
ɔ́tɔ́ntɔ ‘tall’	obibi ‘black’	ɔ́dede ‘old’	ɔ́kpamkpa ‘bad’
akitibi ‘small’	ɔ́he ‘red’		efe ‘true’
ɔ́kpamkpɔ ‘big’			enufu ‘false’

3.1 Morphosyntactic Properties of Underived Adjectives

As already stated, the underived adjectives are monomorphemic words with vowel prefixes. The adjectives, with the exception of adjectives of value (11) agree in number with the nouns they modify which results in a change of their prefixes, from singular to plural prefixes (10).

10. **a-yirebi a-timi n-yirebi n-timi**
 SG-child SG-short PL-child PL-short
 ‘short child’ ‘short children’
11. **a-yirebi okose n-yirebi okose**
 SG-child good PL-child good
 ‘good child’ ‘good children’

Furthermore, all Leteh underived adjectives with the exception of adjectives of value undergo complete reduplication (12a-c). It must be noted that for the adjectives to be reduplicated, they must be in the plural form which explains why adjectives of value do not undergo reduplication (12d). In Leteh, reduplicated adjectives signify intensity and may be used to modify plural nouns (13). Although nouns may also be reduplicated, their category changes to adjectives when they undergo reduplication (see section 4. 2).

	Basic form		Reduplicated form
12a.	ɔ-tɔntɔ; n-tɔntɔ	‘tall’	ntɔntɔntɔntɔ
b.	o-fufuru; e-fufuru	‘white’	efufuruefufuru
c.	o-hue; e-hue	‘new’	ehuehue
*d.	okosɛ; okosɛ	‘good’	*okosɛokosɛ

13. **N-yirebi** **ntɔntɔntɔntɔ** **a.**
 PL-child tall-tall DEF
 ‘The very tall children.’

Syntactically, all underived adjectives possess attributive functions (14 & 15).

14. **Ama** **bɛsɔ** **a-tale** **o-hue.**
 Name FUT-buy SG-dress SG-new
 ‘Ama will buy a new dress.’

15. **Kofi** **bò** **tsa** **ɔ-kpɔmkpɔ.**
 Name has house SG-big
 ‘Kofi has a big house.’

Apart from value adjectives, the remaining underived adjectives may be used predicatively. In their predicative function, they are preceded by the copula **gyí**, ‘be’ (16). As already stated, value adjectives are not used predicatively; the sentence of (17) is therefore unacceptable.

16. **Atale** **a** **gyí** **ɔdedɛ.**
 dress DEF COP.be old
 ‘The dress is old.’
17. ***Ayirebi** **a** **gyí** **ɔkpamkpa**
 child DEF COP.be bad
 ‘The child is bad.’

One syntactic function that underived adjectives share with nouns is their role as heads of a simple noun phrase. In (18), the adjective is used attributively, and in (19), its function as head of the noun phrase: **ɔhɛ a** ‘the red one’ is illustrated.

18. **Owure ɔhɛ a yé-sútè.**
 book red DEF PERF-burnt
 ‘The red book is burnt.’

19. **ɔhɛ a yé-sútè.**
 red DEF PERF-burn
 ‘The red (one) is burnt.’

The use of an underived adjective as head of a noun phrase is restricted to interactions where participants have previous knowledge of subject matter. The statement in (19) will therefore not make sense to someone who was not a participant in a previous conversation.

Finally, on the syntactic properties of underived adjectives in Leteh, the latter function to express comparative degree. This is done by the use of a verb **nyà** which translates as ‘exceed/surpass’. In expressing comparative degree, the Leteh speaker has a choice of using a predicative adjective (20) or its verbal counterpart (21) (refer to section 4.). The phenomenon is also attested in some Kwa languages (Amfo, Boateng and Otoo (2007: 69).

20. **Kofi gyí ɔkpɔmkpɔ nyà Ama.**
 OC COP.be big surpass/exceed SC
 ‘Kofi is bigger than Ama.’

21. **Kofi dè nyà Ama.**
 OC big surpass/exceed SC
 ‘Kofi is bigger than Ama.’

4.0 Using Nouns and Verbs to Communicate Property Concepts

Nouns and verbs in various forms may be used to convey property concepts in Leteh. In Leteh, it has been observed that human propensity and physical properties are largely connoted by these nouns and verbs.

4.1 Nominal Adjectives

In Leteh, nouns which receive agentive markers: **o-/ɔ-** as prefixes and the suffix **-wo** (22) and (23) can be used as modifiers to express property concepts of other nouns. These function attributively, occurring after the head noun (24) and (25).

22. **ɛtrɔ** → **ɔ-trɔ-wo**
madness 'mad person'

23. **enufu** → **o-nufu-wo**
lie 'dishonest person'

24a. **o-nyinɛ** **ɔ-trɔwo**
SG-man SG-mad person
'mad man'

24b. **e-nyinɛ** **ɛ-trɔwo**
PL-man PL-mad person
'mad men'

25a. **a-yirebi** **o-nufuwo**
SG-child SG-dishonest person
'dishonest child'

25b. **n-yirebi** **e-nufuwo**
PL-child PL-dishonest person
'dishonest children'

These nominal adjectives are mostly used to connote human propensity, and may be pluralized to agree with the nouns they modify (24b) and (25b).

4.1 Noun Modifiers

These are nouns which denote some substance or material (26a-c), and are usually used to express physical attributes of nouns. Noun modifiers are not marked for plural (27), and do not undergo reduplication.

26a. **oyi** **adaka** 'wooden box'
wood box

b. **sika** **mkpa** 'golden bed'
money bed

c. **dade** **tsa** 'metal house'
metal house

27. **oyi** **n-daka** 'wooden boxes'
wood PL-box

From examples (26) and (27), it is clear that noun modifiers precede the nouns they modify, an order which is contrary to Leteh noun phrase order. Noun modifiers are used attributively (28), and also as predicates in ascriptive clauses to attribute a property to a noun (29).

28. **Sika** **mkpa** **a** **yé-fé.**
Money bed DEF PERF-lose
'The golden bed is missing.'

29. **Tsa mə gyí oyi.**
house DEM COP.be wood
‘This house is wooden.’

4.2 Noun Reduplicatives

There is a class of nouns, largely mass nouns which undergo total reduplication (30a-c) to function as adjectives. This morphological behavior of nouns is one of the few features that differentiates adjectives from nouns. Unlike nouns which change their category when they are reduplicated, adjective stems denote plurality when they undergo reduplication. Noun reduplicatives usually signify physical property.

Basic form	Reduplicated form
30a. ntsu ‘water’ →	ntsuntsu ‘watery’
b. ebi ‘seed’ →	ebiebi ‘lumpy’
c. mfra ‘salt’ →	mframfra ‘salty’

Noun reduplicatives do not inflect for number. They are used attributively and predicatively to modify other mass nouns (31 & 32).

31. **Tegyí mframfra a yé-té.**
food salty DEF PERF-finish
‘The salty food is finished.’
32. **Otsu a gyí ntsuntsu.**
soup DEF COP.be watery
‘The soup is watery.’

4.3 Adjectival Verbs

In Leteh, verbs which are used to express adjectival meaning may be put into two groups. In the first group, we have some verbs which are synonymous to some underived adjectives and function like intransitive verbs (33a-c). These adjectival verbs occur immediately after a noun phrase to communicate adjectival meaning (34 & 35).

underived adjective	adjectival verbs
33a. ɔkpamkpa ‘bad’	maane ‘to be bad’
b. ɔkpɔmkpɔ ‘big’	de ‘to be big’
c. ɔtɔntɔ ‘tall’	kpa ‘to be tall’

34. **Tsa mɔ de.**
house DEM de
'This house (is) big.'

35. **Ayirebi a maane.**
child DEF bad
'The child (is) bad.'

These lexemes can be appropriately described as verbal, because they exhibit verbal features; for instance, they inflect for negation (36).

36. **Tsa mɔ bé-de.**
house DEM NEG-big
'This house is not big.'

4.4 Using the 'have' Verb *bò* to Express Property Concepts

The second strategy of using verbs to indicate property concepts is by using the 'have' verb, **bò**, followed by an abstract noun. In this construction, the noun is said to possess the quality expressed by the abstract noun (37 & 38). These structures are usually used to indicate physical property.

37. **Agbeli bò oni.**
cassava have hardness
'Cassava is expensive.'
38. **Olu a bò ɔketa.**
medicine DEF has bitterness
'The medicine is bitter.'

Similar to the verbal adjective, the 'have' verb **bò** can receive negation in the form of a homorganic negative prefix (39). In this construction, the opposite quality is implied as in (40). It is important to note that the tone of the have verb changes from low to high when it is negated.

39. **Olu a m-bó ɔketa**
medicine DEF NEG-have bitterness
'The medicine is not bitter.'
40. **Olu a bò ɔfa**
medicine DEF have sweetness
'The medicine is sweet.'

4.5 The Relative Clause as Modifier

The relative clause in Leteh may be used to modify the head of a noun phrase. The clause is introduced by the relativizer **né** and followed by the perfect marker **yé-/yé-**, and then a verb which connotes physical attribute. In (41) for example, the verb signifies the action (ripening) that the orange underwent to attain the physical property (ripe). In (41 & 42), the relative clauses describe the physical states of the ‘orange’ and the ‘piece of cloth’.

41. **Akutu** [né yé-hènè]
 orange REL PERF-ripe
 ‘orange which is ripe/ ripened orange’

42. **Eta** [né yé-hòrè]
 cloth REL PERF-wet
 ‘cloth which is wet/wet cloth’

5.0 Ordering Multiple Adjectives in a Leteh Noun Phrase

The issue of adjective sequencing restrictions (henceforth, ASR) is one that has been widely discussed in the literature. Ameka (1991: 113) reports that in Ewe, age items occur first in a sequence, and attributes it to the importance speakers of Ewe attach to age. In the case of Siya (Kwa) also, adjectives which connote age occur closest to the noun they modify, after which others may follow. Adjei (2007) further notes that in Siya, after placing the age adjective first, stringing the remaining adjectives is at the discretion of speakers to a large extent. In the case of Akan, a preliminary investigation on ASR conducted by Pokuaa, Osam and Saah (2007) found that age and color adjectives occur closest to the noun they modify. It was also observed that for Akan, human propensity adjectives largely occur farther away from the head noun.

The discussion on adjective sequencing in Leteh will account both for the case of adjectives from different semantic classes, and adjectives from the same semantic class. It must be noted that both underived adjectives and other nominal and verbal expressions which are employed to signify property concepts can occur in a sequence.

In order to get the correct or most preferred sequences, various adjective orderings were presented to Leteh speakers, and in most of the cases, speakers showed a large measure of agreement on the ensuing orderings.

From examples (43)–(45), we see the order of Leteh adjectives from different semantic classes in a noun phrase.

43. **o-nyine** **ɔ-kpamkpa** **ɔ-tɔntɔ** **a**

SG-man SG-bad SG-tall DEF
 ‘The bad tall man’

There are two adjectives in (43), modifying the head noun **onyine** ‘man’. The adjective denoting value precedes that signaling dimension. The order can be represented as: VALUE>DIMENSION. Speakers explained that the character of an individual was more important than his looks, which explains why the value adjective occurs closest to the head noun.

Example (44) demonstrates the adjectival order: VALUE>DIMENSION >COLOUR. In this case, color occurs last, which gives an indication that speakers do not attach much importance to the physical attributes of an individual. This order also follows what Sproat and Shih (1991) and Dixon (1977) posited for many of the world’s languages.

44. **o-nyine ɔ-kpamkpa ɔ-tɔntɔ ɔhe a**
 SG-man SG-bad SG-tall red DEF
 ‘The bad tall fair man’

In (45), the four adjectives that modify the noun occur in the order: AGE>VALUE>DIMENSION>COLOUR. This order is similar to what pertains in related languages like Akan and Ewe (Pokuaa, Osam and Saah 2007; Ameka 1991) where age adjectives are placed closest to the nouns they modify. The tendency to place age adjectives closest to head nouns seems to be cross-cultural. The explanation offered by Ameka (1991) goes for Leteh as well. Among the speakers of Leteh, the age of an individual is an overriding consideration in any interaction. The age of participants in a conversation will determine address forms and choice of words of speakers in most cases.

45. **o-nyine o-numu ɔ-kpamkpa ɔ-tɔntɔ ɔhe a**
 SG-man SG-old SG-bad SG-tall red DEF
 ‘The old bad tall fair man’

During an interaction, a speaker would normally use a sequence of adjectives to specify a referent to ensure that the addressee makes no mistake in identifying the referent. When an adult is sending a child on an errand to deliver a message for instance, to ensure that the message is sent to the right person, the adult would use a string of adjectives to describe the intended recipient.

On the other hand, multiple adjectives that occur as modifiers could come from the same semantic class. When that occurs, the order remains the prerogative of the speaker; normally depending on ease of producing them, and also which of the adjectives the speaker wants to emphasize (Bybee 1985). In many cases, the adjective

the speaker wants to emphasize is put closest to the head (see examples (46) and (47)).

- (46) **o-yi** **ɔ-kpɔmkpɔ** **ɔ-tɔntɔ** **ɔ-ko**
 SG-tree SG-big SG-tall SG- a/some
 ‘A big tall tree.’

- (47) **o-yi** **ɔ-tɔntɔ** **ɔ-kpɔmkpɔ** **ɔ-ko**
 SG-tree SG-tall SG-big SG-a/some
 ‘A tall big tree.’

My informants however preferred option (47); they explained that it was easier to produce **ɔ-tɔntɔ** ‘tall’ than **ɔ-kpɔmkpɔ** ‘big’. In the instance where adjectives come from the same semantic class, speakers would also prefer to produce the morphologically simpler adjective first. Consequently, phrases and clauses which are used to signify property notions are usually placed last in the series (48).

- (48) **Koko** **ofufuru** **ntsuntsu** **[né** **bo** **ɔfa]**.
 porridge white watery REL have sweetness
 ‘White watery sweet porridge.’

6.0 Conclusion

The paper has discussed strategies that Leteh employs to express property concepts. The language makes use of underived adjectives (a class of thirteen monomorphemic lexemes) and derived ones, mainly through reduplication, to indicate property concepts. In addition, some nouns and verbs are employed to signal property notions. The paper has shown that with regard to size, the underived adjective system in Leteh is very much like those in related Kwa languages like Ewe, Ga, Akan and Logba. However, in terms of strategies that these languages apply to denote other property concepts, there are significant differences. For instance, in Leteh, the paper has demonstrated that reduplication is the only derivational process that yields lexemes used for communicating property ideas, whereas in related languages like Akan and Ewe, other derivational processes like suffixation and compounding are attested. It has been observed that whereas the thirteen underived adjectives connote property concepts that border on semantic notions of dimension, color, age and value, some nouns and verbs are used for expressing property concepts of human propensity and physical attributes.

An interesting observation made with respect to morphosyntactic properties of adjectives of value is that they behave differently from all other underived adjectives. For example, adjectives that signal the idea of value do not inflect for number, neither

do they undergo reduplication. Furthermore, their predicative use is restricted. With respect to reduplication, an explanation that has been offered is that, if it is only adjectives in their plural forms which can undergo reduplication, then it is not surprising that value adjectives cannot be reduplicated. Finally, this paper intimates that the ordering of multiple adjectives seems to be cross-cultural among Kwa languages. However, it will be interesting to research further to come up with other factors that could account for the sequencing.

Abbreviations Used

COP copula	OC object of comparison
DEF definite article	PL plural
DEM demonstrative	PST past tense
FUT future	REL relativizer
INDEF indefinite article	SC standard of comparison
NEG negation	SG singular
PERF perfect	RELC relative clause

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CREATING NEW BRAND IDENTITIES: A STYLO-RHETORICAL STUDY OF CAR APPELLATIONS IN NIGERIA

Ibrahim Esan Olaosun

Abstract

This paper analyses twenty-six appellations of some popular cars in Nigeria. The data were gathered through visits to some retail car dealer shops in Nigeria, the participant observation method and a questionnaire. Analysis of the data shows that the appellations are a form of material honorifics which capture the youth's sentiments for such car qualities as size, speed, durability, efficiency, luxury and affordability. Analysis also shows that car rebranding discourse practice is an evaluative epithet, a socio-historic documentation and a rhetoric of competition, distribution, endorsement, and demeaning humor, which portrays the youth's passionate sentiment concerning fashion in automotive technology. The paper demonstrates how the discourse practice explicates the grammatical notion of epithet and the concept of branding/rebranding, as an aspect of the rhetoric of advertising. It indicates that car rebranding practice significantly affects the purchase behaviours of car owners in Nigeria. It concludes that Nigerian youths are as effective in linguistic innovativeness as automotive marketers in making car products appeal to emotions.

KEY WORDS: Car Rebranding (CR), Car name (CN), Epithet, Advertising

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1. Introduction

The youth, with identifiable beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies, constitute an important unit of a culture and they play significant roles in transforming, promoting, changing or modifying the content of the local culture. Unlike in the past when agents of the local culture, such as the family, the school, religious institutions, etc. were the primary and sole determinants of youth socialization, the modern day youth influence the structure of the local culture as much as they are influenced by these agents of the culture.

The aspect of the contemporary Nigerian youth culture that is particularly of interest to linguistic research is its linguistic innovativeness. The youth demonstrate linguistic creativity in discourses involving such subjects as sports (especially soccer),

sexualities, music, (especially hip hop), western films and new fashions in shoes and clothes. They also exhibit linguistic solidarity through the restricted codes for talking about these things.

Language scholars and anthropological linguists, in and outside Nigeria, have shown tremendous interest in the study of youth culture in the areas of language, identity and politics. The works of such scholars as Whyman (2012) and Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook (2008) are significant in this field. In Nigeria, Babalola and Rotimi (2011), and Akande (2012 and in press) have researched into some aspects of discourse behaviour of the Nigerian youth in the area of hip hop music. An important aspect of youth discourse in Nigeria, which is yet to be researched and, which, therefore is the subject of this paper, is a discourse I refer to as car rebranding (CR) discourse.

The paper, which aims at foregrounding the discourse significance of car renaming practice in Nigeria, relates to linguistic anthropology in two ways: First, its object of study, the linguistic component of youth culture, is an interesting object of study for linguistic anthropology. Secondly, the paper adopts some of the methodological approaches, involving interview, questionnaire, participant observation, etc. which are the cornerstones of anthropology generally, and by extension, linguistic anthropology, a discipline which studies the interactions between linguistics and culture (both group and social culture).

As a study in linguistic anthropology, I personally interacted with a handful of youths, comprising students from Obafemi Awolowo University where I teach, roadside mechanics, and car dealers who are the most active producers of the discourse under study. I also contacted *The Crush Chronicle*, an online youth forum, where I gathered useful information in respect of the reasons why some cars are given the names they are given. My data exploration methods yielded twenty-six (26) re-branded car names, which served as data for this study. Except those car names in the Yoruba language (which of course have equivalents in other Nigerian languages), the data apply to all of Nigeria.

As a text-based study, these data were subjected to close reading. After interacting with some of their active creators, who supplied the car rebranding names (CRNs) and reasons for such names, I visited some retail car shops in Osogbo and Ile-Ife, where I took photographs (see appendix) of some of the cars rebranded. With this method, I was able to correlate these names with the actual car products labeled.

Thereafter, with the assistance of my graduate students, I administered a one-item questionnaire to some one thousand car owners that were contacted at social gatherings, filling stations, car wash points and public parks in the study areas. This research method gave me the opportunity to substantiate my intuitive perceptual

reading of the data with facts from the agents, the authentic sources of the discourse, and to be able to comment on the effects of the discourse practice on the purchase behaviour of people. Therefore, the analysis carried out in this paper is a synthesis of information from different sources, including my personal intuitive interpretation of the data.

2. Theoretical/ Conceptual Foundation

The theoretical framework for this study is Stylo-rhetoric. This is a framework that unites the principles of two genetically related disciplines: Stylistics and Rhetorics. This raises the question- why stylo-rhetoric? To answer this question requires a brief historical review of the relationship between the two disciplines.

Stylistics relates to three classical disciplines: rhetorics, dialectics and poetics, which are concerned with the art of creating speech, the study of methods of creating and principles guiding a dialogue, talk or discussion and the study of artistic creation respectively (Miššíková, 2003:9). Out of these three disciplines, it was dialectics and rhetorics that actually developed to Stylistics because according to Miššíková (2003:9), poetics went its own way to create field of study known at present as Literary Criticism.

I have chosen to unite rhetoric with stylistics in this study because I consider the discourse practice as a language style, a form of youth speech or talk, which has contextually embedded meaning(s). Though this paper has its grounding in Stylistics and Rhetorics, it also relates to onomastics (because it studies a social act of naming), which overlaps with the subject matter of such fields as anthropology, business, cartography, folktale, genealogy, history, politics, psychology, linguistics and history (Algeo and Algeo, 2000). Reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of this paper, my discussions of the data will benefit from the concepts of branding, appellation and honorifics. Therefore, I briefly explain the concepts in what follows.

2.1. Branding

The concept of branding has its primary association with the field of marketing, where it is considered as an important advertising strategy. Beyond its primary association, the concept has now a new direction, associated with Anholt and Wally (see Nadia, 2009) where it becomes a political register. In contemporary academic research, there is a growing interest in this new direction in the phenomenon of “nation branding”, seen as a mode through which nations “advance their political, economic, and cultural agendas” (Nadia, 2009). The marketing techniques of branding and rebranding, according to Agba and Agba, Ushie and Akwara (2009), “have been imported by some countries in their bid to market their cities, services,

regions to the rest of the globe thereby increase their international profile, attract or improve their foreign direct investments and earnings from tourism and trade”. Today, branding, with such genres as place branding, city branding and personality branding, has almost developed to a full-fledge academic field as there are several authors and publications on the concept. These publications include for example Florek (2005), Baker (2007), Moilanen and Rainisto (2008) and Dinnie (2008).

Taiwo (2011), thinking in terms of its primary association, describes branding or rebranding, quoting Hankinson and Cowking (1996), as a marketing concept which is traditionally associated with products and services. Similarly, the American Marketing Association (AMA) defines a brand as a "name, term, sign, symbol or design, or a combination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of other sellers. Branding plays a significant role in influencing customers' purchase decisions. In the words of Fitzsimons, Chartrand, and Fitzsimons (2008), the type of brand and consumers' perceptions of the brand can influence their behaviour.

In view of the importance of branding highlighted above, every manufacturing or marketing industry depends on it for the sales of their products. Manufacturers of cars, for instance, give brand names to their products, targeting such values as luxury, elegance, size, durability and affordability. My assumption in this paper is that car rebranding in Nigeria, though not commercial oriented, is as effective as corporate/institutional branding in fulfilling the functions of branding enumerated above.

2.2. Appellation

As reflected in some of its synonyms such as christening, cognomen, cryptonym, epithet, eponym, euonym, tautonym, terming, title and trinomen, the word 'appellation', which derives from Latin *appellātiō*, is not easy to nail down to a single definition. However, *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language* (2009) offers an apparently simple but comprehensive definition of it as “a name, title or designation and the act of naming or giving title to” someone or something.

This definition, taking appellation beyond its inventive connotation, suggests that appellation captures or defines all sort of names, labels, designations and descriptive phrases used for persons and non- persons- real or imaginary.

2.3. Honorifics

Most definitions of the notion of honorifics point to those expressions in language that “mark relationships of respect” (Agha, 1998) and are grammatically marked by being prefixed or appended to people's names. Also, *Encyclopedia of Language &*

Linguistics (online) describes honorifics as referring to special linguistic forms that are used as signs of deference toward the nominal referent or to the addressee.

As instantiated in the data for this study, honorifics are not only addressed or limited to human or animate beings; they are also extendable to material or inanimate objects (like cars under study). I am coining a new concept ‘material honorifics’ to describe the situation wherein people develop address terms or labels to convey their esteem for material/inanimate objects. The analysis that follows clarifies this sub-category of honorifics.

3. Analysis 1: Textual

In what follows, I first present in the table below the data gathered for this study. Some of the re-branded car names in Yoruba are rendered or glossed in English. Based on my personal response to the naming practice and personal observation of the cars rebranded and interaction with some retail car dealers in Nigeria, I summarize the evaluative denotation of each of the rebranding names listed. Thereafter, I treat in depth the rhetorical significance of rebranding names (RN) under four main headings.

S/N	Re-branding Name	Car Brand	Evaluative Denotation
1	First lady	Toyota Corolla 1.4 or 1.6 model	Feminine elegance
2	Big daddy	Toyota Camry 2002/2003 Model	Masculine superiority Big size
3	Baby boy	Honda Accord 1998 model	Small Size.
4	Pencil	Toyota Camry 1998/1999 model	Sharpness (tiny rear light)
5	Envelope	Toyota Camry 2001	Shape of the boot
7	Pure water	Honda Accord 1986 model	Ubiquitousness/ Cheapness
8	“Allah”	Honda Accord 1990 model	Greatness
9	Muscle	Toyota Camry 2007 model	Powerfully built
10	End of discussion	Honda Accord 2003 model	Fullness/ completeness
11	Discussion continues	Honda Accord 2005 Model	Advancement on 11 in rear light
12	<i>Ijapa</i> (tortoise)	Volkswagen	Dome- shaped
13	<i>Igala</i> (The antelope)	Volkswagen	Speed

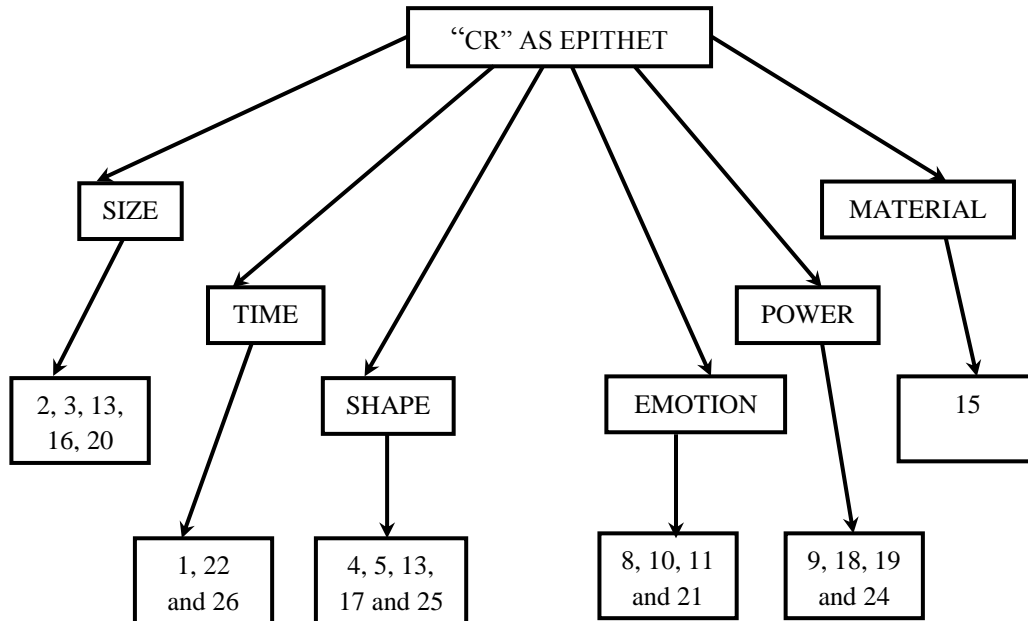
14	<i>Yerimbeto</i> (Adjust your head for me to spit)	Two door cars	Narrowness/ smallness
15	<i>Jagi</i> (The wooden one)		Roughness/ ruggedness
16	<i>Orobo</i> (The big one)	Toyota Camry 1992 model	Thickness
17	<i>Oloju opolo</i> (the frog eyed)	Mercedes Benz 1998/1999 Model	Firmness/ powerful headlight
18	Bullet	Honda accord, 1997/98	Swiftness of speed
19	Bulldog	Honda Accord 1995 model	Firmness
20	Baby Benz	Mercedes Benz 190 E	Modesty/Smartness (smaller in size to v-boot)
21	Anaconda/Evil Spirit	Honda Accord 2009 Model	Exceptional/ Tempting
22	'Millenium'	Toyota Camry 1998 Model	Freshness/
23	Big for nothing	Toyota Camry 2004 model	Outsized
24	Beast	Mercedes Benz 600 1995 model	Powerful
25	V Boot/ V Nyansh	Mercedes Benz 300 1990 model	Bottom heavy
26	COJA	BMW 325i 2i001 series 3	Special for an occasion

3.1. CR as Epithet of Value

In the words of Beller (2012), the term ‘epithet’ traditionally refers to a class of noun phrases that tend to have strong expressive or emotive content. Simply put, an epithet is a characterizing word. In relation to these descriptions of epithet, the CR discourse under study qualifies to be described as epithet as it performs the basic functions of epithet which include evaluative, expressive, descriptive and individuality. It provides such information which relates to or captures the car needs of people in the aspects of size, elegance, durability and speed power. In Figure 1 below, I categorize the CRNs in the table above under different categories of epithet and thereafter discuss them more explicitly.

The analysis indicates that CRNs 2, 3,13,16,20 and 23 as labeled in the table above are nominal adjectives of size, CRNs 1, 22 and 26 are nominal adjectives of age or time and CRNs 4,5,13.17 and 25 are nominal adjectives of shape. CRNs 8, 10 11 and 25 are emotive epithets; CRNs 9, 18, 19 and 24 are epithets of power, while CRN 15 is a material epithet.

Figure 1: Categories of CR epithets



Though a CRN generally performs functions similar to the functions of grammatical epithets by reflecting certain sorts of value, we can talk about some that are humorously derogatory and some that are enthusiastically eulogizing. CRNs in these two categories will be discussed later in this paper.

3.2. CR as Rhetoric of Power Competition

CRNs in this category apparently reflect the sense of competitiveness among the Nigerian youths, particularly those who own or whose parents own a car. Youths are exploratory; they sacrifice their time in investigating things that might not be very important. They compete over their parents' possessions to the extent that they express class sentiments in the associations they keep. Especially among the yahoo fraudsters called 'yahoo boys' (meaning, cyber fraudsters) in Nigeria, a car is a means of power competition. In competition with the adult society, which might have taken some pride in certain cars, the Nigerian youths play down the integrity of certain cars and construct an extravagant image of some others, especially those they consider fit for the youth.

For instance, when the youths find that the Honda Accord 1990 model has become the favourite car for most people, they arrogate superior power to the 1998 model, which they nickname “baby boy”. The primary denotation of this name is the smallness of its size compared to the 1990 model. Beyond this primary denotation, this epithet is a rhetorical extension of the vigor commonly associated with youthful age as opposed to slowness associated with old age. Also, the RNs 10, 11 and 12 above are epithets of competition. The RN, “End of Discussion” is a hyperbolic epithet which implies that all car products manufactured before the car so named were not as wonderful as to call for public talk. The RN therefore connotes that the car product in question is the end of astounding automotive innovation. There is an expression of more superior automotive power in the RN “Discussion Continues” which, suggests that the car is a continuation of advancement in automotive innovations.

Through the discourse practice of CR, the Nigerian youths extend the general class sentiment which spread through Nigeria by allocating the fitting cars for different categories of people and sexes. With the car naming practice, the CR enunciators in Nigeria create superior and inferior images of car users in the country.

3.3. CR as Rhetoric of Demeaning Humour

The CR in this category performs the rhetorical function which relates to what Rampton (1995:171) describes as “jocular abuse”. This is an area where CR differs from normal branding, which is usually a favourable representation of products. One of the examples of cars in this category is the Honda Accord 1996 model nicknamed “Pure Water”.

“Pure water” in Nigerian parlance means drinking water sold in a plastic sachet. It is one of the few products that can be bought with the lowest naira denomination (five naira). “Pure water” in sachets is cheaper than bottled water and hence used by more people. In the context of car rebranding discourse under study, this term has been appropriated to connect the Honda product with the qualities of being cheap and ordinary. Though this nickname is demeaning, it is favourable to the promotion of the product in the Nigerian nation, where people judge a product good by the number of people that use it, believing that if the product is bad, it will not enjoy impressive patronage.

Other examples of CRNs in this category are *ijapa* (tortoise/ beetle) and *yerinbeto*. The two nicknames lower the quality of the car in terms of shape and space. The kind of liberty which back sitters in other cars enjoy to do whatever they like, including such dirty things as spitting through the window and getting rid of orange peels and sugar cane chaff, is not possible in two-door cars that *yerinbeto* indexes. *Ijapa* (the beetle) connotes lack of room and elegance. In Yoruba culture for example, the tortoise is the symbol of stinginess. The nickname is therefore a metaphorical

extension of this mythical attribute of tortoise to the space economy in the car products.

3.4. CR as Allusive Rhetoric

CR in this category relates to important social and political events. CRN 27 is an example. This model got its name after it was purchased for ministers and delegates at the COJA games in Abuja in 2003.

COJA is the French acronym for Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Africains, meaning Committee for the Organisation of the African Games, but Nigerians refer to the game itself as COJA. The car nicknamed COJA was the official car of the event and became popular after the event. Another example in this category is CR 1, “first lady”, which is a reference to the military political era in Nigeria when the military head of state as well as the state governors gave special power to their wives through the creation of the office of the first lady. It was this car that was the official car for this esteemed office of the first lady. Similarly, ‘Baby boy’ for the Honda Accord 1998 (RN 3) is an allusion to John Singleton’s film titled ‘Baby Boy’.

3.5. CR as Rhetoric of Endorsement

CRNs in this rhetorical category are epithets of approval. Such CRNs are expressions of heightened emotion of admiration. For instance, CRN 8 above, which developed in the Northern part of Nigeria, where Honda products are mostly cherished, is an exclamatory epithet of passionate admiration. “Allah” is the Arabic word for God. The word is used as the seal of facts or truths in Nigeria, particularly among the Hausa, where it is an epithet of finality in discourses.

According to Afronuts (2010), the Honda Accord 1990 model acquired this name because it is supposedly said that when a Hausa man boasted about this car product, he would exclaim in the pidgin exclamatory statement *Na my Honda, Allah!* (That is my Honda). There is plentiful evidence that this car is extremely popular in northern Nigeria.. For instance, it is common knowledge in Nigeria that stealers of this Honda Accord model from any part of the country often target the Northern part of the country where there is a steady market for this car, even for the most heavily used. In view of this, the Nigerian police most often spotlight their search to the North whenever there is a car theft involving Honda Accord brands of cars in any part of the country.

Other CRNs which relate to the rhetorical function of exaggerated endorsement include “End of Discussion” (Honda Accord, 2003 model), “Evil Spirit” (Honda Accord, 2009 model), “Beast” (Mercedes Bonze, 600, 1995 model), “Bulldog” (Honda Accord, 1995 model) and “Bullet” (Honda Accord, 1997/1998 model).

The car nicknamed “Evil Spirit” is said to be very tempting considering the driving pleasure it offers its users. One retail car dealer interviewed about the name of this car responded by saying “the car is TOO BAD because all its inner facilities are as pleasing as those found in a rich man’s sitting room”. The CN is therefore a paradox or a metaphorical extension of the mischievous quality of the devil on the car product. Similarly, “bullet”, “beast” and “bulldog” are eulogies or honorific appraisal of the speed quality of the cars and their ability to withstand hard use and bad road conditions. There is animal imagery in the CRs “beast”, and “bulldog” suggesting that the cars so nicknamed are as powerfully built as the animals from which they derive their labels.

4. Analysis 2: Empirical:

Effects of CR on Consumers’ Behaviour

Car renaming discourse in Nigeria can be regarded as informal, unpaid-for advertising because, like formal advertising, it has significant impact on the attention, comprehension, exposure, awareness, recognition and attitude of prospective car buyers in the country. To determine how CR produces these impacts, questionnaires administered to some one thousand car owners in major cities in Nigeria were analyzed. The question was: *To what extent is your choice of cars affected by the appellations given to them?* The questionnaire had four guided responses: (A. Not at all (NE) B. To a less extent (LSE) C. To a large extent (LE) D. To a very large extent (VLE). NE recorded 130 (13%); LSE had 115 (11.5%); LE had 305 (30.5%) and VLE recorded 450 (45%). The chart below presents the result obtained from the questionnaires:

Figure 2 Effects of CR on consumer’s behaviour

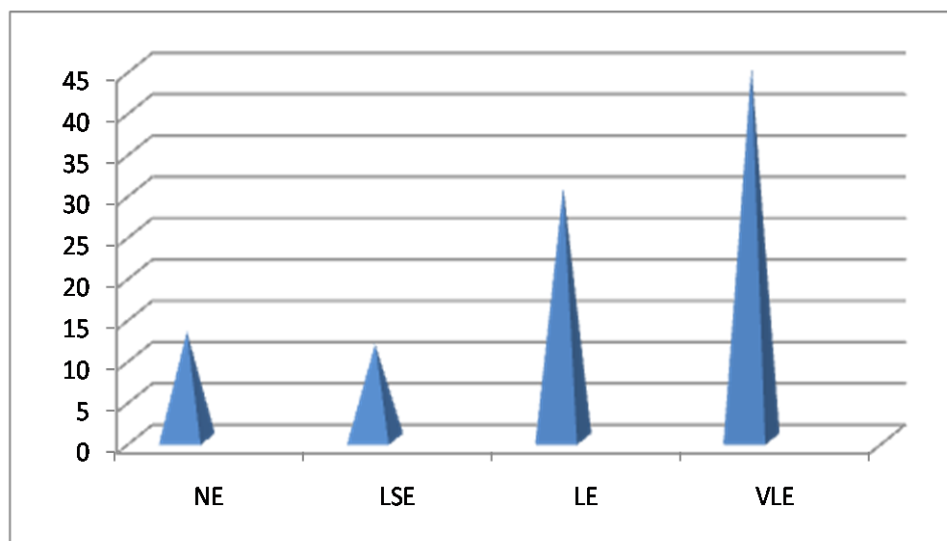
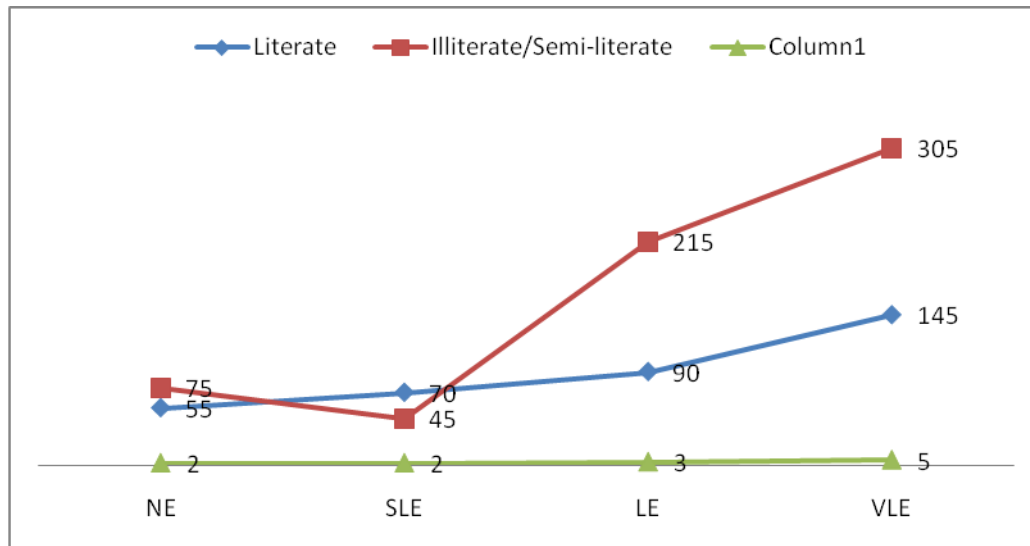


Figure 2 indicates that while 83% of the subjects agree that car nicknaming affected their purchase behavior, only 13% claimed that the practice of car-rebranding does not influence their choice of car. Out of the 103 subjects with the latter claim, 75 were illiterates/ semi-literates while the remaining 55 were literates. Figure 3 represents this variation and others more explicitly:

Figure 3: Effects of CR on illiterate and illiterate consumers



6. Conclusion

This paper has indicated that car re-branding in Nigeria is primarily a discourse of youth emotional claims or attitudinal epithets, which although it appears playful is highly stylized. It has also shown that car rebranding discourse is indexical of youth micro-world value. The discourse practice is reflective of the ways in which Nigerian youths construct their social world through language. These youths are unpaid advertisers, whose ‘local’ branding practice produces as much impact on car consumers as strategies of brand marketers.

Appendix: Sample Cars and their Call Names



HONDA ACCORD, 1986 model (Pure water)



HONDA ACCORD, 1990 model (Alla)



HONDA ACCORD, 1995 model (Bulldog)



TOYOTA CAMRY, 1992 model (Orobo)



HONDA ACCORD 2003 (End of Discussion)

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

International Conference on Hausa in the Diaspora

The 1st international conference on Hausa in the Diaspora was held at the University of Bayreuth, Germany, from 4th to 9th June, 2013. The sessions took place at Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) and at Iwalewa Haus, under the leadership of Professor Dymitr Ibrizimow, the director of BIGSAS. It was sponsored by Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Germany).

The theme for the meeting was Hausa in the Diaspora. It was a preliminary meeting on how to document the Hausa spoken outside the main Hausa speaking areas (northern Nigeria). The opening address was delivered by Professor Dymitr Ibrizimow and Dr Michael Broß. They emphasised the need to document Hausa in Diaspora. As we all know, Hausa as a language has received a lot of documentation from linguists but very little has been written on the type of Hausa spoken outside Hausa land.

The participants came from Germany, England, Poland, Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso and Ghana. All the presentations centered on the features, distribution and roles of Hausa outside Hausaland. Some of the topics discussed were: sources on the distribution of Hausa in southern Ghana before the 1940s, the role of Hausa language in the Savanna region in Togo, Hausa areas and their role in Benin, Sign language in the Hausa Diaspora, Hausa spoken in Burkina: a sketch of a phonological description, Hausa outside Hausaland proper in Nigeria – variation of linguistic norm, sociolinguistic status and communicative function (the data from Jos, Ilorin, and Ibadan).

Two of the presenters came from Ghana, namely: Professor M. E. Kropp Dakubu of University of Ghana and Mohammed Sadat of University of Professional Studies, Accra, but Professor Dakubu was unable to attend and her paper was presented by Mr. Sadat. Hausa sign language was not left out in the presentations. Participants were made to understand some of the peculiarities of Hausa sign language.

After the presentations on various topics, group discussions by the participants took place on the following topics:

- Designing of questionnaires (either for elicitation of language data or for sociolinguistic research)
- Research methods,
- Expected and already found features of Diaspora Hausa,
- History and the Hausa Diaspora
- Language shift

➤ Creolisation and pidginisation.

The participants were then tasked to work assiduously towards the documentation of Diaspora Hausa. The participants finally had a very good time at the Turkish Restaurant Deniz, Schulstraße.

Mohammed Sadat

LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION OF GHANA, 6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Linguistics Association of Ghana held its 6th annual conference at the Centre for Continuing Education, University of Cape Coast from the 29th to the 31st of July, 2013. The welcome address was given by Prof. Dora Edu-Buandoh, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, UCC. The keynote speech for the conference, which had the theme *Language Use in Specific Domains: Realities, Challenges and Prospects* was delivered by Professor Kofi Agyekum, the immediate past head of the Linguistics Department at the University of Ghana. His presentation was titled 'Language and Development: Challenges and Prospects'

In total, there were sixty-five presentations, including the keynote address. The presentations were made in seven parallel sessions. The topics of the presentations spanned the areas of semantics, pragmatics, syntax, phonetics, phonology, morphology, language and literature, language teaching and acquisition, evolution, media and language change, code-switching and bilingualism, language use, and language and discourse.

Eighty-five registered participants were recorded for the conference. The various participants from Ghana came from the University of Cape Coast, University of Ghana, University of Education Winneba, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Central University College, Koforidua Polytechnic, Ashesi University, University of Professional Studies, UMAT, Wisconsin University College and Dominion University College. There were also participants from the University of Lagos and Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education, Lagos. Other participants came from the University of California, Los Angeles, University of Florida, Indiana University, Bloomington, University of Lome, Togo, Radboud University, Nijmegen, Aston University, UK and the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.

Other highlights of the conference were a business/general meeting and an excursion to the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles. The two major LAG activities announced for 2014 are the 4th Annual LAG workshop scheduled for Friday 17th

January, 2014 at the University of Education, Winneba, and the 7th Annual LAG Conference, slated for the 28th through 30th of July, 2014.

The LAG Executive

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR ALAN STEWARD DUTHIE

Born 19 May 1938 in Dundee, Scotland, died 6 July 2013, in Legon, Accra.

Alan Steward Duthie had a diversified academic training. Between 1956 and 1960 Alan attended the University of St. Andrews where he obtained the Master of Arts (MA) in History of Greek Language, non-dramatic Greek Poetry, Hebrew and Moral Philosophy. From 1960 to 1962, he attended the University of Edinburgh where he obtained a Diploma in General Linguistics. He continued his studies at the University of Manchester where he obtained the PhD in Linguistic in 1964. He joined the University of Ghana in November 1964, just in time to be part of the team of young linguists who transformed what was then the “Phonetics Unit” in the Department of English into the Department of Linguistics. In the initial years (1965-1969), he combined teaching with studies: he did an external London University degree in Divinity. Alan was to spend his entire career, which spanned 49 years, at the Department, thus becoming the longest serving member of staff.

Alan Duthie was instrumental in the development of the department from its humble beginning to one that boasts of vibrant programmes at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. In the difficult days of the early 1980s, for instance, he was part of the two-member staff who manned the department and kept it going (the other member was Prof. Florence A. Dolphyne). Some of the courses he taught over the years are Phonetics, Sociolinguistics, English Phonology, English Syntax and Semantics, Theory of Translation, Seminar in Semantics, and Linguistics of Ewe. During his long years of teaching, he supervised numerous M.Phil. and Ph.D. theses in the department and elsewhere in the University (e.g. the Institute of African Studies). He served as Head of Department on two occasions: first from 1986 to 1989, and then from 1991 to 1993. During those two periods, he contributed to staff development by encouraging some of his students to take up teaching assistantships to ease the department’s critical staffing situation. He also encouraged some of them, including several who have contributed to this Reader, to go for further studies to come back and strengthen the staffing in the department.

His academic achievements are manifested in the large number of publications to his credit. He will be remembered for the immense contribution he made to the study of the Ewe language in particular. Notable among his works in this regard is the only modern grammar of the Ewe language (*Introducing Ewe Linguistic Patterns*,

published in 1996), which is currently used in the department and in other Ghanaian universities where Ewe is taught. Beyond his own research on the language in both Ghana and Togo, he groomed a number of linguists in Ghana, Togo, and elsewhere to remain keenly interested in investigating the linguistics of the language.

Alan Duthie participated in all major departmental projects. For example, he was a member of the team that worked on an Ewe Dictionary project, which was part of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics project, from 1997 to 2009. Thanks to his invaluable contribution to that project, the Department of Linguistics successfully published an *Ewe Encyclopedic Dictionary of Health*.

Professor Duthie's service to academia went beyond life at the department. He had active engagements with institutions with which he used his Divinity training. For example, he

- taught Bible Translation, New Testament Greek and Old Testament Hebrew at the Maranatha Bible College at Sowutuom
- was a long-serving member of the translation committee of the Bible Society of Ghana (he wrote a book on English Bible Translation which was published in 1985 and 1995).
- helped with organizing workshops of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT).

Beside these engagements, he also served as an examiner for the British Council in Ghana.

Alan led a life full of Linguistics, and did so right up to the day before his demise, Friday, 5th July, 2013, when he actively participated in the oral examination of the theses of three MPhil candidates of the Department. The Department has surely lost a great scholar and mentor.

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