

Agbozo, Gabriel Edzordzi

Language Choice in Ghanaian Classrooms: Linguistic Realities and Perceptions

Master's thesis in English Linguistics and Language Acquisition

Trondheim, May, 2015

Supervisor: Daniel Weston (PhD)
Associate Professor

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Language and Literature



NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

ABSTRACT

English and Ghanaian indigenous languages are employed at different levels of education as mediums of instruction and are taught as subjects in Ghanaian schools. This study explores this linguistic situation using data from interviews and recordings of classroom interactions in a Junior High School located in the predominantly Ewe-speaking community of Sogakope in South-Eastern Ghana. Employing a combination of language contact theories in sociolinguistics and the ABC Model of attitudinal study in social psychology for the analysis of data, we present the language choices made in this classroom as well as the pragmatic factors that influence these choices, participants' attitudes, and how participants' choices and attitudes could inform language-in-education policy in Ghana. The outcomes of the study show that students' lack of competence in English and the linguistic gaps in Ewe are the pragmatic factors that influence language choices in this classroom and that code-switching is the main medium adopted to cater for these linguistic challenges. Furthermore, all participants have positive attitudes towards English as medium of instruction and as a subject of study because of its utilitarian function, and to code-switching as medium of instruction because it aids in lesson comprehension but they have negative and ambivalent attitudes towards Ewe as medium of instruction and as a subject of study respectively because it has low aspirational function. The study suggests that there should be a distinction between 'medium of instruction' and 'medium of classroom interaction' (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2010) in order to put premium on students' needs as the basis for language-in-education policies; that Ghanaian indigenous languages are made compulsory subjects of study from primary school to the Senior High School level and that competence in at least a Ghanaian indigenous language be made a condition for employment in Ghana to give a strong aspirational function to Ghanaian languages as well as trigger positive attitudes towards these languages (Owu-Ewie & Adu-Buandoh, 2014).

DEDICATION

To

Mamã Wosekpo Nyikplorkpo;

my grandmother, linguist, poet-cantor, who never stepped into a classroom but always advocates that her grandchildren, great grandchildren, and everyone else are educated; is this work dedicated.

Ọda, dọnọ na wo! Woe do ọusẽ ame!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Yahweh for His direction and for all the good-hearted people He brought my way in the journey of life.

I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Daniel Weston (Associate Professor) for his careful guidance and cordiality, very useful advice and comments throughout the period of writing this thesis; Dr. Anne Dahl (Associate Professor) who tells me that I can do this, and to all my lecturers at the Department of Language and Literature, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU): Professor Annjo Klungervik Greenall, Professor Christopher Wilder, Professor Mila Dimitrova Vulchanova and Dr. Pirita Pyykkönen-Klauck (Associate Professor (Linguistics) & Postdoc (Psychology)) for their essential contribution to my graduate studies.

I am also indebted to Dr. Mawuli Adjei (Department of English, University of Ghana), Dr. David Ako Odoi (Language Centre, University of Ghana) and Ms. Mary Keleve (Department of English, University of Ghana) for their constant encouragement and innumerable assistance. My family's special bestowal of love, even from a far distance, imposes upon me a sense of obligation and inspires me in the most challenging of situations. Alfred Francis-Xavier Agbozo, my father; Charity Dzatugbui Nyikplorkpo, my mother; Elizabeth Yayra, Anastasia Kafui, Patience, John Agbenyega (the priest of the family), Michael Selorm (brother-poet), Nancy Enyonam, Agnes Xorve (who always asks when I shall return), my siblings; *koklo medea akpe na aɔu o gake miawoe wɔ dɔ*. I love you.

Ah, how can I forget Zala Fister of Slovenia, *definicija prijateljstva* (Slovenian: the definition of friendship) and Sharon Lourenco Sweet of South Africa, *een van die min goeie mense* (Afrikaans: one of the few good people) who give meaning to life and because of who separation is the most difficult task. We must meet again and soon; this time, in the sun! I recognise with honour my Australian classmate Nicole Louise Busby and my Ghanaian classmate Nathaniel Dorgbetor, of our three-member MPhil class, for the courage!

Thank you, Mrs. Beatrice Oforiwaa Dankyi (Department of English, University of Ghana), Elvis Yevudey (Department of Languages and Social Sciences, Aston University,

Birmingham), and Stephen Dadugblor (Department of Humanities, Michigan Technological University) for your very useful insights into this work. I also thank the students and teachers who volunteered to participate in this study.

I specially am grateful to the Government of Norway for awarding me the Quota Scheme Scholarship under which I studied at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) from 2013 to 2015.

I thank my friends and everyone who has spurred me on through this daunting yet necessary task. Like Banquo, I always will say: There, if I grow,

The harvest is your own.

Akpe na mi katã!
Tusen Takk!
Thank you!

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES	x
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	14
1.3 Importance of the study.....	14
1.4 Research Aims and Questions.....	15
1.5 Structure of the Thesis.....	16
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.1.1 Ghana’s Diglossia.....	17
2.1.2 Language-in-Education Policy in Ghana.....	19
2.2 Language Attitude.....	22
2.2.1 Definition.....	22
2.2.2 Components.....	23
2.2.3 Importance of Language Attitudes.....	25
2.2.4 Classroom Attitudinal Studies.....	25
2.3 Medium of Instruction (MOI).....	27
2.4 Code-switching.....	29
2.4.1 Classroom Code-switching.....	33
2.4.2 Code-switching Theories.....	35
2.4.2.1 The Symbolic Approach.....	35
2.4.2.1.1 Gumperz.....	35
2.4.2.1.2 The Markedness Model.....	36
2.4.2.1.3 Demerits of the Symbolic Approach.....	38
2.4.2.2 The Sequential Approach.....	39

2.4.2.2.1 Conversational Analysis.....	39
2.4.2.2.2 Criticisms against Conversational Analysis.....	40
2.5 Applications of CS Theories.....	40
2.6 Conclusion.....	41
3. METHODOLOGY.....	42
3.1 Introduction.....	42
3.2 Sampling Method.....	43
3.2.1 Sampling Procedure.....	44
3.2.2 Research Sample.....	44
3.3 Data Collection.....	47
3.3.1 Overview of Pre-Data Collection Activities.....	47
3.3.2 Recording of Classroom Interaction.....	48
3.3.3 Interviews.....	49
3.4 Researcher’s Observations.....	50
3.5 Data Analysis.....	50
3.6 Ethical Considerations.....	51
3.7 Challenges of the Study.....	51
4. DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.....	52
4.1 Introduction.....	52
4.2 Summary of Subjects’ Linguistic Background.....	52
4.3 Self-Reported Language Choices.....	53
4.3.1 Students.....	53
4.3.2 Teachers.....	56
4.3.3 Language Choice for the Interview.....	58
4.3.4 Language Choice during Classroom Lessons.....	59
4.3.5 Language Choice on School Premises.....	64
4.4 Functions of Code-switching (CS).....	67
4.4.1 Reiteration.....	68
4.4.2 Addressee Specification and Acknowledgement.....	69
4.5 Attitudes of Teachers and Students towards Classroom Language Choices.....	71
4.5.1. Code-switching.....	72

4.5.2. English.....	73
4.5.3. Ewe.....	75
4.6. Summary and Discussion.....	78
5. CONCLUSION AND CONSIDERATIONS.....	81
5.1 Introduction.....	81
5.2 Theoretical Consideration: Re-conceiving MOI in the Multilingual Classroom....	81
5.3 Considerations for future Language-in-Education Policy in Ghana.....	82
5.4 Conclusion.....	83
5.5 Recommendations for Future Research.....	85
REFERENCES.....	86
APPENDIX A: MPhil. Research Participation Consent Form.....	96
APPENDIX B: Letter of Permission.....	97
APPENDIX C: Interview Guide.....	98
APPENDIX D: Transcription Convention.....	100
APPENDIX E: Ewe Classroom Data.....	101
APPENDIX F: English Classroom Data.....	104
APPENDIX G: Interview Data (Teachers).....	106
APPENDIX G: Interview Data (Students).....	113

LISTS OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana	4
Figure 1.2: An Administrative Map of Ghana	10
Figure 1.3: The South Tongu District of Ghana showing Sogakope.....	12
Figure 2.1: The Components of Attitude.....	24
Figure 2.2: Patterns of Code-switching.....	32

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Structure of Ghana’s Educational System.....	7
Table 2: Languages used in Ghanaian Schools.....	8
Table 3: The Geographical Location of the Government-sponsored Ghanaian Languages	9
Table 4: A Tabular Summary of Ghana’s Language-in-Education Policy, 1529-Present	22
Table 5: Information on Teachers.....	45
Table 6: Information on Students.....	46
Table 7: Student’s Self-reported Languages used in an Average Day.....	53
Table 8: Pattern of Language Use.....	54
Table 9: Teachers’ Self-reported Languages Used in an Average Day.....	56
Table 10: Students’ Preferred Languages for Interview.....	59
Table 11: Students’ Motivation for Learning English.....	74
Table 12: Self-reported Examination Scores in English and Ewe for the Previous Term	75
Table 13: Students’ Motivation for Learning Ewe.....	78

1 Introduction

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study of language choice in a classroom in Ghana. The language situation in Ghana has been described as a multilingual one (Ansah, 2014; Bodomo, Andersen & Dzahene-Quarshie, 2009) where there are many indigenous and foreign languages in use in various domains such as education, commerce and governance, with English as the sole official language. Ghana's language-in-education policies, over the course of history, try to address this multiplicity of languages to ensure that students are competent in at least one indigenous language and English. In doing that, English and Ghanaian indigenous languages are employed at different levels of education as mediums of instruction and taught as subjects in schools.

The language situation in Ghana is in many respects quite similar to that of other African and postcolonial contexts where multilingualism is the norm. Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2015) posit that there are 79 indigenous languages in Ghana. These indigenous languages are distributed among a speaker population of approximately 26,428,000 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013, cited in Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2015) people spread across ten administrative regions. These languages are spoken by people belonging to diverse ethnic groups. It may be assumed, therefore, that there are as many ethnic groups as there are languages. Upon a closer examination, however, one discovers that what may be considered a language group is typically a cluster of socio-culturally and linguistically homologous groups who see themselves as inhomogeneous (Ansah, 2014). Akan, the largest ethno-linguistic group in Ghana, for instance, consists of a cluster of ethnic and sub-ethnic groups who have largely mutually intelligible dialects of the Akan language. This group alone constitutes 47.5% of the population of Ghana. The other major language groups are Mole-Dagbani 16.6%; Ewe 13.9%; Ga-Adangbe 7.4%, and Mande 1.1% (Ghana Statistical Services, 2012).

Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) argue that Ghana is roughly divided into two parts based on language and to some extent on culture. According to them, the languages located to the south of the Black and White Volta Rivers are grouped as Kwa within the Niger-Congo family. It is obvious that the dialects of Akan, Nzema with its relatives and the Guan languages are related. However, Ga-Adangme, Ewe, the Ghana-Togo Mountain languages and most of the other languages in the Volta region of Ghana are not related. The other group of languages located to

the northern savannah regions of Ghana mainly belong to the Oti-Volta and the Grusi branches of central Gur of the Gur language family (See Dakubu, ed. 1988, for further details).

According to Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) some Ghanaian languages have historically been the languages of expanding empires. In the south, the Asante (Ashanti) dialect of Akan has continued to expand and has come to be used in urban centres like Accra, the national capital, and to some extent nationwide, as a second language. The Ewe language has also continued to expand and has become the second language for smaller ethno-linguistic groups in the Volta Region. In the north, there seems to be no singularly dominant language. However, in Wa, the capital city of the Upper West region, Wali is widely regarded as a trade language, and given its mutual intelligibility with Dagaare of the surrounding countryside, it is reported to be rapidly expanding. The main Ghanaian indigenous language that this thesis focuses on is Ewe since the study is conducted in an Ewe-speaking area of Ghana.

Ewe belongs to the Gbe sub-group of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family (Yevudey, 2012; Ameka, 1995). The language is spoken mainly in the Volta Region in the south-eastern part of Ghana and other parts of the country. As at 2003, Ewe has 2,250,000 native speakers, 500,000 second language users in Ghana, and 3,112,000 speakers in all the countries where it is spoken (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015). These other countries are Togo, Benin and Nigeria. The language has many dialects in Ghana, for example Aɔaklu (Adaklu,) Akpini, Anɔlɔ (Anlo), Avenɔ (Avenor), Vɛ (Ve), Tɔŋu (Tongu), Peki, Ho, and Gbi; however, a standard version was developed in the 19th century by the Bremen Mission. This standard is a written variety. Though it is based on the southern Ghana varieties of the language, it is not identical to any of them (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). According to Lawrence (2005, cited in Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008), basic education in the Ewe speaking area of present day Ghana, was vigorously pursued and emphasis was placed on the teaching and writing of the standard Ewe, making the standard Ewe widely accepted among the various dialectal groups, and marked an emerging Ewe nationalism. Currently, the standard Ewe is in active use in all public and private domains to a degree not found with any other Ghanaian language. For instance, it is the language of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, the heir to the Bremen Mission, and of the Roman Catholic Church in all her Ewe-speaking dioceses in Ghana, Togo and Benin (Lawrence, 2005 cited in Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). Ewe is used in news broadcasting and in other

programmes on Ghana's national television stations: Ghana Television (GTV), Television Africa (TV Africa) and on some radio stations such as Volta Star Radio, of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in Ho, Volta Premier in Ho, Radio Jubilee in Keta and Dela Radio in Adidome. Attempts have been made in the 1960s, to produce Ewe newspaper for speakers: *Mɔtabiala* and later *Kpodoga* but their publications ceased over a short period of time (Agbedor, 2009).

Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015)



In addition to Ghana's indigenous languages are some West African languages such as the Chadic language of Hausa originally from Northern Nigeria, which is mainly used as a trade language, and is widely spoken in the northern parts and in some suburbs of urban areas (e.g.

Madina, and Maamobi in Accra) of Ghana. It is even one of the languages used on national radio (e.g. Radio Savannah FM in Tamale; Radio Upper West FM in Bolgatanga, and Uniq FM in Accra) and in television broadcasting by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation and Television Africa (TV Africa). It has gained this wide usage mainly because Ghana belongs to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which encourages free movement and trade among member countries.

English has been the sole official language of the country since Ghana was colonised by Britain. Ghana is, probably, the West African country that has had the longest contact with the English language (Bobda, 2000). Adika (2012), citing previous sources, reported that the earliest recorded contact between the people of the Gold Coast and the British was in the early 16th century. The British arrived in the then Gold Coast for the purpose of trade. They taught some locals how to speak the English language. These elite locals then served as interpreters between the British and the indigenes. Boadi, (1994:53, cited in Adika, 2012) describes the English language used in this early period as “Mercantile English” with the limited probability of being “the precursor of the educated English varieties used in West Africa today”.

Adjaye (1987: 36) suggested that as far back as 1554, Ghanaians were sent to study in Britain and “were expected, in return, to promote British trade and political interests”. During this same period, the British set up schools in the castles and forts on the coast to train more locals for various reasons. Although the first students in these schools were mulattoes, the whole local population was later given the opportunity to gain admission. Missionary and administrative activities, which followed in subsequent years, sustained the consolidation of English. It was used in most Wesleyan mission schools. Ordinances on education, passed in 1822 and 1887 respectively, introduced financial support in the form of grants for English-based schools and a system for schools established by the missions and private persons (Adika, 2012).

Consequently, English became one of the main languages and unarguably the most expedient language for colonial administration. English was found to be the most expedient language for colonial administration mainly because of the multilingual environment of the country. The decision to use English as the administrative language was also to prevent any probable ethnic clash should any indigenous language be adopted for official use. Since the main goal of colonial

education was to produce clerks and colonial administrative officials, education was tilted towards reading, writing and arithmetic.

English kept its place as the sole official language of Ghana after independence. The maintenance of English as the official language of Ghana may be a reflection of the positive attitude Ghanaians have towards the language (Bobda, 2000). This thesis finds out whether the same attitude is present in the classroom of study. Even though the main purposes of education changed after independence, English continued to be used as the language of education, journalism, international relations among others.

The majority of Ghanaians acquire English through formal education, since it is the prescribed medium of instruction beyond the first three years of primary schooling. Quarcoo (2006) observes, however, that there is evidence of some children acquiring English at home before entering school in urban areas like Accra, the national capital and Tema, a major port and industrial city, also situated within the Greater-Accra region of Ghana. Almost all newspapers are published in English. There seems to be a generally positive attitude towards English in Ghana. This premise is deduced from the choice of English as the sole official language and the enthusiasm with which it is acquired and used. This would serve as the background against which the choice of and attitudes towards English in the study classroom is discussed.

Certain languages from Europe and the Middle-East, such as French and Arabic, are also in use. French is taught in Ghanaian schools from the basic to the university levels mainly due to Ghana's geographical location: Ghana is bordered to the west by Cote d'Ivoire, to the east by Togo, and to the north by Burkina Faso. These countries were former colonies of France and they use French as their official language. Other languages of Europe, the Middle East and Asia are taught in some Ghanaian universities. The University of Ghana, for instance, teaches courses in Arabic, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. Arabic is also taught in Islamic schools and spoken in Lebanese communities (e.g. Nima in Accra and Lebanon in Ashaiman).

In addition to English, there are nine government-sponsored languages which are to be used as mediums of instruction in the first three years of primary school and taught as subjects from the fourth year of basic education and beyond. Presently, Ghana has a 2-9-3-4(3) educational structure (Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014). There is a 2-year kindergarten (KG 1 and 2), 9-

year basic education (6-year primary and 3-year Junior High School (JHS)¹), a 3-year Senior High School (SHS) education and a 3 to 4-year tertiary education system. Universities and university colleges run a 4-year education system while other tertiary institutions such as Colleges of Education (for teacher training) and Midwifery and Nursing Colleges run a 3-year education system.

Table 1: Structure of Ghana’s Educational System

Educational Level	Number of Years
Pre-Basic (Kindergarten) School	2
Primary School	6
Junior High School	3
Senior High School	3
University and University Colleges	4
Other tertiary institutions (Colleges of Education, Nursing/Midwifery Colleges, Polytechnics etc.)	3

In the first three years of primary school education, students are instructed both inside the classroom and in the school compound with a Ghanaian indigenous language. This Ghanaian language becomes one of the compulsory subjects taught the child from year 4 of primary school (average ages 10-11)² to at least year 9, that is, the final year of Junior High School (average ages 13-15). Ghanaian indigenous languages are not compulsory subjects in the following 3-year Senior High School education. They are studied only by students in the language option of the General Arts programme. Some tertiary institutions also offer Ghanaian indigenous languages as subjects of study. In the Colleges of Education, they are core subjects in the first year. They become elective subjects in the second year for a few students (Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014).

¹ The equivalent of middle school

² There seem to be no age specifications in the available literature. This study, therefore, uses average ages. It is possible that there are students who are older or younger than the stated average ages.

Table 2: Languages used in Ghanaian Schools

Educational Level	Medium of Instruction	Subject of Study
Kindergarten (Average Ages 3-5)	Ghanaian Language	English
First 3 Years of Basic School (Average Ages 7-10)	Ghanaian Language	English
Fourth year of Basic School to final year of Junior High School (Average ages 11-16)	English	Ghanaian Language
Senior High School to University, Nursing/Midwifery Colleges, Polytechnics etc. (Average ages 17-26)	English	English + (Ghanaian languages for some General Arts students at SHS)
Colleges of Education (Average ages 19-26)	English	Ghanaian languages (compulsory in 1st year, elective in 2nd year onwards)

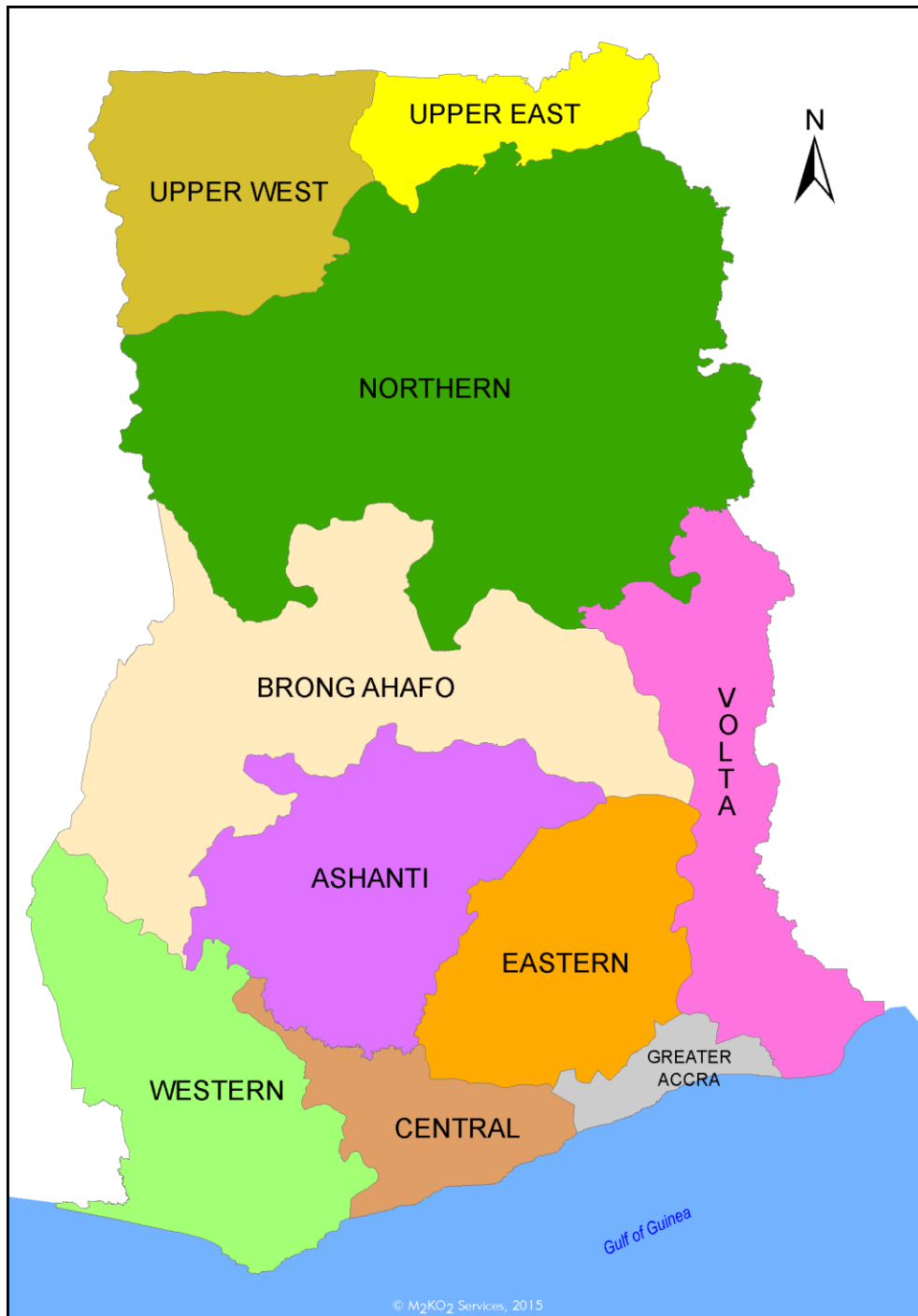
The nine government-sponsored Ghanaian languages chosen for the purpose of serving as mediums of instruction and as subjects are: Akan, Dagaare, Dagbane, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Gonja, Gurenne, Kasem and Nzema. Each of these Ghanaian languages is used in their various geographical areas. Akan is mainly used in schools in the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern and parts of the Volta and Western regions. Dagaare, Dagbane, Gonja, Gurenne and Kasem are used mainly in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions. Ewe is mainly used in the Volta region and parts of the Eastern and Greater-Accra regions. Ga-Adangbe is mostly used in the Greater-Accra region and parts of the Central region, and Nzema is mostly used in the Western region. The rationale behind choosing these languages is mainly that they are the dominant languages in their respective geographical areas. English is a compulsory subject of study in the first three years of education while the medium of instruction (MOI) is supposed to be a Ghanaian indigenous language. English becomes the MOI in both the classroom and in the school compound for the rest of a child’s education; beginning from the fourth year of basic school to the university. All national and international examinations, except those of other languages, are conducted in English.

Table 3: The Geographical Location of the Government-sponsored Ghanaian Languages

Geographical Area	Language
Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, parts of Volta & Western regions	Akan
Volta, parts of Eastern, Greater Accra regions	Ewe
Greater Accra, parts of Central regions	Ga-Adangbe
Northern, Upper East, Upper West regions	Dagaare, Dagbane, Gonja, Gurenne, Kasem
Western region	Nzema

The present study is conducted at the Junior High School level. It has been designed to investigate the relationship between language choice in the Ghanaian classroom, the legislation that is supposed to regulate it, as well as the attitudes of the main participants (teachers and students) in this multilingual setting. The thesis thus bridges several sociolinguistics sub-disciplines including language attitudes, language choice and language policy research.

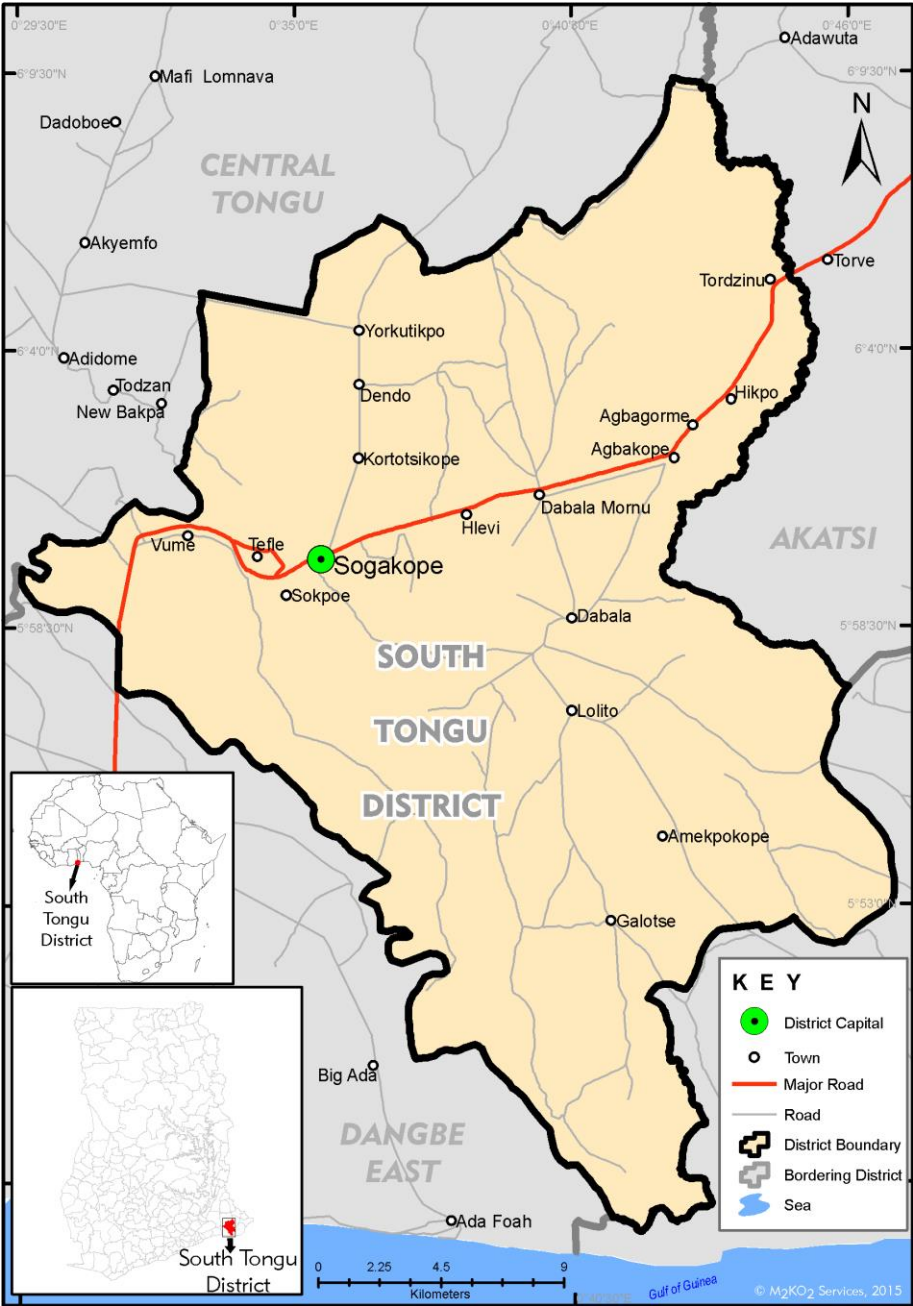
Figure 1.2: An Administrative Map of Ghana (M2KO2 Services, 2015)



Data from a structured interview focusing on teachers' and students' language choices and attitudes in a Junior High School form the material for the study. The school where this study is

conducted is located in Sogakope, the administrative capital of the South Tongu District in the Volta region of Ghana. It is a predominantly Ewe speaking area and both Ewe and English are used in schools as mediums of instruction as well as subjects of study. As previously explained there are various dialects of Ewe such as Aɲlɔ (Anlo) and Tɔɲu (Tongu). Tɔɲu (Tongu) is a cluster of dialects which is mostly spoken along the lower Volta river belt where Sogakope is located. As an emerging cosmopolitan area, however, other languages in Ghana (e.g. Akan, Lelemi/Lefana, Sɛkpele) are also spoken in Sogakope, especially in the informal domains (e.g. market and homes).

Figure 1.3: The South Tongu District of Ghana showing Sogakope (M2KO2 Services, 2015)



This data is complemented with the researcher’s observation through audio recording of students’ and teachers’ actual language choice inside the classroom and on the school premises as well as field notes. Data was collected from June 30, 2014 to July 18, 2014. Qualitative methods are used to analyse the data in order to suggest some practical and theoretical

considerations of participants' linguistic choice and attitudes, and how these relate to present and future national language-in-education policies.

As Baker (1992) has observed, most of the attitudinal studies in multilingual educational settings have not investigated actual classroom language practice sufficiently. In the present study, the investigation of the link between students' and teachers' language attitudes and their linguistic behaviours both inside the classroom and on the school compound is pivotal to the analyses presented.

The current language-in-education policy of Ghana holds that Ghanaian languages are used as the medium of instruction in Kindergarten and first three years of primary school education and that English should be the medium of instruction from year four of primary school education (Ministry of Education Science and Sports, teaching syllabus for English Language, September 2007). It is implied that Ghana practices an early-exit transitional type of bilingual education. It is the type which begins with a Ghanaian language as medium of instruction and later English language (Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014). Even though there is a government policy as regards language use in education, it is not followed consistently as some studies (e.g. Yevudey, 2013) found that language choice varies in Ghanaian classrooms.

This thesis presents an empirical analysis of language choice and attitudes in a Junior High School classroom. The result of this analysis is complemented with an evaluation of Ghana's language-in-education policy. This enables us to find out whether the language policy is in fact adhered to in this classroom, and if not, why it is so. The study also contributes to a growing corpus of sociolinguistic research concerned with multilingualism in Ghana. Though some studies have addressed language-in-education policy in Ghana (e.g. Ansah, 2014; Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014; Yevudey, 2013; Owu-Ewie, 2006), there is a dearth of studies that address the socio-psychological influences on language choices even though socio-psychological factors are believed to influence language learning and academic achievement (Garrett, 2010). As will be shown in this thesis, some schools have developed laissez-faire attitudes towards the implementation of the national language-in-education policy.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ghana's highly multilingual background gives rise to complex language questions regarding language use in the classroom. It is essential, then, that scholarly attention is given to some very vital aspects of language behaviour such as choice and attitudes. To promulgate the type of language policy that is helpful and meets practical educational needs, the attitude of language users to the languages chosen for use in certain domains like education, needs to be studied. Again, it is prudent that educators, such as teachers, are guided by empirical research findings in their choice of languages in the process of teaching and learning. In the case of Ghana, however, there is a scarcity of such studies especially at the Junior High School level as most of the available literature focus on primary school (Yevudey, 2012; 2013, Dzinyela, 2001) and Senior High School (Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014). It is this gap that the present study fills.

Moreover, some studies have obtained the pedagogic relevance of language in classrooms. Some researchers (e.g. Lightbown, 2001) recommend monolingual language use. Thus only the target language, English in the case of Ghana, may be used in the classroom. This group of researchers indicates that teaching using only the target language enables students to have a great deal of exposure to the language and enhances the acquisition process. Other works (e.g. Levine, 2003; Yevudey, 2013) on the other hand, suggest bilingual language use where both the first language and the target language are used. This type of bilingual language use may result in mixing the two languages at some point. The proponents of this view suggest that teaching students in the languages they understand, thus their first languages and the target languages, aids students' understanding and active participation in the teaching and learning process. In Ghana, studies on the pedagogic relevance of languages in the domain of education are not many. The present study adds to the already existing scholarship. Also, available studies have not put forward linguistic considerations for future language-in-education policy at the Junior High School level in Ghana. This thesis does that.

1.3 Importance of the Study

This research is significant in several ways. Firstly, it seeks to shed light on contemporary multilingualism in Ghanaian Junior High School classrooms. It also provides insight into how current classroom language practices may contrast or be in tandem with the country's language-

in-education legislation. The research findings would be helpful to teachers as they would become aware of students' attitudes towards the various language choices in the classroom. This knowledge could guide teachers' linguistic choice so as to address and manage students' wishes and expectations. Findings from this research could also guide legislators in the promulgation of future language-in-education policies in Ghana.

1.4 Research Aims and Questions

The main aims of this study are (1) to determine the factors that underlie the specific language choices of both teachers and students in a Ghanaian classroom; (2) to raise teachers' awareness of the language choices they are making in the classroom; and (3) to address the relationship between language choices and attitudes and future language-in-education policies in Ghana. To achieve the set goals the following research questions have been formulated and the reasoning behind them discussed:

- (1) What pragmatic factors influence the language choices of students and teachers in the classroom?

Language choice may be consciously or unconsciously influenced by either internal or external factors or both. Understanding the influences on subjects' language choices helps us to better interpret the possible reasons behind these choices. This question is to establish the factors that influence language choices in this sociolinguistic setting and the finding is obtained through classroom observation and recording as well as interviews.

- (2) What are students' and teachers' attitudes towards the various language choices and how do these attitudes affect language choice in practice?

Attitudinal investigations are conducted mainly because of the belief that they can be at the origin of behaviour (Bohner, 2001). It is possible, therefore, that the attitudes of subjects influence their language choices in a particular way. It is also believed that people's attitudes towards languages affect how they learn languages (Redinger, 2010). This question helps to see how subjects' attitudes are reflected in their language choices and how students' attitudes impact on their learning of the various languages.

(3) How can subjects' attitudes inform language-in-education policies in Ghana?

One of the merits of attitudinal studies is how results can inform language legislation. In this light, the present study intends to discuss the relationship between the subjects' attitudes and future language-in-education policies. This will raise awareness about some issues that could be considered by teachers in their classroom language choices and in the formulation of future policies.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The following is the organisational structure of this thesis. Chapter 1 introduces the study and explores Ghana's sociolinguistic landscape as well as languages used in education. Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature and sets the theoretical context for the study. An outline of Ghana's sociolinguistic situation in relation with diglossia is discussed. There is also an historical overview of Ghana's language-in-education policies from the pre-colonial period to the postcolonial era. The rest of this chapter discusses some theoretical issues that are relevant to this thesis including language attitudes, medium of instruction and classroom code-switching and a taxonomy of theories adopted by the thesis. Chapter 3 discusses the methods used in this study. Following a review of methods adopted for data collection and analysis there is an outline of sampling procedures. The chapter closes with a description of the various challenges involved in field data collection as well as the ethical issues considered by the study.

Chapter 4 analyses language choice and language attitudes among students and teachers in the sample setting. After a brief introduction, the chapter attempts to address, as far as possible, specific research questions throughout the course of the chapter. The linguistic profile and language choices by subjects inside the classroom and in the school compound are discussed. Also, discussed in this chapter are the pragmatic factors that trigger the various choices, the functions of the various languages encountered as well as an examination of students' and teachers' language attitudes. Once teachers' and students' language choices and attitudes have been established, this thesis turns towards the discussion of the possible implications of the result in chapter 5. The chapter also discusses some considerations for theory and recommended areas for future research.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, is a West African country that became independent from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957. During the British colonial era, English played important roles in administration, and was adopted as the sole official language of the country after independence while indigenous Ghanaian languages are also used in various domains such as in the market and in the home. The rest of this section discusses some aspects of Ghana's sociolinguistic landscape in relation to such topics as diglossia and language-in-education policies.

2.1.1 Ghana's Diglossia

Diglossia has come to be defined by scholars differently. It was originally popularised in contemporary sociolinguistics by Charles Ferguson. Ferguson (1959, cited in Saxena, 2014) sees diglossia as a binary distinction between a High (H) variety and a Low (L) variety of a language in complementary distribution in terms of function. The superposed variety is usually referred to as the High variety and the spoken one as the Low variety. The High variety is used in formal domains such as in writing while the Low variety is used for informal situations such as everyday communication. The most important characteristic of diglossia is the functional specialisation of varieties. In one set of situations, only the High variety is appropriate, while in another, only the Low is. Ferguson exemplified his definition of diglossia with four languages, Arabic, Greek, German Creole and Swiss German.

Ferguson had noted early in his paper that “no attempt is made [...] to examine the analogous situation where two related or unrelated languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role” (1959:325 in Saxena, 2014). Given this shortcoming of Ferguson's view, Fishman (1967) extended the classical definition of diglossia to include two different languages in bilingual and multilingual societies. In Fishman's diglossic model there is the High (H) language and Low (L) language which are usually in functional “complementary distribution” and which are functionally controlled by societal “norms of appropriacy” (Saxena, 2014: 92). The L language is used in informal domains and the H language in formal domains.

Within Ghana, English has a number of H functions, but also some L functions too. The indigenous Ghanaian languages are the L varieties. English is used in formal domains: academic, business and inter-governmental communication as well as for enhancing social mobility and economic power. Its L function includes its use as a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication. It is also the main language of all formal interactions in the work place. However, some indigenous languages are used at work places and some can be regarded as lingua francas. Dako and Quarcoo (2012), for instance, obtain Akan, Ga and Ewe are used in government offices to transact business in Accra and Tema. Some of these languages such as Ewe are also used on new media, google, Facebook, twitter and WhatsApp. As of 2015, this thesis has obtained that Mozilla is translating its marketing tools and websites into Ewe and Akan and this author is one of the translators on the Ewe project. Quarcoo (2013) observed that there is a constant interaction between English and the indigenous languages, and as a result code-switching (this spelling is adopted from Gardiner-Chloros, 2009) (see 2.4 for details on code-switching) between English and all these languages is the norm in Ghana.

Within some indigenous languages, there are H and L varieties as well. Ewe, for instance, constitutes a form of nested diglossia. As previously discussed (see 1), there is a standard Ewe language developed in the 19th century. This standard, which we would refer to as the H variety, is the written form of the Ewe language. It is used for formal education, literature, religious scripts such as Ewe Biblia (Ewe Bible), *Dziɔmɔ* (Catholic hymnal in Ewe) among others. Some popular Ewe literatures include: (1) novels: *Ku Le Xɔme* 'Death is in the Room' (Akafia, 1993), *Hlɔbiabia* 'Revenge' (Ayeke, 1989); (2) Poetry: *Akpalu fe Hawo* 'Akpalu's Songs' (Seshie, 1991), *Henɔwo fe Gbe* 'The Voice of Poet-Cantors' (Hinidza, Hoh & Kwasi-kuma, 1996); (3) Drama: *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* 'The Fifth Landing Stage' (Fiawoo, 1942), *Tɔgbui Kpeglo* 'King Kpeglo' (Setsoafia, 1968) among others. This standard Ewe is learned in school and has a well-described grammatical system. There are also dialects of Ewe which would be classified as L varieties. These varieties are acquired as mother tongues and are used in mostly informal domains.

Diglossia, with relation to Ghana, is significant for the present study. It is possible that the diglossic status of English and Ewe in the study classroom may influence the attitudes that teachers and students have towards these languages. This may eventually affect their linguistic choices. Ghana's diglossia could also guide the interpretation of the language attitude data and

posit whether the diglossic status of English and Ewe are parallel to participants' attitudes towards them.

2.1.2 Language-in-Education Policy in Ghana

Ghana's language-in-education policy, which is summarised in the table below, has had a "checkered history since the colonial era" (Owu-Ewie, 2006:76). It varied from an English-only medium of instruction (MOI) to the use of L1 from primary 1 to primary 3 with a transition to English from primary 4 onwards. Yevudey (2012) suggests that these variations in policy may have affected the language choices of teachers and students during their classroom interactions, over the years. Between 1529 and 1925, no Ghanaian Language (GhL) was used as medium of instruction in the castle schools but the schools run by the Missionary groups used GhL in the first three years of education. History has it that, this was not an organised language-in-education policy (Ansah, 2014). According to Agbedor (1994), the first official legislation on language in education came into force in 1925 and this policy was a bilingual one. It allowed for the use of GhLs as the medium of instruction from primary 1 to primary 3. This policy was enforced until 1951. The 1927 Guggisberg Education Committee suggested that English be used as medium of instruction from primary 1. At that time, the use of GhL as MOI was seen as a means of providing Africans with an inferior type of education. In 1951, the government, under its 'Accelerated Development Plan', changed the 1925 policy to early mother tongue medium policy. Under this policy the child's mother tongue is used as the MOI at primary 1 only. English was used thereafter. As the country prepared for independence, 'The Bernard Committee' was established and tasked to investigate the possibility of using English as the sole MOI throughout formal education from primary 1. The Committee suggested a return to the 1951 policy (early mother tongue education). A committee member also submitted a minority report favouring the sole use of English as MOI. The minority report was accepted and legislated by the government upon the attainment of independence (Ansah, 2014).

In 1966, the reigning government was overthrown in a coup d'état and the military government that ruled Ghana between 1967-1969 reversed the policy to the 1951 early mother tongue MOI where GhLs were used as MOI in primary 1 and English thereafter. In 1970, a civilian government was established and the language in education policy was changed. Ghana returned to the 1925-1951 three-year mother tongue education policy from 1970 to 1973. The 1970-1973

policy, however, made compulsory the learning of a second Ghanaian language in addition to the child's own L1. Four Ghanaian languages were selected to be learnt as second languages. These were Akan, Ewe, Ga, and Nzema (Agbedor, 1994). Although the civilian government that promulgated this policy was overthrown by a military junta in 1972, the policy was not changed by the military government. Rather, they introduced French into the basic school curriculum as a subject of study. This was to facilitate communication with the neighbouring Francophone countries (Ansah, 2014).

The 1970-1973 policy was modified in 1974. The policy maintained the use of GhLs as MOI in the first three years of basic education. This time, however, the Ghanaian languages to be used were defined as any of nine selected 'languages of the locality': Akan (Fante and Twi), Nzema, Ga, Ga-Adangbe, Ewe, Gonja, Kasem, Dagbani, and Dagaare (Owu-Ewie, 2006) with the assumption that every locality within the country spoke at least one of these nine languages. This policy lasted the longest in the history of educational language policy in Ghana and though there were lots of changes in the political administrations over the period, the policy remained relatively the same until 2002. According to Ansah (2014), the main modification that the 1974-2002 policy saw was the introduction of the study of a Ghanaian language as a compulsory subject of study up to secondary school level into Ghana's educational system in 1987.

The government of Ghana in 2002 changed the previous language-in-education policy to an English-only policy and Ghanaian languages are to be studied as compulsory subjects up to the Senior Secondary (Senior High) School level. As noted by Ansah (2014) the then Minister of Education, Professor Ameyaw Ekumfi, was of the opinion that the previous policy was abused, in that, most teachers never used English as the MOI throughout primary education. The minister suggested that this abuse of the policy was the cause of students' incompetence in the English language.

The 2002 English-only policy was strongly criticised. The main argument was that the policy would not benefit the majority of students who are disadvantaged in the use of the English language. Ansah (2014) suggests that there were socio-political ideologies that fuelled the criticisms as well. In her view, it was a contest between Afrocentric/Pan-African and imperialist ideologies. The Afrocentric/Pan-African group saw the sole use of English as an indictment on the independence of the nation and a promotion of imperialism while the other group saw

English as a tool for international communication. In September 2007, these criticisms resulted in the reversal of the English-only policy to the 1974-2002 three-year GhL as MOI policy but with substantial alterations (Ansah, 2014). The 2007 policy stipulates that,

- (i) The medium of instruction in Kindergarten and Lower Primary will be a Ghanaian Language and English, where necessary;
 - (ii) English is the medium of instruction from Primary 4 in the school system.
- This means that success in education at all levels depends, to a very large extent, on the individual's proficiency in the language (Ministry of Education Science and Sports, teaching syllabus for English Language, September 2007).

This policy brought two new dimensions to language legislations which were not considered by any of the previous policies: (1) the inclusion of pre-school children in the policy; and (2) the granting of the freedom for the use of English or a Ghanaian language (where possible) as the language of instruction. This provides more opportunity for children to be taught in a familiar language. Children, mostly in urban areas, who are proficient in English through acquisition as an L1 get instructed with it right from pre-school while children who are not proficient in English, mostly in rural areas, get instructed in familiar GhLs as they learn English (Ansah, 2014). In spite of these new suggestions that the 2007 policy brought, it remains to be determined how (1) equating a dominant community language with a mother tongue works given that minority languages are not taken into consideration; and (2) the training of primary school teachers in order to enable them to teach in the languages of the various linguistic areas is also another issue that remained unresolved. Again, the current policy removed the compulsory study of Ghanaian languages as subjects at the secondary school level.

The discussion of Ghana's language policies from 1529 to 2007 helps us to diagnose the issues that informed the policies over the years. This enables us appreciate the current policy in comparison with the past ones as well as their merits and demerits. So far, we have discussed the sociolinguistic landscape of Ghana including multilingualism, diglossia and language policies. In the next section, the thesis discusses language attitudes and some studies of language attitudes.

Table 4: A Tabular Summary of Ghana’s Language-in-Education Policy, 1529-Present

Period Average Age Ranges	Kindergarten 3 – 5	Year 1 7 – 8	Year 2 8 – 9	Year 3 9 - 10	Year 4 Onwards 10 - 11
1529-1925					
a. Castle Schools Era	N/A	✓	✓	✓	✓
b. Missionary Era	N/A	❖	❖	❖	✓
1925-1951	N/A	❖	❖	❖	✓
1951- 1955	N/A	❖	✓	✓	✓
1956- 1966	N/A	✓	✓	✓	✓
1967- 1969	N/A	❖	✓	✓	✓
1970- 1973	N/A	❖	❖	❖	❖
1974-2002 (Sept)	N/A	❖	❖	❖	✓
2002 (Oct) – 2007 (Aug)	N/A	✓	✓	✓	✓
2007 (Sept) - Present	❖	❖	❖	❖	✓

Key:

- ❖ = A Ghanaian language was used/is in use as MOI.
- ✓ = English was used/is in use as MOI.
- N/A = No policy on MOI.

2.2 Language Attitude

2.2.1 Definition

Ancient Egyptians believed that people from places other than their country spoke differently because their tongues developed in the opposite direction in their mouths (Kashkin, 2001, in Kansikas, 2002). This belief must have developed from the fact that foreign languages were not intelligible with their Egyptian languages. This perception of ancient Egyptians might be interpreted as a negative “attitude” towards foreign languages by the then flourishing Roman Empire. According to Baker (1992), they might have used a similar Latin word *actus* which means *aptitude for action* to describe the perception of the ancient Egyptians. Baker (1992) suggests that this Latin term later obtained a new meaning *attitude* in English.

Over the course of time, attitude obtained the meaning of a *posture* or a *pose* in painting or drama in English (e.g. assumed an attitude of friendship). The meaning of the word kept changing over time to gain, (Jehoda & Warren, 1966), a more psychological interpretation. A modern definition was given by Allport (1935, cited in Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980:17 and Baker,

1992:11) as “a mental or neural state of readiness organised through experience, exerting a directive or a dynamic response upon an individual’s response to all objects and situations in which it is related”. However, attitude has grown since and has become more complex to the extent that no worldwide definition has been accepted by both sociolinguists and social psychologists, in whose main domains of research attitudinal studies are situated (Ajzen, 1988). A more modern meaning of attitude is offered by Eagley & Chaiken, (1993: 1-3) when they suggest that attitude is a “psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor”. This evaluation is a directive or a dynamic response which may make an individual attribute various degrees of goodness or badness to a given entity. The entities to be evaluated are, according to social psychologists, attitude objects. In other words, these entities are the objects to which an individual’s attitude may be solicited. Attitude objects can be concrete (e.g., different kinds of books) or abstract (e.g., justice) as well as inanimate (e.g., flags) or animate (e.g., girls).

Given the many definitions of the concept of attitudes, this thesis adopts an operational definition. The thesis operationally defines attitudes as the positive, negative or ambivalent perception that an individual holds towards an object. In the case of this thesis, the object is language. Language attitude therefore is the positive, negative or ambivalent perception that an individual holds towards a particular language.

Attitudes are not directly recognisable due to their speaker-internal nature. They can be inferred from subjects’ responses to a stimulus which may take the forms of direct questions. These direct questions are aimed at obtaining the reaction of subjects to a particular attitude object such as language. Although researchers have not come to a consensus about the exact definition of attitudes, they have agreed, to a large extent, on the composition and importance of attitudes (Garret, 2010; Redinger, 2010; Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). In the next section, we discuss the components of attitudes.

2.2.2 Components

Researchers have widely accepted that attitudes consist of affective, behavioural and cognitive components (Garrett et al, 2003). This is conception is known as the ABC Model. The cognitive component embodies people’s beliefs. That is, the linkages that are established between an

attitude object and various attributes (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). This kind of linkage may, for example, be seen in a person's belief that learning English increases their chances of getting a well-paid job in Ghana. This person links two entities: (i) ability to speak English and (ii) getting employment. The affective component consists of feelings towards an attitude object. This means, for example, that a person can feel a sort of sympathy towards English and have passion for novels written in English. Baker (1992) points out, however, that beliefs and feelings may not go hand in hand, but that it is possible to express a positive attitude towards an object and, at the same time, have a negative feeling towards it. The third component, also known as the 'conative' component, is behavioural in nature. It is generally described as leading to a person's overt action or intention to act based on their attitude (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). For instance, a person with a favourable attitude towards English might consider taking English proficiency courses.

Figure 2.1: The Components of Attitude



There are some varieties in how researchers view the theoretical construct of attitudes. Fishbein (1967) argues that the behavioural component consists of only intentions to act rather than leading to or including overt actions. According to Fishbein (1967: 259) the restriction of the behavioural component in this way links it to the cognitive component:

Both the cognitive and action components of attitude can be viewed as beliefs about the object. The cognitive component refers to beliefs about the nature of the object and its relations to other "objects", while the action component refers to beliefs about what should be done with respect to the object.

Given the relative disagreements among some researchers about the components of attitudes it is relevant to know whether attitudes must always comprise all the three components. Some social psychologists claim that it is not necessary for all the three components to be evident for an attitude to manifest; rather, attitudes can be based largely or exclusively on any one of the components (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993).

2.2.3 Importance of Language Attitudes

Attitudinal studies have vital implications. The findings from attitudinal researches are sometimes connected to language planning and language policy. This may result from the fact that speech communities may have common attitudes towards language practices which influence the development and implementation of language policies (Spolsky, 2004). According to Lewis (1981: 262), it is essential for any policy to “conform to the expressed attitudes” of people for whom the policy is made, to convince people “who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy” or attempt “to remove the causes to [any] disagreement.” The field of education comes across as one of the most important areas for attitudinal studies as it has been shown that language attitudes can greatly influence students’ academic achievements and employment opportunities (Garrett et al., 2003). This thesis explores the relevance of language attitudes in a specific educational context, so that, we obtain the impact of attitudes on language choice in practice.

2.2.4 Classroom Attitudinal Studies

Ndamba (2008) surveyed 60 pupils, 42 parents, 25 heads of schools, 152 infant teachers and 17 teachers-in-charge of infant departments from purposively-selected urban, peripheral-urban, and rural schools in the Masvingo district in Zimbabwe to find out their language preferences pertaining to the requirement of the Zimbabwean language policy that mother tongues be used as MOI in grades 1-3. Through the use of interviews and questionnaires, the study found the majority of respondents favouring English as MOI in the infant grades. According to the respondents, English is a gateway to success in school and subsequent employment opportunities. The researcher observed that there are challenges in accessing the curriculum through the use of the second language as learners could not properly understand English (L2). Respondents believed, however, that using English as MOI from infancy speeds up the rate of

competence in the language. The main contradiction here is that the students want to learn in English, yet this might be counterproductive given the fact that they are less able to understand it.

More so, Ngidi (2007) investigated the attitudes of learners, parents and educators towards the use of English as a language of learning and teaching in eight secondary schools in the Mthunzini circuit of the KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. Three different questionnaires were administered to the respondents and a quantitative analysis was conducted. The results were not very different from Ndamba's (2008). It was revealed that learners and parents have positive attitude while educators have negative attitude towards English as MOI. Parents' choice was triggered by the utilitarian function of English and the prestige attached to competence in it. Educators' position stemmed from the fact that students are not competent in English and may not understand lessons taught with English as the sole MOI. The researchers, however, observed that it is not only English that is used as MOI as educators and learners use both isiZulu³ and English interchangeably in classrooms as well as outside the classroom context. This type of language use is code-switching (CS) which is discussed in detail in section 2.4 below. It has been observed that there was a negative attitude to the use of CS as MOI (Arthur, 1996). Recently, however, research has found that this negative attitude is changing (Yevudey, 2013). Section 2.4.1 discusses some previous studies on attitudes to CS.

From Ndamba's (2008) study it is clear that participants' expectations contradict the national language policy because of their personal beliefs which may not be based on any empirical research but rather may be influenced by the instrumental functions of English. The language situation in Zimbabwe is in many respects similar to that of Ghana as both are multilingual countries with a British colonial past. The diglossic status of English in Zimbabwe in relation to other languages is similar to that of Ghana since English is the official language of both countries. This may influence attitudes towards English in both countries. Ngidi's (2007) study of South Africa produces an interesting result where educators have negative attitudes towards English as MOI while learners and parents have positive attitudes towards it. This is interesting because the educators may base their attitude to English on scientific studies since they have

³isiZulu is the language of the Zulu people. It is widely spoken as mother tongue in the KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa (24% of the population) and used by over 50% of the population as a second language (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015).

received requisite training and may better understand the merits and demerits of using English in the classroom than parents and learners. The study also noted that CS occurs both inside the classroom and in the school compound mainly because of the low level of learners' competence in English, similar to the Zimbabwean situation. The study is conducted in a province in South Africa, a highly multilingual country like Ghana. It is possible then that similar linguistic choices may occur in the Ghanaian classroom. In such a case the situations in Zimbabwe and South Africa give the present study examples to which the situation in Ghana could be compared for a broader appraisal. In the next section, the thesis discusses medium of instruction, one of the main concepts in this work.

2.3 Medium of Instruction (MOI)

A medium of instruction (MOI) is basically a language used in teaching and learning. It is, usually, the official language of the country. Sometimes the mother tongue of students is different from the official language of the country. In such cases, the mother tongue is used as the MOI for part or all of students' education. In multilingual settings such as Africa education may involve the use of more than one language as MOI.

The MOI policies of Tanzania and Nigeria are similar to that of Ghana. Both of these countries use indigenous languages as MOI at the basic levels of education and English as MOI at higher levels. The languages of former colonisers are usually adopted as MOI in the major parts of the educational system. Anglophone African countries, which by their historical link to Britain are members of the Commonwealth, for instance, adopted English as MOI mainly from the fourth year of education while mother tongues are usually used as MOI in the first three years of education. The case of Tanzania is an example. According to Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004), the official language-in-education policy in Tanzania is contained in the Education and Training Policy (MOEC, 1995: 35-45) and states that the MOI in "pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili⁴ and English shall be a compulsory subject"; in primary school the MOI "shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject"; and in secondary education the MOI "shall continue to be English, except for the teaching of other approved languages and Kiswahili

⁴ Kiswahili is the name of the language and the word "Swahili" is the ethno-linguistic group that uses the language. "Swahili" is also an adjective. For instance, there is "Swahili" culture. In most colonial literatures, however, the word "Swahili" is used to refer to the language (Puja, 2003).

shall be a compulsory subject up to ordinary level.” The Ministry of Education and Culture in Tanzania promulgated another policy related to MOI in August 1997 which states that:

Mpango maalum wa kuiwezesha elimu na mafunzo katika ngazi zote kutolewa katika lugha ya Kiswahili utaandaliwa na kutekelezwa (MEC, 1997:19) (A special plan to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented (translated by Brock-Utne, 2004)).

To underscore the importance of English in Tanzania, the policy holds that:

Kingereza kitakuwa ni somo la lazima katika elimu ya awali, msingi na sekondari na kitahimizwa katika elimu ya juu na ufundishaji wake utaboreshwa (MEC, 1997:18) (English will be a compulsory subject at pre-primary, primary and secondary levels and it shall be encouraged in higher education. The teaching of English shall be strengthened (translated by Brock-Utne, 2004.))

However, the practice, as reported by Mkwizu (2002) in Tanzanian schools is that, Kiswahili is used as MOI in pre-primary and primary schools, and English is used in secondary schools and tertiary institutions.

The current policy in Nigeria which is contained in the National Policy on Education (NPE), was issued in 1977 (and revised in 1981). It recommends that the child’s mother tongue or the language of the immediate community be used as MOI at the pre-primary level and in the first three years of the six-year primary education, and English be taught as a school subject. English then is adopted as the MOI from the fourth year onwards and the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community continues to be studied as a school subject. It is compulsory for students at the Junior Secondary School (JSS) level to study three languages, which are the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community, English and any one of the three major languages: Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba, as a second language for “national integration”. In the Senior Secondary School (SSS), it is compulsory to study an indigenous language and English (Igboanusi, 2008: 721-722). The policy, however, seems not to be implemented in private pre-primary and primary schools. The policy is viewed as undermining the minor languages (e.g.

Efik, Edo, Fulfulde, Idoma, Igala, Ijo, Kanuri, Nupe and Tiv) and taken to be a promotion of the three major languages of integration. It is therefore rarely implemented in these linguistic minority areas.

Igboanusi (2008) raises the issue of the marginalisation by national policy of minor languages in Nigeria. It is possible that this concern exists in Ghana, for instance, in areas where the Ghana Togo Mountain languages are located. This is, however, not a focus of the present study since the area for the present study is a majority language area. Again, Igboanusi (2008) noted that the policy seems not to be implemented in private pre-primary and primary schools in Nigeria. This thesis cannot address this concern in Ghana since the study is conducted in a government/public Junior High School. These issues are suggested for further research. Mkwizu (2002) and Igboanusi (2008) noted that the policies are not adhered to in Tanzania and Nigeria, even in certain public schools. This study would find out whether the situation is the same in this Ghanaian study classroom and address some reasons behind the shift of linguistic choices other than those stipulated by national policy.

It is evident from South Africa and Zimbabwe that languages are mixed in teaching and learning in the multilingual classroom. This phenomenon is discussed in the next section.

2.4 Code-switching

The term *code-switching* is plagued with terminological challenges (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009). The two components of the term: *code* and *switch*, have been seen as misleading. *Code*, was brought from the field of communication technology into sociolinguistics although it has no bearing on language. For instance, *code-switching* in communication technology means “unambiguous transduction of signals between systems” (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009:11). In contemporary sociolinguistics, however, *code* is used as a superordinate term for languages, dialects, styles etc. and it has come to replace the all-inclusive term *variety* to describe the diverse forms of *language*. *Switching* basically refers to the *alternation* among the distinctive varieties spoken by a (group of) person(s). Gardiner-Chloros, (2009:11) pointed out that psycholinguistic research in the 1950s and 1960s thought that “something similar to flicking an electric switch went on when bilinguals change languages”. Research results gathered over the years show, however, that bilinguals’ alternation of varieties is more complicated than how it

was assumed by some of the psycholinguistic researches of this period. The term *switching* gives the room for the many possible ways in which alternation of varieties can occur (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009). Although there have been several attempts to clarify the term code-switching (CS), the field of CS studies is still replete with diverse descriptions of the same phenomenon. Sometimes, the different terms overlap but are used by different writers in disparate ways (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009); one of the main controversies being the constituent of CS. In other words, there is a debate on what must be called CS and what must not.

Clyne (1987, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009: 12) stated that there are people who consider CS to be a fuzzy concept and constituting part of “a continuum with respect to borrowing, syntactic merging etc.” while others consider it as a language contact phenomenon that is dissimilar to borrowing and syntactic merging. Clyne (2003:75, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009:12) proposed that CS should be used to describe the transfer of “individual lexical items through to whole stretches of speech” and that a discrete term: “transversion”, be used to describe situations where an interlocutor fully “crosses-over” into another language. From a grammatical point of view, Muysken (2000) uses CS to denote a single kind of language mixture: *alternation*. He describes other types of language mixture as *code-mixing*; which, according to him, are *insertion* where items that are longer than singular words are inserted, and *congruent lexicalisation* where the constituent languages have similar grammatical structure but the lexical items that are alternated come from the different languages involved in the process.

Haugen (1956, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009) separated *code-switching* from what he termed *interference* and *integration*. According to him, CS keeps the features of the varieties that form the CS. Gardiner-Chloros, (2009) pointed out that it is this distinction that primarily informed Poplack & Sankoff (1984) and Poplack (1988) where they used the terms *borrowing* or *non-borrowing* to describe the adjacency that sometimes portray some morphological, syntactic or phonological convergence. There is a contrasting view to Poplack & Sankoff (1984) and Poplack (1988) which argues that the distinction between CS and *borrowing* is not clear. This school of thought pointed out that CS and *borrowing* form a *diachronic* continuum where loans come into a language through CS and get established in the language after a gradual process of usage (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009). Another suggestion is that persons who are examined for CS use must be studied for a period of time to find out whether they use particular words/morphemes etc. on a

one-off basis or that such items are conscious CS or loan (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009), because what may be seen as *nonce-borrowing* or one-off switch, in the case of a speaker, may be an established word/morpheme in the case of another speaker.

Also, some researchers (e.g. Muysken, 2000) separate *code-switching* from *code-mixing* but the distinctive features between the two terms are not clearly stated. Muysken, (2000) for instance stated that *code-switching* occurs where the two varieties involved preserve their monolingual features while there is convergence of the two varieties in the case of *code-mixing*. Citing Hamers & Blanc (2000), Gardiner-Chloros, (2009) pointed out that this distinction is confusing since both processes may take place within the same string of conversation, and at the same time, overlap at the level of the conceptual. Gardiner-Chloros, (2009) further revealed that Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) and Bokamba (1988) employed the term *code-mixing* to describe sentence-internal alternations and *code-switching* for alternations that occur outside the borders of a sentence. Meisel (1989, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009), used *code-mixing* where two different grammar systems are joined and *code-switching* for the creative selection of one language over the other depending on the topic, context and interlocutor, among others.

The CS debate found its way into the field of social psychology where more variations are encountered. According to Sachdev & Bourhis (1990, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009) CS means *language choice* among bilinguals. Meeuwis & Blommaert (1998) considered CS as a variety in its own right. This is because the functions of CS are the same as the ones ascribed to languages. Another school of thought suggested that CS could be used to describe all forms of language contact among diverse varieties without taking into consideration any form of convergence. This position is supported with the fact that there may be different levels of convergence and that it is difficult to point out the occurrence of convergence in practice (Neufeld, 1976; Pfaff, 1979, cited in Gardiner-Chloros, 2009).

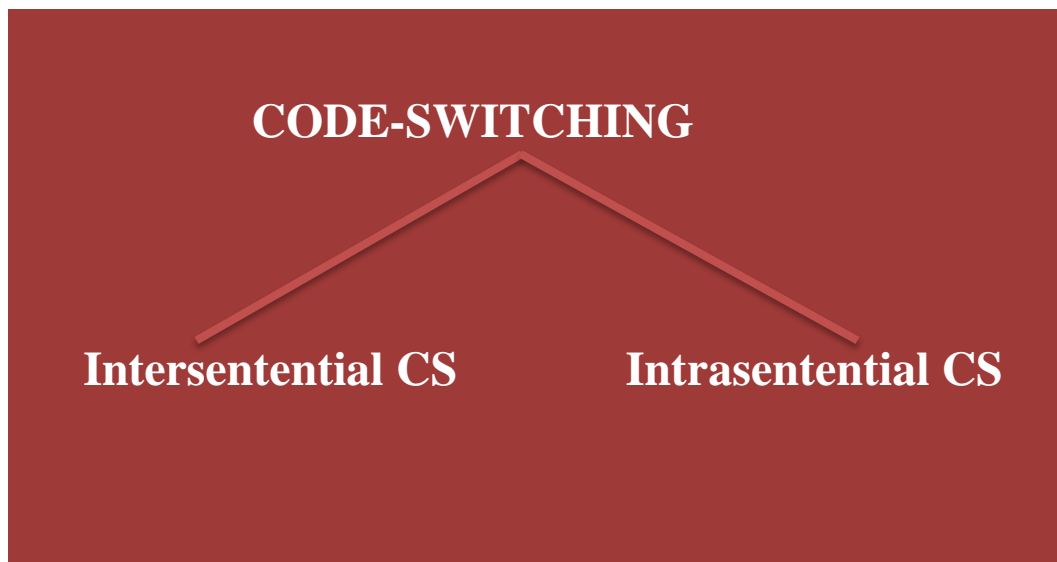
It was pointed out by Gardiner-Chloros (2009) that CS is the term that has gained prominence over the years among the many other terms (e.g. alternation, code-mixing, language choice, congruent lexicalisation, and insertion etc.) that were suggested to be used for the phenomenon. She is of the view that the success of CS studies may be due to the success of the *term* CS. CS, according to her, inspired the conception of language contact as the transposition between two distinct systems. This conception of CS, she further suggested, “has for some researchers, taken

over from the [...] ideal speaker/hearers in homogeneous communities” (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009: 13).

From the discussion of the term CS so far, one fact stands out: code-switching (CS) is a result of language contact and has been described variously in different terms. From a structured outlook, Myers-Scotton (1992) broadly sees CS as the use of two or more languages in a conversation and can occur intersententially or intrasententially. There are also discussions about another type of CS, referred to as *tag switches*, which is the use of tag forms from one language into another (Mahootian, 2006). This thesis adopts Myers-Scotton’s, (1992) definition of CS where CS is the use of different languages in a conversation. CS may therefore occur as either intersentential CS or intrasentential CS.

The theoretical distinction between *borrowing* and CS is not very important for this thesis. Where it is necessary to make such distinctions, the author’s judgment is used since the author is a native speaker of Ewe.

Figure 2.2: Patterns of Code-switching



2.4.1 Classroom Code-switching

CS occurs in the multilingual classroom just as it does in other spheres in multilingual communities. Scholars in the field of bilingual education research hold divergent views about the use of CS in the classroom context as MOI. Lightbown (2001:598-9) suggested, among other things, that the time of exposure of a learner to a second language largely has an effect on learners' achievement of competence in the language and that "only students who are exceptionally gifted or motivated or who have out-of-school exposure acquire the ability to use English effectively" as a second language. It can be surmised then that learners must be exposed early (maybe at the pre-primary level) to second languages. Lightbown (2001), however, is of the opinion that it is good to introduce the second language while developing the mother tongue of learners. The two suggestions of Lightbown are reflections on the debates surrounding the use of the mother tongue in second language contexts, and more specifically, on using CS in the classroom (Liu, 2010). Whereas some studies (e.g. Lightbown, 2001) may favour the early exposure of second language learners to the language, others (e.g. Liu, 2010) suggest that using mother tongues in second language contexts have positive influences on the successful learning of the second language.

Presenting a synopsis of researches that investigated the pedagogic relevance of CS in African classrooms, Clegg and Afitska (2011) show that CS is important in several ways. CS is used for clarifying concepts, boosting interaction, fostering valuable relationships, ensuring lesson comprehension, and connecting with learners' local cultures. The authors suggested that teacher-education could factor in the relevance of bilingual pedagogy and various linguistic practices for the possible adoption by teachers to facilitate pupils' comprehension and participation in the classroom. The authors also suggested that CS usage in classrooms in sub-Saharan Africa is a debatable issue as authorities usually condemn it and teachers do not accept its use.

It is evident from a study in Botswana that teachers may be attitudinally against using CS, but may use it in practice without realising it. Arthur (1996) ethnographically investigates standard (grade) 6 classroom interactions in two primary schools in northeastern Botswana. According to the language-in-education policy of Botswana, Setswana is to be used as MOI from lower school to standard 3 with a transition to English MOI from standard 4. The study found that teachers use CS to encourage pupils' participation in class, however, pupils' CS is not an acceptable code as

the policy recommends an English-only MOI at this level. For instance, a transcript of teacher-pupils interactions in a science class, show that the teacher asks questions in English-Setswana CS. The teacher, on the other hand, does not accept a pupil's answer in Setswana. Although teachers in this study use CS for pedagogic reasons, they “are ambivalent in their views of code switching and [are] reluctant or even ashamed to admit to its part in their classroom practice” (Arthur, 1996:21).

The sociolinguistic landscape of Botswana is similar to that of Ghana in terms of their multilingualism. Their language-in-education policies are also similar. Unlike Botswana, a recent study in Ghana obtains an acceptance of CS usage for pedagogic reasons by teachers. With regards to Ghana, Yevudey (2013) explores the pedagogic functions of CS in Ewe and English primary school lessons. The study was conducted through quantitative and qualitative analysis of recordings of classroom interaction, interviews and also questionnaire surveys in Ho in the Volta Region of Ghana. The results show that teachers use CS to explain questions or statements that they felt were incomprehensible to pupils. It is also used at the transition point of classroom lessons from Ewe to English especially under a model where language and literacy teachers “take the first half of the classes in Ewe then the second half in English” (Yevudey, 2013: 10). CS was also used to provide pupils with corrections to their incorrect answers. During Ewe lessons, teachers used English tags to acknowledge pupils or to invite them to respond to class discussions. Also, teachers used CS by translating English sentences, phrases or words into Ewe and sometimes back into English as a strategy to ensure pupils' comprehension and to increase their participation during lessons. The study obtained that the majority of the teachers have positive attitudes towards CS usage in the classroom. 73% of the teachers surveyed expressed encouragement towards the use of CS while 27% discouraged its usage. Teachers who did not support CS use in the classroom gave reasons such as the following: (1) “It will cause the pupils to relax in making effort to understand the English language” and (2) “It will not help pupils to use the right expressions for English and Ewe”. Those who supported the idea also pointed out that: (1) “All the ability groups will be able to understand what is being taught” and that (2) “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” (Yevudey, 2013: 16). This study, however, focused only on primary schools and surveyed only

the attitudes of teachers. This thesis focuses on the attitudes of both teachers and students at the Junior High School level.

Against these backdrops, this work explores the language choices of teachers and students in a Junior High School classroom in Ghana as well as the pragmatics of CS in this classroom. Attitudes of teachers and students towards CS, and its reflection on classroom interactions are also examined. Given that the thesis examines the pragmatics of CS in this classroom, the following section presents a theoretical framework for CS.

2.4.2 Code-switching Theories

CS, like any other natural language, has many aspects to it, such as syntactic/grammatical and semantic/pragmatic aspects. In order to fully understand and or analyse CS, it is impossible to remotely consider some aspects of it and leave out other aspects. This thesis points out the pragmatics of CS in the classroom so the thesis discusses some CS theories that are essential to the overall discussion.

2.4.2.1 The Symbolic Approach

2.4.2.1.1 Gumperz

The researcher credited with breaking the ground in CS studies is John Gumperz, with a 1982 article on the motivations for CS in a town in Norway. In this work, Gumperz introduced diverse kinds of switches: situational and metaphorical switches. Situational CS “assumes a direct relationship between language and social situation” (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 24) where alterations in the physical circumstances of utterances may result into alterations in the language. In metaphorical CS, on the other hand, the alteration in the language is caused by changes in “particular kinds of topics or subject matter” (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 25) although the physical circumstances of the conversation remain the same. About ten years after this classification, Gumperz seem to alter what was previously known as metaphorical switch into conversational switch (Myers-Scotton, 1993). In Myers-Scotton’s view, both terms demonstrate that it is the creative language behaviour of interlocutors rather than physical alterations (e.g. new participants or location) that trigger situational CS.

Gumperz again put forward the terms *contextualisation* and *we/they* code (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Gumperz (1982: 66) sees these distinctions as symbolic and show a difference between *we*-code and *they*-code. The *we*-code is often a minority code, which is an informal in-group code. The *they*-code is “the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group” code. Gumperz (1982) suggests that it is *contextualisation* cues that underpin the nature of the interpretation of language choices and codes. These cues may either be lexical, stylistic or prosodic which may be interpreted differently, based on the social conventions, in a conversational situation. Gumperz again opines that CS performs other functions in a conversation. These include: personalisation versus objectivisation, reiteration, quotation, message qualification, addressee specification and interjections (Gumperz, 1982: 75-81). These functions, Gumperz asserts, may differ in different linguistic and social situations.

Gumperz’s assertions have been challenged by theorists, prominent among which is Myers-Scotton (1993). Myers-Scotton argues that Gumperz’s modules are vague and inconsistent, and that, they were not adequate enough for analysing the motivations of CS. At the time, however, she considers the models as having no alternatives. According to Myers-Scotton, contextualisation cues may help us understand what happens in CS but may not point out the reasons for these, and that, there exists a necessary link between the metaphorical and situational CS. She also points out that the metaphorical CS could be subcategorised. In her Markedness Model she gives a deeper explanation of this point.

2.4.2.1.2 The Markedness Model

The Markedness Model was theorised by Myers-Scotton to, basically, analyse CS data. It is, however, based on postulations that may guide the explanation of code choice. According to this model, participants in a conversation make *marked* and *unmarked* code choices. Generally, speakers make more unmarked choices than marked ones. Unmarked choices are the linguistic choices, made by participants in a conversation, which deviate from the norms of the speech community. These choices are made unconsciously based on a situation, taking into careful consideration the “potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 75). Although the distinguishing line between marked and unmarked choices is not clear, Myers-Scotton maintains markedness as a continuum. Participants in a conversation share a rights-to-obligations (RO set). In this set, the items that are unmarked attract no attention to themselves

and pick up the particular characteristics of the set. While the unmarked linguistic items are related to the expectations of speakers who have the same background and similar experiences about a conversational situation, in making the marked linguistic choices, speakers diverge from the specific RO set and its situational factors in order to establish a different RO set and its situational factors. Although she argues that she deliberately does not make attempts to define these factors, Myers-Scotton (1993) maintains these factors are essential in the making of code choices and in the subsequent creation of an RO set. Myers-Scotton drives home the assertion that it is speakers' code choices that determine the RO set and the norms of the community rather than societal factors as Gumperz (1982) opines, and that, the norms are just "signposts of markedness" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 110); the real choices are made by speakers. The main principle of the Markedness Model is that of *negotiation*, so that, speakers' choices are means of negotiating the RO set that should be activated in a specific conversational situation. There are maxims that follow from this principle: *unmarked-choice* maxim, *marked-choice* maxim and the *exploratory-choice* maxim. Myers-Scotton applies these maxims to CS but they can also be applied to other linguistic choices (e.g. style, tone).

Unmarked CS has two main types: the *sequential unmarked* CS and the *unmarked* CS. The sequential unmarked CS is similar to Gumperz's situational switching, so that, situational factors such as changes in participants and locations, motivate CS in conversations. On the other hand, participants in a conversation may "engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages; often the switching is intrasentential and sometimes within the same word" in unmarked CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993:117). In the view of Myers-Scotton, unmarked CS is characterised with intrasentential CS more than sequential CS that typically has more intersentential switching.

To make a marked choice, a speaker tries to move away from an unmarked choice in a conversation and negotiates a new RO set. The marked choice will become unmarked choice in the new RO set, if the new RO set is accepted in the new situation. Among other reasons, Myers-Scotton (1993:132) points out that the reason for making marked choices is "to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants". The marked choice may fail in some circumstances causing no changes in the RO set. Also, in situations where the RO set and the unmarked choice are not clear, speakers can initiate and explore their own RO set

using CS. In a nutshell, the social factors in a situation control both CS and its lack thereof, which can result in marked or unmarked choices.

Myers-Scotton latter does what could be considered as the extension of the model by introducing the element of Rational Choice. She argues that speakers make rational decisions in making code choices even in cases where social situations are the regulators of speakers' (potential) code choices (Cashman, 2008). In sum, there are different levels of code selection: structural constraints, markedness constraints and rational choice, which produces the final specific choice that speakers make.

2.4.2.1.3 Demerits of the Symbolic Approach

The theories in the symbolic approach were criticised for their heavy dependence on the interpretations of the analyst (Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 1994). The interpretations of analysts try to find the functions, and for that matter meaning, of CS. They do this by finding the probable symbolic significance of language use, and seem not to assert their own meanings of CS use but rather that of the potential meanings (Li Wei, 1998). The conclusions they make may not necessarily be based on participants' conversational actions but rather on the extent to which the conversational actions are carried out. Myers-Scotton (1993) admits that even the markedness model and some of its applications lack empirical support. Li Wei (1994) says the same thing about Gumperz's model and points out that the relationship between conversational functions and social implications are fuzzy.

It is also reported in Li Wei (1994) that Auer (1991) finds many loopholes in the Gumperz's functional list. Gumperz's list of functions, as argued by Auer, stifles creative language use which might make language perform diverse functions and that the link between language and its functions "is by no means ambiguous" (Auer, 1995:118). Also, Auer points out that the list is confusing and inadequately defined. The sequential approach, discussed below, tries to take care of the ambiguity found in the symbolic approach.

2.4.2.2 The Sequential Approach

2.4.2.2.1 Conversational Analysis

It has been pointed out that symbolic approaches cannot fully account for what takes place in bilingual conversations and that these approaches do not examine the internal structure of bilingual conversations (Auer, 1984). Auer (1984), then argued for the use of Conversational Analysis (CA) in explaining the language contact phenomenon of CS. CA was first used in sociological studies to reveal the often inferred reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies that underlie the production and interpretation of conversations in organised sequences of interaction, through talk turns rather than through symbolic meaning of the language(s) used (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Auer (1995) pointed out that utterance is perceived within the context of previous one(s) as the interpretation of previous utterance(s) may influence the subsequent one(s). Some merits of this approach are that the focus is on the creation of meaning as a sequential process and that this approach focuses on conversational events as they occur than other methods that depend on the interpretation of the analyst, such as the symbolic approach (Auer, 1995).

There exists a relationship between CA and other approaches to CS studies. For instance, although Auer criticised Gumperz's list, *contextualisation cues* are vital for CA as some turn-taking in a conversation can be taken to be important cues that help interlocutors in interpreting a conversational situation. These cues may occur in the form of CS. When this happens, the contrasts in this "juxtaposition of languages" (Auer, 1995: 119) become the basis for analysis within CA. There are conversational tools that can function as contextualisation cues. These tools include non-verbal cues like body language and verbal ones like tone. With regards to these, Auer (1995:124) argues that there is the need to "distinguish a second case where contextualisation cues establish a contrast" showing "that something new is going to come; but they also and at the same time restrict the number of possible plausible inferences as to what this might be". CA then takes care of both the social nuances and utterance-internal structures that are relevant to CS analysis.

2.4.2.2 Criticisms against Conversational Analysis

CA has received criticism from both linguists and anthropologists. Cashman (2008) argues that CA focuses on the conversation itself, and that the social context included in the analysis is only that which occurs within the conversation. The anthropologist Blommaert (2001: 19) also points out that some of the social contexts that CA finds in conversations are not lucid but “are made relevant by later re-contextualisation of that talk by others”.

There is also the assertion that interlocutors’ linguistic choices might not necessarily be triggered by conversational cues alone but also with other social knowledge that they might have carried into the conversation (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001). According to Myers-Scotton (2006), CA does not demonstrate a marked choice unless it is observable in a conversation through the reaction of (an) interlocutor(s).

2.5 Applications of CS theories

The theoretical discussions so far demonstrate that there are many approaches to CS studies. While some theories obtain that language use is symbolic, the discourse analysts argue that it is on conversational basis that linguistic meaning is created. In all these theories one thing stands out: that interlocutors are at the centre of meaning creation in all conversational situations. Without them, all theories may have no verbal actions to analyse or interpret. Another observation from these theories is that it is the same verbal actions that have been named diversely (e.g. conversational cues, unmarked utterances etc.) by the various theorists. It is clear, however that, whatever name is given to verbal actions, language conveys with it *certain* metaphoric and symbolic meanings. It is also not clear from these theories what the functions of CS are, and as dynamic as language is, there are bound to be differences in language behaviours. It is impossible, therefore, for one theory to explain the very diverse linguistic behaviours of different language users. In such a situation the ideal thing to do is to use different theories to explain the several verbal actions.

This thesis will, therefore, not stick to a single theory in its analysis; rather, it will analyse classroom language choices and functions of CS in this Ghanaian classroom with a collective insight. This could throw more light on the theories as they will be used individually and

collectively to obtain an in-depth understanding of the linguistic situation in this Ghanaian context.

2.6 Conclusion

Ghana is a multilingual West African country which has English as its sole official language, 79 indigenous languages, West African trade languages and certain Asian and European languages in use. English has both high language functions (e.g. being the language of governance) as well as low language ones (e.g. being lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication) in Ghana's diglossia while the indigenous languages are the low languages. To manage this complex multilingualism, Ghana's language-in-education policies made English and Ghanaian languages mediums of instruction (MOI) at different levels of education. The policies have changed over the years, the present one being that mother tongues be used as MOI for the first three years of education and English where needed, with a transition into an English-only medium for the rest of the educational system (see table 4). Practically, however, language mixing occurs in the classroom just as it does in other spheres of national life. Ghana's situation is not an isolated case as Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe are also reported to experience this language contact phenomenon in their classrooms.

The attitudes to various classroom language choices have differed. While the language-in-education policies of certain African countries suggest that the mother tongue be used as MOI in the first three years of education, students have negative attitudes towards the use of the mother tongue and positive attitudes towards English as MOI (Yevudey, 2013; Clegg & Afitska, 2011; Ihemere, 2006; Adegbiya, 2000). Again, while some educators are positive towards the use of the mother tongue as MOI, some have negative attitudes towards it and preferred English as MOI. Most of these studies are conducted either at the lower levels of education such as primary schools or at the higher levels such as high schools. The Junior High School level is not mostly considered in these studies. Furthermore, the only attitudinal study on Ghanaian classroom, to the best of the knowledge of this thesis, focused on only teachers. This author therefore focuses on the attitudes of both teachers and students in a classroom in a Junior High School; the result will complement existing studies on the phenomenon for a holistic appreciation of Ghana's sociolinguistics especially in the domain of education.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods this study adopts. The focus of the work is explored in two ways: attitudinally, and with reference to empirical classroom interaction data. The methodology comprises a combination of techniques: interview, and observation through recording of classroom interaction.

Interview is a data collection technique that involves verbal communication between a researcher and participant(s) either on a one-on-one basis or in a group (McKenzie, 2010). It can be completely unstructured where participants are allowed to freely talk about a subject; semi-structured where interactions are partially controlled by the researcher; and highly structured where participants' responses are limited to answering direct questions. This thesis adopts the one-on-one semi-structured interview method. The semi-structured interview method is adopted because this study is relatively new without being a replication of a previous one at this level of education in Ghana and also because, attitudes are innate and soliciting attitudes should be carefully done with probing questions that allow participants to freely bring out how they feel about the attitude object (McKenzie, 2010). This type of interview is guided by open-ended questions which provide opportunities for the researcher and participants to discuss some topics in more detail if there is need to do so. If participants find it difficult to answer questions or if they provide inadequate responses, the researcher can use cues to encourage participants to reconsider the question. Semi-structured interviews also give freedom to participants to probe the researcher to elaborate a response. When semi-structured interviews are conducted on a one-on-one basis, individual's unique attitudes can be obtained. These merits help to solicit the in-depth attitudinal data that is needed for this thesis.

Audio recording of classroom interaction is the second major method for data collection. This technique is used to obtain empirical data on language use in the language classroom. This technique involves the use of either analog or digital recording equipment to capture conversations, interactions or interviews (Morgan & Guevara, 2008). This method is chosen because it provides a relatively high level of detail while minimising intrusion in the classroom interaction. A limiting factor for this method is likely to be the microphone, where the

microphone in the recorder does not have the capacity for high-quality recording. The choice of recording equipment for this work is made to manage this challenge. A high quality digital audio recorder is used to record classroom interactions. Also, the researcher does an on-site live testing of the recorder prior to the commencement of recording. This helps to properly tune the recorder such that it produces high-quality recording.

3.2. Sampling Method

This thesis adopts the Purposive Sampling (PS) method. This is a technique which selects a sample based on a variety of criteria such as the researcher's knowledge of the population, the goal of the study and the willingness of potential participants to partake in the study (Oliver, 2006). PS is also deemed to be good for case studies especially for those that investigate organised domains like schools. PS allows the researcher to choose the population that can produce the appropriate data that satisfies the goal of a study. The goal of this thesis is to investigate language choice in a Ghanaian Junior High School classroom. The researcher therefore purposively selected a Junior High School. The school was selected based on such factors as accessibility to the researcher, the willingness of the school management to give permission for data collection and the willingness of the participants to volunteer for the study. The researcher is a native speaker of Ewe so the selected school is located in an Ewe speaking area so that he can use his linguistic knowledge in Ewe for data transcription and analysis. The selected school is a public government-sponsored school. A public school is chosen because the teachers and school management are formally trained to use state-of-the-art methods and materials for pedagogy. It is expected then that they are abreast with the rules and regulations governing classroom language choice. The same situation does not hold in most Ghanaian private schools; where most of the teachers are not formally trained in pedagogic institutions and may not have requisite knowledge about classroom language choice.

Also, the intrusive nature of attitudinal study demands that participants are mature enough to describe their beliefs and feelings about the attitude object. The researcher therefore selects the second year class of the school for this study. The researcher believes that the students at this level of Junior High School education are mature enough to be able to express their attitudes towards their language choices. Although gender is not a significant variable in this study, the

researcher recruited equal numbers of male and female participants to control for any challenge that gender may pose to the analysis of the data.

A disadvantage of PS is that the study may be subjective since the researcher is the sole determiner of the sample population (Oliver, 2006). To control this potential threat to the validity of the result, the researcher tries to provide internal consistency between the goals of the study and the epistemological basis of the study. To guarantee this consistency, the researcher made sure that the sample population has the required knowledge about the main issues that the thesis investigates.

3.2.1 Sampling Procedure

After receiving official permit from the head teacher of the school to conduct the study in the second year classroom, the class teacher led the researcher into the classroom. The students greeted the researcher. The researcher introduced himself and said he would like to recruit some volunteers to assist him in a study on language use in the classroom. He stated that there is no payment for participation in the study and that any volunteer could withdraw from the study at any point in time if they so wish. Students showed by raising of the hands their willingness to participate in the study. The researcher passed a book round for them to write their names, ages and ethnicities. The participants were invited for a meeting with the researcher at another section of the school. At this meeting, the researcher handed to them the Research Participation Consent Form. They were allowed time to read it thoroughly and to ask questions. After this, each student participant signed the form and handed them over to the researcher. The researcher then went to the staff common room to meet the two female language teachers in this school, handed to them the Research Participation Consent Form. After reading and asking questions, they signed the forms and handed them over to the researcher. The researcher then went to a nearby-school to meet the two male language teachers. The researcher introduced himself and briefly spoke about the study. The teachers consented to participating, read and signed the Research Participation Consent Form. A time table was then drawn for the research with the consent of all participants.

3.2.2 Research Sample

The sample for the study consists of 4 language teachers and 20 students. This population consists of 2 male and 2 female language teachers, 10 male and 10 female students. All the

students and the 2 female teachers come from one school. There were no male language teachers in the school where the study was conducted so the researcher recruited the 2 male teachers for the study from another school in the vicinity of the school for the study. This was done to control for gender although gender is not a main focus in this thesis. Both schools share very similar linguistic peculiarities: they are both located in Sogakope and in both schools Ewe and English are mediums of instruction as well as subjects of study. There is a male and a female English teacher and a male and a female Ewe teacher in the sample population. The teachers, whose ages range from 20 to 50, self-reported to be bilingual. While the male teachers speak at least three languages, the female teachers speak at least two languages. All of them have English and Ewe as a common language. A summary of information on teacher participants is provided in table 5.

Table 5: Information on Teachers

Teachers	Gender	Ethnicity	Age Ranges	Languages Spoken	Languages Taught
TR1	F	Ewe	30-35	English, Ewe	English
TR2	F	Ewe	20-25	English, Ewe	Ewe
TR3	M	Ewe	25-30	English, Ewe, Akan	English
TR4	M	Ewe	45-50	English, Ewe, Akan, Fon ⁵ , Gengbe ⁶ , Sepkele ⁷	Ewe

Key: TR = Teacher

The population of the selected school at the time of the data collection was 62 students spread between two classrooms: first year and second year. There were 30 students in the first year and 32 in the second year. Although Junior High Schools in Ghana have first, second and third year classes, there was no third year class in the school at the time of the data collection. This is because the students in the third year class for the 2013/2014 academic year sat the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) from June 16 to 20, 2014 and had completed school. The data for the study was collected from June 30, 2014 to July 18, 2014. The second year class was selected for this study with the belief that the students in this class were mature enough to be

⁵ Fon is a language spoken by the Fon people of Benin. It was classified by Capo (1979, in Agbetsoamedo, 2014) as a dialect of Ewe within the Gbe cluster of Kwa languages. Dagba and Boco (2014), however, suggest that Fon is a language with its own dialects.

⁶ Gengbe or Mina is a language in Togo classified as a dialect of Ewe by Capo (1979, in Agbetsoamedo, 2014) but referred in colonial literature as Popo. Aboh and Essegbey (2010) call Gengbe a language within the Gbe sub-family of Kwa.

⁷ Sepkele is a Ghana Togo Mountain language spoken by the Likpe people of Ghana. It is located in the mountainous middle belt of the Volta region (Stewart, 1989 in Agbetsoamedo, 2014).

able to describe how they use language and to express their feelings towards their language choice. There were 10 male and 10 female second year Junior High School students recruited for the study. These student participants were selected from the 32 second year students who were present during the recording of classroom interactions. The 20 students, which form 62.5% of the class, the author believes, represent a greater proportion of students in this classroom. Also, the 20 students were the ones who were willing to volunteer for the study. The students, whose ages range from 11 to 17, self-reported to be bilingual with most of them speaking at least two languages. The student participants represent at least 4 ethnicities: Ewe (15), Akan (3), Buem (they speak Lelemi/Lefana⁸) (1) and Likpe (they speak Sɛpkɛle) (1). All of them have English and Ewe as common languages. They all have an average level of proficiency in both languages. A summary of information on student participants is provided in table 6.

Table 6: Information on Students

Students	Gender	Ethnicity	Age
ST 1	F	Ewe	11
ST 2	M	Ewe	14
ST 3	F	Akan	13
ST 4	M	Ewe	14
ST 5	M	Ewe	14
ST 6	F	Ewe	13
ST 7	F	Ewe	13
ST 8	M	Ewe	12
ST 9	M	Ewe	17
ST 10	F	Ewe	16
ST 11	F	Sɛpkɛle	13
ST 12	M	Akan	13
ST 13	F	Ewe	13
ST 14	M	Akan	14
ST 15	F	Ewe	16
ST 16	M	Buem	16
ST 17	M	Ewe	14
ST 18	F	Ewe	14
ST 19	F	Ewe	13
S T20	M	Ewe	13
Average Age			13.8

Key: ST = Student

⁸ Lelemi or Lefana is the language of the Buem people. It belongs to the Ghana Togo Mountain languages (Stewart, 1989 in Agbetsoamedo, 2014). It is located in the mountainous middle belt of the Volta region.

3.3 Data Collection

The two main data collection methods that are adopted for the study are observation through audio recordings of classroom interactions and semi-structured interviews. The recording of classroom interactions sheds light on the type of language choices that are made in this classroom and the pragmatic factors that influence such choices.

3.3.1 Overview of Pre-Data Collection Activities

Before he went to Ghana from Trondheim, Norway for data collection, the researcher sought permission from a school in the Central Tongu District of the Volta region to undertake the field work in the school. The head-teacher wanted a verbal explanation of the kind of work he intended to carry out. After meeting the head teacher, the entire membership of the school's staff and the circuit supervisor of education for a conversation, the head teacher asked the researcher to write to the District Director of education to seek his approval. Upon a private consultation with some of the members of staff, it became clear that the head-teacher did not want the research to be conducted in the school. The District Director of education was sick and was admitted at the hospital for the two weeks preceding the said meeting. Even if a letter had reached the education office it may not have got a quick response given the bureaucratic process the letter needed to go through.

Upon the advice of these teachers, the researcher set out to search for another school. It was discovered later that, there was a rumour that a Ghanaian investigative journalist working under the pseudonym Anas Aremeyaw Anas was investigating the poor output of students in examinations in the district and since no one knew his real identity the head-teachers did not want to take the risk of allowing any kind of 'investigation' in their schools. The researcher later got a school in another district, the South Tongu District. The head-teacher gave permission for the fieldwork to be conducted. The data was collected during revision week, a week before commencement of examinations. The lessons recorded were therefore revisions of previous lessons. Data collection started with classroom observation and recording of teaching and learning activities. This data was studied, after which a structured interview questionnaire was drafted.

The draft of the structured interview questionnaire was pre-tested on a second year male and female Junior High School student as well as a female English language teacher.

3.3.1 Recording of Classroom Interaction

This method is used to gather data on practical classroom interaction. It is also possible that recording the classroom interaction may be negatively affected by the Observer's paradox (Labov, 1972). This is the likelihood that the teacher and student participants might be influenced by the presence of the researcher or the recording equipment to produce an acceptable interaction. In this classroom, the Observer's Paradox may constrain participants' language choices to the one stipulated by the language-in-education policy of Ghana. That is, using only English as the medium of instruction during the English lesson and only Ewe during the Ewe lesson.

To control for the Observer's Paradox, the researcher placed the audio recording equipment on a short table and the table was placed in the middle of the class, so that, even when participants sit or stand they may not be able to see the equipment. The table was placed far away from the teacher since she is the main regulator of the classroom interactions. Also, the audio recording equipment was placed at this point before teachers entered the classroom for lessons. The researcher did not sit in the classroom as lessons took place, so that his presence did not influence the nature of interactions.

A lesson each was recorded from English and Ewe classes. The English lesson recorded was a reading comprehension lesson. The Ewe lesson recorded was on the Ewe calendar. Both lessons were recorded for 30 minutes each but only 25 minutes of each data was transcribed. The initial 5 minutes were discarded. This was because, during those moments, the sound on the recorder was not clear to the researcher's hearing. The classroom was noisy and teachers tried to put the class in order and prepare for lessons. Classroom data was manually transcribed as a Microsoft Word document. The transcription of the Ewe data for this study follows the orthography of the standard Ewe but relates, as closely as possible, to participants' utterances to maintain the authenticity of the data. The transcribed data was stored on a password-protected laptop. The author also stored it in his dropbox.com account as a back-up to prevent data loss should anything untoward happen to his laptop.

3.3.2 Interviews

It is argued that attitudes to languages are not immediately observable but rather are accessible by some sort of intrusion into the life of subjects (McKenzie, 2010). This school of thought suggests interview as one of the best ways of interrogating language attitudes. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews based on the researcher's observations about classroom interactions and participants' language choice in the school compound. This was to provide insight into students' and teachers' attitudes towards the various language choices they make and how these attitudes affect language practice in this classroom.

The researcher is aware that with the interview method there is the likelihood that respondents might give desirable answers to questions in order to save their faces. This is the Observer's paradox (Labov, 1972). To control for this, the researcher asked probing questions and follow-ups and played the devil's advocate where necessary. Such an approach was also intended to address the behaviorist criticism of the mentalist view of language attitude as one essentially grounded in participants' questionable self-reporting on language use (Ihemere, 2006; cf. Fasold, 1984).

All participants were interviewed. Teachers' interviews probed such issues as their pattern of language choices in an average day and their feelings towards these choices, their personal beliefs regarding the choice of languages used in the classroom and the reasoning behind them, the language preferences of the school, teachers' satisfaction or otherwise with their students' performance in the languages they teach and what they observe to be the factors that motivate their students to learn a particular language. Students' interviews also probed such issues as their pattern of language choices in an average day and their feelings towards these choices, their personal beliefs regarding the choice of languages used in the classroom and the reasoning behind the choices, the language preferences of the school, the challenges students face in learning languages and how they solve these challenges, and students' motivations for learning a particular language.

All the interviews were audio-recorded with an interview spanning an average of 10 minutes for teachers and 7 minutes for students. The interviews were manually transcribed and stored on a password-protected laptop as well as backed up in the researcher's dropbox.com account. The

transcript of the teachers' interview amounted to 2399 words while that of the students' interviews amounted to 2895 words.

3.4 Researcher's Observations

Researcher made personal observations which he wrote in his field notebook. These observations concerned inscriptions on the classroom walls, students' and teachers' language choices in the school compound including how they welcome visitors, how teachers instruct students, how students interact with visitors, how teachers use language among themselves, how students use language in the canteen and on the football field. This data may prove to be useful in analysing participants' language choices vis-à-vis their attitude towards the various language choices.

In addition to the primary data, the study used secondary data. Secondary data, in the form of articles, books, thesis and other academic publications, were collected from the Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige Universitet (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) Library Data retrieval system. Other related academic publications were downloaded from google scholar. The author also used some notes and papers of his former lecturers at the University of Ghana as part of the secondary data for this study. Data from secondary sources were carefully considered, to avoid biases and shortcomings, and only the ones relevant to the present study were used.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data is analysed qualitatively within the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two.

Language choice and CS data is analysed with no single theory, rather with a collection of theories in the theoretical framework of this study. As discussed earlier, language use is dynamic and it is impossible to use a single theory to analyse all the divers ways individuals use language. When all the aforementioned theories are used individually and collectively it provides an in-depth understanding of the linguistic situation in this Ghanaian context and makes sure that a loophole in one theory is sealed by another.

In the analysis process, the classroom interaction data and interviewees' responses to each question were firstly transcribed. After that, the responses were analysed in terms of themes

related to the study objectives by reading deeper into interviews rather than recapturing what interviewees say.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

This study involves human participants. Certain research ethics are therefore considered for the data collection. Below is an outline of the ethical considerations.

1. Gaining access to the school with appropriate permissions: A letter of permission, written by the researcher, was sent to the head teacher prior to the commencement of the research. The data collection began only after the head teacher permitted the researcher.
2. Voluntary participation: All the teachers and students who participated in the study signed the consent form (see Appendix A) prior to the commencement of the research.
3. Anonymity: The school and individual participants are not identified by name in the thesis.
4. Confidentiality: All information including notes and audio recordings are kept confidential on a password-protected personal computer, and are available only to the researcher.

3.7 Challenges of the Study

There were a number of limitations to the present study which should be highlighted so as to avoid any overgeneralisations and misinterpretations of the results. Due to time concerns, the present study was confined to 20 students and 4 teachers. Although the minimum sample size recommended by many researchers (Cohen et al. 2006) is thirty subjects, the findings might be reflective of the motivation and attitudes of those who participated in this research. The generalisation from the research findings should be made with caution. Finally, the pedagogical implications of this study are limited to those which can be based on the participants' responses and recorded data from this particular Junior High School classroom in Sogakope, although this classroom may be a microcosm of Ghanaian Junior High School classrooms.

4 Data Presentation and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses students' and teachers' language choices in the study classroom, on the school premises and during interviews. There is also an exposition on the pragmatic factors that influence the choices that participants make during classroom interactions as well as the attitudes of participants to the various language choices. The findings contribute to answering the questions 1) What pragmatic factors influence the language choices of students and teachers in the classroom?, and 2) What are students' and teachers' attitudes towards the various language choices and how do these attitudes affect language choice in practice?

The methods used to obtain data for this chapter are interview, observation and audio recording of naturally occurring classroom interactions. Various theories are used individually and collectively in this analysis. These theories include Gumperz (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993) among others. For most of the analysis, the 4 language teachers and 20 students are kept as separate groups. An attempt is also made to compare the language choices of these two groups of participants to evaluate any similarities and/or differences.

4.2 Summary of Subjects' Linguistic Background

As obtained in table 5, all the teachers self-reported as having multilingual abilities; that is, they can speak more than one language. The male teachers self-reported to speak at least three languages and the female teachers self-reported to speak at least two languages. Both the male and female teachers have English and Ewe as common languages. This is also reflected in their use of these two languages in the study classroom, on the school premises and during the interviews. The student subjects also self-reported to be multilingual. Most of them self-reported as speaking at least two languages. They also have English and Ewe as common languages but represent at least 4 ethno-linguistic groups (see table 6). Furthermore, the students self-reported possessing average levels of proficiency in English and Ewe, and their self-reported examination scores in these languages from the previous term confirm this assessment; with an average score of 61.95% in English and 50.35% in Ewe.

The linguistic background of these participants establishes that they speak more than one language. It is expected then that they make varied choices among the languages they speak. This knowledge enhances our understanding of subjects' language choices and helps explain why certain choices are made in particular situations.

4.3 Self-Reported Language Choices

4.3.1 Students

Students' self-reported language choices were derived from an interview. Three main questions together with their follow-ups were used to obtain students' self-reported language choices. All the questions are open in nature, which made the questions serve as general topics for the following conversations. These questions are: (1) What languages do you use in an average day?, (2) Do you use them (the languages) in school and at home?; and (3) Does your school prefer you to use Ewe (or the other languages you speak) instead of English, or vice versa in the school premises? Respondents to (1) reported that they use at least two languages in an average day.

Table 7: Student's Self-reported Languages Used in an Average Day

Students	Languages Used in an Average Day
ST1	Ewe and English
ST2	Ewe and English
ST3	Akan (Fanti), Ewe and English
ST4	Ewe and English
ST5	Ewe and English
ST6	Ewe and English
ST7	Ewe and English
ST8	Ewe and English
ST9	Ewe and English
ST10	Ewe and English
ST11	Ewe and English
ST12	Akan (Twi), Ewe and English
ST13	Sekpele, Ewe and English
ST14	Akan (Twi), Ewe and English
ST15	Ewe and English
ST16	Lelemi/Lefana, Ewe and English
ST17	Ewe and English
ST18	Ewe and English
ST19	Ewe and English
ST20	Ewe and English

The second questions tried to find out the pattern of language use. That is whether a specific language is used in a specific domain for a specific function or whether all the languages used in an average day are used randomly without following a specific pattern. The question also seeks to find whether there are situations where all the languages used in an average day are mixed by respondents and whether the mixing of the languages has any motivations. STs' responses to this question show that there are significant patterns, to some extent, of language use and that certain language choices are made based on the domains of use. For instance, ST1, ST3, ST12, ST13, ST 14 and ST16 stated that they use English and other languages in an average day but used the other languages in out-of-school domains and used English at school.

Table 8: Pattern of Language Use

Students	Responses
ST1	Yes. I use Ewe in town and English in school.
ST3	I often speak Fanti (a dialect of Akan) at home with daddy. I often speak Ewe with mummy. [...] In school I speak English.
ST12	I often speak Twi and Ewe at home and in town. I speak English in school [...].
ST13	I use Sekpele with my mother at home, Ewe with my friends and English with teachers and in school.
ST14	I speak Buem (Lelemi or Lefana) with my parents but now I stay with my grandfather so I speak Ewe with him and English in school.
ST16	I speak Twi (a dialect of Akan) at home and English in school.

ST2 also stated that he uses both English and Ewe in an average day. However, he self-reported that he uses both languages in school and out-of-school. ST2's assertion shows that it is not all the respondents that follow the pattern of using English at school and other languages in out-of-school domains. It can also be observed that ST2 mixes English with Ewe in his response. This may be interpreted as a confirmation that he uses the two languages:

ST2: Me, I speak Ewe in home and in school.

R: What of using Ewe and English in classes. Do you use both languages?

ST2: I do. In Ewe class. And English too. Me I speak it (Ewe). Because English is not good for me. English teacher too speak it (Ewe) sometimes. **Eyata nye hã mezanɛ.** (So I also use it.)

As can be deduced from this response, ST2 does not follow a particular pattern of language use mainly because he is not very competent in English: "English is not good for me". His switch is

also an example of Gumperz's point that CS can be used to reiterate a point previously made. Here, ST2's switch into Ewe is to lay emphasis on the fact that, apart from his challenge with English, his teacher's use of CS motivates him to use it as well. It is the same reason of lack of competence in a language that motivated the respondents who use specific languages in specific domains, just that the languages in which they are not competent varied from that of ST2. For instance ST3 and ST16 speak Fanti and Twi respectively at home and English at school because they do not very well speak Ewe:

ST3: ... My Ewe is not good.

ST16: ... I don't speak Ewe well.

The third question seeks to find whether the school made compulsory the exclusive use of one language in the school premises and the extent to which respondents adhered to this regulation. Respondents stated that the school has a no-mother tongue policy where students are not allowed to use their mother tongues in the school premises. In effect, only English must be used by students in the school premises. In contradiction to the policy, however, some student respondents said they use their mother tongues in the school premises even during classroom lessons and that teachers do not penalise any student who flouts the no-mother tongue regulation and that the teachers also mix languages during lessons and during out-of-classroom interactions with respondents:

ST1: We are not allowed to use Ewe here (in school) **eyata** (so) I try to use English always. But sometimes there are some things I can't say in English so I speak Ewe for them.

R: Have you ever tried to use Ewe in English class?

ST1: Yes, sometimes when I can't speak English to explain myself I speak English.

R: How do your teachers and your friends in the English classes react when you use Ewe?

ST1: Nothing. They don't say nothing.

R: Have you ever mixed Twi and English in one conversation?

ST16: Yes.

R: Where and why?

ST16: In school with my friends. Break times. Because I can't say some words in English. They are hard. So I use Twi words there.

R: Can you give me an example of a sentence like that?

ST16: I want you to be the **okyeame** (chief's linguist) for us.

Most of the students use both English and Ewe, and often mix these two languages. In the Markedness Model, this mixing itself is an *unmarked* choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993) while few respondents make *marked* choices by adhering to the norms of the speech community; where, in this context, *marked* choices are actually those that conform to the school rules. However, there is the suggestion that those who make *marked* choices could have made *unmarked* choices had they been competent in their mother tongue. It has been established so far that all student respondents use more than one language; that some respondents use these languages either separately or together depending on the domains of use and that although there is a rule that bans the use of their mother tongue in school premises respondents use their mother tongue anyway and are not reprimanded for breaking the rule of the school. Presented next is the teachers' responses.

4.3.2 Teachers

All the teachers involved in this study responded to (1), (2), and (3) above. To (1) all the teachers stated that they use more than one language in an average day.

Table 9: Teachers' Self-reported Languages Used in an Average Day

Teachers	Languages Used in an Average Day
TR 1	Ewe and English
TR 2	English and Ewe
TR 3	English, Ewe, Akan (Asante Twi)
TR 4	English, Ewe, Akan (Asante Twi), Fon, Gengbe, and Sekpele

All the teachers reported using all the languages they use in an average day in both the school premises and out-of-school premises, in response to (2):

R: Do you use them (these languages) both in school and at home?

TR 1: I use both languages in school and at home.

TR 2: Yes, I use the two at both places.

TR 3: I do.

TR 4: I use all the languages everywhere I meet the speakers.

The teachers had similar opinions like the students about the school's language regulation that only English should be used in school premises. TR1 confirms that the school places emphasis

on the use of English and that this decision is good since the greater part of the world speaks English. TR2 also reported that the school holds English in high esteem, however, it also makes room for all languages “in their appropriate spheres”. She justifies the position of the school with the fact that all national examinations in Ghana, except local language examinations, are set in English. When asked what she meant by “in their appropriate spheres”, TR2 said that she uses Ewe in her Ewe classes and that the students are encouraged to speak English in out-of-classroom settings in the school premises “but [the students] are not punished if they speak Ewe [in such domains]”. She was further asked whether Ewe was the only L1 of her students since her responses suggest that:

R: To the best of your knowledge, do all your students have Ewe as their only indigenous language?

TR 2: No. There are two Akans, I think, and one Buem (Lelemi/Lefana) speaker and another Sekpele speaker, I think. I am not sure. But since this is Ewe town, I think they will use Ewe. They will learn it or they must (with a raised eyebrow, then laughter.)

It is apparent that this teacher sees as compulsory the learning of the dominant language of this geographic space. This brings up the issue of the effect of dominant languages on minority languages. This, however, is not a focus in this thesis. TR3 said that the school, following the Ghana Education Service’s regulations (the national language-in-education policy), gives preference to English as the language of instruction at this level of education, that is the Junior High School level. He personally thinks, however, that “the *combination* of English and Ewe is perfect because Ewe has a bearing on English”. The researcher tried to find out from TR3, the “bearing” that Ewe might have on English. He responded that some students can transfer the meaning of words from English into Ewe for better understanding. In that case, no student will be shy to “break the pot (laughing)” (make a mistake in speech) and make their classmates laugh at them. TR4, in response to (3) also confirmed that English is preferred to any other language as the medium of communication in the school. For him, the students are not competent in spoken and written English; using English in all spheres in the school compels students to learn the language through usage. This teacher teaches Ewe so the researcher tried to find how his students practised the subject he teaches. He responded that the students practise Ewe at home, “...But we don’t punish those who use Ewe in school. After all, most of the students cannot speak or understand English”. One point that strongly emerges is that both STs and TRs stated that STs

are not competent in English. Contradictorily, STs switch from English to Ewe; a thing they could not and would not do if they did not speak English.

It is clear that all the teachers use more than one language in an average day and that they try as much as possible to constrain the use of the languages to various domains, that is in school and out-of-school domains. Also, the usage of the mother tongue in the school is not permissible per the regulations of the school but students are not punished for flouting the regulation, the reason being their perceived lack of competence in English and should be pardoned. The students' ability to switch from English to Ewe suggests, on the contrary, that they could speak English. These varied choices: using English, using Ewe, and mixing English and Ewe also reflect in the languages selected for interviews by students and also reflect in classroom interactions. We next investigate the specific language choices as obtained from interview and classroom interactions.

4.3.3 Language Choice for the Interview

Each student was asked the language in which they would prefer the interview. 13 respondents preferred English, 1 preferred Ewe, and 6 preferred a mixture of English and Ewe (see table 10). The researcher observed that although some students chose English as the language for the interview they ended up mixing it with Ewe. For instance, ST1 preferred English as the language of the interview but when the researcher asked him whether he likes it when his English teacher mixes English with Ewe during lessons, he responded with a mixture of English and Ewe: “Yes. Some words in English must be explain(ed) **le Ewegbe me be míase egome nyuie** (...in Ewe language so that we can properly understand them)”.

Table 10: Students' preferred Languages for Interview

Student	Preferred Language
ST 1	English
ST 2	English
ST 3	English
ST 4	Ewe
ST 5	English
ST 6	English
ST 7	English
ST 8	English
ST 9	English
ST 10	English
ST 11	English
ST 12	English
ST 13	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 14	English
ST 15	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 16	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 17	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 18	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 19	Mixture of English & Ewe
ST 20	English

All the teachers in this study used English as the language of the interview. It is observed, however, that there is a mixture of Ewe and English in the responses of some of the teachers. TR 2's response below shows this mixture:

TR2: I teach the local language Ewe. It is my mother tongue too. I speak it with pride everywhere. **Ame fe akplekoe wòyɔna be akplekɔ** and **wometsɔa miasi fia amedee o. Ese eme ɔe? Ahã, yae ma.** (It is a person's own small mold of akple (a staple Ewe food) that they call big mold...you do not point to your hometown with the left finger. (Proverbs: A person must value what they own). Do you understand? Aha, that is it).

4.3.4. Language Choice during Classroom Lessons

According to the national language-in-education legislation, English is the sole language of instruction in the English classroom at this level of education. In the English classroom investigated, English is the main language for the interaction. Teachers and students occasionally switch into other languages, mainly Ewe, for functional effects such as explanation and

reiteration. In the extract below a student answers a question with a switch between English and Ewe. The teacher also switched into Ewe to instruct the class, when she thought the students did not understand the question she asked. After receiving an acceptable answer, she switches into Ewe to indicate a change of focus of the lesson.

Example 1: English classroom extract 1.

083⁹. TR: What is the meaning of the word ‘various’?

084. ST: ‘Another’ (TR disagrees), ‘different’ **alo vovovo**.
or different

085. TR: Yes, I will take that. Who can put it in his/her own sentence? (A ST reads the sentence
086. in the passage containing the word ‘various’)

087. TR: **Mebe tsɛwɔ wò** sentence.
I said use it to form your

088. ST: I have various pens.

089. TR: Correct. **Yoo miyi edzi**.
Okay let us continue.

All the English teachers interviewed stated that they mix the two languages in their English classes because students do not very well understand English. While TR1 sees this mixture of the two languages as a good influence on students’ English language learning abilities, TR3 sees it as retarding it because students needed consistent verbal practice in order to become competent in English.

Although the teachers are of the view that the students are incompetent in English, the language choice of the students in the English classroom does not differ from those of the teachers. The example 1 above, demonstrates that the student mixes English with Ewe like the teacher does.

Another case is example 2 below where students mixed English with Ewe to respond to the teacher’s question. The students did not understand the English explanation of “proceeds” as submitted by the teacher so they could not answer when the teacher asked them whether they understood the explanation. When the teacher switched to explain the word in Ewe, however, the students understood and responded in the affirmative when the teacher asked whether they understood the word:

⁹ The lines are numbered for clearer referencing during discussion.

Example 2: English classroom extract 2.

095. TR: Who can tell us what it (proceeds) means?
096. ST: To move on and do something. (TR disagreed)
097. ST: The seed farmers plant
098. TR: **Ao, mebe** (no, I said) ‘proceeds’. (STs couldn’t answer)
101. TR: Can anyone form a sentence with it?
102. ST: (ST raises her hand), **ƐƐ** (Yes) madam, **mateɲui** (I can). (TR asked ST to answer the
103. question)
104. ST: I got proceeds from selling **abolo** (bread).

The ST’s switch to respond “Yes, I can” cannot be attributed to lack of competence in English since it would not be too difficult for the student to say it in English. A possible explanation is that the ST made this choice since this choice is *unmarked* (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The same explanation can be given to the choice of using “abolo” instead of “bread” in line 104. “Bread” is a common commodity in Sogakope so it cannot be the lack of knowledge about the name of the item in English that informed this choice; this choice may be part of the active vocabulary of the ST and may be used unconsciously.

It can be concluded that the main medium of practical interaction during this English lesson is code-switching where English and Ewe are mixed. The discussion also pointed out that both teachers and students do this mixing of languages. While teachers stated that this kind of language use was triggered by students’ lack of competence in English, it is also clear that students’ would not have been able to switch between English and Ewe had they been unable to speak English. It is essential to find out whether language use in the Ewe classroom is different or similar to that of the English classroom. We therefore discuss language use in the Ewe classroom.

In the Ewe classroom, the language use does not differ from the pattern observed in the English classroom. During the recorded Ewe lesson, both the teacher and the students mix English with Ewe to perform various functions. Some English words were used to fill linguistic gaps while others were used for reiteration.

Example 3: Ewe classroom extract 1.

001. TR: Miele nu srõ ge tso Ewe ñkekewo kple azãwo alo Ewe **calendar** ñu. Miafe **calendar** le
(We are going to learn about Ewe days and seasons or about Ewe calendar. Our calendar is
002. vovo na yevuwo to ... Ìkeke nenie le Ewe yleti ðeka me? **Yes**, (calls ST)
different from the whites'(Europeans')....How many days are in one Ewe month? Yes,
(calls ST))
040. TR: Edea? (STs affirmed.) Alo, ameaðe di be yea **polishi** nea?(silence).
(Is it correct? (STs affirmed.) Or, does someone want to polish it for him/her? (silence))

In line 001, for instance, there is no Ewe word for “calendar” so the teacher used the English equivalent without changing it in any way to fit into the phonotactics of Ewe. In line 040, however, the teacher changes the English word “polish” to fit into the Ewe phonotactics by inserting “i” at the end of it. Also, this word has Ewe equivalent “zrõ” but the teacher does not use it here. In example 4, students named the months on the Ewe calendar and the teacher asked that the students reiterated this knowledge in English.

Example 4: Ewe classroom extract 2.

040. TR: ...Ke yleti siawo fe
...So these months'
041. yevutõwoe nye ekawo?
white (Europeans/English) ones are which ones?
042. ST: **January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October,**
043. **November, December**

So far, the teacher has not rebuked the students from answering questions or engaging in classroom interactions by using both English and Ewe in the Ewe class. She rather encourages the practice by asking students to reiterate their knowledge in English. There was an instance in example 5 (lines 055 and 056), however, where the teacher asked a student to say in Ewe an answer that the student had given in a mixture of both languages. She must have done this to ensure that students kept in mind the names of the months in Ewe; another way of reinforcing knowledge without using English equivalence as the point of reference. It was observed that the teacher translated into Ewe an answer that had been given in English to an Ewe question. Subsequently, the students gave answers to Ewe questions without mixing their answers with English.

Example 5: Ewe classroom extract 3.

054. TR: **Leap year** ɔɛ, dzinu ka mee wozɔna? Which month determines a leap year?
055. ST: Edzɔna le **February** me. It is February that determines it.
056. TR: Gblɔe le Eɛegbe me. (ST says the whole sentence again in Ewe) Say it in the Ewe language.
058. TR: Miyɔ azã siwo le fea me. Mention the festivals that are in the year.
059. STs: **Christmas**
060. TR: Blunya alo Yesudzidzi alo fe. Blunya, Christmas or Jesus' birth or year.
woagblɔe (STs repeated). Yoo, miayi Christmas, say it (STs repeated). Okay, let's
edzi. continue.
Palm festival (Palm Sunday)
061. STs: Demayizã. Okay, so what about cultural festivals?
062. TR: Yoo, ke dekonuzãwo ɔɛ? (Some traditional Ewe festivals)
063. STs: Agbamevo, Hogbetsotso, Afenoto.

The teacher's demand for answers in Ewe made students desist from mixing their answers with English. The teacher sets for the students an example and asks the students to repeat those examples. The students subsequently give their answers in Ewe. This is evidence of Gumperz's (1982) *contextualisation cues*. A *contextualisation cue* is a factor in an interaction that creates a shared understanding among participants. This cue can be so correctly interpreted by the interlocutors in an interaction that it goes totally unnoticed. This can be likened to Auer's (1995) assertion, in the theory of Conversational Analysis (CS), that an utterance is perceived within the context of previous one(s) as the interpretation of previous utterance(s) may influence the subsequent one(s). In this particular interaction, the repetition of the English words in Ewe by the teacher gives a cue to the students that they have to give their answers in Ewe. In other words, the fact that the teacher reiterates the same answer in Ewe is interpreted by the students as the right thing to do. They, subsequently give their answers in Ewe. This also, is evident of negotiation of a RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

In an interview, this teacher (TR2) asserted that it is more prudent to use only Ewe in Ewe classroom interactions. When asked about her personal views about the language to use in her classroom, she reiterates the same point. What happens in her Ewe classroom as demonstrated above, however, is that there is a mixture of English and Ewe in her Ewe classroom. What she says contradicts what she does. Another Ewe teacher (TR4) holds a contrary view to that of TR2. According to him, one language; the language of study, should be used for classroom interaction but another language could be used "sparingly" to explain difficult concepts:

TR2: My personal beliefs are that pupils will be clear with everything I use the local language to teach and will make them understand their culture very well in the language.

TR2: ...it is positive to teach Ewe with only Ewe; since pupils (students) are conversant with the Ewe changing (switching) things (code) to English or any other language will be total waste of pupils' time.

TR4: A particular language should be used for teaching and learning in the classroom so that the students understand the meanings and concepts right from the beginning and be able to read and write. *However, some terminologies which (that) are difficult to explain, other languages should be used sparingly (to explain the difficult terminologies) (my emphasis). (Other languages should be sparingly used to explain difficult terminologies.)*

Most of the students interviewed also pointed out that they prefer mixing languages in classroom interactions. The strongest advocates of this medium are the students whose mother tongues are the minority languages in this classroom: Akan, Lelemi/Lefana and Sekpele; the main reason for this choice being their lack of competence in Ewe.

So far, the data demonstrate that there are mainly two pragmatic factors that influence teachers' and students' language choices in the classroom. These main factors are 1) students' perceived lack of competence in English and 2) the linguistic gaps in Ewe. Although the first factor manifests itself in the Ewe classroom, its influence is not as significant as the second factor so that only students with the minority mother tongue self-reported as lacking competence in Ewe. The language choice in this classroom is then made with these pragmatic factors in mind. As their way of managing and solving the challenges posed by these factors, both teachers and students mix English and Ewe in classroom interactions so that one language performs the communicative function that the other language cannot. It is essential to find the function of code-switching in this classroom. This is discussed in 4.4.

4.3.5 Language Choice on School Premises

The study tries to find whether the language choice of participants on the school premises during interactions is similar to that of the choice made during classroom lessons. It is observed that both teachers and students have similar patterns of language choice; a pattern similar to that of the classrooms'.

It is observed that students mostly use CS to communicate with food vendors and to converse with their friends at the canteen. The researcher found that the food vendors speak English. He

engaged the food vendors in a discourse using the medium of English. The vendors' are fluent in English, therefore, there is no communication barrier even when students choose to talk with the vendors using the English medium. Interestingly, students use the *we-code* of the CS in the canteen; Ewe being the base language of this *we-code*. This contradicts the no-mother-tongue policy of the school. There are also the use of the words “waakye: a rice and beans dish” and “kenkey: a corn meal” which are loans from Hausa and Ga, respectively, into many Ghanaian languages.

On the football field, students instruct, converse and celebrate goals scored using CS with Ewe as the base language, again in opposition to the no-mother-tongue policy. Akan is also used once as an embedded language by a student. The Akan phrase used, “Boys abre: Boys are tired” is, however, a popular expression coined from the chorus of a famous Ghanaian music. It is also observed that students mostly use English with strangers who come to the school's premises. On the first day of entering the school compound, two female students, run to meet researcher and said “You are welcome sir” and offered to help him with his bag. On another occasion, a former student of the school was welcomed by a female student in English: “Welcome sir” when one morning the visitor entered the school compound. Occasionally, the researcher, intentionally switched from English to Ewe when conversing with students to find whether the students would switch to Ewe. On many occasions, (at least 8 times from 15 conversations), students responded to the researcher's switch into Ewe with English. On the rest of the occasions, however, students switch to the language into which the researcher switches. Furthermore, it is observed that students mostly use English when conversing with teachers outside the classroom. Even when a teacher switches from English to Ewe, students stuck to English.

Some students' expressions in the canteen

Maŋle **waakye**, **egg** kple **macaroni**.

Madze **pure water sachet** deka.

Meɖekuku kɔ gatsia dzi nam.

Esusɔ nye gagbagba **fifty** pessewas.

Maŋle **kenkey**, nam shiɔ kple **onion**. Mega trɔ ami gbogbo de shiɔ dzi o.”

Ese nya ye **madam** gblɔ tso asikɔklɔ nua? Yoo

I want to buy waakye, egg and macaroni.

I want to buy one sachet of pure water.

Please lift for me the spoon.

It remains fifty pessewass of my change.

I want to buy kenkey, give me black source and onion. Do not pure a lot of oil on the black source.

Have you heard what madam (female teacher) said about washing of hands? Okay.

Some students' expressions in the football field

Passi ball la nam.	Pass the ball to me.
Edribble paa lo.	You dribbled him well.
Do kɔ nɛ la	Score him.
Miɖu miadzi egbea ha. Etsɔ dzie wogale.	We defeated you today. We meet again tomorrow.
Toss ball la ɖo ɖa X.	Toss the ball to X.
Egbea ɖeɖi te mianu lo. Boys abre .	You are tired today. Boys are tired.

A student's conversation with a teacher outside the classroom

TR: X, yi library nakɔ ICT textbook ɖeka vɛ nam.	X, go to the library and bring me one ICT textbook.
ST: Madam, the library is not yet opened.	Madam, the library is not yet opened.
TR: Ameka si key la le?	Who has the key?
ST: Madam, I don't know.	Madam, I don't know.
TR: Call the library prefect for me. Gblɔe nɛ be neva, right now.	Call the library prefect for me. Tell him/her to come right now.
ST: Yes, madam.	Yes, madam.

The head teacher welcomes strangers/visitors using English but switches to Ewe in subsequent conversations if the stranger could speak Ewe. The head teacher, however, keeps to the English language throughout conversations if the topic for the conversation is an official matter but she uses Ewe for unofficial conversations. The researcher, for instance, was welcomed with English by the head teacher. English was used throughout the conversation in which the researcher sought permission to conduct research, and the head teacher asked questions to seek certain explanations. The head teacher called the teachers responsible for English and Ewe languages and switched to Ewe to tell them the aims of the researcher. They responded in Ewe. The head-teacher turned to speak to the researcher in Ewe and researcher also responded in Ewe.

Both the English and Ewe teachers used a mixture of English and Ewe to converse with the researcher about the process and time-table of the research. After the official conversation about the research, the teachers switched to Ewe to ask researcher about unofficial issues such as his hometown, place of abode, people from the researcher's hometown that researcher might know and the motivations for studying in a foreign university among others. This is evident of Ghana's diaglossia where English has both high language and low language functions while Ewe has low function. The researcher spent some of his time with teachers in the staff common room. He

observed teachers' language use with other visitors. There was no difference in how they use language with visitors and with the researcher. Ewe and English were mixed for official conversations and Ewe for unofficial conversations such as jokes, gossips, asking of people's family, health and progress of work. The researcher paid particular attention to the two language teachers and realised that their language use, however, did not differ from teachers of other subjects.

Teachers' use of CS also reflects in how they instruct students outside the classroom. During a morning assembly session; the period when students gather to sing the national anthem, pray and listen to any announcements of the day before entering their classrooms for the commencement of studies, a student was misbehaving and a teacher called him for punishment:

TR: Hold your toes. **Bɔ̃bɔ̃ bɔ̃bɔ̃** (bend bend). I said get down and hold your toes. Hold your toes. **Bɔ̃bɔ̃ mebe bɔ̃bɔ̃** (bend, I say bend), hold your toes. Senior-on-duty, go and give him a portion (of football field) to weed.

The teacher then talks to a student to dress properly, still switching between the two languages; and then asks a student to give her something:

TR: **Nenema wolea awu dea eme nye ema?** Dress well.
(Is that how we tuck in shirts?)
X come and give me these things. X, **va va va**
come come come

As has been discussed in this section, CS is used by all participants on the school premises just as it occurs in the classroom. Next, we discuss the functions performed by code-switching in the classroom.

4.4 Functions of Code-switching (CS)

Code-switching (CS) is a linguistic strategy adopted in this classroom to help participants overcome the challenges posed by the perceived students' lack of competence in English and the linguistic gaps in Ewe. Gumperz pointed out that CS performs some functions in conversations. These functions of CS include: "personalisation versus objectivisation, quotation, message qualification, addressee specification, interjections and reiteration" (Gumperz, 1982: 75-81). According to Gumperz (1982), CS can be used for 1) personalisation versus objectivisation

where code contrast seems to relate to such things as the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance, from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion, or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known facts; 2) quotation where CS passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech; 3) message qualification where the switch serves to qualify constructions, as when verb and sentence complements or predicates follow a copular; 4) addressee specification where the switch in code directs the message to a specific person out of the several possible interlocutors; 5) interjections where the code switch serves as an interjector or sentence filler; and 6) reiteration where a message in one code is repeated in the other, either literally or in a somewhat modified form – in some cases, such repetitions might serve to qualify what is said, but often they merely amplify or emphasise a message. In this section we discuss the manifestations of these and any other functions performed by CS in this classroom.

4.4.1 Reiteration

During the English lessons, teachers used CS by translating some words into Ewe. This strategy was used to facilitate students' understanding of vocabulary. An instance of such reiteration occurred when the teacher gave the meaning of the word *proceeds* as *income*. It was clear, however, that the students did not understand the teacher so she translated the word into Ewe. The students affirmed their understanding, after this translation (see example 2). The same communicative situation occurred in the Ewe class where the teacher asked students to translate the names of the months on the Ewe calendar into English to reinforce their knowledge (see example 4); and when the teacher switched into English to ask a question and then translated the question from English into Ewe in line 012. In this example, *challenge* is reiterated in Ewe as *he nya*:

Using CS for reiteration

012. TR: ...Miayi edzi, alo ame aɔe be yea **challengea**? (Calls ST's name) ahe nya kpliia?
...Let's continue, or does someone wants to challenge him? ... do you want to
challenge him?

4.4.2 Addressee Specification and Acknowledgement

During Ewe lessons, the teacher used CS in the form of tags. Some of these tags were used to invite students to contribute to classroom discussions or to answer questions and to acknowledge students' contributions. In the example below, for instance, the English word *fine* in line 012 is used to acknowledge the correctness of a student's response to a question. In lines 002 and 005, *yes* is used to call on students to answer questions with the form *yes [student name]* being an addressee specification form. During both English and Ewe lessons, students knew that they were being invited to contribute to discussions whenever the tag *yes* or *yes [student name]* is used. The use of this tag during Ewe lessons seems to happen unnoticed as it formed part of the active vocabulary of the classroom interaction. In the English classroom, there is no switch into Ewe for addressing students or for acknowledging them.

Using CS in the form of tags for addressee specification and acknowledgement

001. TR: Miele nu srɔ̃ ge tso Ewe ŋkekewo kple azāwo alo Ewe calendar ŋu. Míafe calendar le	We will learn about Ewe days and festivals or Ewe calendar. Our calendar
002. vovo na yevuwo tɔ Ŋkeke nenie le Ewe yleti deka me? Yes, (called ST's name)	differs from that of whites (Europeans)... how many days are in a month? Yes, (called ST's name).
003. ST: Ŋkeke blaevɛvɛnyɪ ye le yleti deka me	There are twenty-eight days in a month
004. TR: Miɔ akpe nɛ (students clapped)	Clap for him/her (students clapped)
005. TR: Yleti nenie le fe deka me? Yes, (calls ST)	How many months are in a year? Yes, (calls ST)
006. ST: Yleti wietɔe le fe deka me.	There are thirteen months in a year.
007. TR: Miɔ akpe nɛ (students clapped)	Clap for him/her (students clapped)
008. TR: Azɔ, ŋkeke nenie le leap year me?	Now, how many days are in a leap year?
009. ST: Ŋkeke alafa etɔ blaadevɔatɔ, three hundred and sixty-five ye le leap year me.	There are three hundred and sixty-five, hundred and sixty-five in a leap year. Is it correct?
010. TR: Edea?	Yes
011. STs: Eeee	

012. TR: **Fine.** Míayi edzi, alo ame aɔe be yea challengea? (Mentions ST name) ahe nya kpliia?

Fine. Let's continue, or does someone wants to challenge him/her? (Mentions ST name) do you want to challenge him?

An interview with TR1 gives insight into her motivation for allowing CS in her English classroom. She acknowledged that her school has a no-mother tongue policy but CS is often used to meet students' needs. She also recalled one student writing to her to register her unhappiness about how English and Ewe are mixed in English class. The personal philosophy of this teacher concerning language use in the classroom also shows that she favours the use of L1 in the L2 classroom:

[...] My school allows only English in school. The school doesn't allow local languages. In the classroom, however, we use Ewe with English interchangeably. The students do not understand English. That is the basic problem here, you know. [...] About 65% and above cannot. Interestingly, I had one student writing to me not to combine both Ewe and English in class. Even in her letter, there were grammatical errors, you know [...] it is pathetic. [...] I believe that we should use our local language in impacting knowledge into our students. [...] Because they (students) better understand the local language than the L2 so using it will better help them get (understand) the content of lessons. We could use both languages in the English class. I sometimes do that. I explain certain words and concepts using Ewe in my English class. If I don't do that, they don't get (understand) what I am teaching. **Ekpɔa** (have you seen)?

In sum, CS in this classroom serves two main functions in Gumperz's categories: reiteration and addressee specification and acknowledgement. One other function of CS in this classroom that is not part of Gumperz's categories is explanation. This has been discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter. Given the importance of CS in this classroom, the thesis would like to know the perceptions of participants towards CS and other language choices that they make. In the following section, we examine the attitudes that teachers and students have towards the language choices they make as well as the bearings these attitudes have on students' language practice.

4.5 Attitudes of Teachers and Students towards Classroom Language Choice

This section presents the outcome of the interviews carried among the participants in this study. This thesis operationally defines language attitude as the positive, negative or ambivalent perception that an individual holds towards a particular language. Clearly, language is the attitudinal object or the entity to which an attitude is expressed in this study. There are three language choices to which the interview sought participants' attitudes: English, Ewe and English-Ewe code-switching. The interview questions, together with their follow-ups, try to find the cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Garrett et al, 2003) of participants' attitudes by seeking participants' personal beliefs regarding the choice of languages used in the classroom, the languages they think should be used in teaching and learning and whether it is positive or negative to teach English with only English, Ewe with only Ewe or both languages should be mixed in both classrooms.

4.5.1. Code-switching

The cognitive component of attitudes embodies people's beliefs about the attitude object (Garrett et al, 2003). Most of the teachers (TR1, TR3, TR4) believed that English and Ewe should be mixed during teaching and learning. They gave the following responses:

TR1: I believe that we should use our local language in impacting knowledge into our pupils.

R: How do you intend using the local language to impact knowledge in a second language classroom like the English classroom?

TR1: We could use both languages in the English class.

TR3: We should be encouraged to use the two languages in teaching.

TR4: A particular language should be used for teaching and learning [...] However, some terminologies which are difficult to explain, other languages should be used sparingly.

These responses are evidence of positive cognitive component of teachers' attitudes towards CS as an MOI. Most of the students also have positive cognitive component of attitudes about CS as MOI. Although they have not explicitly stated their belief, there is an established link between CS as an attitude object and the attribute of CS as an aid to classroom lesson comprehension especially in the area of vocabulary learning (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). ST16's response below shows that this link may trigger a subconscious belief that using CS as MOI increases ST16's chance of being successful in simultaneously learning English and Ewe vocabulary:

R: Do you like it when your teacher mixes languages (e.g English, Ewe or any other language) to teach English? Why?

ST16: Yes. (It) makes Ewe learning easier. I put the meaning of words in the two languages on same level for understanding.

R: What do you mean by “on the same level”?

ST16: ... it helps me know (the/an) English word in Ewe too. When someone say(s) the word in Ewe I know the meaning in English too.

The affective component consists of feelings towards an attitude object (Garrett et al, 2003). Affectively, both the teachers and students feel that CS serves as the means to arrive at students’ competence in language learning, especially in English. They envisage CS as a tool for effective learning, especially of English. Most of the teachers feel that CS use in the English classroom is good; the main reason for this attitude being students’ perceived lack of competence in English and that using CS in the Ewe classroom is advisable where the concept under discussion is foreign to Ewe culture and worldview. Most of the students prefer their teachers to use CS in the English classroom because:

ST1: Some words in English must be explain **le Ewegbe me be míase egome nyuie** (in Ewe language so that we properly understand).

ST3: Not all students understand English. Using Ewe and English together make all students to get what the teacher is teaching.

ST13: It makes better understanding come clear. I also learn some Ewe in this way.
(It helps in better understanding of lessons.)

ST16: It make(s) me understand better what she (teacher) is saying.

The few students who do not approve CS use in the English classroom also gave their reasons; the main ones being their low competence in Ewe and that CS confuses them:

ST2: Using two languages for English confuse(s) me.

ST12: I don’t get Ewe...

ST14: I cannot speak Ewe well. The two together confuse(s).

The students also have the same affective attitude towards CS use in the Ewe classroom, that it is good to use CS because they learn English as well as Ewe, primarily through translation and that it fills the linguistic gaps in Ewe:

ST1: We learn more English. And we can’t get (understand) some English words in Ewe.

ST2: I like it but don’t know why I like it that way (laughing).

ST3: We learn the meaning of some English words. Also, some English words ... are not in Ewe.

ST12: It helps me get (understand) some English words meanings in Ewe.

ST13: I learn the meaning of some English words in Ewe.

ST14: I learn the Ewe meaning of some English words. I sometimes write them down to learn and use. I want to learn Ewe well too.

ST16: Makes Ewe learning easier. I put the meaning of words in the two languages on same level for understanding.

The third constituent of attitudes, also known as the ‘conative’ component, is behavioural in nature. It is generally described as leading to a person’s overt action or intention to act based on their attitude (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). Both the teachers and students overtly used CS in both the English and Ewe classes. Stemming from this discussion, it is ascertained that most of the teachers and students have a positive attitude towards CS use in this classroom given the instrumental role it plays in facilitating classroom interaction.

4.5.2. English

The attitude of teachers and students towards English in this classroom is positive. This positive attitude was demonstrated towards English both as medium of instruction (MOI) and as subject of study. Cognitively, both teachers and students believe that the no-mother-tongue policy of their school, which reflects the national language-in-education policy at the Junior High School level of education in Ghana, is good. The sole use of English, they submitted, will boost students’ English competence through practise. As a subject, they believed that English is the language for global interaction and that competence in it is necessary for everyone. All teachers, including the Ewe teachers stressed the need for students to be competent in English:

TR1: ... without English, hhhmmm you can’t do anything meaningful in this country. You need English everywhere, you know.

TR2 (Ewe teacher): My school holds English in high esteem [...] I think my school’s position is very good.

TR3: ... We have made it (English) ours. That is why we learn it from childhood. Don’t claim it (English) and see where you will be in the world.

TR4 (Ewe teacher): I expect my students to converse and communicate in English and be able to read and write. [...] English is foreign and it is more difficult than Ewe so there should be more attention paid to it.

The same attitude was demonstrated affectively and behaviourally. The promulgation of a no-mother-tongue policy, in the first place shows how the school authorities *feel* about English being superior to other languages and must be acquired. This feeling is transferred into an actual

enactment of the policy. This positive attitude towards English also reflected in students' motivation for the study of English. Learning English is mostly motivated by its instrumentality. Some of the students are motivated to learn English because they want to get good employment opportunities when they grow, make money and buy cars and houses, be respected in the society, be able to travel, and be able to converse with Europeans, among others.

Table 11: Students' Motivation for Learning English

Students	Motivation for Learning English
ST 1	...so that in future I get good job, make money and buy cars and houses.
ST 2	...to get good job when I grow up
ST 3	...to get a good job
ST 4	...to become a big person in a company
ST 5	...to be an important person in society and to get respect
ST 6	...to pass exams, get good work and be rich.
ST 7	...to travel wide, have good job and respect
ST 8	...to become a prominent politician and make more money
ST 9	...to get good job when I finish university
ST 10	...for respect and to speak with white people in future
ST 11	...to pass exams and go to university
ST 12	...to pass exams, get a good job and become a big person.
ST 13	...to get good job
ST 14	...passing exams, to be like teachers to speak English well
ST 15	...to travel abroad and to work there
ST 16	...to get job in future and travel abroad
ST 17	...to get white-color job and plenty money
ST 18	...to get international jobs and huge money and respect
ST 19	...for good job in the future
ST 20	...good job, respect in society and to travel abroad

This motivation is also reflected in how seriously they took the learning of English. In a self-report by the students, as earlier mentioned, it was clear that the students performed better in English than in Ewe; with an average score of 61.95% in English and 50.35% in Ewe (see table 12). This disparity in performance may have other contributing factors but for the sake of the space and the time-frame allocated to this thesis, all the possible factors are not discussed. The overall attitude of teachers and students to English as a MOI and as a subject of study is positive reinforcing the fact that English is a high language in the diglossia of this linguistic setting. Although not representative of national attitude, the positive attitude to English also show, that Ghanaians' attitude towards English has not changed since the colonial era.

Table 12: Self-reported Examination Scores in English and Ewe for the Previous Term

Students	English Scores	Ewe Scores
ST 1	54%	51%
ST 2	65%	43%
ST 3	80%	72%
ST 4	75%	74%
ST 5	68%	62%
ST 6	62%	58%
ST 7	76%	51%
ST 8	71%	51%
ST 9	63%	51%
ST 10	50%	41%
ST 11	74%	62%
ST 12	60%	Forgot
ST 13	63%	49%
ST 14	57%	37%
ST 15	Forgot	75%
ST 16	50%	45%
ST 17	58%	Forgot
ST 18	71%	50%
ST 19	74%	72%
ST 20	68%	63%

4.5.3. Ewe

Most of the teachers and students have negative attitude towards Ewe as MOI. Most of the students also have ambivalent attitude towards Ewe as a subject of study. Cognitively, both teachers and students believe that Ewe does not need attention in the school's life as does English. A clear manifestation of this belief is the promulgation of a no-mother-tongue policy. This regulation could also be seen as the affective and behavioural components of their attitude towards Ewe as MOI. It may be due to the negative attitude Ewe as MOI and ambivalent attitude to Ewe as a subject of study that students do not take seriously the learning of Ewe. Their self-reported examination scores show that they scored lower in Ewe than in English (see table 12).

A situation worth attention is how some students switch to English from Ewe whenever the researcher approaches a group of students:

The researcher occasionally walks past the classroom of the subjects for this study whenever there are no teachers in the classrooms. The researcher observed students were

using Ewe in conversations. If a student spotted the researcher approaching the classroom, they shouted “keep quiet”. Some of the students, who were bent on continuing their conversations, quickly switched from Ewe to English and raised their voices; maybe to let the researcher hear them speak English (Author’s field report, 2014.)

A plausible explanation for this linguistic behaviour is that the students switched into English because English is the H language in the diglossia of the school, which means English gets used when students are on their best linguistic behaviour. This also suggests an ambivalent attitude towards Ewe. The fact that Ewe is used, in this situation shows that there is no overall negative attitude to the language. It’s substitution with English also shows that there is no overall positive attitude to it. The middle ground (i.e. ambivalent attitude), therefore, is the most plausible attitude to Ewe in this situation.

The desire to speak English in this context might also be prompted by the students’ seeming faithfulness to the no-mother-tongue policy of the school. It also shows the high prestige that the students place on English so that when the researcher hears them speak English, they may come across as intelligent, well-mannered etc.

However, speaking Ewe, to the hearing of the researcher may connote the opposite of the aforementioned. This behaviour of switching from Ewe to English when the researcher approaches, is not limited to classroom discourses alone. The researcher observed on several occasions students conversing outside the classroom in Ewe but switched to English immediately they see the researcher coming near them. On the first day of the researcher’s work in the school, he approached a group of students who were collecting rubbish. They were chatting in Ewe. The researcher walked past the group for three times but the students stuck to the Ewe language. However, when he decided to stop by the group, one of the students shouted, “Speak English!” and immediately, the group switched their language from Ewe to English. On another occasion, the researcher walked past a group of students who were sweeping. They were conversing in Ewe. When the researcher got closer to them, they switched to using English. One of the students remarked, “Now as you see visitor you are speaking English. Are you afraid?” (You are speaking English now that you see a visitor). Another student replied her “You were also spoke (speaking) Ewe. I will tell madam (x),” (Author’s field note, 2014.) This linguistic behaviour is evident of Situational CS which proposes that there is a direct link “between language and social situation”

(Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 24). The change in the physical setting, triggered by the presence of the researcher, is the catalyst for the alterations in the language by the students. Additionally, Ewe is the *we-code* where the *we-code* is the informal in-group code used by the students when they are on their own without the fear of being observed by a higher authority. English is the *they-code*, that is, “the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group” code (Gumperz, 1982: 66) authorised by the school, and by extension the national language-in-education policy.

During the interview with participants, the researcher tried to find students’ motivations for studying Ewe as a subject and whether it is needful to study the language. Clearly, the students do not think that learning Ewe in a formal setting like the school is necessary. For them, they speak Ewe everyday especially when they are not in school, and they claim competence in using it. It is only when it comes to writing it that they find difficulties. Also, Ewe has no usefulness apart from helping them pass their final basic school certificate examination and getting admitted into a good Senior High School. Only one student thinks that learning the language can help him get a broadcasting job in the local radio station. Ewe’s usefulness, on the whole, is limited to the domestic and interaction with the non-formerly-educated. The students’ self-reported examination scores for the previous term (see table 12 above) reflects the significantly low performance in Ewe in comparison with their scores in English.

Table 13: Students' Motivation for Learning Ewe

Students	Motivation for Learning Ewe
ST 1	... nothing really motivates me
ST 2	... to know my culture more.
ST 3	... to pass exams.
ST 4	... nothing.
ST 5	... I don't know.
ST 6	... to know my roots.
ST 7	... to speak it well with my family.
ST 8	... to write it well.
ST 9	... nothing.
ST 10	... to work at Radio Tongu when I grow up.
ST 11	... I don't know.
ST 12	... to chat with people in town.
ST 13	... to pass exams in Ewe.
ST 14	... to understand town people.
ST 15	... to pass Ewe exams.
ST 16	... for passing exams in Ewe.
ST 17	... to pass Ewe examinations and go to senior high school.
ST 18	... to talk with people around.
ST 19	... the school says we should learn it.
ST 20	... nothing.

4.6. Summary and Discussion

There are various types of CS that participants used in their interactions. From a structured point of view, participants used CS both intrasententially (e.g. example 1, lines 084 & 087), and intersententially (e.g. example 1, 089) (Myers-Scotton, 1992). There is the usage of more intrasentential CS than intersentential CS. These two types of CS are used in classroom interactions, in conversations on the school premises and during interviews; their main functions being reiteration (Gumperz, 1982) and explanation. Another CS type used mainly in classroom interactions is tag switches which is the use of tag forms from one language into another (Mahootian, 2006). The main function of tag switches in this classroom is addressee specification and acknowledgment during classroom interactions (Gumperz, 1982).

Under the Markedness Model, CS is an unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993). As an unmarked choice, CS is used to negotiate a rights-to-obligations (RO) set with the potential reward of comprehension of interactions. Gumperz's (1982) *situational switch* is also identified

in this classroom. *Situational switch* is caused by a change in the physical circumstances of an interaction. The data analysis shows that students switch from Ewe to English whenever they see the researcher approach them (4.5.3). The analysis also points out that Ewe is mostly used as the *we*-code by student participants for informal and in-group interactions while English is used as the *they*-code for formal and out-group interactions (Gumperz, 1982). As evidenced in the Ewe classroom (example 5), *contextualisation cues* can be essential for CA as some turn-taking in an interaction can become important cues that guide interlocutors in interpreting a conversational situation (Auer, 1995). In this example, the cue occurs where the translation of a students' answer from English to Ewe by the teacher is interpreted by students as an instruction to make them give their subsequent answers in Ewe.

The analysis thus far of language choices and attitude in the classroom for this study draws attention to one key fact, that is, the language-in-education policy is not fully implemented in practise. Although there is positive attitude by most participants towards English as the MOI, it is CS that is actually used as MOI in language classroom discourses. The basic reasons for choosing CS over English as MOI are basically students' perceived lack of competence in English and the lexical gaps in Ewe. This situation is similar to the case of Ndamba's (2008) study in Zimbabwe and Ndigi's (2007) study in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province of South Africa where the authors pointed out that there are challenges in accessing the curriculum through the use of English although respondents in those studies believed, that using English as MOI from infancy speeds up the rate of competence in English. This contradiction: that the students want to learn in English, yet this might be counterproductive because they are less able to understand English, makes CS readily available as the tool to solve the challenge, and because of its practical functionality it attracts a positive attitude from participants. On the school premises too, CS is used by all participants more than English. While the legal languages for classroom talks are the base languages for classroom CS, Ewe is the base language for CS on the school premises. Despite teachers' emphasis on the use of English as the medium in all spheres in the life of the school, some freely use CS and do not penalise students who use CS in the classrooms. What these teachers profess is therefore not what really happens in practice. Some of the teachers also stated that they use CS in their classroom. This categorical statement by these teachers confirms Yevudey's (2013) study in Ghana where the teachers made the same assertion and portrayed positive attitude towards CS use as MOI. This acceptance of CS usage, however,

contradicts Arthur's, (1996) study in Botswana which found that teachers are unwilling or even ashamed to accept that they use CS during their classroom lessons although they do use CS.

This study also delves into participants' perceptions of English and Ewe as subjects of study in this classroom. As a subject of study, participants place more emphasis on learning English than on learning Ewe. The main motivation for this choice is the instrumentality of English. Competence in English brings with it good employment opportunities and prestige. Learning Ewe is not very important to the participants. It does not play an important instrumental role in the socio-economic life of the participants. Also, it can easily be learned in other settings rather than in the school. For this author, Ewe does have an important role to play in the social and economic life of students when, for instance, they buy food at the market, or get a job locally etc. but it does not have a strong aspirational function. This may also account for the ambivalent attitude of participants towards Ewe as a subject of study.

What is clear in this classroom is that there is a drive towards leaning English. However, Ewe is the tool for achieving the goal of competence in English. Ewe is used as a means of facilitating English learning so that English-Ewe CS is the main medium towards English competence in this classroom. This draws attention to some demerits of monolingual approaches to MOI in multilingual educational contexts. It also suggests how less rigid MOI policies could facilitate a more successful teaching and learning in the multilingual classroom. The next chapter, therefore, discusses some theoretical and practical considerations.

5 Conclusions and Considerations

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to explore the language choice and attitudes in a Ghanaian public/government Junior High School classroom. By focusing on the context of education, the study intends to provide insight into the extent to which the language-in-education policy of the country is being implemented in practice. The socio-psychological and socio-political wing of sociolinguistics has long established a direct link between attitudinal studies and policy development and implementation (Ansah, 2014; Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014; Garrett, 2010; Baker, 1992). In practise, however, educational policies are frequently in conflict with recommendations from studies in applied sociolinguistic and educational research (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). An important goal of sociolinguistic research is to suggest solutions to practical societal problems. This study is no exception. The present research may be a single case study of a classroom and may not be representative of the general Ghanaian student population at the Junior High School level of education, however, the author is convinced that it still is relevant in raising an awareness of and triggering discussions about classroom language choices and the language-in-education policy of Ghana especially when viewed from the broader spectrum of other studies (e.g. Yevudey, 2013). Throughout the present chapter, some theoretical and applied considerations of this study are put forward and some recommendations are offered for further research.

5.2 Theoretical Consideration: Re-conceiving MOI in the Multilingual Classroom

The study demonstrates that the medium of instruction in this classroom differs from what is prescribed by policy. While policy requires English to be used as the MOI at this level of education, CS is what is used in reality. This finding confirms the results found by other studies in multilingual settings: Yevudey (2013) in Ghana, Igboanusi (2008) in Nigeria, Ndamba (2008) in Zimbabwe, Ngidi (2007) in South Africa and Arthur (1996) in Botswana.

To this end, CS could be conceived as an MOI as it performs the functions that the policy-prescribed MOI is supposed to do in multilingual classrooms. This conception falls in line with the tradition that sees CS as a code or medium in its own right (Gafaranga, 2009a, 2007b, 2007a; Muysken, 2000; Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1988). Gafaranga suggests

medium of interaction as being a specific linguistic code which may be either monolingual or bilingual depending on the linguistic needs of participants in a conversation (Gafaranga & Torras, 2001) and it can take many forms in the bilingual medium.

In the bilingual medium, it could be realised as a mixed mode, parallel mode and half-way between mode (Gafaranga & Torras, 2001). Several studies have employed this notion to account for language choice in bilingual environments such as Torras' (2005) study of service encounters in Barcelona and Cromdal's (2005) study of alternations in English-Swedish dyadic learner interaction. Motivated by these successes in the use of the notion in the aforementioned studies, Bonacina & Gafaranga (2010) proposed the *medium of classroom interaction* as the 'scheme of interpretation' (Garfinkel, 1967) for interactions in a French classroom in Scotland, and by extension in all multilingual classroom interactions. The present study, following Bonacina & Gafaranga (2010), argues for a distinction between 'medium of instruction' and 'medium of classroom interaction' in the study of language choice and in language-in-education policy in multilingual settings. *Medium of classroom interaction* is defined as "the linguistic code that classroom participants actually orient-to while talking, as opposed to the policy-prescribed medium of instruction" (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2010: 331).

To recall, language choice during English lessons in this classroom is an English-based CS while that of Ewe lessons is an Ewe-based CS. The concept of *medium of classroom interaction* can account for all these patterns as well as the others encountered in available literature. A distinction between 'medium of instruction' and 'medium of classroom interaction' will give the freedom for teachers to be as creative as possible in their classroom language choices so as to meet students' needs.

5.3 Considerations for Future Language-in-Education Policy in Ghana

One main aim of the present study is to address the link between language choices, language attitudes and future language-in-education policies in Ghana. It is hoped that the study raises awareness about some issues that could be considered by teachers in their classroom language choices as well.

As can be observed from the results, there is a deviation from the present language-in-education policy of Ghana which holds that English be used as MOI at the Junior High School level, to the

use of CS as MOI. This choice is prompted by practical challenges and CS is seen as the solution to the problems. It is obvious that participants' attitude towards CS is positive. It is clear too that they have positive attitude towards English as MOI. Again, students' competence in both English and Ewe is a challenge. The present study does not recommend that the present policy which has English as MOI be totally changed. It suggests for consideration, however, the introduction of *medium of classroom interaction* as proposed above. What this will do is that, the present MOI will exist for the purpose of reference upon which the *medium of classroom interaction* will be based. That is, the MOI will be the base language for practical classroom interaction but can be manipulated by participants to fulfill the particular linguistic needs of the class. In this case, students may get input from both the L1 and L2 and this might increase their competence over time in both languages (Yevudey, 2013; Liu, 2010).

Also, the ambivalent attitude that participants have towards Ewe as a subject of study needs to be adjusted if learning Ewe is to be promoted. The present attitude could be responsible for the low performance of the students in Ewe since it is believed that attitudes towards a language influence the learning of the language (Redinger, 2010). This attitude by these participants is not an isolated case. Recent studies reported negative attitude towards other L1s in Ghana by Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh (2014) and Dzinyela (2001). In addition to encouraging the proposed bilingual medium, this study suggests for consideration that the Ghana government makes geographically-dominant L1s compulsory subjects of study at the Senior High School. This will make students in Senior High Schools learn Ghanaian languages. Also, it is suggested for consideration that competence in a Ghanaian language be made a prerequisite for formal employment in the public sector. This study believes that this can reverse the function of L1s in the social life of the population and that the more useful the indigenous languages become the more they will attract a positive attitude from users.

5.4 Conclusions

This thesis has studied language choice in a Ghanaian Junior High School classroom with the aims to find the factors that trigger the language choices of participants in this classroom, to raise awareness of specific language choices in the classroom, and to address the link between language choices and attitudes, and future language-in-education policies in Ghana. In order to attain these objectives, the study set out to answer the following questions: (1) What pragmatic

factors influence the language choices of students and teachers in the classroom? (2) What are students' and teachers' attitudes towards the various language choices and how do these attitudes affect language choice in practice? and (3) How can participants' attitudes inform language-in-education policies in Ghana?

In addressing the research questions, the analysis presented in the thesis gave evidence that enabled us to come up with the following conclusions. First, the study has provided insight into the practical language choices and attitudes that participants have towards the various choices they make. It has been shown that language attitudes could influence language choice in practice (Research question 2). On the average, participants have positive attitudes towards English as MOI and as subject of study, CS as MOI and have negative attitude to Ewe as MOI but have ambivalent attitude towards it as a subject of study. A link between attitude and choices in practice is also established where participants' practical use of CS as MOI reflects their positive attitude towards CS as MOI. Also, students' self-reported examination scores of the previous term show that they performed better in English than in Ewe. It is highly possible that other factors may have accounted for this: factors such as teaching techniques, availability of teaching and learning materials among others. These, however, have not been addressed in this study because they are not among the aims of the study.

Attitudes emerged as only one of the many factors that affect language choice in this classroom. The pragmatic linguistic needs of participants were also shown to influence participant's language choices (Research question 1). It is evident that students' low competence in English and the linguistic gaps in Ewe led participants to choose CS as the MOI for classroom interactions and that CS helps them to achieve some context-bound goals such as explanation, reiteration, and addressee specification and acknowledgement. It is also evident that teachers do not object to students' use of CS, in fact, the teachers themselves use CS in both classroom and out-of-classroom discourses.

Focusing the thesis on the educational context, it was possible to demonstrate ways in which socio-psychological and pragmatic factors guide multilingual language choice in the domain of education. The results of the study add up to a growing body of evidence showing that classroom CS largely functions as a communicative asset as opposed to a communicative deficit. What occurs in this classroom contrasts with Ghana's official national language-in-education policy

despite its functional nature. Although conducted on a small scale, the study offers some theoretical considerations (5.2) as well as a proposal for consideration, some valuable input for the development of future language-in-education policies in Ghana that are in agreement with the language attitudes of the target population and which reflect real language use in Ghana's Junior High School classrooms (5.3) (Research question 3).

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

During the course of this study many sociolinguistic and pedagogic issues were encountered and are recommended for further studies. First, it is recommended that parallel studies are conducted to find results which could be compared with the present one to broaden the scope of research on the topic.

A look at the English sentence construction and grammar of participants show some level of deficiency. It will be interesting to find out the cause of this, especially, from a grammar research point of view. Suggestions from this study could guide teacher trainees with some grammatical issues to which they could pay attention in English language classrooms.

Again, the researcher's observation in other parts of the Volta region (e.g. Logba) shows that schools in minority language (e.g. the Ghana-Togo Mountain languages) areas often use the trilingual education system where students' mother tongue (e.g. Ikpana/Logba); Ewe, the regional language and English are mixed and used as MOI in classrooms. A study to find the kind of choices made in such areas is recommended. Such a study might also consider the effect of policy-prescribed languages on the minority languages of the areas.

Finally, other factors may contribute to students' low performance in languages, especially in L1s. Again, other factors could trigger the choices and attitudes that could influence classroom discourse. Further research is recommended to find these non-linguistic factors that may account for these situations.

REFERENCES

- Aboh, E. & Essegbey, J. (eds.) (2010). *Studies in Kwa syntax*. Dordrecht: Springer
- Adegbija, E. (2000). Language attitudes in West Africa. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 141: 75–100.
- Adika G.S.K. (2012). English in Ghana: Growth, Tensions, and Trends. *International Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication*. 1:151-166.
- Adjei, M. & Agbozo, G. E. (2014). Contemporary English Loan-Words in Ewe: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*. Vol. 2 Issue 5 pp. 111-118.
- Adjaye, S. A. (1987). English Pronunciation in Ghana. Ph.D dissertation. University of London.
- Agbedor, P. K. (2009). The Language Factor in West African Integration. In Kwame A. Ninsin (ed.), *Nation States and the Challenges of Regional Integration in West Africa: The Case of Ghana*. Paris: Karthala.
- Agbedor, P. K. (1996). Educational Language Planning for Development in Ghana: Problems and Prospects. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*. Volume 9, pp25-56
- Agbedor, P. K. (1994). Language Planning for National Development: The Case of Ghana. PhD Thesis, University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.
- Agbetsoamedo, Y. (2014). Aspects of the Grammar and Lexicon of Sɛlɛɛ. Ph.D Thesis in Linguistics. Stockholm University, Sweden.
- Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, Personality, and Behavior*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ:Prentice-Hall.
- Akafia, S. (1993). *Ku Le Xɔme*. Accra: Bureau of Ghanaian Languages.
- Ameka F.K. (1995). The linguistic construction of space in Ewe. *Cognitive Linguistics* 6(2/3): 139-181.

- Ansah, N. G. (2014). Re-examining the fluctuations in language in-education policies in post-independence Ghana. *Multilingual Education*, 4:12.
- Anyidoho, A & Kropp-Dakubu M. E. (2008). Ghana: Indigenous Languages, English, and an Emerging National Identity. In Simpson, Andrew, ed. (2008). *Language and National identity in Africa*. Oxford, U.K: Oxford University Pres. Pp.141-157
- Arthur, J. (1996). Code switching and collusion: Classroom interaction in Botswana primary schools. *Linguistics and Education*, Vol.8, pp 17-33.
- Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Auer, P. (1995). The Pragmatics of code-switching: a sequential approach, in L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.) *One Speaker, two Languages: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching* (pp115-135). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Auer, P. (ed.) (1998). *Code-switching in Conversation Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Ayeke, K.A. (1989). *Hlõbiabia*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bobda, S. (2000). The Uniqueness of Ghanaian English Pronunciation in West Africa. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* Volume 30, Number 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 185-198.
- Bodomo, A., Anderson J. & Dzahene-Quarshie J. (2009). A Kente of Many Colours: Multilingualism and the Complex Ecology of Language Shift in Ghana, *Sociolinguistic Studies*, Vol. 3.3 pp. 357-379
- Bohner, G. (2001). 'Attitudes'. In M. Hewstone & W. Stroebe (2001) (eds.) *Introduction to Social Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 239-282.
- Bokamba, E. (1988). Code-switching, language variation and linguistic theory: evidence from Bantu languages. *Lingua* 76, 21-62.

- Bonica F. & Gafaranga J. (2011). 'Medium of instruction' vs 'Medium of classroom interaction': language choice in a French complimentary school classroom in Scotland. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*.14: 3, 319-334.
- Blom, J. P. & Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Social Meaning in Structure: Code-switching in Norway. In *J. Gumperz and D. Hymes* (1972: 409-34).
- Brock-Utne B. (2007). Learning through a familiar language versus learning through a foreign language-A look into some secondary school classrooms in Tanzania. *International Journal of Educational Development* 27: 487–498.
- Brock-Utne B. & Holmarsdottir H. B. (2004). Language policies and practices in Tanzania and South Africa: problems and challenges. *International Journal of Educational Development* 24: 67–83. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijedudev.2003.10.002
- Cashman, H. (2008). 'Conversation and Interactional Analysis'. In Li, Wei, Moyer, M.G. (eds.) *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp.275-295.
- Clegg, J. & Afitska O. (2011). Teaching and learning in two languages in African classrooms. *Comparative Education* 47.1, pp. 61-77.
- Coronel-Molina, S.M., (2014). Definitions and Critical Literature Review of Language Attitude, Choice and Shift; Samples of Language Attitude Surveys. *Journal of Second and Multiple Language Acquisition – JSMULA* Vol: 2 Issue: 2 pp. 25-77
- Cromdal, J. (2005). Bilingual order in collaborative word processing: on creating an English text in Swedish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, pp. 329-353.
- Dagba T.K. & Boco C. (2014). A Text To Speech system for Fon language using Multisyn algorithm. *Procedia Computer Science* 35, pp. 447-455. Elsevier B.V.
doi: 10.1016/j.procs.2014.08.125
- Dako, K. (2002). Code-Switching and lexical borrowing: Which is what in Ghanaian English? *English Today* 71, Vol. 18, No. 3 Cambridge University Press.

- Dako, K. & Quarcoo M. (2012). Attitudes towards spoken and written varieties of English. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*.
- Dzinyela, J. M. (2001). Transforming Language Policy through Dialogue and School-Based Research. *Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project*. American Institutes for Research, in collaboration with, The Academy for Educational Development Education Development Center, Inc. Juárez and Associates, Inc., The University of Pittsburgh.
- Edwards J. (1999). Refining Our Understanding of Language Attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 18: 101. DOI: 10.1177/0261927X99018001007 Available online: <http://jls.sagepub.com/content/18/1/101>
- Edwards, J. (1982). Language attitudes and their implications among English speakers. In E. Ryan & H. Giles (eds.), *Attitudes towards language variation: Social and applied contexts* (pp. 20-33). London: Edward Arnold.
- Eagley, A.H. & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The Psychology of Attitudes*. London: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fiawoo, F.K. (1942). *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia*. Accra: Achimota Press.
- Fishbein, M. (1967). A Consideration of Beliefs, and Their Role in Attitude Measurement. In Fishbein, M. (ed.) *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*. London: John Wiley & Sons Inc, pp. 257-266.
- Fishman, J. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia: diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23, pp. 29–38.
- Gafaranga J. (2009). The conversation analytic conversation model of code-switching. In *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching*, ed. B.E. Bullock and A.J. Toribio, 114-126. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gafaranga J. (2007a). Code-switching as a conversational strategy. In *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Ed. P.W. Auer and L. Wei, 279-314. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gafaranga J. (2007b). *Talk in two languages*. Houndsmills: Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Gafaranga J. and Torras M.C. (2001). Language versus medium in the study of bilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5, 2: 195-220.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language: Key topics in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Garrett, P., Coupland, N. & Williams A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Ghana Statistical Service (2012). *2010 Population and Housing Census: Summary report of final results*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamers, J. & Blanc, M.H.A. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinidza, R.K.; Hoh, I.K. & Kwasikuma G.W.K. (1996). *Henwo fe Gbe*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages.
- Hornberger N.H. & McKay S.L (eds.) (2010). *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Ihemere, K.U. (2006). An Integrated Approach to the Study of Language Attitudes and Change in Nigeria: The Case of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt City. *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton, 194-207. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

- Jehoda, M & Warren, N. eds. (1966). *Attitudes: selected readings*, Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Kansikas, M. (2002). 'As many men, so many minds'- A study on attitudes towards foreign languages in Finland. MA Thesis, University of Jyväskylä.
- Keleve, M. (1995). Needs Analysis for Learners of English in Ghana in Relation to Language Goals. *ITL Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 1, pp. 109-110. *The Ghanaian Times*, (7 September 2007), p. 3.
- Krashen, S. D. (1991). Bilingual Education: A Focus on Current Research. *NCBE FOCUS: Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education*, No. 3, Spring 1991
<http://www.ncele.gwu.edu/pubs/focus/focus3.htm>
- Laitin, D. (1994). The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana. *American Political Science Review* vol. 88, No. 3, Pages 622 - 634.
- Lewis, M.P.; Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (eds.). (2015). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version:
<http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Levine, S.G. (2003). Student and instructor beliefs and attitude about target language used, first language use, and anxiety: Report of a questionnaire survey. *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 87 (3), pp. 343-364.
- Lewis, E.G. (1981). *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Li Wei, (1994). *Three generations two languages one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Li Wei (1998). The 'why' and 'how' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching in P. Auer (Ed) *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity* (pp. 156-176). London and New York NY: Routledge
- Liu, J. (2010). Teachers' Code-Switching to the L1 in EFL classroom. *The Open Applied Linguistics Journal*, 3, pp. 10-23.

- Lightbown, P.M. (2001). L2 instruction: Time to teach. *TESOL Quartely*, Vol. 35 pp. 98-99.
- Mahootian, A. (2006). Code switching and mixing. In K. Brown (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. (2nd Ed.) Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp 511-527.
- Margie P. (2009). 'Smuggling the vernacular into the classroom': conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching in township/rural schools in South Africa, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12:2, 123-136, DOI:10.1080/13670050802153137
- McKenzie, R. (2010). *The Social Psychology of English as a Global Language: Attitudes, Awareness and Identity in the Japanese Context*. Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg London New York: Springer Science and Business Media B.V.
- Meeuwis, M., & Blomaert I. (1998). A monolectal view of code-switching: Layered Code-Switching among Zairians in Belgium. In *Code-switching in conversation*, (ed.) P. Auer, 76-100. London: Routledge.
- Mercè B., Anne-Marie M., Robert C. G. & Edith R. (2004). Motivation and Attitudes Towards Learning Languages in Multicultural Classrooms, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 1:2, 75-89, DOI:10.1080/14790710408668180
- Morgan, D.L. & Guevara, H. (2008). 'Audiorecording' In Given, L.M. (Ed.) *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 41-42.
- Ministry of Education Science and Sports, (2007). Teaching syllabus for English Language.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Constructing the frame in intrasentential code-switching. *Multilingua* 11:101-127.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivation for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Myers-Scotton, C. (1979). Codeswitching as a Safer Choice in choosing a Lingua Franca. In W. McCormack & S.A. Wurn (eds.). *Language and Anthropological Issues*. Mouton Publications. The Hague, Paris, New York.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol.44, pp 115-136.
- Myers-Scotton, C., Bolonyai A. (2001). Calculating speakers: Codeswitching in a rational choice model. *Language in Society*, 30, pp. 1-28.
- Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: CUP.
- M2KO2 Services (2015). An Administrative Map of Ghana. Trondheim: M2KO2 Services.
- M2KO2 Services (2015). The South Tongu District of Ghana showing Sogakope. Trondheim: M2KO2 Services.
- Ndamba, G. T. (2008). Mother tongue usage in learning: An examination of language preferences in Zimbabwe. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2 (4).
- Ndingi, S.A. (2007). The Attitudes of Learners, Educators and Parents towards English as a Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) in Mthunzini Circuit. MA Thesis, University of Zululand.
- Oliver, P. (2006). 'Purposive Sampling' In Jupp V (Ed.) *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd., pp. 3-5.
- Owu-Ewie, C. & Edu-Buandoh, D.F. (2014). Living with negative attitudes towards the study of L1 in Ghanaian Senior High Schools (SHS). *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 3.2: 1-25.
- Owu-Ewie, C. (2006). The Language Policy of education on Ghana: A Critical Look at the English-Only Language Policy of Education. Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics ed. John Mugane et al., 76-85. Somerville, MA: *Cascadilla Proceedings Project*. pp. 76-85.

- Poplack, S. (2004). Code-Switching. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K.J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill. *Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society* (2nd ed.). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp. 589–96.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y terminó en español: Toward a typology of Code-switching. *Linguistics*, Vol. 18, pp. 581-616.
- Poplack, S. & Sankoff, D. (1988). Code-switching. In H. von Ulrich Ammon, N. Dittmar & K.J. Mattheier (eds.) *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society*. (Vol.2). Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. pp 1174-1180.
- Puja, G.K. (2003). Kiswahili and higher education in Tanzania: reflections based on a sociological study from the University of Dar es Salaam. In: Brock-Utne, B., Desai, Z., Qorro, M. (Eds.), *Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA)*. E&D Publishers, Dar es Salaam, pp.113–129.
- Quarcoo, M. (2006). English as L1 in Ghana: A case study of Tema Community Eleven. B.A Long Essay, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Quarcoo, M. (2013). Codeswitching in Academic Discussions: A Discourse Strategy by Students in the University of Education, Winneba. PhD Dissertation, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Redinger, D. (2010). Language Attitudes and Code-switching Behaviour in a Multilingual Educational Context: The Case of Luxembourg. PhD Dissertation, University of York.
- Romylyn, A.M. (2009). Decoding the Switch: The Functions of Codeswitching in the Classroom. *Education Quarterly*, Vol. 67 (1) pp. 44-61.
- Rubagumya C. M. (ed.) (1994). *Teaching and Researching Language in African Classrooms*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Saxena M. (2014). “Critical diglossia” and “lifestyle diglossia”: development and the interaction between multilingualism, cultural diversity and English. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 225 pp. 91–112.
- Seshie, L. K. M. (1991). *Akpalu fe Hawo*. Accra: Sedco Publishing .

- Setsoafia, H. K. B. (1968). *Tɔgbui Kpeglo*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic Genocide in Education - Or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sridhar, S & Sridhar, K. (1980). The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code-switching. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 34, 407-416.
- Torras, M.C. (2005). Social identity and language choice in service talk. In *Applying conversation analysis*. K. Richards and P. Seedhouse (ed.), 107-123. New York: Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Yevudey, E. (2012). Codeswitching in the Classroom: A Case of Ewe-English Code-switching in Ghana. MA Dissertation, Aston University, Birmingham.
- Yevudey, E. (2013). The Pedagogic Relevance of Codeswitching in the Classroom: Insights from Ewe-English Codeswitching in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*, 2.2 pp. 1-22.

APPENDIX A: Ethical Form

MPhil. Research Participation Consent Form

This research is to study language choice in a Junior High School classroom in Ghana. It is designed for a master thesis research conducted by Gabriel Edzordzi Agbozo in fulfillment of requirements for a Master of Philosophy in English Linguistics and Language Acquisition at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). I consent that:

1. I will not receive any form of payment for my participation in this project and that I have not been in any way coerced into participation.
2. During interviews, I may choose not to answer any question(s) that make(s) me uncomfortable.
3. I may choose to withdraw from the study at any time.
4. Notes and audio recordings will be kept confidential and will be available only to researcher and that individual participants will not be identified by name in the thesis.
5. I have carefully read the content of this form, understood the explanations given to all my questions and consent to participate in this study.
6. I personally received and signed this consent form.

Questions or concerns regarding participation in this research should be directed to the researcher at edzordzigh@gmail.com .

----- Signature	----- Date
----- Name of Participant	

Kindly return this form unsigned if you do not consent to participate in this study.

Signature of Researcher ----- **Date** -----

APPENDIX B: Letter of Permission

Herman Krag's Veg 45-53
7050 Trondheim
Norway
30 June, 2014

.....
.....

Dear Madam,

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT DATA COLLECTION IN YOUR SCHOOL

I write to seek your permission to conduct data collection in your school from July 7, 2014 to July 30, 2014 as part of a research project.

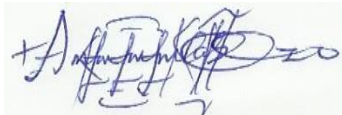
This research aims to study language choice in a Junior High School classroom in Ghana. It is designed for a thesis in Master of Philosophy in English Linguistics and Language Acquisition at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

Twenty students and all language teachers will be interviewed. Classroom language practices in English and Ewe classes will also be observed and recorded. All materials will be kept confidential and no participant will be identified by names in the thesis.

I look forward to working with your establishment.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



Gabriel Edzordzi Agbozo.

APPENDIX C: Interview Guide

A. Teachers

1. What languages do you use in an average day?
2. Do you use them (these languages) in school and at home?
3. Does your school prefer you to use Ewe (or the other languages you speak) instead of English, or vice versa in the school premises? Why is that?
4. Do you use language(s) differently inside and outside the classroom? Why?
5. What are your personal beliefs regarding the choice of languages used in the classroom?
6. Which languages do you think should be used in teaching and learning?
7. What are your linguistic expectations of the students you teach?
8. What languages are allowed by your school for interactions on school premises?
9. Do you use only English to teach English? Why?
10. Do you use only Ewe to teach Ewe? Why?
11. Do you use other Ghanaian languages in your lessons?
12. Are your students receptive to the languages you use?
13. Which of the languages do you observe your students being more receptive to? Why do you think it is so?
14. Have you ever thought of mixing languages to teach? Why?
15. What are some challenges you face when teaching English or Ewe?
16. How do you overcome these challenges?
17. Are you satisfied with your students' performance in the language you teach (English/Ewe)? Why?
18. Which languages do your students use most in classroom discussions? Why?
19. What do you do to encourage students to use the language you teach for classroom interactions and interactions on the school premises? Why do you use this method?
20. Which language do you use most in teacher-student interactions? Why?
21. Do you have any suggestion or question for the researcher?

B. STUDENTS

1. What languages do you use in an average day?
2. Do you use them both in school and at home?
3. Does your school prefer you to use Ewe (or the other languages you speak) instead of English, or vice versa in the school premises? Why is that?
4. Do you use language(s) differently inside and outside the classroom? Why?
5. Do you like it when your teacher uses only English to teach English? Why?
6. Do you like it when your teacher uses only Ewe to teach Ewe? Why?
7. Do you like it when your teacher mixes languages (e.g English, Ewe or any other language) to teach English? Why?
8. Do you like it when your teacher mixes languages (e.g. English, Ewe or any other language) to teach Ewe? Why?
9. Which language do you usually use to interact with your teachers? Why?
10. Tell me some challenges you face when learning English or Ewe or any other language you speak?
11. What things do you do when you face these challenges?
12. Do you think it is necessary to study Ewe in the classroom? Why?
13. Do you think it is necessary to study English in the classroom?
14. Are you satisfied with your performance in the languages you study (English/Ewe)? Why?
15. What motivate you to learn English, Ewe or any other language? Why?
16. Do you have anything else to tell the researcher?
17. Do you have any question/suggestion for the researcher?

APPENDIX D: Transcription Conventions

Free translations are given after Ewe extracts. In cases of short extracts the beginning of translations are signaled by parenthesis. The translations of long extracts start on the next line under the extracts. The translations of very long extracts are adjacent to the Ewe extracts. Speakers' names have been anonymised. For easy referencing during discussion, each line of the classroom interactions is numbered on the left.

Bold: Indicates the switched/inserted item.

Italics: Indicates author's emphasis.

APPENDIX E: Ewe Classroom Data

Key: TR - Teacher ST – Student STs – Students R - Researcher

001. **TR:** Miele nu srõ ge tso Ewe ñkekewo kple azãwo alo Ewe **calendar** ñu. Miafe **calendar** le
002. vovo na yevuwo tɔ Ìkeke nenie le Ève yleti ðeka me? **Yes**, (calls ST)
003. **ST:** Ìkeke blaevɛvɛnyɪ ye le yleti ðeka me
004. **TR:** Miɔ akpe nɛ (students clapped)
005. **TR:** Yleti nenie le ɣe ðeka me? **Yes**, (calls ST)
006. **ST:** Yleti wietɔe le ɣe ðeka me.
007. **TR:** Miɔ akpe nɛ (students clapped)
008. **TR:** Azɔ, ñkeke nenie le **leap year** me?
009. **ST:** Ìkeke alafa etɔ blaadevɔatɔ, **three hundred and sixty-five** ye le **leap year** me.
010. **TR:** Edea?
011. **STs:** Eeee
012. **TR:** Yoo. Miayi edzi, alo ame aɖe be yea **challengea**? (Mentions ST name) ahe nya
013. kpliia? (STs were silent.)
014. **TR:** Ke ñkeke nenie le **leap year** me?
015. **ST:** Ìkeke alafa etɔ blaadevɔade.
016. **TR:** Nenema yea?
017. **STs:** Eee
018. **TR:** **Okay**, ke ɣe nene megbee **leap year** vana? **Yes** (mentions ST)
019. (the student could not answer. TR calls another student)
020. **ST:** **Leap year** vana ɣe ne sia ɣe ene megbe.
021. **TR:** Edea?
022. **ST:** Eee
023. **TR:** Alo nya aɖe le ame aɖe si woagblɔa. (Calls ST) ðe ne kɔ asi dzi a?
024. **ST:** Ao, ñgonu kum mele (the whole class laughs.)
025. **TR:** Yoo. Miatsɔe be 2012 nye **leap year** ðe, ɣe ka mee **leap year** gale vava ge?
026. **ST:** ɣe akpe eve kple wuiade.

027. **TR:** Ebe fe akpe eve kple wuiade alo **twenty sixteen**. Edea? (there was silence).
Yoo, mile
028. evle ge fũ o. Mikatã miayi adi nuḍoḍo nyuitɔ.
029. **TR:** **Leap year** la, menye miadegbee o, yevuwo degbee, eyata ne ebe yeaṅlɔe la, ekɔ
ge ade
030. nuka me?
031. **STs:** **quotation.**
032. **TR:** Ekɔ ge ade nuka me? (with a raised pitch and tensed face. STs started
whispering.
034. One ST raised her hand)
035. **ST:** Numegbe dzesi
036. **TR:** Numegbe dzesi (with level pitch and relaxed face). Migblɔe mase. (STs
repeated)
037. Yoo, miayi edzi. Miegblɔ be yleti wuietɔe le fe deka me. Yleti siawoe nye eka
wo?
038. **ST:** Dzove, Dzodze, Tedoxe, Afɔfie, Dama, Masa, Siamlɔm, Dasiamime, Anyɔnyɔ,
Kele,
039. Ademekpɔxe, Dzome, Foave.
040. **TR:** Edea? (STs affirmed.) Alo, ameaḍe di be yea **polishi** nea?(silence). Ke yleti
siawo fe
041. yevutɔwoe nye ekawo?
042. **ST:** **January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September,**
October,
043. **November, December**
044. (TR sings a song in Ewe using the names of the months. STs too sang it.)
045.
046. **TR:** Yeyiyi aḍe vayi wodzra dzomi **one** cedi (Ghanaian currency) le asia me. Ne
mey **area**
047. aḍe me be maḥle dzomi eye dzomia xɔ asi de nyemayi **area** bubu me oa? (STs
responded in
048. the affirmative).

049. ...
050. **TR:** Le yevuwo ƣe **calendar** dzia, dzinu mamlea ƣe ŋkeke mamlea alo **31st night**, si dzi
051. mieyina sɔlema, mele Ewe **calendar** dzi o. **31st night** ma la dzinua ku xoxo vayi eyata
052. gbemagbea Eweawo le ƣe yeye ɔum xoxo.
053.
054. **TR:** **Leap year** ɔe, dzinu ka mee wodzɔna?
055. **ST:** Edzɔna le **February** me.
056. **TR:** Gblɔe le Ewege me. (ST says the whole sentence again in Ewe)
057. ...
058. **TR:** Miyɔ azã siwo le ƣea me.
059. **STs:** **Christmas**
060. **TR:** *Blunya* alo Yesudzidzi alo ƣe. **Blunya**, woagblɔe (STs repeated) Yoo, miayi edzi.
061. **STs:** Demayizã.
062. **TR:** Yoo, ke dekonuzãwo ɔe?
063. **STs:** Agbamevɔ, Hogbetsotso, Aƣenɔto.
064. ...
065. **TR** recapped the lesson without any language switches apart from the word **leap year**.

APPENDIX F: English Classroom Data

066. **TR:** We are taking a reading comprehension lesson. Okay? So (pause) are we ready for the
067. class? (STs affirmed.) Good. Okay so let's look on the board. (calls ST) read the topic or
068. tittle for us. (ST reads the tittle and TR repeats).
069. **TR:** No you talk already.
070. **TR:** So whiles reading look on the board I have two questions there. (One of the questions
071. is "When do the event begin?")
072. **TR:** If I call **you talk loud** so that your friends at the back can hear.

Vocabulary learning

078. **TR:** Now we are going to look for some of the words in the passage that will help us
079. understand it more. We will also look for where this words is in the passage so that we
080. could replace it with other words in the passage. So (pause) here is the first one (shows
081. class a green card with a word written in black ink.)
082. 'Various' (TR pronounced it as /verɪəs/ and asked STs to repeat.)
083. **TR:** What is the meaning of the word 'various'.
084. **ST:** 'Another' (TR disagrees), 'different' **alo vovovo**.
085. **TR:** Yes, I will take that. Who can put it in his/her own sentence? (A ST reads 086. the sentence in the passage containing the word 'various')
087. **TR:** **Mebe tsəwə wo** sentence.
088. **ST:** I have various pens.
089. **TR:** Correct. **Yoo miyi edzi**.
090. 'Support' (TR pronounced is as /səpət/ and asked STs to repeat.)
091. **TR:** What is the meaning of the word 'support /səpət/'

092. ST: To hold something so that it does not fall down.
093. TR: **Ao**, it means **kpekpedeju**, to help or assist. Is that clear?
094. 'Proceeds' (TR pronounced it as /prosi:ds/ and STs repeated as such.)
095. TR: Who can tell us what it means?
096. ST: To move on and do something. (TR disagreed)
097. ST: the seed farmers plant.
098. TR: **Ao, mebe** 'proceeds'. (STs couldn't answer)
099. TR: Ok. It means 'outcome'. Is that clear? (there was silence). Ok, **metsonu alo**
100. profit. Is it clear now? (STs responded in the affirmative.)
101. TR: Can anyone form a sentence with it?
102. ST: (ST raises her hand), **E** madam, **matenui**. (TR asked ST to answer the
103. question)
104. ST: I got proceeds from selling **abolo** (bread).

EXERCISE

105. **TR:** "You are waiting for me so that when I leave the class, you will copy. **Menye yae ma?**" Teacher asking a ST why he isn't doing the exercise.

APPENDIX G: Interview Data (Teachers)

1. What languages do you use in an average day?

TR 1 (F/English): I use Ewe and English.

TR2 (F/Ewe): English and Ewe

TR3 (M/ English): English, Ewe, Akan (Asante Twi)

TR4 (M/Ewe): English, Ewe, Akan (Asante Twi), Fon (spoken in Benin), Gen or Mina (spoken in Togo) and Sepkɛle (a minor language spoken in Likpe in the mountainous central part of the Volta Region)

2. Do you use them (these languages) both in school and at home?

TR1 (F/English): I use both languages in school and at home.

TR2 (F/Ewe): Yes, I use the two at both places.

TR3 (M/ English): I do.

TR4 (M/Ewe): I use all the languages everywhere I meet the speakers.

3. Does your school prefer you to use Ewe (or the other languages you speak) instead of English, or vice versa in the school premises? Why is that?

TR1 (F/English): My school places emphasis on the use of English. I think the language used is good since the greater part of the world speaks it.

TR2 (F/Ewe): My school holds English in high esteem and makes room for all languages in their appropriate spheres. You know, all exams in Ghana are set with English except local language exams like Ewe, Ga, Gonja etc. I think my school's position is very good.

R: In what "spheres" does the school allow the local languages to be used?

TR2: I use Ewe in my classes with my students. Students are encouraged to speak English outside class but are not punished if they speak Ewe.

R : To the best of your knowledge, do your students have Ewe as their only local language?

TR2: No. There are two Akans, I think, and one Buem speaker and another Sɛkpɛle speaker, I think. I am not sure. But since this is Ewe town, I think they will use Ewe. They will learn it or they must (with a raised eyebrow, then laughter.)

TR3 (M/ English): The school, based on what the Ghana Education Service asked us to do, gives the first place to English. I personally think the combination of English and Ewe is perfect because Ewe has a bearing on English.

R: What is that bearing?

TR3: The meaning of words. Students can transfer the meaning of words into Ewe for better understanding. In that case, no student will be shy to **break the pot** (laughing) and make their classmates laugh at them.

R: Why do you think their classmates laugh at them?

TR3: Just because they **break pots** or speak wrong English, maybe wrong grammar or pronunciation. I discourage the students who do that, after all, English is not our mother tongue. It is only because of our colonial history and now, because of the prestige we attached to it. If you don't speak English, then you are not intelligent, civilized and you may not get well-paid jobs. Hhhmm, it's a pity ooo, **nye bro, be enya nenema de?**

TR4 (M/Ewe): English is preferred to any other language. The students don't speak and write English well. Using English in every place in the school, or contaminating, if I may use that word, very place will force them (students) to learn the language through usage.

R: When do your students practice the subject you teach then?

TR4: At home. But we don't punish those who use Ewe in school. After all, most of the students cannot speak or understand it (English).

R: What percentage of students are we talking about here? Those who are not good in using or understanding English?

TR4: Let's say about 70%. I am not a statistician though (R & TR4 laughed.)

4. Do you use language(s) differently inside and outside the classroom? Why?

TR 1 (F/English): Yes. I mostly use Ewe at home because that is the language the community, which is dominated by people who have not gone to school or had little formal education, understand but when I meet an educated colleague who cannot speak Ewe, we speak English. In school, I mostly use English but not always. My school allows only English in school. The school doesn't allow local languages. In the classroom, however, I use Ewe with English interchangeably. The students do not understand English. That is the basic problem here, you know.

R: Is it all the students who don't understand English?

TR1: No. But most of them cannot. About 65% and above cannot. Interestingly, I had one student writing to me not to combine both Ewe and English in class. Even in her letter, there were grammatical errors you know... it is pathetic.

R: Why do you think the situation is pathetic?

TR1: Because, without English, hhhmmm you can't do anything meaningful in this country. You need English everywhere, you know.

TR2 (F/Ewe): I teach the local language Ewe. It is my mother tongue too. I speak it with pride everywhere. **Ame fe akplekoe woyɔna be akplekɔ** and **wometsɔa miasi fia amedee o. Ese eme de? Aha, yae ma.**

TR3 (M/ English): Yes, I use Ewe mainly in town and use English in school.

R: Have you ever recalled mixing the two languages?

TR3: Yes, occasionally.

R: For example?

TR3: Like in explaining certain points to students in class.

R: Which kind of points?

TR3: Mainly difficult English words and foreign concepts.

R: Can you mention some of those difficult words or foreign concepts?

TR3: Concepts like the weather for example winter, summer, spring, autumn, snow etc. They (students) don't get (understand) some of these things unless **eza Ewegbea, ekpɔea?**

TR4 (M/Ewe): I use any of the languages I speak based on where I am. In school, I teach with Ewe. **Ewegbefiala menye.** I am passionate about teaching Ewe so much that I want to keep the language pure, **elabe xe gbee xe dona, alo?** So that is it. But in talking to colleague teachers and visitors, I use English if they (teachers and visitors) cannot speak Ewe.

5. What are your personal beliefs regarding the choice of languages used in the classroom?

TR 1 (F/English): I believe that we should use our local language in imparting knowledge into our pupils.

R: Why do you suggest this?

- TR1:** Because they (students) better understand the local language than the L2 so using it (L1) will better help them get (**understand**) the **content** of lessons.
- R:** How do you intend using the local language to impact knowledge in a second language classroom like the English classroom?
- TR1:** We could **use both languages** in the English class. **I sometimes do that. I explain** certain words and concepts using Ewe in my English class. If I don't do that, they don't get (understand) what I am teaching. **Ekpɔa?**
- TR2 (F/Ewe):** My personal beliefs are that pupils will be clear with everything I use the local language to teach and will make them **understand** their culture very well in the language.
- TR3 (M/ English):** We should be encourage to use the two languages in teaching.
- R:** Which two languages? Why?
- TR3:** Ewe and English of course. Or I should say L1 and L2. Students are not good in the L2 so using it isn't effective without the L1. Many times, you have to **explain** some (L2) words in the L1. Some instructions too have to be **explained** in the L1, **ekpɔea?** We need the two.
- TR4 (M/Ewe):** A particular language should be used for teaching and learning in the classroom so that the students understand the meanings and concepts right from the beginning and be able to read and write. **However, some terminologies which are difficult to explain, other languages should be used sparingly.**
- R:** Which languages are those that you think should dominate lessons?
- TR4:** In English class, English must be the main language and Ewe used sparingly and in Ewe lessons English must be used sparingly.
- R:** Can you mention a terminology which demands the use of the two languages?
- TR4:** Errmm, **zebra crossing**. You can't explain it in Ewe. Sometimes you have to describe the whole concept underlying the word. Other times, you just have to use the English word as it is in English.
6. Which languages do you think should be used in teaching and learning given that your students speak more than one language?

TR 1 (F/English): Ewe and English. This is Ewe land so all students, even those who don't speak Ewe, must learn it (Ewe). All exams are set in English so it (English) is important too.

TR2 (F/Ewe): English and local languages like Ewe, Akan, Ga etc

TR3 (M/ English): English, Ewe, Akan, all languages that we can call Ghanaian.

R: Is English Ghanaian?

TR3: Of course. Are we both not Ewe people? Are we not speaking English right now? I know **people who are better (competent) in English than in Ewe**. We have made it (English) ours. That is why we learn it from childhood. Don't claim it (English) and see where you will be in the world.

TR4 (M/Ewe): English, French and all our (Ghanaian) languages.

R: We have more than 75 languages in Ghana. Can we use all in our schools?

TR4: No. So the ones in the various areas can be used like Ewe in Volta, Ga in Accra, Fanti in Cape Coast etc **ekpɔea**?

7. What do you expect of the students you teach?

TR 1 (F/English): My expectations are that they should understand what I teach and react to it.

R: Are you satisfied with your students' reaction to what you teach?

TR1: Not totally since some (students) are still below average.

R: What do you think is responsible for their level of reaction to lessons?

TR1: English is a difficult language. The students have varied IQ levels. But basically I think it is incompetence in English.

R: Earlier, you said you use both Ewe and English to teach. Do you use the two languages in a particular pattern?

TR1: No. I switch when necessary. I don't know of any particular pattern so I don't follow any pattern.

TR2 (F/Ewe): I expect them to explain things in their local language and become interested in knowing their traditions and culture or their roots.

R: Do your students meet these expectations?

TR2: Yes. Because about 80% of them are very good and the rest are average in using the language.

R: Does this mean your students don't do anything with the language that you don't like or expect them to do?

TR2: Not totally. Some of them cannot read fluently. Others too **use English** in answering sometimes. In writing the language, they do not go according to the rules (grammar).

TR3 (M/ English): That they should be fluent and accurate in the language.

R: What do you mean by accuracy?

TR3: (Laughed) you know what I mean, like near perfection. They should be able to read and write well for people to understand.

R: In your evaluation, are they approaching the fluency and accurateness you expect?

TR3: No. But there is more room for improvement.

TR4 (M/Ewe): I expect my students to converse and communicate in English and be able to read and write.

R: What about Ewe, the language you teach?

TR4: The students already know Ewe. It is their mother tongue.

R: If they know Ewe then why do you still teach it?

TR4: They know it (Ewe) but they don't know the rules (grammar) that underlie the language. Learning it (Ewe) in school make them (students) know the rules so that they can write well. But English is foreign and it is more difficult than Ewe so there should be more attention paid to it.

8. In the final analysis, do you think it is positive or negative to teach English with only English, Ewe with only Ewe or both languages should be mixed in both classrooms?

TR 1 (F/English): I will say it is negative to teach English with only English or Ewe with Ewe. Most pupils don't understand well what we say in the English language and some terms cannot be explained in Ewe only because they are not originally part of the language. Both languages must be used to make pupils understand lessons better. It also **help** them to compare the meaning of words in both languages.

TR2 (F/Ewe): I think it is negative to teach English with only English. There might be things that can be understood easily as those things are explained in the local language. So both English and Ewe can be used in English classes. There are things when explained in. Ewe pupils can get (understand) them easily in English than using English to explain. But it is positive to teach Ewe with only Ewe since pupils are conversant with

the Ewe changing things to English or any other language use will be total waste of pupils' time.

TR3 (M/English): I am positive towards using English to teach English. In that way Pupils practice more, you know, practice makes man perfect. The more they practice, the more they become better in all aspects of the language. I entreat my students to use English freely without fear of making mistakes.

TR4 (M/Ewe): Using only English to teach English is positive. Because the child will get the concept and understanding from the onset in the target language, English. However, this should be done coupled with TLMs (teaching and learning materials) or demonstrations, situational teaching, role play and contextual teaching. Ewe should be used where some terminologies which are foreign. Using Ewe to teach Ewe is positive. Because it is their (students) L1 and they have a lot of vocabulary which can help them understand the teaching and of the subject matter. It would help them also develop and build upon what they have already accumulated. I won't favor the use of the two languages in the same classroom simultaneously. I think Ewe can be used in teaching English, only sparingly, because there are some words in Ewe which cannot give precise meaning in English, vice versa.

9. Do you have anything else to tell the researcher?

TR 1 (F/English): Continue with the research in order to get the problems encountered in teaching the English language.

TR2 (F/Ewe): I encourage him to go on the research since it will help build our local languages.

TR3 (M/ English): Encourage teachers of the English Language should use the two (languages) to teach for clearer understanding.

APPENDIX G: Interview Data (Students)

1. What languages do you use in an average day?

- ST1:** Ewe and English
ST2: Ewe, English
ST3: Akan (Fanti), Ewe and English
ST4: Ewe, English
ST5: Ewe and English
ST6: Ewe and English
ST7: Ewe and English
ST8: Ewe and English
ST9: Ewe and English
ST10: Ewe and English
ST11: Ewe and English
ST12: Akan (Twi), Ewe and English
ST13: Sɛkpele, Ewe and English
ST14: Akan (Twi), Ewe and English
ST15: Ewe and English
ST16: Buem (Lelemi/Lefana), Ewe and English
ST17: Ewe and English
ST18: Ewe and English
ST19: Ewe and English
ST20: Ewe and English

2. Do you use them both in school and at home?

ST1: Yes.

R: How? In what specific places?

ST1: I use Ewe in town and English in school.

R: How long do you use English in school?

ST1: We are not allowed to use Ewe here (in school) **eyata** I try to use English always. But sometimes there are some things I can't say in English so I speak Ewe for them.

R: Have you ever tried to use Ewe in English class before?

ST1: Yes, sometimes when I can't speak English to explain myself I speak English.

R: How do your teachers and your friends in the English classes react when you use Ewe?

ST1: Nothing. They don't say nothing.

ST2: Me, I speak Ewe in home and in school. Because my father and my mother **don't** speak no other language apart from Ewe...In school too I speak Ewe sometimes at canteen, football time too.

R: What of using it in classes?

ST2: I do. In Ewe class. And English too. Me I speak it (Ewe). Because English is not good for me. English teacher too speak it sometimes. **Eyata nye ha mezanε.**

ST3: I often speak Fanti at home with daddy. I often speak Ewe with mummy. My Ewe is not good. In school I speak English. It is the language I can use here (in school) since my. Ewe is not good.

R: If you go out to buy something, which language do you use?

ST3: (with a smile) my broken Ewe or English. Many people don't speak Fanti here.

R: Do you understand Ewe lessons?

ST3: Not always. So after class I ask my friends what the teacher teach and they tell me. Sometimes I go to Ewe madam (teacher) to explain some things to me after. Ewe is very difficult, Fanti is easy (with laughter).

R: What of English?

ST3: Somehow okay.

R: Have you ever mixed Ewe, Fanti and English?

ST3: Yes. With my dad and mum. Often at home. But I mix English with Ewe more than Fanti with English.

R: Will you agree that you use Fanti and Ewe for only informal communication?

ST3: Yes. My parents tell me to speak more English so that I can be good in it and get a good office job after school. But I want to speak other languages too.

R: Why do you want to speak other languages too?

ST3: Because, me, I like talking and making friends so more languages will help me make more friends (with a smile.)

ST12: I often speak Twi and Ewe at home and in town. I speak English in school so that I can be good in it.

R: Why do you want to be good in English and not the other languages?

ST12: Because English makes people respect you and you can get a job too after school.

R: How do you know that English helps you to get a job?

ST12: My parents tell me. My teachers too. Some of my friends too say that.

R: What languages do you speak in Ewe class?

ST12: I speak Ewe, not very good one. But I understand the teachers and friends when they speak too.

R: Do you remember mixing Twi, Ewe and English?

ST12: Several times especially when I am talking to my parents or friends who speak Twi in town. I play football with them.

ST13: I use Sekpele with my mother at home, Ewe with my friends and English with teachers and in school.

R: Why don't you use English at home?

ST13: English is school language and not a home language. It is for official things.

R: Who told you this?

ST13: Teachers, my mother and some friends. Teachers tell us to speak English in school and become fluent. I also see people mostly speak English in school.

R: Why do you think teachers tell you to speak English?

ST13: So that we can speak it well and get good jobs when we grow up.

R: Can you tell me some jobs you think speaking English can help you get?

ST13: Doctor, teacher, president, MP

R: Do you want to do one of these jobs?

ST13: Yes, I want to become a doctor so I will learn English very well.

ST14: I speak Buem with my parents but now I stay with my grandfather so I speak Ewe with him and English in school.

R: Can't your grandfather speak Buem or English?

ST14: He can speak English but not Buem

R: So why not speak English with him?

ST14: We always speak Ewe. Because **we must speak English in school**. It is school language.

R: Why do you think so?

ST14: Because all exams are in English. Teachers tell us to speak it. So we must (with a smile).

ST16: I speak Twi at home and English in school. I don't speak Ewe well. We moved to this place just last year so I am not fluent but I understand small small.

R: Have you ever mixed Twi and English in one conversation?

ST16: Yes.

R: Where and why?

ST16: In school with my friends. Break times. Because I can't say some words in English. They are hard. So I use Twi words there.

R: Can you give me an example of a sentence like that?

ST16: I want you to be the **ɔkyeame** for us.

R: In what situation did you use this sentence?

ST16: We want to act a small play (drama) that we read in class. It has a chief, **ɔkyeame** (with a smile) and citizens in it.

3. Does your school prefer you to use Ewe (or the other languages you speak) instead of English, or vice versa in the school premises? Why is that?

ST1: My school makes us speak English because we have to be fluent in order to get a good job when we grow up

ST8: English. So that we can talk to more people because English is used by more people than our local languages.

ST10: They make us speak English more so that we can answer questions well in exams.

ST15: My teachers make us learn English more so that we can be global citizens when we grow up.

R: What do you mean by 'global citizen'?

ST15: So that we can talk with many people in the world. English is worldwide.

ST16: English. So that we can talk with many people that don't use Twi and Ewe in Ghana and outside (abroad).

ST19: English makes people respect you. My school makes us speak English.

4. Do you like it when your teacher uses only English to teach English? Why?

ST2: No. some English words are hard to get (understand). She use Ewe to explain some words. I like it when she use Ewe to explain. It is clear.

ST3: Yes. I don't understand Ewe well. English madam cannot use Fanti. So English only is good, I like it more.

R: So would you like it if she uses Fanti to explain English words?

ST3: Yes. But it must not be plenty. Only difficult words. Because we may not get the English well and be fluent.

ST20: No. I want her to use English to teach English but she use Ewe to explain sometimes. It confuse me. I don't like it. Me I want to become English professor so I want to learn it very well so that when I speak everybody will salute me (smiling).

R: Why do you want to become English professor?

ST20: To get plenty money, respect and big cars. My village people can even make me a chief (laughing.)

R: So what do you do or prefer to be done when the teacher uses English words that you don't understand?

ST20: English madam should use other words, smaller ones, to explain things. Or make us learn all the big ones she use. Me I ask her after class to explain to me the big ones. I write them down and use them for my friends to salute me, respect.

5. Do you like it when your teacher uses only Ewe to teach Ewe? Why?

ST 7: Yes. We learn it more especially the proverbs that I don't know. Our exams too is in Ewe **ta enyo**.

ST 11: Yes. It is not difficult to understand the teacher and lessons. We speak this language since we are born.

ST 17: No. Ewe madam should use both languages so that we know the Ewe meaning of hard English words. Some things are not in Ewe, they are only in English so to use both languages will help us learn two languages together.

ST18: Me, I don't mind. I know Ewe and English. Anyone can be use.

6. Do you like it when your teacher mixes languages (e.g English, Ewe or any other language) to teach English? Why?

ST1: Yes. Some words in English must be explain le Ewege me **be miase egome nyuie**.

ST2: No. Using two languages for English confuse me.

ST3: Yes. Not all students understand English. Using Ewe and English together make all students to get what the teacher is teaching.

- ST12:** No. I don't get Ewe so no.
- ST13:** Yes. It makes better understanding come clear. I also learn some Ewe in this way.
- ST14:** No. I cannot speak Ewe well. The two together confuse.
- ST16:** Yes. It make me understand better what she is saying.
7. Do you like it when your teacher mixes languages (e.g. English, Ewe or any other language) to teach Ewe? Why?
- ST1:** Yes. We learn more English. And we can't get some English words in Ewe.
- ST2:** Yes. I like it but don't know why I like it that way (laughing).
- ST3:** Yes. We learn the meaning of some English words. Also some English words that are not in Ewe.
- ST12:** Yes. It helps me get some English words meanings in Ewe.
- ST13:** Yes. I learn the meaning of some English words in Ewe.
- ST14:** Yes. I learn the Ewe meaning of some English words. I sometimes write them down to learn and use. I want to learn Ewe well too.
- ST16:** Yes. Makes Ewe learning easier. I put the meaning of words in the two languages on same level for understanding.
- R:** What do you mean by "on the same level"?
- ST16:** Like it helps me know English word in Ewe too. When someone say the word in Ewe I know the meaning in English too.
8. Tell me some challenges you face when learning English or Ewe or any other language you speak?
- ST3:** English is not simple like Fanti. It is hard to know all the rules you follow in speaking and writing. Ewe is too hard to speak and write. It has no books you can read like novels, grammar books like English. It also has plenty rules for writing it. The words are heavy like **akpɔkplɔ** (with laughter.)
- ST4:** Ewe is easy in speaking but hard in writing. There is also no books you can read like English ones. English has plenty rules (of grammar). Too much (laughing) like I find it hard to separate some nouns that don't have 's' but are plural from singular nouns.
- R:** Can you give some examples?
- ST4:** Like 'army', 'equipment', 'furniture'. Why can't we say 'equipments' as plural?

(laughing).

ST5: Ewe and English are difficult in writing. They have plenty rules too much. Confusing. And big words that you can't writing like we say them.

R: Can you give some examples?

ST5: Yes like, 'pneumonia' in English and '**amesiame**' and '**desiaɖe**' in Ewe which I think we must write like three words (thus 'ame sia ame' and 'ɖe sia ɖe')

ST12: Akan (Twi) is easy because I am born speaking it. Ewe and English are hard but Ewe is harder with big words that you must eat enough okro before you can pronounce (laughing). Like 'yesiaɣi' (ɣesiaɣi), 'dedepɔɔ' (ɖɛɖɛkpɔkpɔ), 'kɔpe' (kɔɣe) (laughing as he mentions the words).

R: Why do you laugh as you pronounce the words?

ST12: Because they sound funny in my ears. Also teacher mention some words in class but use a different word outside class for the same thing. I get confuse then I ask my friends. They tell me to write the one madam tell us in class but speak the other one. It confuse me.

R: Can you give some examples?

ST12: Like 'apɔplɔ' (akpɔkplɔ) and 'akoso' (akotso); 'mu (with low tone) ('mu' with high tone) and 'awage or avage?' (avagɛ). Very confusing.

R: Have you told your Ewe teacher about this?

ST12: Yes. Madam tell me I must write the class one but I can chose to use it or not and use the ones my friends speak. Very confusing.

ST13: Ewe and English writing is hard. Plenty rules.

ST16: English writing is hard. But English is more hard than Ewe. English has plenty things you must not do. Ewe too but English has more.

ST17: Both languages are hard to write. English rules are **chao** ('plenty' in Ghanaian pidgin English) and Ewe separation of words is too confusing.

9. What things do you do when you face these challenges?

ST3: Sometimes I ask madam after class. Sometimes I keep quiet.

ST4: Ask friends. If they don't tell me anything good I go to madam.

ST5: I ask some friends to tell me if they understand. If they can't tell me, I go to madam.

ST12: I ask friends and my mother or father. For English, I read some books my mother buys for me. She say there are no ewe books so I don't read any.

ST13: I ask my friends and parents. Sometimes madam

ST14: I ask madam and I read more English books.

ST15: I ask madam.

ST16: I ask madam.

ST17: Sometimes I do nothing. Sometimes I ask madam.

10. Do you think it is necessary to study Ewe in the classroom? Why?

ST1: No. It's my mother tongue; I speak it everywhere so there is no need to study it.

ST2: No. Ewe is my mother tongue so no need to study it in school

ST10: Yes. So that we can write well.

ST13: No. we don't need it anywhere apart from Volta region.

ST 15: No. It's not very important like English. If we don't know it well too we can get good job when we learn English well.

ST18: No. we don't really need it in the future. We need English to get a job and talk with others. Everybody in Ghana speak English but not Ewe.

11. What motivate you to learn English, Ewe or any other language? Why?

ST1: **Ewe-** nothing really motivates me. I study it because I have to pass it to enter Senior High School. **English-** so that in future I get good job, make money and buy cars and houses.

ST2: **Ewe** – to know my culture more. **English-** to get good job when I grow up

ST3: **Ewe** – to pass exams. **English** – to get a good job

ST4: **Ewe** - nothing. **English-** to become a big person in a company

ST5: **Ewe** - I don't know. **English-** to be an important person in society and to get respect

ST6: **Ewe** - to know my roots. **English-** to pass exams, get good work and be rich.

ST7: **Ewe** - to speak it well with my family. **English-** to travel wide, have good job and respect

ST8: **Ewe** – to write it well. **English** – to become a prominent politician and make more money

ST9: **Ewe** – nothing. **English** – to get good job when I finish university

- ST10:** **Ewe** – to work at Radio Tongu when I grow up. **English** – for respect and to speak with white people in future
- ST11:** **Ewe** – I don't know. **English** – to pass exams and go to university
- ST12:** **Ewe** – to chat with people in town. **English** - to pass exams, get a good job and become a big person.
- ST13:** **Ewe**- to pass exams in Ewe. **English** – to get good job
- ST14:** **Ewe** – to understand town people. **English** – passing exams, to be like teachers to speak English well
- ST15:** **Ewe** – to pass Ewe exams. **English** – to travel abroad and to work there
- ST16:** **Ewe** – for passing exams in Ewe. **English** – to get job in future and travel abroad
- ST17:** **Ewe** – to pass Ewe examinations and go to senior high school. **English** – to get white-colour job and plenty money
- ST18:** **Ewe** – to talk with people around. **English** – to get international jobs and huge money and respect
- ST19:** **Ewe** – the school says we should learn it. **English** – for good job in the future
- ST20:** **Ewe** – nothing. **English** – good job, respect in society and to travel abroad