An Investigation into the Varieties of Requests among Fisherfolk of Accra

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Abstract: **There are various forms of requests made by different classes of people including children, adults, literate, illiterate, workers, and non-workers. This study looked at the different forms of formulation of requests by the fisherfolk of Accra. The study was a community-based and descriptive survey and the design used was qualitative. The study covered four urban communities Teshie, Nungua, La, and Osu) and two rural communities Abokobi and Oyarifa) all in the Greater Accra Region. Thirty 30) people comprising 15 males and 15 females formed the study sample. The respondents were aged between 18-25 years. Most of the participants were either illiterate or semi-literate. They were purposively selected based on their ability to express themselves and make requests. Data was collected at the various work sites of the respondents and during their normal conversations using non-participant observation. The data was analysed using linguistic and thematic content analyses procedures. The result of the study showed that the Ga fisherfolk have their own way of formulating requests; and these mostly come with shouts and insults. Asides, they also have a rude way of formulating requests, though they know about hedges. The results also indicates that the fisherfolk men) from Nungua, Teshie and James Town spoke their requests differently from their women counterpart.**

Keywords: **Requests formulation, Fisherfolk, Gas, Accra, Ghana.**

1. INTRODUCTION

The Ga, who are found on the south-eastern part of Ghana, are a small group of people who live along the coast of Accra- the capital city of Ghana and are mainly fishermen. The language they speak is also known as Ga. The Ga language belongs to the New Kwa section of the Niger Congo Language Family. Their closest Linguistic neighbours are the Dangme and their language is classified under the Nyo sub group of New Kwa Williamson 1989). Being coastal people, their major occupation is fishing. A few of them however do vegetable farming for their livelihood. Their language Ga) has no dialects though it shares features with Dangme. Both languages are mutually intelligible and the users have similar occupations.

Because of the kind of work they do, they have ways of expressing requests. The way they do this may not be the same as English or the way other languages spoken in Ghana express requests. Gas have their own peculiar culture as do other ethnic groups consequently in Ghana. The way the fisher folks ask questions may or may not be similar to that of, say, the Akans. When we come to requests making, one sees a difference among the Ga fisher folk and the Ga farmer. There is the possibility of identifying an element of rudeness in the way the fisher folks ask questions or formulate requests. Extensive lliterature reviewed indicates that no empirical study has addressed the nature of request formulation among the Gas. The objective of this study is to investigate the different forms of requests formulation among the fisherfolk of Gas.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature reviewed focused on concept of requests, forms of making requests and address forms of requests).

2.1 Concept of Request

Request is an imposition which threatens negative face and features prominently in everyday conversational exchanges Odonkor 2001). In the Western world, a request is an imposition Brown and Levinson 1990) and therefore a face threatening act F.T.A). This is because one will have to part with something and this threatens a person's negative face in some cultures. For the Ibo's, a request is a normal thing to do because it is seen as a form of help given to the other person. As Odonkor 2001) puts it, for the Krobo's, making a request rather enhances the positive face of the requestee. Requests can be put in forms of question and this makes the requests softer. Again, request is a verbal or non-verbal social interaction through which an individual seeks assistance. Consequently, there are terms like "please", "could you", "would you", "may I" that are used to preface requests formulation.

Requests can be made through indirect speech acts. If a statement with an intonation that looks like a question is not answered but rather acted upon, it is seen as a perfect answer to a request – as in, "could you move over a bit?" in this request, you do not expect your interlocutor to answer, though he or she may do so, by just performing the action. Mostly, requests are made indirectly.

Generally, requests cannot be dealt with fully without mentioning address forms. These are very important because they have a direct link to requests. Agbedor 2000), citing Brown and Gil, 1960), talks of power relations – that they are guided by such social indicators as age, caste, race and occupation. This exists between parent and child, boss and subordinates, teacher and pupil. It can also be between adult to adult, adult to child, child to child or child to adult. In this wise a speaker may have power over the addressee or vice versa.

Power relations can be transferred into the making of requests. Among the Gas, a requester who is older, say, a parent has the power to frame the request in any form. If the requestee is a minor he or she is obliged to react positively or answer positively. The parent may use polite words by adding expressions like please, ofain1) even to a minor. Sometimes, some requests can be made rudely, especially, in boss-subordinate relationships or even in parent-child relationships. In making requests, the way we address people is very important. The question is: how do we go about it? We can address our interlocutors by their day names, appellations, first names, titles only, titles and last names.

Agbedor 2000) states that social status, social distance, age, power, formality and rank also affect requests in many forms. All these come under power status) and solidarity intimacy). As in the case of address forms, they can come together with some para-linguistic features and pragmatic particles like loud pitch to project certain effects; requests, however, cannot; because among the Gas, it is not the best to make any form of request with a loud pitch. For example, when one goes to the money lender or a relative or even a friend to borrow money, it is with a somber or a humble attitude that the request is made. Sometimes it is even made in low or hushed tones.

It has been stated above that all languages employ different forms of putting up requests, though they all arrive at the same end of soliciting assistance. For some, request is an imposition. For others it is a face threatening act. For some, it is a normal daily affair. It then goes without saying that, for all the different cultures, requests will have their text formulation, forms, socio-cultural values or elements which will differ in many ways. The Gas, because of their occupation, as fisherfolk have their peculiar ways of putting requests. However, most of the growing adults and even some teens do not know how to formulate both verbal and non-verbal forms of request.

Sociolinguistics and ethnographic studies have also shown how the forms of asking questions, making greetings, requesting, are influenced by a particular society's conventions regarding participants' age, gender, relative social status, degree of intimacy. Interrogatives elicit verbal responses from the addressee and this is so with requests, since requests are meant to be answered. The role of politeness in social interaction and conversation has been an important topic in sociology and conversational studies. It involves what is known in the Literature as FACE. Ervin Goffman 1967, 1971, 1981), a sociologist, discussing the notion of face, stated that, face means "the public image an individual seeks to project" and Brown and Levinson 1978:66) stated that, FACE is "the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself". FACE has two components–negative and positive. Positive face represents an individual's

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desire to be seen worthy and deserving of approval. Negative face represents an individual's desire to be autonomous, unimpeded by others. A kind of mutual and self–interest requires that conversation participants maintain both their own face and their interlocutors face. Since requests are impositions, they are taken as potential threats to face. Threats to negative face which potentially damage an individual's autonomy include orders, requests, suggestions and advice. Extensive literature reviewed indicates that no empirical study has addressed the nature of request formulation among the Gas. This study therefore aims at investigating the different forms of expressing requests among the different shades of Gas fishermen, fishmongers) as well as the peers and document them for posterity.

2.2 Forms of Making Requests

2.2.1 Politeness

In making requests, an element of politeness is expected to be part of the transaction. Politeness refers to a "system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in every human interchange. Politeness strategies are the means to preserve some resemblance of harmony" Lakoff 1990:34) cited in Agbedor 2000). Holmes 1996) in talking about hedges and boosters said that "politeness involves taking account of other people's feelings". She said, linguistically, this can be said in a greater number of ways and cited Leech 1983) and Brown and Levinson 1981) to support her position. She also mentioned polite ways of expressing the directive and said that the modal verb could have a fall-rise intonation that softens a directive) and a tag. Holmes said further that these linguistic devises are negative politeness strategies in that they address the hearers' need to have their freedom of action unhindered and their attention captured. Politeness strategies and individual speech acts vary from culture to culture. Speech acts and indirectness also vary from culture to culture. These indirect acts can be seen to follow the distinction between positive and negative face. Negative indirectness helps to diminish the threat of orders and requests. Sometimes we can give an explanation for a request rather than the request itself. For instance, "Don't you think it is hot in here"; for, "please open the window." Being polite involves the understanding of the language and the social and cultural values of the community. It also involves the dimension of formalities. Politeness is not just a matter of saying 'please' and 'thank you' in the right places. It also depends a great deal on intonation and tone 'of voice'. Holmes 1996) defined politeness as "involving taking account of the feelings of others" p. 268), making people feel comfortable. Linguistically, it involves speaking to people appropriately in the light of their relationship to you. Generally, inappropriate linguistic choices are considered rude.

Politeness serves to diminish potential threats in the continual interactive balancing of one's own and others face. In other words, speakers seem to weaken face threatening acts by using a series of strategies called politeness. One of these strategies is the use of indirect speech acts. Brown and Levinson 1987:13), say that the notion of face is universal. Every language community will have a system of politeness but the details of the system will vary because face is related to the most fundamental cultural ideas about the nature of social persona, honor and virtue, shame and redemption and thus to religious concepts.

In many languages, when formulating a small request, one will tend to use language that stresses in-group membership and social similarity. When making a request that is somewhat big, one uses the language of formal politeness indirect speech acts, hedges, apologies for intrusion) and finally when making the sort of request that it is doubtful one should make at all, one tends to use indirect expressions implicatures). Implicatures is a term derived from the work of the philosopher Grice 1988) and now frequently used in Linguistics as part of the study of conversational structure. Conversational implicatures refer to the implications which can be deduced from the form of an utterance to the basis of certain co-operative principles which govern the efficiency and normal acceptability of conversations. For example, "there is some chalk on the floor" means" you ought to pick it up"; that is to say, the relationship between language and logical expression and the conditions which affect the appropriateness of utterances. There are also ways by which a speaker can signal a wish not to impose. These are hedging devices that reduce the strength of an utterance and since this goes for the request too, it is very appropriate. According to Holmes 1996), these devices are aimed at reducing the imposition experienced by the person that the directive is addressed to.

Politeness in speech is described in terms of positive and negative FACE Brown and Levinson- 1978) respectively, that is, the idea of pondering to the other's desire to be liked and admired and not to suffer imposition. Both forms according to Brown's study of the Tzettal language 1980), are used more frequently by women, whether in mixed or single-sex

pairs. This suggests for Brown a greater sensitivity in women than have men to the face needs of others. In short, women are to all intents and purposes largely politer than men. However, negative face politeness can be potentially viewed as weak language because of its associated hedges and tag questions.

Yule 1996) also talks of politeness as ways of being tactful, modest and nice to other people. In linguistics, however, the concept of 'face' p. 134)–one's public self-image- is the emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone to recognize. We also talk of Face Threatening Acts FTA'S) that is when we say something that represents a threat to another person's self-image. There is also what is termed as Face Saving Acts FSA) where question forms in indirect speech acts removes assumption of social power and this makes a request less threatening to other person's self-image. There are two types of face, a negative face- the need to be independent and have freedom from imposition- and a positive face -where there is the need to be connected to belong, be a member of a group.

Japanese use language to reinforce emotional ties that bind all together to forge social harmony. Ambiguity and indirectness are highly prized linguistic features among the Japanese. Children were taught to respond positively to requests or overtures regardless of their own individual feelings – an emphasis on Japanese norms of empathy for others and overall social harmony Clancy -1986: 223).

According to Odonkor 2001), the choice of words and linguistic forms used in the formulation of requests are determined by social factors such as age, status, power, degree of familiarity between participants. He argued that indirect speech acts are accepted as down toners and that the above mentioned mitigators show politeness. He found descriptive labels such as mif4f4i – my flower in Ga), an endearment term which shows or expresses admiration and also enhances positive face. It is worth mentioning that requests have been looked at locally in Dangme. Though he did not look at that of the fishing community, his work enhanced this research because, the researcher got insight into mitigators, hedges and boosters and how our close neighbors formulate their requests.

2.2.2 Speech Acts

Requests are generally considered under various headings. The concept of speech act is one area that needs to be visited when considering the literature on requests. Crystal 2001) argued that the British Philosopher Austin 1911-1960) was the first to draw attention to the many functions performed by utterances as part of interpersonal communication. He also opined that many utterances do not communicate information but are equivalent to actions, for example, apologies and promises. Speech acts are acts of communication Park 2006). In communication, we express certain attitudes and the type of speech act being performed must correspond to the type of attitude being expressed Bach 1979) cited by Park.

Because utterances happen when the action is ongoing, those ones were named "performatives", which are of course different from "constatives." Effects of utterances are studied in speech act analysis, which show the behaviour of speaker and hearer in three ways:

- Locutionary act
- Illocutionary act and
- Perlocutionary act.

Austin also stated that, the illocutionary force of an utterance and its perlocutionary effect may not coincide. However, J.R. Searle 1976) mentioned five types of illocutionary acts, which include:

- Representative
- Directives
- Commisives
- Expressives
- Declaratives.

We cannot talk about requests without mentioning Felicity conditions by David Crystal 2001). According him, speech acts are successful only if they satisfy certain criteria. That is why the person performing the speech act must have

authority to do so. Speech acts must be executed in the right manner and also in a sincere manner. Sometimes, one can have a special interpretation of a speech act, as a joke or as sarcasm; this is when the speaker is not serious about his utterances. In order for an utterance to be appropriate, for example, "Will you shut the door?" a door must be opened, the speaker must have a reason for ordering it to be shut and the hearer must be in a position to obey, says David Crystal 2001). There are speech acts that are both direct and indirect. In direct speech act, the listener is directly addressed, but in indirect speech acts, there are many ways to express oneself. For example, the imperative can be used in asking the listener or hearer to perform an action, as in, "close that book" a request, of course). Sometimes, this becomes too abrupt or rude; the hearer must have a desire or reason to perform the act.

Yule 1996) also talks about speech acts and states that they cover actions such as requesting, commanding, questioning or informing. He explained them as linguistic forms which are interrogatives, imperatives and declaratives, and functions, which are questions, commands and statements. The forms are the syntactic structures and analysis while the functions are what people use the language for. Meanings of sentences are interpreted in terms of what the speaker intends to convey. For example, questions can be treated as requests and the requestee will be expected to perform an action, as in, "would you give me the knife". Also, 'you left the door opened', a request and an indirect speech act. Here, the requestee is expected to close the door

There is yet another study of requests by Chung Yeol Park on 'Differences in Requests between Koreans and Americans'. The study examined differences in requests and noted that, the study of speech acts is a crucial area in sociolinguistics and ethno linguist study and that it also helps in relating linguistic form and communicative intent. Three request strategies were examined;

- Requests made with an explanation

- Requests made without an explanation and

- No requests.

The purpose was to see whether Koreans framed their requests differently under different conditions. Koreans who spoke English as a second language and live in the United States were used to see whether they would frame their requests in their native tongue. If that happens, then it would have created a potential for sociolinguistics failure.) The study showed that, in the majority of cases, Americans made a request with an explanation and Koreans living in the United States have adopted the American style but Koreans living in Korea made requests without an explanation – they were rather direct.

In an article by Robert L. Politzer on Requesting in Elementary school classrooms which appeared in a TESOL Quarterly, the study focused on teachers who taught a lesson in Standard English Negation to children who dominantly speak vernacular Black English. This was videotaped. The study looked at patterns of requests performed by teachers and pupils. The frequency of teacher requests overwhelmingly outweighed those of pupils. The most common forms taken by teacher requests were the direct imperative, object matter information questions and questions soliciting actions. Group A. teachers used a much higher proportion of direct imperative requests than group B teachers. The adjusted frequency of instruction related imperatives significantly differentiated group A from group B teachers. The findings are interpreted as leading to an hypothesis concerning the frequency of directive teaching in elementary school language arts and as demonstrating the usefulness of a motivational type of discourse as an approach to the solution of pedagogical problems. Some findings on a study done by Bellack et al in 1996, were that most or all speech acts performed by teachers could be classified as moves for the purpose of soliciting, responding, structuring and reacting, pragmatic appropriateness of request conventions and also, power, distance, imposition variables and linguistically accurate forms. Since request formulation is a speech act, it is imperative to look at what other writers have said on the subject in order to make the researcher more informed and therefore base the research on it.

2.3 Address Forms in Requests Formulation

In the discussion of a topic such as requests, it is important to look at address forms since it has a connection to it requests). Some of the writers on request forms are Agbedor 2000), Brown and Levinson 1990) to mention just a few. Almost all languages make use of address forms, and these forms are used to convey in-group membership among others. There is also honorific pronouns such as the second person pronoun in French, "tu" and "vous". Brown and Gilman 1960)

as cited in Brown and Levinson 1990). An article by Martiny on Forms of Address in French and Dutch also looked at address forms in the hearer- reference, and also to show that a sociopragmatic approach may shed interesting light on address behavior in general and on the use of forms of address in the languages cited above Brown and Levinson, 1990). It emerged from the studies that address behavior focuses either on the nonvocative use of the second person   singular pronouns or on the vocative use of a number of nominal forms, such as first names, family names and titles. He also emphasized that forms of address play an important role in the performance of speech acts by serving two purposes, it can serve to catch the attention of the addressee or select the person to whom a particular speech act is directed. The article concluded that a variable such as the goal of requests may have to be added to the list of elements that potentially affect the use of forms of address in request realizations.

For us here in the local front, there are lots of address forms used as honorific terms to put a hedge in our request formulations. as already stated, show in-group membership to show solidarity). Mr., Miss, uncle, Sir, Papa are some of the western ones we see. Sometimes, the first names of people such as Helen, Frank, and Andrew are also used. For us Gas, we have address forms like, *awo mother), ataa father), anyɛmi sibling), onukpa elder), nyɛmiyoo sister), shaanuu inlaw), shabi inlaw), suɔlɔ* lover), *ataaŋkpa elder father), mbi son, daughter), lai momo lover),* to mention just a few. These are used as endearment forms, as hedges and boosters to soften FTA's. Agbedor   2000). For the Gas,again, sometimes, kinship terms can also be used to soften FTA's. Agbedor 2000). Some examples are: *anyɛmiyoo sister), anyɛminuu brother), onukpa elder), sɛɛho 'backborn'), mmaa my mother), ataa father), awo mother).*

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The theoretical framework is the guide on which to build and support your study. Eisenhart defined a theoretical framework as "a structure that guides research by relying on a formal theory…constructed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships" 1991, p. 205). Thus, the theoretical framework consists of the selected theory or theories) that undergirds your thinking with regards to how you understand and plan to research your topic, as well as the concepts and definitions from that theory that are relevant to your topic. One cannot simply push away the fact that, requests can be made anyhow. Studies showed that requests are part of speech acts and since this study looks at requests, it will be appropriate to relate it to a theory or two. Request making imposes on the face needs of the addressee. Hence it is necessary to use such address forms Agbedor, 2000) as would soften the imposition that requests imply. The study therefore dwells much on the works of previous authors who have written extensively on politeness Holmes, 995,1996); Brown and Levison,1987,1990); Erving, 1971). Besides the address forms that one needs to mitigate imposition, it is also necessary that one be polite in request making. Holmes talks of two types of politeness: positive politeness and negative politeness. In positive politeness, one expresses solidarity, meaning, it is solidarity oriented and in negative politeness, we pay people respect and we avoid intruding on them Holmes 2001 pp267-269).

I have also intimated that, the Gas, in this case the fisherfolk, though we may say are not elite, have some form of linguistic competence. It is just that society agrees to the fact that men are 'direct and forward in their assertiveness' and are the family heads and take care of the home so, they 'are more concerned with autonomy and detachment, they seek independence' they are less polite in their requests formulation than women. This is why the fishermen in my area do not care much about politeness in request making. While women play secondary roles in society so they are expected to act like ladies and this makes them more polite than men. Holmes 1995).

4. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was a community-based and descriptive survey. The study approach used was qualitative and followed descriptive research design. According to Leedy & Ormrod, 2001), qualitative research is normally used in exploratory research design to gain preliminary insights into decision problems and opportunities. Hence, qualitative research design tends to focus on the collection of detailed amounts of primary data from relatively small samples by asking questions or observing behaviour Leedy & Ormrod, 2001).

The study covered four urban communities Teshie, Nungua, La, and Osu) and two rural communities Abokobi and Oyarifa). The study sample was 30 people and comprised 15 males and 15 females. They were selected from the study communities using proportionality procedures. The respondents were aged between 18-25 years, and were mostly either illiterate or semi-literate. However, they were selected based on their ability to express themselves and make requests.

Data was collected using non-participant observation instrument. The researcher used this instrument in order to obtain firsthand information from the participants. The researcher, in some cases, also interacted with the participants in order to get to know of the situation well. The instrument was pre-tested with 10 fisherfolk in non-selected community but with comparable demographic and educational characteristics and who were then excluded from the main study before using it in the main phase of the study. The rationale behind this was to identify any potential sources of uncertainty and correct them if any) before using it in the fields with the target population. Asides recording what were observed, notes were also taken to better remember and organize the observations for better analysis, interpretation, discussions and conclusions.

In all, the data was collected from 40 respondents comprising 20 fisherfolk, 10 fishwomen, and 10 fishmongers. Prior to data collection, the researcher informed the participants about the objective of the study and the need to provide relevant information. Cohen et al. 2000:61) assert that if researchers intend to probe into the private aspects of individuals' lives, their intentions should be made clear and informed consent should be sought from those who are involved. The researcher went to the seashore and observed the fishermen and fish women and other sellers in their usual conversations and then used the voice activated tape recorder to record their conversations. Quality control measures such as the need for freedom of participation or withdrawal from the study were strictly followed. Special efforts were also made to minimize methodological, personal and social desirability biases. Permission was also sought from participants to be recorded and they obliged. Ethical issues such as consent for photographing, audio recording of participants' voices were strictly adhered to throughout the data collection period.

5. DATA ANALYSIS

The data was analysed using linguistic analysis procedures which incorporated pragmatics. During the analysis, the data gathered using the observation were first transcribed verbatim to identify the core categories that emerge from the data. After familiarization with transcripts through extensive reading and discussions with colleagues, a thematic framework was developed with themes organized into broad areas. These was then summarized and categorized into themes relevant to research objectives. In stage two, the data was examined with respect to each theme and then by using key findings from the study, all categorizations were constructed under each community. The Ga versions and English versions of the data collected were presented side by side, with the former presented first followed by the later. The researcher also used knowledge of the social background and the cultural conventions of the participants to analyze the data collected. The data was then described using mood and clause types and according to community by community.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Narrowing the Ga request to the fisher folk along the coasts of Teshie, Nungua and James Town, it was found that their request formulation has rudeness and some amount of insults in it. For example, "Kwε! Oyaaa"? Meaning: hey! won't you go?). It also exhibits some amount of impoliteness in its expressions or utterances. In our research we came upon honorific language from fishermen in their request making indicating that they had not forgotten about politeness altogether. "Ofainε obaahe loo"? Meaning: Please will you buy fish?). It is also important to note that, the requests formulated by Ga fisher folk indicated a variation of moods among different occupations. These moods include imperatives, interrogatives and declaratives.

6.1 Teshie

In this community, they study found that the process of making requests by the various fisherfolk come under a variety of situations. The different situations under which request formulations of the fishermen at Teshie were observed included:

1. When they had just come from sea,

2. When they were pulling their nets from the sea to shore,

3. When they were giving out the fish to the women,

4. When they were pulling the canoe to safety,

5. When they were offloading their tools,

6. Interactions with their boys.

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Throughout their operations on shore the study found that they engaged in communication involving request making with each other, as well as with their customers-fishmongers. Similar situations that gave rise to request making also occurred among the other groups as stated below.

6.1.2 The Fish women

The situations under which the fish women formulated requests in the fishing business were:

1. When gathering their boxes to collect fish from the boats.

2. When sharing fish among themselves

3. When women attempted to interfere with the distribution of the catch.

4. When wanted to give out the fish to fishmongers who smoked them for sale).

5. When finished for the day and were relaxing

6.1.3 The Fishermen

A. When they had just Come From Sea

This was when those who went in their canoes to fish had returned to shore to offload their catch. As they went about their business, they interacted with the welcoming party of women and shore crew and some requests were made which were found in their statements or utterances. For instance, when they came to shore, their boys brought boxes belonging to the fishwomen to be filled with the catch and valued for sale. One of such boys brought a rather small box on one occasion and the grandfather, a member of the fishing team remarked, 'adeka ni oyawo kɛba bɛ edaaa? The box you have brought is not big). These utterances made by informants could be put into different moods and voices.

B. When Pulling Their Nets

The study found no difference between fishermen who got into their canoes to go fishing and those who took a boat and went a little further into the sea, dropped their nets and came back to shore to drag the net back to the shore after some time. Both groups used language in the same manner. Those who dragged or pulled their nets however, had a way of soliciting for assistance. But this was not different from the way other colleagues did. Both groups resort to shouts, insults, when making requests. Rudeness is peculiar to both of them. A colleague fisherman who obviously expected the other to have performed an act which he had overlooked wanted him to go back to do it. He had every opportunity to request this politely but instead went about it rudely thus:

> (1) *Kwɛ! Kwei, ohiŋmɛi eshwila?*   [Interrogative]
> *Hey! Name of person you SG eye blind?*
> *Hey, Kwei are you blind?*

The speaker was requesting the other worker to put a tool at the right place. He could simply have asked that it be put at its right place, but as already indicated, politeness is not much of a consideration in the language of request of the fishermen observed. Other examples of requests found during the study are:

> 2) *Tsi   oba!   tsi kɛba)*   [Imperative]
> *Push   you SG come   Come nearer!*

In this imperative request, the apostrophic headword 'you' is eliminated and the verb 'push' is used to introduce the request. In all the instances the addressee does not take offence because the response is performed with reluctance or in anger.

> 3) *Onyɛ   onu…..   Gblamɔ   yaa   [Imperative]*
> *You SG mother   you SG hear   pull   net.*
> *Insults.   Pull the net!*

Example 3) is different from the earlier ones. It begins with an insult. 'Onyɛ' meaning 'you fool'; usually spoken by an adult to a minor required to perform a task. The phrase 'onyɛ. onu' your mother) is used as an insult and an imperative emphatic direction or request.

4) *Nyɛnyɛmɛi……! Nyɛyaa   sɛɛ*   *[Imperative]*
    Your mothers …..! You PL go back
    Insult, go back all of you.

(5) *Mɔ   ko   mɔ   ko   akata   loo'ɛ he!*
   [Imperative]

  Person   PRT person PRT   not touch   fish the it no one should touch
  the fish.

In all the above 5 instances, we see requests in various forms, with the object of the verb missing. For example, as commands or orders, as interrogatives, requests. When a fellow fisherman was requesting a colleague standing aloof to come closer for the work to be done 'Tsi oba!)' Meaning come nearer). Then another one standing right in front of his friend but not doing anything, got infuriated and instead of calmly asking him to get involved, barks an insult intended to be a request for him to get involved in pulling the net, 2) 'Onyɛ onu….. Gblamɔ yaa'; your mother, pull the net). In 3, when people have trooped to the side of the fishermen overwhelming them and distracting them, one of the fishermen requested them to give way or go back to allow them do their work 'Nyɛnyɛmɛi ……! Nyɛyaa sɛɛ', your mothers! Go back).   And finally, the leader of the group requested the others not to touch any of the fish but to wait for the right thing to be done immediately they come ashore, some group members take some of the fish to go and sell first.

6.1.4 When Given out fish to the Women

It is the duty of the fishermen when they land to give the fish to the fishwomen, pack their things, go to relax and prepare for the next expedition. Boxes are brought to them to fill, the women,   mostly relatives, and wives of the fishermen or canoe owners make sure that monies realized from the sales are given to the crew heads. There are exchanges between these women and the landing fishermen.

Samples of requests from the fishermen to the women:

1)   *Mɛɛlenyɛ   onaaa   tsui?*   *[Interrogative]*
      A woman's name   you SG get NEG   heart
      Mɛɛle's mother,   exercise patience

2) *Kwɛ ! Akpɔ,   adekai'ɛ fɛɛ nɛ ?*   *[Interrogative]*
      Hey!   Akpɔ   boxes DET   all   is this?
      Hey Akpɔ ! Are these all the boxes?

3)*Mɛɛba   nyɛhiɛ   tsuɔ nii   anɔ   nakai?*   *[Interrogative]*
      Why   you PL face red   things top   like that?
      Why are you so greedy?

The first interrogative request is preceded with the name of the addressee. The name is in fact, not her real name but 'the mother of' .., if her real name were to have preceded the request, then the feeling of rudeness would have been total. In ii, the expression 'kwɛ 'meaning 'look' precedes the real name of the addressee 'Akpɔ '   name of a person). In our culture, requests are generally polite. In the case of the fisherfolk we are investigating, we see some rude and insulting requests – being made on other people in which they are expected to comply without complaining. When the women went to the canoe to take the fish, they jostled each other to get more than the other women. In the process they inconvenienced the men, then, the leaders of one of the boats made a request, 'Mɛɛlenyɛ onaaa tsui' Mɛɛle's mother, exercise patience) to one of them to exercise patience. The request was impertinent, almost asking the woman to be civil.

In the second example, 'Kwɛ! Akpɔ, adekai' fɛɛ nɛ?' Hey! Name of person, are these all the boxes?) we see that the catch was so much but the boxes to receive them were insufficient so a request was made to one of the boys to bring more boxes resulting in the interesting way in which the request was made literal– are these all the boxes? The interrogative was perfectly understood by the boy so he went to bring more. Such requests do not elicit verbal responses.

In the process of receiving the fish, some of the women wanted more, when of course they knew the usual limit and even when sometimes, their presence was not needed when the fish was being given out. One such occassion infuriated the

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leader of the fishermen who was giving out the fish. But how could he be angry at this time; so he made a request to the women not to be greedy, the by asking ''Mɛɛba nyɛ hiɛ tsuɔ nii anɔ nakai? Why are you so greedy?).

6.1.5 When the Canoe was Being Pulled to Safety

The above process marked the time that all those who went to fish and their ground crew   all joined, to berth the canoe. They all lined up to draw the canoe to safety. During the process, the following requests were made.

---

1) *Nyɛ haa   wɔkɛ,   ekaa   awoa   mli   ee!   [DETERMINER DET]*
   You PL let   we   and   strength   put   inside   EMP.

Let us put in much effort

2) *Nyɛkɛ,   kpaa atsɔ a dade'ɛ,   mli   ee. [Declarative]*
     You PL and   rope   put through   metal   inside   EMP.
                    Put the rope through the metal

3) *Muamɔ naa,   muamɔ tso'ɛ,   naa   [Imperative]*
   Close   it,   close   wood declarative)   it
                Bring the wood together

4) *Ataamɛi   gɔŋ`hiɛ, wɔshɛɔ,   ee   [Declarative]*
   Elders,   hill   face   we approach   EMP.

The request in the first example, 'Nyɛhaa wɔkɛ ekaa awoa mli ee!' has the object of the verb lɛlɛ) missing, because the person making the request knew that they were working on the canoe so he did not have to repeat it, hence, 'nyɛ haa wɔ kɛ ekaa awoa mli' let's put in much effort). The interjection or exclamation 'ee' has effect on the request because it showed the seriousness attached to the request. The request was polite; it has no rudeness or insult attached to it.

In the second example, 'Nyɛkɛ kpaa   atsɔa   dade'ɛ   mli   ee', put a rope through the iron bar) the objects 'kpaa' rope) and 'dade' iron bar) were both mentioned unlike the first example where the object of the verb was intentionally elided). The speaker used the word 'nyɛkɛ' meaning you plural) leaving himself out because he was at another end expecting the rest of the group to do something for him, there is also the exclamation 'ee'- for emphasis adding some strength to the sentence.

The request 'Nyɛgblaa ee' meaning you PL pull) in the third example is very short and straight to the point, it also has the interjection 'ee' to make the request ginger up the hearers. It was also an order that needed immediate compliance. Grammatically, pronouns and their objects are combined as one word in Ga, and it is a whole meaningful sentence.

Unlike the first three examples where the pronoun 'nyɛ' you plural) preceded the requests, the fourth example is a little different. Here, the speaker was not speaking to all the members but, only the one responsible for that particular job of keeping the woods under the canoe close enough to facilitate pulling. There was no name mentioned here, but the respondent knew the order was meant for him, there was no rudeness to this request though it was an order. As a result compliance was not difficult.

The last request, 'ataamɛi gɔŋ`hiɛ wɔshɛɔ ee',elders, we are approaching a hill) has an honorific opening, 'ataam1i' elders) is the headword preceding the request, this term makes the request very polite. The word 'ataam1i'elders) generally refers to older people, but interestingly, those pulling the canoe were not all elderly; there were some young men among them. 'ataamɛi' elders) used this way takes the weight off the request and making compliance easier.

The requests here were more of imperatives or commands; they were well understood and there were compliances to each one of them, their performances were immediate. When it was clear that they were not putting in much effort, they were asked by their leader in the first example 'Nyɛhaa wɔkɛ   ekaa awoa mli ee.' Let us put in much effort), to put in much

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effort. In the second example, 'Nyɛkɛ kpaa atsɔa dadeɛ mli ee 'put a rope thru the iron bar) those at the rear of the canoe were requested to put the rope through the metal to facilitate the work. Big round metals and some wood were used in the pulling of the boat. This had to be adjusted often, so it was time to adjust and there was laxity so the leader had to request for it to be done. This he did in an imperative language in the fourth example. In the last example, the crew were being asked to put in a little effort because they needed it to climb the hill. Do all these requests need be made? Do they not know what to do at the right time? It was part of the job to urge them on to make the work faster, hence the request 'ataamɛi gɔŋ`hiɛ wɔshɛɔ ee' elders, we are approaching a hill).

6.1.6 The Selling Process

An old man made a very interesting request:

> *'Nyɛhea nyɛkɛyashia kenam!'*
> *Take go and fry.*

Which when looked at critically; looked more like an offer. He just approached the researcher, stretched out a plate with very little fish and said:

> 1) *'Nyɛhea nyɛkɛyashia kenam!'*
>
> *You PL take   you PL and go fry   fried fish*
> *You take this and go and fry*

Obviously, the old man used the plural pronoun 'nyɛ ....' You plural) apparently because he saw more than one person standing in front of him. This declarative request looked like an offer but in actual fact, 'nyɛhea ' you PL take) have a hidden meaning known only to the speaker, and that is , he intends the fish to be bought. He rather looked offended when it was not bought.

> 2) *Ofainɛ   looji'ɛ   odoi   yɛ   mli? Interrogative)*
> *I beg you   fishes the   odoi   is   inside?*
> *Please, do you have odoi a type of fish) with these fish?*
>
> 3) *Loo'ɛ   oohɔɔ ?*
> *Fish the   you selling?*
> *Is the fish for sale?*
>
> 4) *Ofainɛ   oohɔɔ ?*
> *Please   you selling?*
>
> 5) *Owula   oohɔɔ ?*
> *Gentleman,   you selling?*
> *Gentleman are you selling it?*

These are all instances of requests where people requested to buy fish. In the first example, the headword 'ofainɛ' please) is a plea. No names were mentioned here, either that of the buyer or seller. The buyer who is not a fisherman and who has linguistic competence, preceded the request with an honorific term. The sentence itself is wrong because the plural of 'loo' fish) is not 'looji' fishes) but rather 'loo' fish). Sometimes, one hears the plural looi' fishes) which is also accepted in the language depending on the context.

In the Ga language, there is a vast difference between the spoken and the written. So in the second example we find that the article 'lɛ' the) is contracted to read 'loo'ɛ fish) for spoken instead of 'loo lɛ' ' the fish) which is the written. Assimilation has taken place in this process. When loo lɛ becomes loo'ɛ). The request 'Loo'ɛ oohɔɔ?' Are you selling the fish?) has no honorific term though it is from a buyer who we expect to be polite. This leads us to the third example where we see a big difference, the buyer rather omitted the word 'loo' fish) and said bluntly, 'Loo'ɛ oohɔɔ?' Are you selling the fish?). Without any politeness.

The headword in the fourth example is 'owula' gentleman) another honorific term. 'Owula'gentleman) is a term given to men who are educated and decent but, it can also be used for all other males when it comes to coercing one to do

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something for you. The object of the verb 'oohɔɔ' which is 'loo'fish) was missing. All the examples are in the interrogative, though they are requests as well.

One other interesting thing noted is that when requesting to buy fish it is not the same as asking for other information where insults and rudeness are incorporated. Rather, there are some honorific terms like, please; so, though, this is the seaside where fishermen talk anyhow, there are certain times when they are talked to politely, and they are obliged to do same. It must be noted that, sometimes they do not care whether one spoke to them politely or not, they are still rude, and, sometimes they look at the person in front of them and behave well.

Some of the instances when they behave politely and or rudely to a request to buy fish are:

1) *Bo'ɛ   kɛba   polite)   [Declarative]*
   You DET   and bring
   You bring it.

2) *Ehiii,   ehiii!   rude)   [Imperative]*
   It's not good,   it's not good!
   The price is bad!

3). *Atseee nɔ!   [Rude request]*
   It pluck top
   No reduction!

4). *Kɛ   oheee'ɛ   shi!   [Rude request]*
   If   you buy NEG   DET   leave
   If you will not buy, leave it.

5) *Hemɔ ni   okɛ   shika 'a   aba   not polite, not rude, not angry)*
   Get   and   you and money DET   bring
Take and bring the money

Example one has only two words in the sentence including the verb. 'Bo'ɛ is the second person singular pronoun with the contracted form of the article 'ɛ', and the verb to bring – 'kɛba. The speaker does not know the buyer's name and does not even need it his or her name) in this transaction. The request is very polite.

The imperative request in the second example is very short, very rude too, and said in an angry tone or mood. It was repeated for emphasis. There was no name mentioning here too, its repetition shows how angry the boy the one who has the fish for sale) is. 'Ehiii' it's not good) is a full sentence with a subject 'e' the intended price) and the verb 'hi' good) in its negative form 'hiii' not good). 'Atseee   nɔ' it cannot be reduced) in the next example is also very short, rude request. The headword has both the subject 'a' and the negative form of the verb 'tse' together and the object is 'nɔ '.The short, repeated and the rude way in this requests from the sellers shows the power they have over the buyers because the fish was in their possession, though they will tend to be the losers in the end if the fish is not bought.

6.1.7 When Offloading their Tools

Before these fishermen will call it a day, they have to make sure that, everything is in order, and this includes packing off their tools to their proper places then they can go and relax, indeed we have established that speech acts are a part of our everyday life, so, some aspects of it requests) could also be seen in this area. Some of the utterances in the area of requests are:

1). *Odamɔ   shi   kɛkɛ?   [Interrogative]*
   You SG stand   up   just like that?
   Are you just standing there?

2) *Naa buulu! `ŋmɛɛmɔ kpaa 'a   he insulting)   [Imperative]*
   Here is fool! Leave   rope   it
   Fool! Leave the rope alone

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3) *Tsɛ   Markwei   ni   ebawo   dadei' ɛ   [Imperative]*
   Call   Markwei   to   he come take   metal DET
   Call Markwei to come lift the metal.

4) *Kwɛ   onyɛ!   Namɔ   oshi   tablɔ   oha?   [Interrogative]*
   Hey   you SG mother!   Who   you leave paddle   you SG for?
   Insult! Who do you expect to take the paddle?

It has been emphasized earlier that some forms of questioning are at the same time requests in the Ga language. The interrogative in the first example 'Odamɔ   shi kɛkɛ?

'has no name but the second person singular pronoun 'o' you) in the headword refers to someone who knew the request was directed at him. The verb is 'damɔ ' stand). In example two, we see a very rude and insulting request,' Naa buulu! `ŋmɛɛmɔ   kpaa 'a   he'. 'Buulu' fool) is an insulting word used mostly by adults to children when they misbehave. Here, the person receiving the insult is not a child but it is understandable and interestingly, he did take it kindly, because he complied and left off the rope. Instead of a name, we see the word 'naa' beginning the sentence.

The imperative request 'Tsɛ Markwei ni ebawo dadei' 'is neither insulting nor polite. A verb 'tsɛ ' started the sentence, and there is another verb after the object of the first verb. The object 'dade' also has the contracted form of the article 'lɛ ', the). But the last example is the most interesting. *Kwɛ   onyɛ! Namɔ   oshi   tablɔ   oha?* Your mother, who did you leave the paddle for?).

The person being addressed was insulted and rudely spoken to. 'onyɛ!'

 is an insult. The headword 'kwɛ '

 in addition to 'onyɛ!'   makes the insult graver. The anger of the speaker was intense, but he made the request interrogatively, compliance was also very easy because everyone around knew that the insult was normal.

When it comes to offloading the tools to safety, its not only those who went fishing alone who are supposed to pack the items, the rest of the crew who did not go to the fishing expedition or their children can take part. Since there are kids, as usual, we expect the impolite requests and shouts and orders. Someone was standing aloof so he was rudely asked to get involved, hence '*Odamɔ shi kɛkɛ*?' someone was also busily picking up tools and one happened to get entangled by a rope so the one holding the rope was expected to do something about it, not paying attention, he was insulted by an elderly one and rudely requested to leave the rope. The third request was not a rude one but also it was not polite either. The final request was very interesting in that, it has some unusual rudeness to it, the requestee was never perturbed or angry, because they are all used to this hostile form of requests and compliance in very easy

6.2.1 THE FISHWOMEN

6.2.1.1 When They Were Gathering Their Boxes for the Fish

These women get to the sea shore well ahead of time to wait for their husbands some of them are wives of the fishermen) or the fishermen, when they sight them coming, they arrange for their boxes to be sent to the sea side so that they will be filled with fish. In the process, they make requests of all sorts among themselves. Some of the requests are:

Atswɛiami   okɛ adeka'a   *enɛ* fataaa   *he?*   [Interrogative]
   Atswɛi's mother you and   box   this   addition   about
            Atswɛiami   add this box

This interrogative request, '*Atswɛiami   okɛ* adeka'a   enɛ fataaa he?'

 Name of woman, add this box) has the name of the subject as the headword. The second person singular pronoun 'o' you) in 'okɛ' still refers to Atswɛiami.

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The object 'the box' adeka'a) should read adeka lɛ the box) but in the contracted form, the 'ɛ' in 'l ɛ'

becomes 'a' because 'a' is the last letter in adeka box) for grammatical purposes. This is a request to one of the women to add one more box apparently for the speaker, observe the endearment term 'Atswɛiami short form of Atswɛi mami) Atswɛi's mother) this is used as a hedge to ward off any FTA.

2) Ha Aatsoo   kɛ   enɛ ayajie   mi   gbɛ
.   *[Declarative]*
    Let Aatsoo   with   this   go see   me   way
    Let Aatsoo help me with this one.

In this declarative request, 'Ha   Aatsoo   kɛ   enɛ   ayajie   mi   gbɛ ', Let Aatsoo help me with this one.) we do not see the subject preceding the sentence as in other cases, rather 'ha' let), before the name of the person comes, this puts some force on the request. The object of the sentence 'box' was omitted and 'en1' this) was rather used in place of box. This was understandable because they were all standing by the box, maybe she pointed to it so she need not mention it by name again. She could still have said 'adeka enɛ', this box) and it will still have the same effect. This was   also another request by one of the women to a colleague whose daughter is Aatsoo, to allow the daughter to help her take some of her boxes to the shore. She did not use any hedge which makes this request look like a command but it was well understood by her friend so there was compliance.

    3) Naa! ashi   mɔ   ko   ni ekwɛ   sɛɛ   ee!
      Concern   leave   someone   to   watch back EMP

    Someone must be left behind to take care of things.

The headword 'Naa', word that shows concern) in this declarative request is similar to an endearment term for females also spelt the same way but pronounced differently. Here, it is not used as an endearment term but rather as   an interjection or exclamation showing concern,   'ee' emphasis) at the end of the sentence, was used for emphasis. This request was made to no one in particular; it was a full request which was understood by all so someone was left to take care of their things.

6.2.2 When Their Fellow Women Came In To Interfere

It is to be expected that, when fish has come in plenty, other people apart from those who have access to it the fish) will be there, it is also expected that, those who are in charge of it will be given priority first. This sometimes brings 'troubles' between the women. In their interactions, some requests are made. Examples are;

(1)   Ajeinyɛ   ofainɛ   ni ona   tsui
(2)   [Declarative]
    Ajei's mother   please   and   get   heart
    Ajei's mother please take your time.

(3)   Ashi aha nɔtsɛmɛi,   nɔtsɛmɛi, yɛ he!
(4)   [Imperative]
    Leave give owners, owners   are about
    Leave it for the rightful owners.

In situations like these, much care is not taken, though they are all colleagues and are sometimes mindful of threatening the faces of others, they do not choose their words with care, but the declarative request in the first example, Ajeinyɛ ofainɛ   ni   ona   tsui woman's name, please be patient) a hedge, the word 'ajeinyɛ ' Ajei's mother) and the booster 'please' ofainɛ), was used to soften the request. The 'o' in ofainɛɛ ' is not a pronoun referring to Ajeinyɛ , it is part of the word but, the 'o' in 'ona' is. If those hedges are removed, the sentence becomes an impolite command and it might be face threatening. The next example 'Ashi aha *nɔtsɛmɛi,*,   *nɔtsɛmɛi*, yɛ   he!' has no such boosters, though there was no name mentioned, the request had a target,   those who had come from nowhere to take that which does not belong to them). The headword 'ashi' is a third person plural pronoun plus a verb 'shi' leave) used effectively here for effect. '*nɔtsɛmɛi* owners) repeated here is for emphasis. The speaker was requesting the 'outsider' to leave the fish for her the 'insider'.

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6.2.3 When the Fishmongers Came In

The fish is moving from place to place before ending up in the consumer's soup bowl. From the sea, to the fish women and now to the fishmongers who are going to smoke it for sale, when they fishmongers) come in, of course, they would want to get the fish at a good price so that they can also make pɲrofit after they have sold it. This is where lots of requests are made on both sides.

1) *Jara ni otsɛ   Naa Mɛɛle, bɛ enaa wa tsɔ?*   [Interrogative]
   Price which you SG mentions, Naa M le, DET it mouth hard too much.
   The price you are offering is too high, Naa Mɛɛle.

2) *Ofainɛ, daa nɛɛ   bɛ   jeee   nɛkɛ   wɔwoɔ lɛ?*   [Interrogative]
   I beg you, always   DET PRT   not like this   we lift   it?
   This is not the price we buy it always

3) *Naa   bo'ɛ   kɛ   onyɛɛɛ   kɛma   shi.*   [Imperative]
   Look here, you if   you SG   can't   put down
   Here if you can't afford, leave it!

In the above instances, the fishmonger and the fish woman all have requests to make. In example 1, 'Jara ni otsɛ Naa Mɛɛle, bɛ enaa wa tsɔ?', name of woman, the price is too high) the interrogative request has the name of the recipient in the middle of the sentence. The headword 'jara' price) could have come in the middle or at the end of the sentence 'bɛ' question marker) is a word in Ga that always brings about a question. The way the sentence is framed has a way of softening the request so that the seller will be coerced into reducing the price. 'Ofainɛ*, daa   nɛɛ bɛ   jeee   nɛkɛ   wɔwoɔ   lɛ?'*   Please, this is not how we fix it always) is the interrogative request in example two, the headword is 'Ofainɛ', a booster or hedge to soften the request before it was even uttered. 'Jeee *nɛkɛ   wɔwoɔ lɛ*' this is not how we fix it) could have been said in another form, the negative form of the verb 'jeee' had an impact on the statement.

The impact the requester wanted in example thirty four did not work so in example thirty five, 'Naa   *bo'ɛ   kɛ onyɛɛɛ   kɛma   shi.* ', if you can't, put it down) the word 'naa' 'if'- said with anger) which shows anger was rather used to introduce the sentence. '*kɛ   onyɛɛɛ*' if you cannot) was not a complete phrase because the object of the verb 'nyɛ' to be able to afford) shika owo) was omitted, but in this transaction, it was fully understood because it was their usual business. The seller puts in a bit of a threat but still in a request form that she can leave it if she cannot afford. It is to be noted that, there are polite forms or hedges in these interactions, like 'Ofain1', still to buttress the point that with women, politeness in requests are essential.

6.3 NUNGUA

At the Shore

At Nungua, not much of a difference was seen because, these are all fishermen with the same characteristics. The words they use, the shouts, the same processes of fishing. The only thing that differs is that they are not the same people, and it is not the same environment. It is also interesting to note that, though these fishermen sometimes go fishing at other different places, and stay there for a while before coming to their abodes, nothing much changes for good or for worse. Their way of speaking does not improve for the better, it is the same. For example, at Nungua we hear this fisherman shouting at the colleague;

1) *Borketey,   onyɛ..!   kɛ   loo'ɛ   abama   shi.   IMP)*
   Name of person   'your mother AUXILIARY AUX)   fish DET   put   down
   Borketey, insultingly) come and put the fish down

In example thirty six above, the subject of the sentence starts the sentence. As can be expected, he is making this rude request to a child. ' *onyɛ* ' your mother) is an insulting word mostly used by adults to younger ones, children are not required to use it among themselves. The imperative request in the sentence is '*kɛ   loo'ɛ* abama shi'. Come and put the

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fish down) Put this way, the command will still be complied with, but the speaker said the whole request in anger hence 'Borketey, *onyɛ*! Borketey, your mother).   Borketey is taking the fish away and the older man is requesting that he does not.

There are so many ways of doing or saying this politely, say,: Borketey, ofainɛ kɛ loo'ɛ abama shi name of a man, please come and put the fish down) but as we have seen already, the nature of their job does not allow them to go that extra mile of showing politeness in their requesting, because they are not used to that.

The ethnographic situations observed at Teshie are same to the people of Nungua and for that matter, the other beaches because, they come from sea, they pack their tools, they offload the fish for the women, they pull the canoe too safety. The women also follow the same trend, they take the fish and sell to their counterparts who then go ahead to prepare them for sale. Of course, the process is not the same, because we have the fishermen themselves who sell some of the fish they have got as their portion to the women or people in general who have come to buy some fish for domestic use, in these instances, too what we mostly hear are requests to buy and to reduce prices or not to leave them alone, or force to buy. For example, we consider these situations;

6.3.1   When They Had Just Come From Sea

> 1) *Ataa   `Ɗmai,   aloko   nuɛ   yɛ   ahima   mli   ee*
> *Endearment   name   no one fetch water   in   canoe   inside   EMP*
> *Ataa   mai, the water has not been scooped from the canoe*

> 2) *Nyɛ   fɛɛ   nyɛŋya,   namɔ   baaloo   dadei'ɛ ?*
> *You PL all   you PL going,   who   will fetch   metal DET?*
> *If you all go, who will collect the iron bars?*

The examples thirty seven and thirty eight above, we see ways of formulating requests among the fisherfolk of the Nungua beach. In the first request which is imperative, 'Ataa `Ɗmai, aloko nuɛ yɛ ahima mli ee' name of person, the water has not been scooped from the boat) the speaker, a male, used an endearment term, Ataa ``Ɗmai, name of a man) who is an elder to soften the request. Apparently he was complaining to him being the elder to let someone scoop the water out of the boat. 'Aloko' not scooped) is a verb in its negative form and the emphatic word 'ee' was also used for emphasis.

In the second example, '*Nyɛ   fɛɛ   nyɛŋya,   namɔ   baaloo   dadei'ɛ*?' You are all going, who will pick up the metals?) An interrogative request has the second person plural pronoun 'nyɛ' you plural) as the headword of the sentence. '*nyɛŋya,*' you are going) is a progressive verb in its contracted form standing for 'nyɛ miiya' you are going). The velar nasal'' takes the place of 'mii' in the contracted form. Immediately they got ashore, they have to scoop the water from the canoe, collect their tools, others will also have to allocate the fish to the women, so if the one in charge of scooping the water was not doing it, he was not directly commanded, but a request was made to the head that the job has not been performed, 'aloko nuɛ' the water has not been scooped) are the words that show the request.

6.3.2 When They Were Offloading Their Equipment

At all the shores on our coast, the fishermen all follow the same processes of coming to land, scooping water from the boat, giving out the fish, offloading their equipment and pulling the boat to safety. The only things we see differently on the various shores are that, as we see different groups, they say different things at different times, but their ways of talking are the same. It must be noted that even when they have traveled to other shores and come back, there is no change in their manner of speaking because, and most fishermen are the same in temperament.

> 1)   *Kaashi   nitsumɔ'   ofɔ   mɔ kome nɔ   [Declarative]*
> *Don't leave   work   the   you SG   put person one top*
> *Don't leave the work for one person*

> 2)   *Bɔɔte,   wo   dade'ɛ ofata   he   [Imperative]*
> *Name of person, lift   iron the you SG add on*
> *B44te add the iron bar to the rest*

3) *Namɔ   ataoɔ   ni   ewo   yaa   nɔ?   [Interrogative]*
   Who they want to him lifts   net   up
   Who do you PL expect to lift the net apparently to the younger ones in the
   team)

A negative verb 'kaashi' don't leave) preceded the imperative request in the fourty-fourth example. There was no name mentioned but the listener knew that it was meant for him. It was an order that needed immediate compliance. This was between two young men. There were no hedges in the request.

The second example was rather short and straight to the point; 'ole onitsumɔ ' was also directed at a particular person whose name was not mentioned in the interrogative request. There was no hedging here too and the request was not polite too.

 '*Bɔɔte*,' the subject of the sentence in the third imperative request '*Bɔɔte*, wo dade'ɛ   ofata   he' *Bɔɔte*, add the iron bar) is the headword. And in example fourty six, 'Tablɔi'ɛ jwere biɛ lolo`Ŋmai',  are the paddles still here `Ŋmai),the subject of the sentence   `Ŋmai)'was at the end of the statement, and the object of the sentence 'tablɔi' is rather the headword.   '1ɛ ', the contracted form of the article 'the' did not change the plural form 'i' at the end of the word 'tablɔ'.and finally 'who' a demonstrative pronoun is the headword in the interrogative request '*Namɔ   ataoɔ   ni ewo   yaa   nɔ? '   Who do you want to lift him net?)* The third person plural pronoun 'a' in ataoɔ   was not directed to anyone in particular. The request was thrown open to the whole group but then, it was expected that it will be complied with.

In the above examples, we see the leader of a particular boat, has to immediately give out command to the rest of the team to hurry up with the offloading because there is still some work ahead of them, when the boys were all going away, because they were tired) the leader in example fourty four, requested one of them not to leave the work for only one person to do, but that they should all get involved.

Out of tiredness, sometimes the boys misbehaved, so when one of them was standing aloof, the leader shouted at the boy, this was a clear request, because with the interrogative 'ole onitsumɔ ?' don't you know your work) he was expecting the boy to get to work. Because this work is routine, one does not expect the boys to be ordered about by their superiors. They should know their duty, but in example fourty-six, we see that a request was given to '*Bɔɔte*' name of a male) to add the iron or metal to his load since there was no one around to lift it, or it could be that the load he was carrying away was not much.

Another of their leaders was going about his business when he saw that what was supposed to have been carried away already was still lying there, so he made a request to no one in particular but expecting that it would be complied with, 'the paddles are still there?', this request will be complied with by anyone who heard him without any complain.

6.3.3 When They Were Mending Their Net

Normally, when the fishermen have gone through all the processes of offloading and sharing out the fish and moving the boat to safety, they checked whether any of the nets was torn so that they could repair it. Among every team of fishermen, there are folks who do not go out to sea probably due to age or illness or for some other reason). These people are always around so when the fishermen come they help with other works. Sometimes some of them do the repair of the nets. Through interactions requests of various kinds are made. It is interesting to note that this scene looks a little different, in that, the atmosphere is more relaxed. It is not so rowdy as when the seafarers have just landed. There is not the usual shouting, though some insults might pass). They sit in twos, fours or sixes mending the nets depending on the sizes of damage the net has.

1) *Ataa Otu,   fɔɔ   kpaa   ni   ka omasɛi   oha [Imperative]*
   Name of person,   throw   thread   which lies on your SG side you SG
   give me.

   Ataa Otu, throw the rope by your side for me.

An honorific term 'ataa' father) precedes the name of the person in the sentence, but does not change the nature of the request 'Ataa' father) is an endearment term given to elderly males among the Gas. .The person in question here is also elderly, but it was only used to soften the request. 'Oham' you give me) is a meaningful phrase consisting of a pronoun 'o', the verb 'ha' and the contracted form of 'mi' which is'.

What comes out of this analyses in conclusion is that, the fishermen in the formulation of requests, while they are at work, use endearment terms like 'ataa' and make both rude and polite requests as well.

7. CONCLUSION

The study has focused on request making among Ga fisherfolk. The aspect of requests examined are those primarily concerned with participants in the fishing industry. The study has provided a holistic understanding of requests formulation among the Ga fisherfolk. The study found that when it comes to their work, the Ga fisherfolk have no time for hedges and boosters. Once in a while they use the honorific terms in their request formulation. The study also found that in all requests, there are compliances. The use of honorific terms, endearment terms, boosters, hedges and mitigators and even address forms when employed, help in winning compliance or sympathy in requests. Compliances are not always positive. There are negative compliances as well. In negative compliances, the listener might choose not to talk or react. He or she may shake the head to mean no, 'I will not do it'. The listener might leave the scene showing negative compliance or the listener might remain adamant. In addition to this, the study also discovered that in requests there is the use of honorifics as a subtle way to flatter someone. Fishermen at Teshie are like any other fishermen all over Ghana and the world over. Their way of talking is peculiar: They shout, insult and curse when conversing and this is very normal with them. They tend to use interrogatives when making requests.

The study also found that in the utterances of the fisherfolk, their normal speech is full of shouting and impolite and insulting statements and these are transferred into the requests they formulate. Other people have no problem with their manner of request making as they take their mode of request making in good faith. When we talk of linguistic competence as the knowledge of the rules of the language in question, and sociolinguistic competence as the knowledge of the sociocultural and sociolinguistic rules governing the appropriateness of an utterance in context, the study discovered that the requests framed by the fishermen could be grouped into various moods such as, imperative, declarative and interrogative. This is to say that, when it comes to our fisherfolk, they are not concerned with any mitigators. The people they talk to are not bothered either. Finally, the results of the study indicated that with the women, though they worked at the same place with the men and did the same work with them, they showed linguistic competence and mostly used boosters to avoid imposition. This was very much so with all the women in other places of work covered by the research. The women generally were more polite than their men counterparts.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

This has been an enlightening research, and I am by this challenging other educationists, students doing their first and second degrees and who are interested in the development of the Ga language to take steps to look into other aspects of requests and do further work on them. This can be a stepping stone to further research in other areas of requests such as requests among the literates, illiterates, among peers and others. In so doing, the readership of the language will learn more of our request forms and structures, this will go a long way to help enhance the language, educate our people and also help the up and coming youth and other people show interest in the development of our language. Wisdom, my elders say, 'is not in one person's head'.

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