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DAVID L. DOADE

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DECLARATION

I declare that except for the references to works which I have cited and duly acknowledged, the dissertation is the result of my original research and it contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirement for any degree in any university or any material previously published or written.

Candidate

(David L. Doade)

Supervisors:

(Prof. A. B. K. Dadzie)

(Mrs. Kari Dako)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my wife and children and to God, the giver of wisdom and knowledge.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are due to the under-mentioned people for their invaluable contributions towards the successful completion of this study.

My sincere gratitude goes to Prof. A. B. K. Dadzie, my Principal Supervisor, Dr. J. F. Wiredu and Dr. E. Quarcoo, my second and third supervisors, whose support, assistance, encouragement and inspiration I immensely enjoyed.

I wish to put on record my heart-felt appreciation to Mrs. Kari Dako for her incisive criticism and encouragement that have been of tremendous help to me. To my indefatigable Lecturers, Prof. K. Anyidoho, Mr. Atukwei Okai, Mrs. Esi Sutherland and Mr. A. Denkabe, I say thank you for your illuminating lectures.

My sincere thanks go to Mr. Adika and Mrs. Sika Ahadzie for their guidance and useful advice. To Aunty Aggie and Aunty Sarah, I say thank you for your warm relationship and assistance throughout the period of my study.

Miss Bernice Ahlidza and Mr. Patrick Akorgbetor, my course mates, accept my appreciation for the wonderful company you provided. And to Miss Evelyn Esseku and Miss Elizabeth Asem, I say thank you for generously devoting your valuable time to type this work.

I am greatly indebted to my wife, Miss Beatrice Y. Lenwah, and my children for their sacrifice, patience and the inspiration they gave me. God, the Omnipotent, to you I owe every gratitude.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of the bilingual modes or technique in the writings of four Ghanaian journalists.

I ask whether the incorporation of elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of four renowned Ghanaian journalists is a slip or a stylistic device meant to achieve an effect.

I contend that the bilingual situation in Ghana resulting from the contact between English and Ghanaian languages poses a linguistic problem to the Ghanaian journalist.

I argue that the nativization of English is a linguistic decolonization process by Ghanaian journalists in order to communicate with Ghanaian readers. I support this liberal position by observing that the selected journalists have a solid grounding in the use of the English language.

I conclude that the use of Ghanaian English in the writings of the selected journalists is an attempt at capturing culture-specific meanings and also at self-identification.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Does culture shape language? Or does language shape culture? This is really as difficult a question as the old jigsaw; which came first, the chicken or the egg. There seems, however, to be no separation between language and culture.

Aristotle once observed that all languages, whether of primitive societies or civilized ones, are always in congruity with the conditions of their culture. Alleen Pace Nilsen[1] thinks along the same line in observing that a well-accepted linguistic principle is that as culture changes so will language.

We would like to establish a link between the above statements and the spread of the English language beyond its cultural borders and then make the proposition that the African cultural environment in which the English language has found itself today has helped to shape the language into an African linguistic artefact that has its unique identity and culture specific meaning in each of the countries in which English is used as a second language in Africa. This linguistic change of English in the Ghanaian environment has provided the impetus and serves as a catalyst for this study.

The study acknowledges that multilingualism is a common feature that helps to shape the English language in the Ghanaian cultural environment. The argument is made that the incorporation of "Ghanaian English" in mainstream or Standard British English of educated Ghanaians is the result of a language contact phenomenon. The research, therefore, examines the presence of elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of selected Ghanaian journalists.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Linguistic transference is a phenomenon that occurs as a natural consequence of contact between languages. Transference is sometimes referred to as interference. In the words of Weinreich (1953:1) interference refers to:

Footnote: *Alleen Pace Nilsen was an American Linguist. Her statement was in the introduction to an article headed, "Sexism in English: a Feminist View". The article is in *Language Awareness* 3rd Edition, and edited by Paul Escholz, Alfred Rosa and Virginia Clark.

Instances of deviation from the norms of either languages which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language.

We can infer from Weinreich's (1953) definition that "deviation" does not imply any deviant usage. It rather connotes any usage acceptable by native speakers but that may diverge from the standard form. In the African context, "instances of deviation from the norms of either languages" result from the contact between African and European languages. This linguistic contact has created new varieties of the alien languages in Africa. Interestingly, this language contact has generated a lot of linguistic controversies among language experts and critics.

The basis of these controversies is the differences in opinion regarding the status of the new forms or varieties that have emerged in Africa or in non-native French or English-speaking communities. Scholars like Quirk (1990), Gyasi (1990) and Ahulu (1994), for instance, would want English maintain its international standard. They, therefore, reject the indigenized forms that have been created for not meeting the above expectation. These scholars consider these varieties as aberrations rather than innovations.

On the contrary, scholars like Kachru (1985), Dako (1991), Quarcoo (1992), Bamgbose (1992) and Banjo (1971) see the new varieties not only as innovations that arose from the language contact situation but also as a way of expressing culture-specific ideas.

An important feature of African history is that when the continent emerged from colonial administration, it found itself in the anomalous position of having to continue using colonial languages as official languages for technological and cultural development, education as well as international communication, (Ngara 1986:21). The implication of the situation described above is that the African intellectual was not only given a western form of education but has continued to be taught in Western European languages to the extent that education is equated with the acquisition and a mastery of a European language – English and French being considered the most prestigious.

Today, there is no doubt that English, in particular, has ceased to be the property of the English people. This is because English is now spoken in many other countries because it has the capability of handling, sometimes, alien ideas and concepts.

This assertion is supported by Dadzie (1998:6) in the following words:

> *Wherever the language has taken root, whether as a result of forcible implantation or voluntary exile, it has shown a remarkable resilience in handling ideas and concepts alien to the way in which meaning is expressed in the English structural system.*

This assertion does not, however, mean that although the English language has encroached on African languages and is capable of handling alien ideas, the type of English spoken in Africa for instance is the same as the one spoken in its native home, Britain, or any other part of the world where English is spoken.

Most of the non-native English-speaking communities are bilingual. This means that in most of the communities in which English finds itself as a second language, there are several languages already in use that are indigenous to the users. Non-native speakers of English belong to different social and cultural backgrounds. They already have a way of conveying meaning and externalizing alien ideas and concepts that differ from that of English. In other words, non-native speakers of any imported language try to fashion out for themselves words and expressions whose meaning potentials may not exist in the imported language in the idiomatic sense, and at the same time not part of the local language. This is so because the lexical items used are completely alien to the language though the grammar may be the same. The term, "galamsey", for instance, which is believed to be a corruption of "gather and sell" and is used to describe illegal surface mining system in Ghana, typically illustrates the above point. Though the word is derieved from Standard British English lexical items, yet its use in the Ghanaian context is associated not only with its illegal nature but also with the damage that is caused to the environment.

1.3 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

What emerges from the scenario described above is the creation of a "new language", a variety of, say, English. Language scholars have described this linguistic phenomenon in different ways and terminologies. Asante (1995:5) lends credence to this assertion. She states that:

> *The terms New Englishes (Platt et al, 1984), indigenized varieties (Richard, 1979, Moag, 1992) and nativized variety (Kachru, 1992) are all indicative of the structural changes*

that distinguish second language institutionalized varieties from the established native speaker varieties of English.

Asante (1995:5) further contends that the term "indigenized" is used to convey the idea that English has been adapted to the new environment of the users concerned and has therefore acquired the status of an indigenous or native language. While we share this view with Asante (1995) we would like to point out that the indigenization process is an on-going one until African countries are able to codify and grammaticalize their English to meet international acceptability and intelligibility.

To demonstrate his support for the argument that English in Africa is socially and culturally conditioned and that such a new content gives birth to a new form, Breton (1991:6) claimed that:

> *While some languages are leaving the scene of history, others enter upon it. First of all there are "emerging languages", the vehicle of ethnic groups and states having recently achieved political independence and now in the process of voluntary linguistic consolidation, codification, graphicization, lexical creation, and the blossoming of a new literature.*

In the view of Breton (1991), the new varieties of English that have emerged on the African continent are indicative of the fact that African nations are evolving "new languages" for themselves as a result of the language contact situation for national and international integration.

What, then, are the linguistic ramifications for the contact between the English language and African languages? As already noted, the contact has resulted in a hybridization of English in Africa, thereby, generating a linguistic debate. The central issues border on standards and pedagogical purposes (for teaching and learning). Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards the English language in general and the new varieties of English in particular usually reflect the divergence of opinions and attitudes of scholars towards the issue.

These attitudes have guided us to categorize language experts in the linguistic debate into two groups. On the one hand, we have the "purist" scholars who showed and continue to show skepticism about the indigenized forms, and apprehension for what they consider as the "general deterioration" in the use of the English language. The traditional position these purist scholars take can be stated as follows: "The fact is

that what is correct in a language is just what native speakers of the language say. There is no other standard" (Hocking 1974:58).

As early as 1712, Jonathan Swift set the stage for the purists' position when he presented his famous "Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue". He was quoted by Crystal (1987:5) to have complained to the then Lord Treasurer of England, the Earl of Oxford in the following words:

> *Our language is extremely imperfect, that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities, and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar.*

For Swift, there is a perfect state for the English language, a state that must be preserved or sustained. It is against this idealistic view of language perfection that all efforts "to polish or refine it" have faltered.

Other purist scholars, however, take a softer stance. Scholars like Quirk (1985:21) appreciates the increasing radius of the English language world-wide. In spite of this interest, these scholars also think that there are certain pertinent questions that need to be addressed. Among these questions are:

a. What should be the status of the indigenized varieties? Are we to accept them as standard or substandard forms?
b. In case we accept them as standard what should be the criteria for their codification and acceptability?
c. Can these forms maintain a high level of international intelligibility, acceptability and even interpretability?
d. What then will be the pedagogical implications? Will they be suitable for purposes of education?

The anxieties expressed by Quirk (1985) and others seem, on the surface, to be genuine on account of whether there are yet any institutionalized varieties in Africa with which we can make comparisons, that is, national African standard Englishes. These anxieties should, however, be allayed if we consider the efforts made by some Nigerian scholars for instance to produce a Nigerian English dictionary, and also their attempt at codification, lexicalization and grammaticalization of Nigerian English.

In referring to the work that was started on a monolingual dictionary of Nigerian English, Banjo (1974:24) has this comment about the compilers;

> *"Their intention is to produce a material which deals with standard Nigerian usage as well as indicate diatypic status of each item and thus reflect a fair amount of non-standard uage."*

These efforts, together with the fact that "acceptability of a national variety as a pedagogical and socio-linguistic norm for a speech community largely depends on the language's position in the nation" (Schmied 1991:172) should assuage our fears and anxieties.

Supporters of "hybridization", that is native varieties of English take a more liberal position on the language issue. The new liberal position is best exemplified in Kachru (1992) and Banjo (1974). Halliday/McIntosh/Strevens (1964:203f) clearly state their argument in the following words:

> *One of the most important changes that took place in the period between 1950 and 1960 was the acceptance that "to speak like an Englishman" was not the obvious and only aim of teaching English to overseas learners, ……; in the eyes of the British language profession, one or other of the varieties of English that are growing up may in specific cases be of a kind more appropriate to the local educational system than any form current in the British Isles.*

To some extent, this argument sounds too theoretical and may not have an immediate relevance for settling the debate on the language issue. However, other "liberalists" like Kwasi Duodu put the argument in a more succint and a more aggressive manner. For Duodu, if we cannot decide on one Ghanaian language for the country after twenty-nine years of independence, then a borrowed language should be "butchered" to serve the purpose. In his own words, "In his heart of hearts, the youth, like many other silent Ghanaians, is protesting against an imposed language which prevents him from expressing himself in his own language". (Kwasi Duodu, "The language problem," People's Daily Graphic, 5 September, 1986:3).

The assumption that we can make from the above position is that the speaking of "Ghanaian English" (Sey, 1973) is a deliberate attempt to "butcher" a borrowed or an alien language in order to achieve a national linguistic purpose of finding one medium of expression in the country. In our opinion, the occurrence of native forms of English in the

speeches or writings of even highly educated Africans proves the point that users of any imported language will always give it a native rendition in order to capture cultural meaning and also give the language a local identity.

On the whole, the debate on the language issue seems to be far from coming to an end. However, despite these divergent positions language scholars like Quirk (1990) Crystal (1985), Bokamba (1992) and Quarcoo (1992) are unanimous on the view that the English language is changing as it spreads across its original boundaries.

1.4 THE STATE OF ENGLISH IN WEST AFRICA

Expressions of concern about the state of English in West Africa was given an impetus in 1966 as a result of a study conducted by Grieve on behalf of the West African Examination Council. In his study, Grieve proposed the adoption of an endonormative model or variety of English in examining candidates in the English language paper. An endornormative model may be described as standard West African usage. Grieve's proposal probably marked the beginning of the debate over the need for the use of an endonormative variety such as Standard Nigerian English rather than Standard British English – the exonormative.

Most of the discussions on accepting a West African Standard English have been concentrated on Ghana and in particular Nigeria. The main factor that may have accounted for this is that, of all the English as second language speaking countries, Ghana and Nigeria seem to have incorporated English most extensively into their national cultures coupled with the fact that English tends to have enjoyed a more stable sociolinguistic position in these countries than in any other African state.

The debate on the state of the English language in Nigeria is summarized in Jibril (1987:7). Jibril observes that the most controversial issue in English Language studies in Nigeria is that of Nigerian English. He cites scholars such as Banjo, Adetugbo, Adesanoye and Odumuh as those who have affirmed the existence of Nigerian English which they describe as the totality of the varieties of English used in Nigeria. According to Jibril (1987) within the school of thought that holds the above view, Odumuh (1984) who not only aggressively asserts the existence of Nigerian English but also claims that there is already "a standard version of it, which should be codified and taught in schools in place of a foreign grammatical model."

Odumuh (1984) seems to be alone in his proposition that this non-native form should be used in schools on account of Jibril's observation that most of those who accept Nigerian English as a reality neither propose it as a model nor seek to wipe it out of existence. They recognize, instead, "that it is the natural result of attempting to learn a second language and using that language in social and affective domains among others."

Contrary to the above position, other Nigerian scholars challenge the existence of Nigerian English. Their position is clearly stated in the words of Oji as quoted by Jibril (1987) thus:

> *The death-knell of Nigerian English should be sounded loud and clear as it has never existed, does not exist now, and will never see the sun of day (sic).*

Oji, according to Jibril, holds the view that well-educated Nigerians do not consciously speak or write the so-called Nigerian English except in error, while the acceptance of error, he claims, is illogical.

Nevertheless, scholars like Banjo (1974), Adesanoye (1973) and Adenkule (1974) have individually made the effort to identify and classify the types of English spoken in Nigeria. Banjo (1974) for instance, identified four varieties of English in Nigeria. The four varieties are described below:

Variety I. This type of English is generally marked by a near-total transfer of the Niger-Congo languages into English. It is used by people who have imperfect knowledge of the English language.

Variety II. This category is functional in usage. It has a high level of social acceptability but a low level of international intelligibility.

Variety III. This variety is marked by a high level of social acceptability and a high level of international intelligibility. It is the English of the educated class.

Variety IV. It is the type of English used by a few Nigerians who speak English as their first language either because they were born by native speaker parents or that they were brought up in native-speaker environment.

Banjo's (1974) classification was based on the extent to which mother tongue transfer approximates international standard.

Adesanoye (1973) on the other hand examines the types of English spoken in Nigeria and taxonomizes them into three varieties. His first variety is marked by deviant features of lexis and syntax resulting from what he considers to be negative transfer (from the mother tongue).

His second and third varieties are, however, similar to the second and third of Banjo's. However, Adesonoye's (1973) classification is done on the basis of patterns of deviant usage in the written English of Nigerians.

Although these varieties have not yet been accorded international recognition, yet they serve as significant reference points for any discussion on the state of English in Nigeria.

In Ghana, a body of scholarly works exists on the problem of the English language, its acquisition and competent use. Studies on the English language in Ghana include such research works as Criper (1971), Sey (1973), Tingley (1979) and Karikari (1987). Some of these studies investigate the use of English in Ghana in general while others examine the use of English in the print media.

Opinion on the state of the English language in Ghana is in two parts. There are scholars who claim there is a distinct Ghanaian variety of English, and those who question its existence. Sey (1973), Gyasi (1990/91), Egblewogbe (1992) and Dako (1991), among others are examples of scholars who question the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English. Those who claim and try to justify its existence include Quarcoo (1994), Asante (1995) and Gyening (1997).

While vehemently denying its existence, Sey (1973:6) admits what he terms "the English of educated Ghanaians" and identifies "the peculiar features of this English", which he claims "may be more profitably described in terms of tendencies rather than specific Ghanaian usage". Sey (1973) outlines the following features which he claims mark off the English of educated Ghanaians.

a. The tendency to use learned and archaic forms.

b. Flamboyance of prose style which at times sounds flat and jerky because command of English vocabulary and structure does not equal aspiration to the style.

c. Frequent cases of hypercorrectness.

Sey (1973:10) further argues that the linguist may be able to isolate features of Ghanaian English and describe them. But once these were made known to him, the educated Ghanaian would strive to avoid them altogether.

And, as if echoing the voice of Oji, Sey aggressively declares that "the surest way to kill Ghanaian English, if it really exists, is to discover it and make it known. "In the view of Sey, what is considered as "Ghanaian English" is in actual fact "deviant usage". However, he identifies elements of what he defines as "Ghanaianism in educated Ghanaian English".

While being critical about the idea of the existence of Ghanaian English, Sey (1973:9) identifies about two hundred "elements" in the English of educated Ghanaians that mark it off as Ghanaian.

In our opinion, Sey's (1973) position seems to be contradictory. While denying the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English, he at the same time notices features of "Ghanaian English". His analysis is, therefore, flawed in two respects. On the one hand, we agree with Odamtten, Denkabe and Tsikata (1994) that Sey's subject-matter "Ghanaian English" negates his notion of target English (the standard English users of Ghana should aspire). On the other hand, his evidence suggests that the educated Ghanaian user of the language would want to use the target and when he unwittingly misses the target, he would rather quickly correct than perpetuate it.

> Gyasi (1991) in corroborating Sey's (1973) position strongly asserts that:
> *There is nothing like "Ghanaian English" if we base our judgement on the occurrence of such errors as "equipments" "we must voice out our view" and " I am going and coming".*

Gyasi (1991) terms the above usages as "errors" or "deviations" from the British standard forms. He cautions that "we should not, therefore, elevate bastardization into the status of legitimacy and call it "Ghanaian English". In our view expressions such as "we must voice out our views," and "I am going and coming" are Ghanaian

variants of standard English forms that have slipped into mainstream English and should not be considered as errors. An error, we believe, occurs when a rule governing a particular language is breached and in the above examples no rule seems to have been breached.

The notion that Ghanaian English does not exist is given further attention and detailing by Dako (1991). She rejects the term "Ghanaian English" on the basis of classification. Dako (1991:51) derives support from Jibil's (1986) definition of Nigerian English as a cluster of regional and social varieties which interact sufficiently in a continuum to qualify for a cover term. According to Dako (1991) the question of social varieties in Ghana is, as far as can be ascertained, a non-researched area.

She further registers her rejection of the term with what she terms "inner circle" (L1 group), that is "the countries with predominantly native speakers', and "outer circle" (L2 group), that is, countries with English as a second language.

Proceeding from the above premise she observes that native varieties of English are of two kinds – standard varieties and non-standard varieties. On account of the above, she points out that non-native varieties do not carry the above distinctions; their standards are those of the native varieties.

From the foregoing arguments we can conclude that opponents of the argument that a Ghanaian variety of English exists premise their contention on the notion of standard and the problem of deviance. Their position is that there is no identifiable standard by which educated Ghanaian users of English can be distinguished from other users of that Ghanaian variety.

Contrary to the above contention, Quarcoo's (1994) presentation during an Inter-faculty Lecture series apparently represents one of the first bold attempts to establish and justify the existence of a Ghanaian variety. The thrust of Quarcoo's (1994) argument is that when a foreign language is imported into a country and used for quite a long period of time it becomes the property of the recipient community. He tends to agree with Kwapong's (1979) assertion that there is an "intimate connection between language and national character," as well as Lyons' (1975:19) observation that "the transmission of language from one generation to the next is partly biological and partly a matter of culture."

To Quarcoo, (1994) English has become an artefact of Ghanaian culture shaped by the people of Ghana to Ghanaian cultural ends. He uses the following as illustrating the Ghanaian variety of English. In speech changes in stress in words like "violate" and "whitewash" where there is a shift of stress from the first syllable to the second syllable does not constitute a mispronunciation but represents the Ghanaian way of saying them. He further argues that structural changes may not constitute errors but "Ghanaian amendments." He cites the following to illustrate his point:

a. The secretary requested for the supply of stationery; (requested not "requested for" in Standard English).

b. I picked my pencil from the floor. (Picked up not "picked" in Standard English).

c. When we reached Madina, I dropped (I alighted/got down, in Standard English).

We share the view with Quarcoo (1994) that English in Ghana has undergone a lot of transformation after many years of use. However, we believe that the examples cited by Quarcoo should not be merely described as "Ghanaian amendments" but rather as being representative of the local versions of the Standard English form. These forms derive from a process described by Asante (1995) as nativization.

Asante's (1995) support for the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English is demonstrated in a study entitled "Nativization of English in Ghana". She bases her argument in favour of the existence of Ghanaian English on two language phenomena. These are language contact and language acquisition. She defines language contact as the contact of two languages as a result of their location, that is, existing in the same environment. She points out that Ghanaian languages, for example, are in contact with one another and with English due to their location.

Asante (1995) further identifies "transfer" as one of the effects of language contact. She notes that transfer can either be positive or negative. In illustrating this point, she cites the substitution of the alveolar stop /t/ and /d/ for the dental fricative /θ/ and /ð/ in the pronunciation of the "th" sound in words such as "think", "the" and "this" by some Ghanaians as an instance of negative transfer. She observes that the effects of transfer have been noticed to occur at all levels of linguistic analysis; phonetic and phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical.

The second language phenomenon that provides support for her nativization theory is language acquisition. This refers to the learning of a language or languages in addition to the first or primary language. She identifies "target of acquisition", "imput" and "motivation" as the three most relevant conditions for a nativization model. Target refers to the goal of acquisition, that is, the model aimed at for emulation and teaching. It is linked to the use to which the second language is put. Asante (1995) claims that in Ghana (as in Nigeria and India), for instance, English is acquired primarily for use with other Ghanaians or non-native speakers. Her assertion is based on a comparative study done by Gogovi (1991) on some university students on Illorin and Cape Coast compuses. She quotes Gogovi (1991:12) as follows:

> *"Both Ghanaian and Nigerian students learn English to communicate with their African brothers and sisters rather than with Americans and the British."*

Gogovi's (1991) study, therefore, further elucidates the reason why elements of Ghanaian English are found in the English of even educated Ghanaians. In furtherance of the above argument, Asante (1995) states that the attitudes of informed speakers of English in higher educational circles indicate that the exornomative, that is, Standard British English is the target every Ghanaian user of the language aspires to reach.

Elaborating on input, the second condition influencing language acquisition, she explains that input refers to the language that is taught in schools or acquired. Referring to the particular Ghanaian situation, she mentions a number of factors that must come into play in the acquisition of the English language. Textbooks account for standard British norm. The speech of the teachers represents second language speakers. Norrish and Dolphyne's (1974:86) "viable model" lends support to the above factors. They state:

> *There is a considerable difference between learning English as a foreign language where the only mode is the teacher and his materials, and learning it as a second language where there is a viable model outside the classroom.*

The arguments of the "accommodationist" scholars who try to establish and justify the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English may be summarized as follows:

a. The long period of contact of English with Ghanaian languages has created a Ghanaian version.

b. The purpose of acquiring the English language is to communicate among Ghanaian users rather than with native speakers of English.

c. The acquisition of English in Ghana is done through Ghanaian models instead of through native speakers.

The argument that a Ghanaian variety of English exists is now tenable, and this fact can no longer be denied or wished away easily. Studies on the state of the English language in Ghana have shown evidence of its existence in the phonological, morphological and the lexico-semantic levels of Ghanaian speakers of English (see Asante 1995, Quarcoo 1994).

Constructions such as the following have been noticed in the writings of Ghanaian scholars and also in some of the examples of the modes and techniques discussed in this study.

i) Me, I keep politics at arms length all the time ..... (D. G. Fri. Nov. 23, 2001:7).

Thus when the driver's mate tells the boarding passengers 'No front' he means it. (Page 33 of the study). Similar structural deviations can also be noticed in some of the examples at pages 34, 46, 48, 50, 54 and 59 of this study.

All the arguments either in favour of or against the existence of Ghanaian English are sound and legitimate. The fact is that these divergent positions serve as relevant reference points for any analysis of the state of the English language in West Africa, and for this study in particular. The argument that Ghanaian English exists has, therefore, provided a credible basis and a strong justification for the examination of the Elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of the four journalists discussed in this thesis.

We think, therefore, that the time has come for us to accept and recognize the existence of Ghanaian English in order to delimit its features for study.

1.5 THE USE OF ENGLISH IN THE GHANAIAN MEDIA

The performance of the press in the use of the English language has become a topical issue in recent times. Criticisms concerning language use in Ghanaian newspapers levelled by scholars, educationists, politicians and the reading public centre

around the use of abusive or impolite language and poor grammar. These criticisms are well summed up in the Education Commission Report (October, 1996) in the following words:

> *"Newspapers keep on making unpardonable mistakes in spelling; construction and syntax, yet they are the most available medium of communication countrywide for those wishing to read."*

Tingley (1979) is one of the many scholars who share the above concern. In an introduction to his paper entitled, "Deviance in the English of Ghanaian Newspapers" he acknowledges the great influence newspapers exert on the populace. The sentiments he expresses indicate that there is no kind of (written) English to which the educated Ghanaian public is so extensively exposed as that of newspaper journalism and it would be strange indeed if it did not have considerable influence on the way English is spoken and written in Ghana.

Tingley's (1979) study is based on "deviant usage" or "errors" that he identifies in the English of the *Daily Graphic, the Ghanaian Times and the Pioneer.* The problems he identifies and addresses are what he terms "the deviant linguistic patterns characteristically ..... existing alongside target English patterns, and not with a uniform Ghanaian English usage". This deviant linguistic usage covers such topics as the misuse or omission of articles, prepositions, phrasal and prepositional verbs. For example:

a. Substitution pattern: This is the replacement of a standard adverbial or prepositional particle in a phrasal/prepositional verb for another one. An example is "it took the combined team of National Fire Service (sic) and the Armed Forces Fire Service about two hours to put off the fire. (GT 14/2/1977:9). In the phrasal verb "put off", "off" is used in place of the Standard English adverb "out".

b. Insertion pattern: Here, the adverbial or prepositional particle is inserted into the structure when it is not needed. An example of this is the insertion of "up" in the following: "His shouts for help awoke the houseboy, but before the houseboy could open the door, it had been locked up" (P 6/7/1977:1).

c. Omission pattern: In this pattern, the particle is expected to co-occur with the verb in Standard English but it is however omitted. An example of this pattern is where "up" is omitted in "pick up" in the following sentence: I stopped to pick my own suitcase and reported the matter to the Railway Police (P 22/7/1977:4).

The other aspects of Tingley's "deviant usage" include nouns, cases involving number, modal auxiliaries, perfective aspect, the infinitive and the –ing form. The rest include what he describes as:

(i) General tendencies concerning the deviant use of target English lexical items. He gives the following as an example. The average family cannot afford two well-balanced diets a day (GT. 18/5/51977:6) where "diets" is used for the target English lexical item "meals".

(ii) The use of non-target English lexical items. Interestingly, quite against our expectation, Tingley (1979) observes under the above category that "it is quite common to find lexical items which have been formed by means of typical target English productive processes, but which do not, for practical purposes, exist in target English, and would almost certainly not be acceptable to an educated native speaker." The question we may ask is, what then are these non-target lexical items? Can't we consider them as Ghanaian English words?

One can discern a strong correlation between the examples cited by Tingley (1979) as "deviant usage" and what Quarcoo (1994) calls "Ghanaian amendments." We are of the view that the so-called "deviant usage" that Tingley identified and frowned upon in his study are elements of Ghanaian English usage which results from an indigenisation process which the English language is undergoing in Ghana.

Drawing a link between poor grammatical usage and the substance of news report, Adam (1995) argues that the quality of the language used may affect the substance or the quality of the news report. He stresses that:

> *The crux of the matter is that serious and persistent errors apart from intermittently obstructing reading and comprehension are likely to raise doubts about wider issues relating to the competence of the journalist and the paper in question.*

In contributing to the debate on the language of the print media in Ghana Denkabe and Gadzekpo (1996) castigate journalists for their poor showing in language use. According to them, newspapers in Ghana are faced with the problem of the use of the English language. They also claim that the manner in which language is sometimes misused, misapplied and abused by the press can distort the socio-political reality they reflect.

In our opinion, language use in newspapers in Ghana typically reflects the real linguistic situation in the country, and of which newspapers seem to be the model. However, complaints from readers abound in our newspapers themselves about "the poor English" used by our media men and women.

One such complaint came in the form of a letter to the editor, (the Mirror, Saturday, Jan. 7, 1995) in which the reader complained that "the silly grammatical mistakes that abound in all our Ghanaian newspapers are clearly unedifying for the linguistic health of our young J.S.S. and S.S.S. students." Again a reader, Daniel Awudi in another letter to the editor (the Mirror, Saturday, August 23, 1997) castigates the paper for allowing what he terms "the printer's devil to confuse "it's" (it is) with "its" (possessive pronoun).

In an article headed, "Our poor English" (Daily Graphic, Saturday, August 30, 1997) the author, Africanus Owusu Ansah, quotes K.B. Asante, a prominent public figure, as having shown concern about "the poor standard of English among our youth" and reminds the media about what to do to improve the situation. The examples of his "poor English spoken or written" include:

a. "misuse" of words of quantity such as "some few books" in which case "some few" should have read "a few" in target English;
b. "wrong" question tags. For instance: so it helps you a lot, isn't it?
c. Spellings: for example, "refered" instead of "referred".
d. Plurals: for example, "coup d'etats" is used instead of the target form "coups d'etat."

Surprisingly, the critics are silent over American spellings of some English words, for instance, (not talking of the grammar), where "program" is used for the British English form "programme" and "favor" for "favour".

Most of the criticisms levelled against language use by the press seem to be quite legitimate on the grounds that newspapers exert a tremendous amount of influence on the majority of the reading public. Not only do newspapers serve as a source of information and education for their readers but they also serve as role models for them. In a recent research conducted by Ansu-Kyeremeh and Gadzekpo (1996) the researchers found that as many as 30% of the respondents interviewed claimed that they learned from newspapers. This finding tends to support the claim made by Bagkidian (1971:8) that "for the most of the people of the world, for most of the events of the world, what the news systems do not transmit did not happen". The influence of newspaper language cannot, therefore, be over-emphasized.

Today, we may consider what some scholars, particularly Swift (1712) termed as language "corruptions", language "abuses and absurdities that offend against every part of grammar" as merely some of the responses of the English language to the dictates of a dynamic linguistic society. This observation is premised on the assertion made by Crystal (1987:5) that:

> *Languages do not develop, progress, decay, evolve or act according to any of the metaphors which imply a specific endpoint and level of excellence. They simply change as society changes.*

Having established the basis upon which language critics jettison their arguments either in support of or against the state of the English language, it is pertinent to remind ourselves of one of the basic functions of language. The primary purpose of a language is communication. Effective communication can only take place if a speaker makes the most appropriate choices of the linguistic resources available to him and which may be properly understood by the hearer barring any external hindrances. Communication, in this sense, is not merely and regimentally uttering grammatical words and sentences in compliance with the cultural norms governing the language. It is also, in the words of Yankah (1997:10), "observing the cultural constraints on speech in certain situations". We understand the term "cultural constraints" to mean the restrictions a new environment may impose on a (foreign) language.

As modern norms of communication have conspired to move us from an oral society to that of writing, how susceptible is the Ghanaian journalist to the encroaching Ghanaian linguistic norms and system of communication? Again, if the use of journalese, technicalese, and other such cliches as modes of communication by newsmen generally evokes suspicion and criticism from language critics, are there any other communicative strategies left for the Ghanaian journalist in conveying his message to his readers?

In order to find answers to these questions, the study seeks to argue that the attempt at incorporating and accommodating Standard British English and elements of Ghanaian English usage, and indigenising English rather than assimilating the western norms and modes of communication as we see in Ghanaian newspapers is a stylistic strategy by journalists to make the language distinct. In our study, we have used "Ghanaian English" in the sense of the indigenized forms of English that we see in the writings of the four journalists.

The purpose of this study is to investigate why elements of "Ghanaian English" usage occur in the writings of educated Ghanaians, especially journalists, writing in English. By "Ghanaian English" we are referring to usage that embodies the following:

a. Indigenization;
   The use of words and expressions that are English, but restricted to the Ghanaian semantic field. Examples are the underlined expressions in the following:
   (i) The women were introduced to Chokor smokers, (traditional smoking ovens). (Daily Graphic Thu. July 10, 97:5).

   (ii) The Kukuom Red Cross sets up a Kente weaving project. (Ghanaian Times, Fri. Jan. 31. 97:9).

b. Code-switching: For instance, Parliament aye hu more. (There is more confusion in parliament). This involves the incorporation of Ghanaian language expressions in English structures.

c. The use of proverbs. (All the proverbs used by the four writers are Ghanaian. They are either used in their original forms or transliterated into English).

   i. So, some cutlass cut some cutlass. (Free Press, Fri. Apr. 4 – Thu. Apr. 10, 97:4).

   ii. The dog eat dog politics of appointments. (Ghanaian Chronicle, Wed. Nov. 5 – Thu. Nov. 6 1997:6).

d. Transliteration: For example
   i. This going that I'm going, my back is not good at all. (The Ghanaian Chronicle, Fri. Nov. 14 – Sun. Nov. 16, 1997:5).

   ii. He went to cut some for the road. (The Ghanaian Chronicle, Wed. Nov. 5 - Thu. Nov. 6, 97:6).

e. The use of Pidgin: For example.
   i. Woman piking go suffer well well. (The Ghanaian Chronicle, Fri. Nov. 7 – Sun. Nov. 7 – Sun. Nov. 9, 97;3) (Pidgin has been identified as an element of Ghanaian English because no study has yet established t he existence of Ghanaian Pidgin).

The incorporation of varying elements of Ghanaian English, sometimes as a result of mother tongue interference or as a bilingual situation in the writings of Ghanaian journalists has become a feature of African writing which needs to be investigated.

The objective of this study is, therefore, to identify the media through which Ghanaian English usage has infiltrated the writings of selected renowned Ghanaian journalists in order to examine their stylistic significance. Secondly, the thesis will analyse the semantic role that the incorporation of Ghanaian English into Standard English plays in conveying meaning to readers. Structural peculiarities have not been considered for analysis in the study because they do not by themselves achieve any stylistic purpose. It is intended that an identification and an examination of the elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of the selected journalists will help us discern their stylistic appropriateness within the cultural milieu that the journalists operate.

It is assumed that the use of Ghanaian English in the writings of four selected Ghanaian journalists is an attempt at giving an innovative rendition to the English language in the media through a system of integration and accommodation where Ghanaian languages, vehicles of our culture, play a central role.

In order to achieve the goals of this study, the research has been structured into four chapters. Chapter one deals with the conceptual framework that provides the basis for the exploration of the topic. It examines the language contact phenomenon and the debates that it has generated on the new Englishes in West Africa. The second chapter gives the socio-linguistic backgrounds of informants, provides reasons for their choice and then looks at the journalist and his dilemma in the bilingual situation. Chapter three analyses the elements of Ghanaian English usage of the four journalists and discusses the modes through which it occurs. Chapter four, the concluding chapter, evaluates the stylistic strategies adopted by the journalists as a way of indigenizing the English language to give it a Ghanaian identity.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BILINGUALISM

This chapter examines language contact and the bilingual situation and the problems that it poses to the Ghanaian journalist.

The interference of one language on another in the speech and or writings of bilinguals is a common occurrence which has become a subject of investigation by researchers. According to Weinreich (1953:1) interference implies "the re-arrangement of patterns that results from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language". What we can deduce from this observation is that interference involves rearrangement of structures of both languages.

However, Breton, J. L. (1991) argues that when languages and populations come into contact a bilingual situation emerges. In other words the contact languages interfere with each other. Bilingualism is the term used to describe this linguistic phenomenon, and has been subjected to various interpretations and definitions. Codeswitching, code-mixing, language shift or language mixing are some of the terms used interchangeably to describe this phenomenon.

According to Weineich (ibid.) a bilingual is the one who alternates between two languages and the situation in which he does it is referred to as bilingualism. On his part

Macnamara (1969) explains that a person is a bilingual if he has the skill in at least one of the four modes of communication, that is, reading, writing, speaking and listening in a second language in addition to his first language skills. For example, if an Ewe speaker alternates between Ewe and English, then he is a bilingual.

For Bloomfield (1933:56) "bilingualism is a native-like control of two languages". In other words, bilingualism presents the situation whereby an individual gains equal perfection in a foreign language as he does in his mother tongue. In effect, we can speculate that educated Ghanaians are bilinguals since they have second language skills in English apart from their first languages. In our view, bilingualism is the situation whereby a person alternates between his first language and another language with equal proficiency.

The question that arises is, "can there be a perfect bilingual?" . In other words, is it possible for one to speak two distinct languages with equal proficiency? Bloomfield points out that such a situation is rare among adults because they do not have the energy, enough opportu-

nities or even leisure to reach perfection in a foreign language. To him, one can be a perfect bilingual at early childhood. This is possible because a child in a multilingual or bilingual situation can easily conceptualise different things in the different linguistic environments in which it finds itself.

However, it seems possible for adults to become perfect bilinguals in any West African metropolitan centre which usually creates a multilingual environment. Our observation is based on Dakubu (1989:8). In her words, "it is practically impossible to grow up without including the possibility of expression in other languages within one's terms of reference, and certainly in Accra."

A distinction can be made between types of bilinguals. In a study on English-Ewe bilinguals, Asilevi (1990:12) observes that a majority of educated Ghanaians are of the functional bilingual type in the "maximal and the minimal senses." According to him, the maximal type comprises people who can conduct their linguistic activities in both their mother tongue and their acquired language but may show signs of interference in Lexis, syntax, phonology and morphology without impeding communication. Educated Ghanaians therefore belong to the maximal type.

According to Asilevi, the minimal bilingual has just a functional knowledge in a second language. He is only able to 'accomplish a restricted set of activities in the second language'. This type includes artisans, traders, maid servants, and all those who have added English to their mother tongue through no systematic instruction in the foreign language.

On the other hand, Weinreich (ibid) distinguishes between three types of bilinguals, namely, co-ordinate, compound and subordinate bilinguals. A co-ordinate bilingual, to him, interprets for example two words from two languages referring to the same referent as a compound sign. In other words each of the two words can be interchanged for the other in each of the two languages. For instance, instead of considering the English word "table" and the Ewe word "ekplo", both referring to the same item as separate words from two languages he regards them as a compound sign.

A compound bilingual however, treats the English word 'table' and the Ewe word 'ekplo' as two separate words referring to the same thing. A subordinate bilingual, according to Weireich, is one who learns a new language with the help of another. The learner treats the signs of the second language being learnt as not "actual things" but "equivalent" signs of the language already known".

An aspect of the definition of bilingualism which needs consideration is the situation described by Breton (1991:32) as "limited bilingualism" and " bidialectalism". He explains the two terms as the situation where one form of a language, usually historically older, is guarded against change and outside influence, while the other form, usually spoken, undergoes a natural historical evolution. The educated class speak the "low" form of the language on the street and at home, but use the 'high' language in education, religion, literature and other formal contexts. Whatever the situation may be we consider the phenomenon being described by Breton as an aspect of bilingualism.

Codeswitching and borrowing are two major modes of language alternation involved in the language contact situation. However, it is difficult to distinguish between the two terms. To Pfaff, borrowing may occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence while codeswitching involves a degree of competence in two languages. What Pfaff implies is that it is only monolinguals who may loan linguistic items from another language and use them in their own. To him codeswitching may occur in only the speech of a bilingual. Dzameshie (1996) on his part considers borrowing as not merely the ways in which one lexicon interferes with another but also, with regard to codeswiching, "the productive out-working of the social dynamics of a language contact situation".

As much as we agree with the view of Nartey (1982) that the issue of how one defines the two terms is clearly a big one in determining whether one is codeswitching, or not, our opinion is that the term "borrowing" should be restricted to the integration of the lexical items or linguistic items of one sense unit of one language into another. Codeswicthing, then, is the shift in the use of one language or the introduction of a chunk of one language in another in the same discourse or speech act. For instance, if a speaker says:

I shall be moving to nye afe yeyea me (my new house),

the expression "nye afe yeyea" forms a single semantic unit and should be considered as a borrowed element in an English sentence. Similarly, in Amu Djoleto's Money Galore a character says: Ha, a-a! Come on! See hwe! Mma- nnya rough Kwaraa (so). Here, the elements, "come on," "See" and "rough" are a chunk of codeswitched English expressions in an Akan sentence.

Studies in codeswitching revealed that bilingualism is a two-language system, that is, the monolingual language mode and the bilingual mode system, (Myers-Scotton, 1993, and Grosjean, 1982). A bilingual is in a monolingual mode when for instance, he uses English to address his audience who speak English as well. In doing this he restricts himself to only English without mixing it with any other language.

In the bilingual mode system, there is one language which plays the more active or dominant role. This language forms the base or what Myers Scotton refers to as the matrix language. The second language, which may be Ewe, Akan or Ga, is embedded in the matrix. Thus, the situation in which Ghanaian journalists write in English, the matrix language, and then intersperse it with their first language (the embedded language) amply demonstrates the situation of the bilingual mode system.

An important aspect of the phenomenon of codeswitching that scholars such as Romaine (1995:111) and Myers-Scotton (ibid) try to highlight is the feature that in a codeswitched discourse the items in question form part of the same speech act. "They are tied prosodically as well as by semantic and syntactic relations equivalent to those that join passages in a single speech act" (Romaine '95:111). On his part, Myers-Scotton (ibid) asserts that utterances containing codeswitching "show the same discourse unity as utterances in one linguistic variety alone".

While I grant that codeswitched elements may enjoy a degree of "discourse unity", it is also true that some codeswitched elements may not achieve grammatical or syntactic unity of either the base language or the embedded language. In other words, linguistic unity may be destroyed when an idiom, for instance, is influenced by a codeswitched, element. This is so because the relationship between one structural item in one language and another from a different language with which it is associated in a sentence may not, in all cases, be maintained in certain situations. There are instances where codeswitched elements could not achieve the syntactic relationship of the two languages. An example is as follows:

**The nye bros (brothers) have clinched victory again.*

(GC Fri. Nov. 18 - Sun. Nov. 21, '98:5).

In the example above, the matrix language, English, has the embedded element "nye bros". "Nye" is the Ewe possessive pronoun for "my". 'Bros' is the clipped form of the English word 'brothers'. Thus a literal rendition of the sentence will read:

**The my brothers have clinched victory again.*

The co-occurrence of the definite article 'the' and the possessive pronoun "my" before the noun "brothers" in the above codeswitched discourse is neither English nor Ewe. This is because the structure defies the syntactic rules of both languages. Even if we consider the unit "nye bros" as a single semantic unit, the presence of the determiner "nye" in the position in which it occurs should make it impossible for the article to precede it, in the structure. This argument therefore lends credence to the observation made by McIntosh and Halliday (1964:194) that, co-existing languages are not always absolutely entangled.

To sum up, the contact between English and Ghanaian languages has brought about the situation whereby English serves as a matrix language in which Ghanaian expressions are embedded for a more effective communication.

2.2 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE DILEMMA OF THE GHANAIAN JOURNALIST

The English language has grown and changed as words and new expressions have entered its vocabulary. The change which has resulted in the creation of new varieties of the English language and was discussed in the previous chapter has posed a lot of linguistic problems to the Ghanaian journalist. The major problem is, "which variety of the English language should he use to communicate with his Ghanaian reader?"

The problem arose out of the need for the journalist to communicate effectively in English to a wider reading public whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds are alien to English. It might be pointed out, for the purpose of clarification, that the Ghanaian journalist is a bicultural writer. He has been compelled to write in English although his first language is a Ghanaian language. The English language is the medium through which he communicates his thoughts and messages to, basically, his Ghanaian audience, and also, to a limited number of foreign readers. His Ghanaian culture determines his choice of linguistic items and at the same time guides his linguistic norms.

This dichotonous situation, therefore, presents, a problem of expression to the journalist as he seeks to balance the scale between his cultural background and his writing in a foreign language.

Should he act strictly according to the rules of the linguistic norms of English? Or should his first language or his Ghanaian reader with whom he communicates, influence his linguistic expression? These and other related issues pose a real challenge to the Ghanaian journalists. Any discussion of the linguistic choices made by the selected journalists in this study should, therefore, take cognisance of the above observations.

It is necessary here to state that the uses to which a language (in this case English) is put, are as various as the people and societies that use it Quirk (1962). It is on account of this knowledge that we consider the occurrence of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of the selected Ghanaian journalists as not deviant usage or error. It is a deliberate 'deviation' from

Standard British English in order to achieve a stylistic effect.

The styles journalists adopt in disseminating news and information in the print media have been described and labelled in such terms as journalese, technicalese, verbose, sententious and so on. Prof. Ansah, a prolific Ghanaian writer who wrote a column in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* before his death, used a style of writing that had received mixed reception. In the June 7th - 13th 1993 edition of the paper, for example, a reader dismissed his style as "the infantile exhibitionism of an SSS (Senior Secondary School) lad". To the reader, Ansah's style was 'terrible'. Other readers who admired his style of writing described it as in the case of another reader, in glowing terms as "he writes with such a flair - rendering the otherwise difficult English language a very easy one" (*Ghanaian Chronicle*, May 3rd - 6th 1993:4). What, then, is style?

Different interpretations and definitions have been given to the term. Crystal (1987 : 66) quoted some early scholars who viewed style as follows. According to him, Samuel Wesley defined style as "the dress of thought". This suggests that style is the means through which one expresses one's thought. He again quoted Jonathan Swift as having defined style as *"proper words in proper places"*; which implies that style relates to the choice of appropriate words at the appropriate situation. Crystal (ibid) on his part, considers style as any situationally distinctive use of language, a characteristic of groups as well as individuals. Style is, therefore, viewed in this study as the set of language features that make people distinctive, the basis of their personal or group linguistic identity.

By describing style as being situationally distinctive, we understand this to mean that every situation and or context demands its own linguistic marker to differentiate it from other situations. For instance, if an anti-AIDS campaign slogan is couched in 'every-man's - language' and another is in technical/medical terms, we are bound to arrive at statements relevant to the difference between informal and formal style, though the subject matter is the same. The question as to whether one is more appropriate or not than the other depends on the situation or context in which it is used.

Another definition, which is relevant to this study is the one which defines style as a deviation from a norm. Charles E. Osgood (1961:26) defines style as "an individual's deviation from norms for the situations in which he is encoding, these deviations being in the statistical properties of those structural features for which there exists some degree of choice in his speech". In this definition choice becomes the basis for style. And choice in this sense implies choosing a linguistic item outside the norm. The problem with this definition, however, is, "what are the norms, or rather what are the specific style categories with which we can compare the deviations?"

In an attempt to answer this question we are tempted to distinguish between a host of norm defining features in a number of styles. According to Envikst (1964:25), "such features may be stated in terms of metre ('heroic couplets'), time ('Elizabethan style'), place ('Yankee humour'), language, dialect, writer ('Byronic style'), school of writers ('romantic style'), genre ('poetic style, journalese'), and so forth. And for the purpose of this study, we would like to state that the norm from which the elements of Ghanaian English usage serves as a deviation is Standard British English.

There is the view that regards the writer as part of the context of what he writes, and definitions of style include all those elements that consist of personal and, I should add, group idiosyncracies. Based on this view we can conclude that the Ghanaian English usage found in the writings of the selected journalists serves as a linguistically distinctive self-identification. We are, however, conscious of the fact that within the pages of a daily or a bi-weekly newspaper, there will be juxtaposed such diverse categories of news reports through editorials to cartoons. Such a range of content will definitely provide linguistically divergent features one of which is the incorporation of Ghanaian English usage in Standard British English.

We base our assertion on the observation that the bi-cultural writer, with whom we can associate the Ghanaian journalist, is faced with the problem of making a choice between Standard British English and a reliance on Ghanaian English usage in order to communicate effectively the socio-political issues of the country to his fellow Ghanaians. This is not, however, to suggest that the Ghanaian journalist has not got the range of standard English

vocabulary in which he can convey his thought and message. The choice of a Ghanaian English form may be the result of Standard British English being incapable of externalizing certain Ghanaian cultural concepts. On the other hand the choice of the Ghanaian English form is aimed, we believe, at achieving a stylistic effect. It is in response to this sort of problem that George Sydney Abugri, one of our informants declares: "Now, me I like bushmeat, Jomo..... How do you explain bushmeat to an Englishman, Australian or American? I guess fresh or smoked game is accurate enough!" (Daily Graphic, Fri. Feb. 5, 99:7). But is 'fresh game' or 'smoked game' an adequate replacement of bushmeat? And how do we even account for the syntax? This and other related issues are some of the problems the journalist faces.

Choice, therefore, implies selection. Therefore, the use of a Ghanaian expressive form in a particular context is, on the one hand, a matter of style and on the other, a question of the writer not having any choice. This brings to the fore the question as to whether there is a styless writing. There are scholars who hold the view that every passage has a constellation of contexts as well as style. Envist/Spencer/Gregory (1964:32) in agreeing with this view argue that there is no styless language.

They argue for example that,

'John is a boy',

contrasts stylistically with the logician's 'John is a young male human'. Yet the preference for one form of style to another gives the impression that one style is better than another. Warburgh (Quirk and Smith 1959:50) talks of a good style. He declares:

> *Good style, it seems to me, consists in choosing the appropriate symbolisa tion of the experiences you wish to convey from among a number of words whose meaning area is roughly, but only roughly the same (by saying cat, for example, rather than pussy).*

Another linguistic problem that faces the Ghanaian journalist in the face of language contact situation is how to establish his identity. We think that the occurrence of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of the selected journalists enables any reader to know the writer's identity. This observation is based on Zabus' (1991) definition of indigenization which he sees as "a writer's attempt at textualizing linguistic differentiations, at conveying African concepts, thought-patterns, and linguistic features through the excolonizer's language". It is a way of adapting a foreign language to meet the linguistic demand of local users.

How does the writer get his Ghanaian readers to understand the ceremonies or rites that accompany the birth of a Ghanaian child if, for example, he uses a word like "christening?" By using an expression such as 'outdooring' or 'naming ceremony' he is first of all establishing his Ghanaian identity and at the same time conveying an African concept about birth (life), an event that is followed by a series of rites. To use a term like 'christening' would have restricted the semantic field of the word to just a Christian ceremony and which may not bring out the nuances of that cherished customary practice. Secondly, in a situation where the journalist resorts to the use of pidgin, it is not, we believe, because he lacks Standard British English vocabulary to express his thought. Rather, he wants to reach out to a wider readership. On the other hand, when a seasoned journalist of the calibre of K. B. Asante, for instance, writes,

I could not divide myself into twice to be at the same

place at the same time,

we do not assume that he lacks standard British English vocabulary to express himself. It is rather because he wants to identify with the 'man in the street'.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, two important considerations come out for mentioning. The first is whether the choice of a particular Ghanaian form of expression is deliberately done to achieve a specific stylistic effect or not. Secondly, we have to consider the linguistic background of the writer who makes the choice in order to determine his or her linguistic and, or communicative competence in the use of the English language. This will help us to know whether the use of the Ghanaian form is deliberate or a slip.

Closely related to these is the consideration of the purpose to which the selection of a Ghanaian usage is put; whether the usage is meant to convey a cultural concept or to depict a specific style. In all, the issues of style context is paramount in determining the stylistic value of any choice made.

We think the socio-linguistic background of the selected journalists for this study is solid enough to erode any suspicion of incompetence in their use of English and they cannot just resort to the use of Ghanaian English in their writing if not for something.

Our contention is that the occurrence of Ghanaian English elements in their English usage is an attempt at establishing a stylistic idiolect of a Ghanaian identity.

2.3 THE INFORMANTS

Four seasoned Ghanaian journalists have been selected for this study. They are Mr. George Sydney Abugri, who writes for the *Daily Graphic*, hereafter referred to as (DG), Mr. K. B. Asante, also of the DG, Prof. Kwesi Yankah who wrote a column in the *Mirror* and Mr. Steve Biko who writes for the *Ghanaian Chronicle*, hereafter referred to as (GC).

The main factor that guided the choice of the four journalists for this study was their socio-linguistic background. This socio-linguistic factor was considered against the background that it would give credibility to any statements that may be made about the occurrence of Ghanaian English usage in their writings. Based on this, we can assume that any such occurrence cannot be an error but rather a deliberate attempt at indigenizing the English language for their own expressive purposes.

2.31 MR. GEORGE SYDNEY ABUGRI

Abugri currently writes a column in the *Daily Graphic* captioned, "..... Letter to Jomo" which usually appears in the Friday (page seven) edition of the daily.

In an article headed, "A Bit of My Story," Abugri (DG Fri. May 29, 1998:7) gave the reader some insight into his background. He hails from Daduri in the northern part of Ghana. He started his profession as a certificated teacher, taught for about a decade, and ac-

cording to him, "the last four years as a science tutor at the Bawku and Tamale Technical institutions", and later branched into journalism.

He has worked with a number of newspapers including the *Echo*, the *Punch the Star* and later his current newspaper - the *Daily Graphic*.

In 1997, Abugri won the 'Journalist of the Year award for that year. His long working career with newspapers and the award, together, constitute an achievement which, in our view, makes his choice quite credible.

2.32 KWESI YANKAH

Prof. Kwesi Yankah is currently a lecturer at the Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Legon. He hails from Duakwa in the Central Region of Ghana. He speaks Fante and English.

In the preface to his book, "Woes of Kwatriot, Reflections on the Ghanaian situation," Yankah writes": the series of articles compiled in this book are highlights of contributions I made in a weekly newspaper, the "*Mirror*" between 1986 and 1988 in my column,

"Woes of a Kwatriot" According to him, the column was inspired by "frustrating experiences I went through chasing a car at the Tema Harbour on my return in 1986 from studies abroad - the price one pays for voluntarily returning home to serve one's motherland..... "

Yankah wrote the column until around 1996 when he stopped. There is therefore, no doubt about the linguistic competence of the writer.

2.33 MR. K. B. ASANTE

Mr. K. B. Asante was an educationist, an author and a diplomat who served in a number of countries. He graduated from Achimota Secondary School and later attended a number of colleges both inside and outside Ghana. He speaks Twi and English.

He writes a column in the *Daily Graphic* under the caption "Voice from Afar" which appears in the Monday edition of the paper.

Steve Biko is the pen name of Mr. Ben Antwi. He graduated from the University of Ghana, in 1993. He studied English, Linguistics and Psychology. He was a teacher by profession but after his university education he studied law and took to journalism. He writes a column in the "*Ghanaian Chronicle*". He speaks Twi and English.

It is important to remind ourselves that though the four journalists hail from different parts of the country and might have worked at other parts of Ghana, their current workplace is Accra in the Grater Accra Region of Ghana. Although the indigenous people of the region are Ga and speak Ga and Ga-Adangbe, yet Akan, which is gradually becoming a lingua franca of the country, dominates the other languages in the city.

Having taken into consideration the fact that the writers have stayed in Accra for a number of years and also the multilingual situation in some parts of the country, it is possible that the four selected journalists may speak other languages in addition to English and their first languages.

Consequently, the inclusion in the English language of other languages apart from their first languages is not coincidental. Considering their rich linguistic background we believe that the occurrence of elements of Ghanaian English usage in their writing is a topic worth investigation.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 ELEMENTS OF GHANAIAN ENGLISH USAGE IN THE WRITINGS OF THE SELECTED WRITERS

We would like to preface this chapter on the observation that language is an aspect of the culture of any human society.

In Ghana, the heterogeneity of culture is as diverse as there are languages spoken in the country. Yet, in spite of this diversity the spirit of all the cultures in Ghana is the same, it is only the letter that differs. In other words the concept of life and the Ghanaian world view is the same throughout the country, it is only the practices that differ.

Journalists in Ghana write about the socio-political issues affecting their people who have diverse cultural backgrounds and languages. It is against this background that the selected journalists attempted to indigenize the English language in order to find a common expressive form to convey their messages and culture-specific concepts to their readers.

3.2 THE BILINGUAL MODES/TECHNIQUES IN G. S. ABUGRI'S WRITING

The table below shows the frequency of occurrence of Abugri's bilingual modes.

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
Indigenization	40	38.8
Codeswitching	33	32.0
Proverb/Transiteration	18	17.5
Pidginization	12	11.7
Total	**103**	**100**

(Refer to Appendices)

3.21 INDIGENIZAION IN ABUGRI'S WRITING

Abugri's use of indigenized forms has cultural relevance. Specific concepts and notions pertaining to Ghanaian culture and world view are captured by such forms. Indigenized forms are those English expressions or English - Ghanaian expessions which have lost their original semantic fields or meanings and are now assigned Ghanaian meanings. For instance, certain kinship terms are used in the generic sense in order to capture the communal spirit of the Ghanaian society. Examples of such terms are underlined in the following sentences:

On the western wing of the second floor is a labour ward. Here, you hear the moaning and groaning of our sisters, daughters, mothers, wives and super concubines in the first spasmodic pangs of you know - what's - coming!

(DG. Aug. 8, 97:5)

Kinship terms such as sister, mother, daughters, wives, etc. are usually used in two senses in Ghana. They have a 'biological ' reference to which we refer by asking the question: is she your real' sister, mother, etc.? This reference restricts the meaning to the nucleus family system.

On the other hand, the words also carry an extended meaning relating to the extended family system. It is in this sense that Abugri uses the words in the sentences above. The word 'mother' for example conveys the idea of womanhood, tenderness and the ability to bear, nurse and nurture a child. Similarly ladies or girls and children in a Ghanaian society are everybody's sister or child respectively and irrespective of any biological affiliation. This notion places a shared responsibility on the society for the moral and spiritual upbringing of children. It is on account of this notion that the use of the all-inclusive terms "mothers", "sisters", "daughters" "wives" and "super-concubines" is appropriate to the situation being described by Abugri. This communal concept is strongly suggested by the use of the first person possessive plural pronoun "our" to precede the terms.

Chieftaincy is a revered institution that forms an aspect of Ghanaian culture. As a result,the English words used to talk about this institution have been indigenized to carry culture-specific meanings. Two examples have been used here to illustrate this point.

This thing is getting a bit weird, Jomo. It is bad enough defiling our traditions by making foreigners chiefs and insisting it is all ceremonial. Never mind t hat a few such chiefs have to record their enstoolment in the Government Gazzette.

(DG. Fri. Nov. 21, 97 :7)

..... He said it at the outdooring of Madina chief.

(DG Fri. Oct. 12; 98 : 7)

In the first example above, the use of the term "enstoolment" instead of the Standard British English (SBE) form "enthronement" is contextually more appropriate because of its cultural import. The root of the word "stool" denotes the object on which the chief is enstooled. In this wise enstoolment carries a culture identity which the use of say, throne, would fail to express.

Secondly, the term "outdooring" conveys a lot of cultural meanings to a Ghanaian reader better than words like "installation" or "coronation", for instance would have done. The outdooring of a chief is a communal event posing a shared responsibility on all the members of the society including the traditional priests. "Coronation" (SBE) usually carries the general meaning of a ceremony at which a king or a queen is crowned. Such a meaning puts emphasis on the king or queen as a leader and not the source of the power of leadership, stool, the symbol of unity.

Another aspect of indigenization in Abugri's writing relates to the imposition of Ghanaian meanings on Standard British English words and expression. We see this in sentences such as the following:

> *People who have never so much as kicked a rag ball in*
> *the stomach direction all their lives shout instructions*
> *across the field of play. When there is a scarcity of*
> *bushmeat in the Department of Game and Wildlife's off hunting*
> *season, I eat cow feet and cow hide (wele).*
> *A piece of antelope here, a whole grasscutter there, the thigh of a*
> *big monkey here and a piece of bush pig there.*
> *He whips out a box of safety matches, starts a small fire, warms*
> his hands awhile, and staggers home.....
> Develop this story into a presidential speech on Bushfire control.
> *(DG Fri. Feb. 8, 98 :5)*

In the contexts in which the terms stomach direction, bushmeat, bush pig and bushfire are used one can read Ghanaian meanings into them. Bushfire and bushmeat for example carry a distinguishing label. The idea conveyed by the use of these words carries the impression that the author is stating differences between the flesh of animals reared at home and game, and also a fire made at home and that made in the bush respectively. Again, the notion of bush in these instances is also different from that of the target word. The Standard British English equivalent "wildfire" for example fails to make the distinction clear.

Similarly "bush pig" compares more favourably with the domestic pig than the term "hog" would have done in the Ghanaian context.

Other forms of indigenized expressions that occur in Abugri's writing are used to connote unwarranted application of power or authority on unsuspecting people thereby resulting in lawlessness. The following words and expressions illustrate the point above.

> ..... *some one had made an annoying slip and left out one contingent the landguards. The landguards have guns and grenades just like the police ..... I could appropriate to myself, a portion of fishing grounds off the coast of Tema Harbour tomorrow morning sharp and dispatch armed seaguards to patrol it and shoot all intruding fishermen and it would be done.*
> *(DG. Jan. 8, 99 :7)*
> *As a common man without any powerful connections, I had no access to confidential information*
> *(DG. Fri. Apr. 17, 98 :7). The way some big men talk to our people .....*
> *(DG. Fri. No. 28, 97 : 7)*

The stylistic significance of the above underlined words and expressions is that the choice of the indigenized forms rather than the SBE forms makes it easier for the writer to convey his message in terms that have already established meanings in Ghana.

Closely related to issues of in discipline are indigenized forms that connote sexual scandal or unbridled sexual conduct. The sentences below demonstrate this usage:

> *In Tema, dollars easily open doors for long celibate Korean sailors to manufacture babies with the willing partnership of Ghanaian women captivated by the power of the dollar. Their ships meanwhile sit on the Atlantis ready to move when*
> *(DG. Fri. No. 21, 97 : 7).*

A casual reader may not readily understand that before departing Tema, the Korean sailors literally litter babies around, with careless abandon, using the power of the dollar as an inducement.

The use of the indigenized forms appears to have sent a more powerful message but conveyed in obscured terms, yet incapable of being expressed in SBE vocabulary.

Indigenized forms that result from derivation have also been noticed in Abugri's writing. Two types of derived expressions have been identified, namely English language derived terms and Ghanaian language derived ones. In the first case, words like "hawker" and "palm wine tapper" are derived from hawk (verb) and tapster (noun) respectively. It seems that the writer uses the derived forms because their use has now gained currency in the country due to certain connotations that have been attached to the new forms.

"Hawker" for instance connotes an unauthorized occupation of space by traders, nuisance, and refers to those traders posing traffic hazards to motorists etc. A hawker in SBE is, therefore, someone who sells goods in a light cart (barrow) moving from place to place.

However, in Ghana, hawkers are those sellers who block streets, entrances to big stores and are seen at traffic lights and jams peddling any imaginable wares thereby harassing other traders, motorists and pedestrians.

The following sentences vividly demonstrate the meanings of the terms as used in Ghana.

Yesterday, I drove through some of the major streets of Accra pinching myself and double blinking into the open spaces in disbelief. They were gone. the hawkers who have been swarming the streets of Accra like a million bee colonies put together! When she, (Queen Elizabeth II) is gone the filth will be back and so will the street hawkers'. The street hawkers are at constant risk. Many get knocked down by motorists. They endanger road safety and are an absolute nuisance.

(DG. Fri. Nov. 28, 99 : 7)

The second type of indigenized forms are Ghanaian language derived forms which are sometimes used to express certain political ideologies. For instance, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's (first president of Ghana) political vision is expressed in the term "Nkrumanism" and those who believe in this ideology are referred to as "Nkrumahists". Coincidentally Abugri defines the terms in the following sentences:

Nkrumahsm is an idea, a political philosophy, a vision, a political programme. If so-called Nkrumahists were in deed Nkrumahists there would have been only one Nkrumahist party in this country.

(DG. Fri. Nov. 28, 97 : 7).

Similarly, the use of 'kukrudites' in the sentence below conveys the idea of 'followers' or activists of kukrudu (elephant), which is the symbol of the New Patriotic Party, to the Ghanaian reader. This is demonstrated in the sentence below.

Prof. Awuoonor said the NPP had stated how it proposed to reduce the performance of the NDC to the advantage of the Kukrudites

(DG. Fri. Nov. 10, 2000 : 7)

Other times, some Ghanaian language derived terms are used to re-emphasise certain negative images associated with certain communities in the country. Let us consider the use of 'Zongo' for example in the following sentence.

> *Some people have accused residents of our city slums which are called Zongos of deliberately living with filth. Do you think this is a fair comment? Guess where pot bellied children in the Zongo neighbourhood will evacuate a rumbling bowel in the absence of a public toilet.*
> *(DG. Fri. Sept., 22, 2000 : 7)*

To equate "our city slums" to "Zongos" may be misleading to the vast majority of Ghanaians though that association is the general perception about Zongo of a few people. Zongos is used generally to refer to Muslim communities which are, unfortunately, associated with filth. However, equating our city slums with zongo suggests to the reader that places such as Chorkor, James Town and Ashaiman, all in Accra, are also zongos. Moreover, zongos are also found in small towns and cities. In this wise restricting the meanings of terms of the like which have specific implications may pose a semantic problem to the Ghanaian reader and therefore such a usage may not achieve the desired impact.

On the whole, Abugri uses the indigenized forms in his writing to express Ghanaian concepts and notions that the English language is incapable of externalising. Secondly, he resorts to the use of these forms rather than SBE expressions in order to communicate more effectively because such forms already have well-established meanings.

3.22 CODESWITCHING AND BORROWING IN ABUGRI'S WRITING

Abugri's use of borrowed items is restricted mainly to words related to food or Ghanaian dishes. Most of the food or dishes referred to are staples which are eaten in most homes in the country. The underlined words in the sentences below illustrate the names of some of the staples identified in Abugri's writing.

> *When there is a scarcity of bushmeat in the Department of Game and Wildlife's off hunting season I eat cow feet and cow hide (wele). The fried yam and plantain, kenkey,* yorke gari or waakye seller's *street side wooden table and benches are still very much around in our towns and cities.*
> *(DG. Fri. Feb 5, 99:7)*

> *I am still trying to figure out, Jomo, whether the stones come from the bean farmer's harvest, the shito, wind driven dust or dust*

spun from the wheels of moving motor vehicles.
(DG. Fri. Sept. 17, 95 : 4)

The underlined food items are a recipe on the Ghanaian menu and there is no standard British English vocabulary to replace them. As a result the writer has no other option than to use the local terms, otherwise the writer has to resort to long explanations that may mar the rhythm and beauty of his language.

Other loan words used in Abugri's writing e connected with food relate to alcoholic beverages or local brews. These are "agbaa" (a common name for akpeteshie), (DG. Fri. Feb. 11, 200 : 7), "brukutu and pito" (DG. Fri. Feb. 11, 200 : 7) a beer-like drink locally brewed from millet or maize.

Although names play an important role in every culture, and serve as identification label we have been cautious about selecting names as a component of elements of Ghanaian English usage. However, Abugri's use of the name 'Ananse' in his writing is of semantic and stylistic relevance.

Abugri uses the name 'Ananse' to make significant statements about people and their attitudes. In the forward to her play, "the Marriage of Anansewa", this is what Ama Ata Aidoo (1975:1) says about Ananse:

> *Who is Ananse, and why should so many stories be told about him? Ananse appears to represent a kind of Everyman artistically exaggerated and distorted to serve society as a medium for self-examination. He has penetrating awareness of the nature and psychology of human beings and animals. He is also made to mirror in his behaviour fundamental human passions, ambitions and follies as revealed in contemporary situations.*

This tends to serve as the background that provides the impetus for Abugri's reference to Ananse in his writing. In using the name, Abugri highlights the trickster elements of man and his quixotic tendencies. We see this in the sentences that follow:

No one can guarantee that a street demonstration will proceed and end peacefully any more than they can guarantee the integrity of Ananse. (DG. Fri. Nov. 19, 99 : 7)

In the other instances that the name is used the writer uses it as a heading in which the theme of his story is summarised. For instance, in writing about the complex intrigues, and

what is sometimes referred to as politricks by politicians, Abugri sums up this perception in the caption: **Ananse's Orchestra**. *(DG. Fri. Nov. 17, 2000 : 7).*

With regard to codeswitching, Abugri codeswitched in order to create humour and sarcasm. The following statements that contain codeswitched expressions are used to achieve this effect.

> *In Azumah's younger days no De La Hoya or any other Hoya could draw Zoom Zoom Nelson slowly round the ring on a psychological leash and finish him off with a relentless pummelling to the last bell.*
> *.....Dabi da..*

The above statement is a sarcastic reference to Ike Quartery's poor showing in the ring with De la Hoya and the author's humorous disappointment with Ike's performance.

Another instance of codeswitched elements used to create humour is seen in the sentence below:

> *I guess the AIDS control people would be better off handling the condoms to street hawkers to distribute with a warning not to go up and down the street yelling "kotisocks, kotisocks wo ha! Six hundred, six hundred Eye ge!"*
> *(DG. Fri. Feb. 11, 2000 : 7)*

Again, the expression, "koti socks, koti socks wo ha", and "eye ge" are codeswitched items used by the writer to create humour. However, the humour is in the form of a ridicule directed to the management of the AIDS control programme for their inability to educate the public on the sale and the use of condoms. In this sense Abugri uses the codeswitched items to show the inability of the planners to perform.

In the other situations where codeswitching was used Abugri uses it to capture the direct speech of a speaker. In the extract below the codeswitched element is used to capture the direct statement made by a military leader and which Abugri uses as an indictment of his character.

> *Once upon a time, a military head of state of this country reportedly resumed his seat at a rally and as he sat down he turned to an aide and declared* that it was when he is well and *properly stoned that his oratory has wont to hold sway and*
> *Monon nsa a na metumi kasa paa!!*

The story goes on like this: the microphone picked it all up and everyone on the rally ground heard it,some to their greatest amusement and others to their dismay. (DG Fri. Nov. 24, 2000:7).

Sometimes real life situations are created in Abugri's writing when he resorts to codeswitching. In one of his letters to Jomo entitled; Wild Cat Yen Sen? Abugri creates a hypothetical situation in which he laments the embarrassment some customers go through in their bid to purchase condoms. This is captured in the form of a dialogue in the following episode. A customer approaches a sales girl who lifts a packet of condoms and shouts to another sales girl in order to ascertain the actual cost of the item.

Esther, wei ye sen? (How much is this (condom), Esther?
Mennin (I don't know), Esther yells back. Kwesi, wu wo hin?
(Where are you, Kwesi) shouts the sales girl.

Codeswitching in this instance is used to demonstrate the lacklustre attitude shown by certain sales girls towards their clients. The codeswitched expressions are Twi which is understood by many Ghanaians. Here Abugri uses it to heighten the embarrassment suffered by the customer since a lot of people shy away from buying condoms and other contraceptives openly.

3.23 THE USE OF PROVERBS IN ABUGRI'S WRITING

In "Things Fall apart" Achebe made two important statements that reveal two characteristics of proverbs. Using a proverb to explain the apparent difficulty inherent in understanding proverbs (because their meanings are culturally based), Achebe declared that whenever darkness had fallen on a conversation proverbs should be eliminated. And yet the inevitability of proverbs in embellishing language is also recognised when he again observed that proverbs are the palm oil with which conversations are 'eaten'.

In fact, proverbs, as metaphorical expressions, rely on traditional imagery and serve as the vehicles through which monumental statements are made about life. As an African and for that matter a Ghanaian writer Abugri exploits the imagery of some Ghanaian proverbs to communicate effectively and vividly to his audience. In the extract below, Abugri creates a scenario in which he uses proverbs to send powerful messages to his readers.

At a rally, he once complained about people living in the Republic who think they can get away with insulting the President of the Republic in the name of freedom of speech. Frimpong, I recall, Asked, "If Antelope goes to Lion's house to insult him do you think he will come out alive?

(DG. Fri. Feb. 11, 2000 : 7)

Certainly, the problem of one not realising one's weakness or vulnerability against a stronger power and making one to conduct oneself recklessly is being expressed here. Proverbially this observation is expressed by our elders thus .... "it is ignorance that makes the mouse to challenge the cat to a fight".

The use of proverbs as a way of communicating may, superficially, be described as an oblique style (a style that makes understanding difficult) because of their concentration on local imagery. Yet Abugri has removed any obscurity of understanding his message by creating a context in which the proverbs are used thereby making his language concrete and picturesque for any reader to fathom the meaning. His use of proverbs is therefore apt and pins down in concrete and precise terms the abstract ideas and concepts he wants to convey but which would have been expressed in verbose and clumsy sentences has he relied on SBE.

Closely related to proverbs is the use to which Abugri put some transliterated forms of certain Ghanaian expressions in English. Some metaphorical expressions in the languages in Ghana are transliterated into English in order to convey certain ideas and concepts that have no Standard British English vocabulary to express them. These examples would suffice for this point.

Small, small catch monkey tail

(DG. Fri. Jan. 8, 98: 7)

for there are those contractors who abandon road projects, sometimes after receiving part-payment and no one *is able to cough.*

(DG. Fri. Feb. June, 97 :5)

Everything is defensible, and in Ghana all you need is a little eye-strong'

(DG. Fri. Apr. 17, 1998 : 7).

PIDGINIZATION IN ABUGRI'S WRITING

According to Wardhaugh R (1990 :5) "a pidgin is a language with no native speakers. This implies that pidgin is no one's first language. It is a contact language, a product of a

multilingual situation in which those who wish to communicate have to improvise a single code to enable them do so.

Abugri's use of Pidgin English in his writing tends to satisfy the above definition because he seems to be communicating to an audience who have no firm grasp of Standard British English or that he wants to give a twist to his language. A few examples may illustrate the above point.

They will jump about sometimes punching and kicking other spectators in the legs and skins in their excitement, but put them in the field of play, Jomo ..... the days of "Open Sesame" and Ali Baba and the forty wetin call them?

(DG. Thu. Mar. 5,, 1998 : 7)

The cab driver said to me, "Like the man wan talk me bullshit, but he look ma face, see say I make wild"
The guy fit rap pass Tony Aidoo, Apraku, Nduom and all dem guys.

(DG. Fri. Oct. 28, 98 : 7)

3.25 THE USE OF EXCLAMATIONS IN ABUGRI'S WRITING

Exclamatory expressions, according to Wiredu J. F. and I. Danysh (1997: 93) are used to indicate a speaker's attitude or "feelings about a communicative event. Feelings such as surprise, anger disbelief, happiness, etc. are expressed through exclamatory remarks". Quirk (1973), however, observed that an exclamation may be used to solicit a listener's agreement to something on which the speaker has strong feelings.

In the few instances that Abugri uses exclamatory remarks they are used to show disagreement with a listener and also as a call to duty or for action. Of the first, we have:

Unhuh, talking about radio stations, Jomo, you are probably aware by now that we have more of them in Ghana today.....

(DG. Fri. Sept.. 15, 2000 : 7)

"Unhuh" in the context in which it is used expresses the speaker's spontaneous reaction to the speech event better than a word like 'No' in SBE would have done. In this sense its use is appropriate in the context because it brings out the inner feelings of the speaker.

Of the second instance, the following example illustrates the writer's use of exclamation as a call on the Ivorian public to go into action.

Bye, Bye, Mr. Guei ..... people now say that is when Ivorians should have smelt a stinking sewage rat and began (SIC) chanting the French version choboil!
(DG. Fri. Oct. 27, , 2007 : 7)

3.26 **CONCLUSION**

From the foregoing discussion on the elements of Ghanaian English usage in Abugri's writing, it is obvious that the linguistic choices that Abugric makes to articulate his message have added a Ghanaian flavour to the English language. He exploits the rich linguistic resources of Ghanaian languages to embellish his English.

3.3 ELEMENTS OF GHANAIAN ENGLISH USAGE IN THE WRITING OF YANKAH

The table below illustrates the mode of transmission of the elements of Ghanaian English usage in K. Yankah's writing.

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
Indigenization	**33**	**47.1**
Codeswitching Borrowing	**21**	**30**
Pidginization	**16**	**22.9**
Total	**80**	**100**

(Refer to Appendices)

3.31 INDIGENIZATION

Indigenization or the nativization of English words and expressions to transmit information is one of the commonest modes used by Yankah in his writing. Two categories of indigenization have been identified in his writing. First, there are those words and expressions which are English but have been used with a loss of meaning to the foreign reader. In usage, the writer makes no attempt to explain their meanings within the text because such an attempt may reduce the text into a sociological sketch. In other words any attempt on the part of the writer to explain the concepts, traditions or customs referred to or talked about in the articles will make them lose their vividness, humour and the somewhat make-belief aspects of the stories. Examples of words and expressions in this sub-category are underlined in the sentences below.

One way out of the problem is perhaps to ask all
funeral orators to swear an oath prior to the oration (19)*

The use of the expression " funeral orator" reminds the Ghanaian reader of the dirge. This is because the term " funeral orator" suggests to the Ghanaian reader all those dirge singers who, on the occasion of the loss of a friend or a relation, may pay a special 'tribute' to the departed soul by singing his praises or lamenting the loss followed by the use of histrionics. Occasionally, however, a special oral poet, otherwise called the griot in Senegal, is hired to sing the praise of the dead, an occasion on which he employs all his oratoral skills to bear on the performance.

In the context in which the expression is used it will be difficult for any foreigner to get the import of this expression.

Sometimes the use of the indigenized expression may result from the cultural notions which Standard British English is incapable of expressing. On this account the writer tends to extend the semantic field of the word or expression in order to capture the meaning he wants to convey. Kellerman (1980:60) asserted this position when he observed that some of the forms and usage that appear peculiar are a result of "strategy transfer" in a second language situation "whereby a learner with a given native language (NL) could use that language to make predictions about the target language" - English, in this case. A typical example that illustrates this point is the use of 'mother' in the dialogue below.

Employee: When my mother slept two nights ago, she didn't wake up, so I need permission to go and arrange for her burial.....
Employer: ..... don't you remember you came to me last year asking permission to go and bury your mother?
Employee: Boss, the one who died last year was my mother's cousin's final cousin, from the same mother (44)'

Here, the semantic field of the word, "mother" has been extended to cover the employee's biological mother's cousin's sister an idea that does not exist in Britain, and for which there cannot be a Standard British English expression for it.

Other usages under this subcategory refer to connotations associated with certain social aspects of Ghanaian life. Reference can be made to the public transport system with which are associated negative connotations. The extract below exemplifies this point.

Footnote examples w[illegible] numbers without the name of the newspaper are those taken from Yankah's: "**Woes of** Kwatriot Re[illegible] Studies (1990)

.....*Some feats certainly need applauding*
in a world where the main function of the human legs is to
board a trotro. Thus when the driver's mate tells the boarding passengers "No
front", he means it. (90)

As we have already observed expressions such as "tro-tro" or "driver's mate" carry with them all the bad elements in the transport sector in Ghana. Similarly, the expression, "No front", further explains the point we made earlier that 'mates' in short are rude to their clients Yankah's use of the expression 'No front' creates the scenario in which we see a well-dressed elderly man apparently of good breeding being confronted with a dirty-looking driver's mate shouting the term when the former attempts to occupy the front seat or passenger seat of the trotro vehicle. No pleading or cajoling on the part of the gentleman can convince the mate to change his mind. For all you know, the seat is reserved for his master's mistress who may be hiding in a corner somewhere and may later taunt to anger the passengers for wasting their time. The writer therefore uses these terms to achieve this effect.

The rest of the indigenized forms under this subcategory are words and expressions whose meanings are restricted by cultural practices and behaviours closely associated with social life in Ghana. Examples of such indigenized forms as

chewing stick (28) wake-keeping (7)
chop bars (33) grasscutter light soup (33)

illustrate words and expressions whose semantic fields are restricted by certain Ghanaian practices.

The second, subcategory of indigenized forms identified in Yankah's writing are expressions formed by a combination of Ghanaian and English words. They include such examples as underlined in the following sentences.

The day before, I had licked delicious okro soup from my
fingers at Anyako, celebrating Akpalu Festival.
(Mirror, Sat. Feb. 1, 92: 17)
..... *it felt nice rounding off the festival with Keta school boys*
playing games on abolo. Saturday night, I slept so late
it would have taken a Kulun- gugu bomb to wake me up to
chase the plane at Kotoka at dawn. If he decides to stand, we
should be prepared for a Nana president who
will enter the castle in cloth.
(Mirror. Sat. Feb. 15, 1992:7).

Festivals in Ghana are a vibrant aspect of the socio-cultural activities of any community. The occurrence of "Akpalu Festival" may, at first sight appear to the reader as the usual or any of the many festivals in Ghana. However, those who are familiar with the festivals in the country may find the name strange hence consider it to be special. And so indeed it is. This is because Akpalu symbolises a name and a literary genre - an oral poetic tradition.

Yankah's use of this expression tends to force the reader to rake his memory to search it for a clue. In this wise, though the writer uses the term to refer to the celebration of this tradition he also seems to have used it in a more technical sense to refer to a specific literary genre thereby restricting his message to a special elite class.

In the same way, it is not many Ghanaians who are familiar with the expression "Kulungugu bomb" as used by the writer. Yankah uses the term as an allusion to refer to an historical event, an incident in which an assassination attempt was made on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at Kulungugu.

Judging from the context in which the expression is used, the writer does not seem to be concerned with the incidence, which he has subtly reminded us of. Rather, he appears to have been more interested in the sound - the explosion or blast (of the bomb), which he feels could not have been loud enough to wake him up from his deep sleep. This is suggested in the idiophonic nature of Kulungugu and the onomatopoeic use of bomb to capture and reverberate the blast of the bomb.

In this sense, Yankah has been able to exploit the sound systems of both the Ghanaian and the English languages to communicate his message to his reader.

Sometimes the writer uses the indigenized form in order to be less technical and thereby getting his message to reach the ordinary reader. Two examples of such usage may be enough for the point being made above as demonstrated in the underlined words in the following sentences:

> *As for the fish, use your own judgement, But don't forget to*
> *add a few <u>Keta school boys</u>. (P 7). Nana Otuo Siribuo,*
> *my friend, looks pensive and regal. If he decides*
> *to stand, we should be prepared*
> *for a <u>Nana president</u> who will enter the 'castle' in cloth.*
> *(Mirror, Sat. Feb. 15: 92 : 5).*

The words 'president' 'castle' and 'nana' are closely associated with power or authority in Ghana. While castle implies the seat of government thereby symbolising a western culture, nana, on the other hand, is a king, a chief or anyone commanding respect or someone with substance, and therefore represents traditional authority. "Nana president" carries the notion of a 'Monarchical president'. The strangeness of the expression epitomises the strangeness of fusing the sources of two opposing traditions into one entity to make it appear like an English expression. So it is with expression like Keta school boys (27), morning tweapea (chewing stick) (28) and akrante light soup (36) for example.

The deduction one can make from the use of expressions under this subcategory is that Yankah tries to impose Ghanaian meanings and values on the expressions he creates from both Ghanaian and the English language in order to reach a large majority of the Ghanaian reading public.

3.32. CODESWITCHING AND BORROWING IN YANKAH'S WRITING

As already indicated in our definition, a distinction is made between codeswitching and borrowing where borrowing is restricted to single words or expressions that cover a single sense unit.

Yankah uses a few codeswitched expressions in his writing. In the few instances that he codeswitches linguistic items he uses them mainly to depict character. For example in narrating his experience at a Madina market, where he went to buy foodstuffs, he tells his readers:

> ..... *there came a feminine voice, "me kunu (my husband) me kunu, I have garden eggs (8).*

A critical look at the sentence would reveal to the reader that the expression 'me kunu me kunu', which has been translated as "my husband", has been embedded in an English sentence in order to reproduce the direct speech of the market woman. Apart from recapturing the scene the expression helps the reader to get the idea that the foodstuff seller has no formal educational background.

We are convinced in our judgement because in a similar development at the same market Yankah again hints us about the educational background of another seller thus:-

> ....*I returned from a trip outside. There was nothing to do at the time and I decided to go to Kwan so (farm gate) and buy cassava for sale (9)*

Here, the speaker's semi-literate background is revealed in his lack of appropriate English vocabulary to express 'kwan so'. "Farm gate" is clearly the author's words (not the speaker's) which he uses to explain the embedded element "kwan so".

Other instances in which codeswitched elements are used include 'nante yie' or 'zo nyuie' as we see in the following sentences:

It is, of course, not for anything that we see off
journeying travellers with the phrase Nantie yie, or zo nyuie - walk well (28).

With regard to borrowed words, Yankah tends to use them for convenience (where an explanation would have been clumsy for lack of Standard British English vocabulary), and sometimes as a reminder of a childhood demeanour. Borrowed items such as the following, illustrate the first instance.

gari foto - a sumptuous gari foto dish with tiny pork fragments happily interlaced (4)
abokyi - I sing the lead while the help me out with their abokyi parts (8) charle worte/nika boka - I slipped into my charle worte nika boka
then my charle worte, ...
(6) pekyee - the tomatoes, don't buy the very soft - the pekyee type (6)
krakyee/nkontomire-Krakyee, I have good a kente weaving project in the town (9)
dzomi - Ordinary palm oil, and not dzomi
(7) omo tuo - omo tuo and palm nut soup was served (35)
aplanke - I took a seat near the trotro aplankee in the car or trotro (36)
oburoni wawu – Tema station, alias Oburo ni wawu alias selection (47)
koko/bofrot - I ate koko and boforot (48).

Examples of instances where Yankah uses borrowed items to remind the reader of some childhood activities include the underlined words in the following sentences:

Often times, your sister might have side-stepped into an exciting ampe game or met a classmate who suggested they help each other out in a lice hunt festival - edwiekyere (3)
The late comer attempting to elude the drudgery of pounding fufu often could not outwit the mother. (4)

3.33 PIDGINIZATION

Pidgin English may be a convenient medium of communication in a multilingual society which has a high rate of illiteracy. It can also be an easier option to make when writers want to reach the ordinary man in a bid to sending powerful messages to both the leaders and the ruled in society. The above statements are based on the way Yankah sarcastically employs pidgin to attack activists of Ghana's 1981 revolution which he feels had gone awry. We base our observation on the following examples:

> *Certainly, a man you want to talk to. At least you would want to know the secret behind his irresponsiveness to anthems so you could borrow his "We no go stand up" when the need arises. And is it surprising for somebody who has resigned from "we no go sit down government' to adopt a 'we no go stand up' attitude? (18)*

The Ghanaian political scene has been one of surprises, intrigues and disappointments. Yankah's use of pidgin, particularly the type seen above is reminiscent of the late 70s and early 80s during which time expressions such as "aluta", "we no go sit down", "power to the people" and a host of many others emerged on the linguistic scene of the country.

Apparently, Yankah reminiscences that revolutionary era and refers to Ndebugre, an activist of the revolution, now caught up in a political intrigue.

Of linguistic interest to our discussion is the parallel structuring of the sentences, "we not go sit down" " and we no go stand up" in the second example. The opposition of 'sit down' and 'stand up' contrasts Ndebugre's former and present situations and his perceptions of a revolution he toiled to bring about.

By using pidgin, Yankah has not only reminded us of that era, but also uses it to simplify the importance and realities of a political system to the ordinary man.

CONCLUSION

What emerges from the foregoing discussion is that Yankah tacitly employs elements of Ghanaian English to convey serious messages with light humour to a wide range of the Ghanaian newspaper reading public.

3.4 BILINGUAL MODES IN K. B ASANTE'S WRITING

The table below illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the bilingual modes in Asante's writing.

MODE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
INDIGENATION	45	48.9
CODESWITCHING/ BORROWING	23	25
TRANSLITERATION	24	26.1
TOTAL	92	100

(Refer to Appendices)

3.41 INDIGENIZATION IN THE WRITING OF K. B. ASANTE

An examination of Asante's use of indigenized forms of English would reveal two subcategories. The first subcategory includes usages that express traditional concepts or notions and practices of the past. The second subclass comprises usages that have gained currency resulting from contemporary events and their usage has specific connotations and meanings understood by even the ordinary Ghanaian.

Of the former are examples of such expressions that carry traditional Ghanaian concepts and notions.

> *The bane of African punctuality. Our leaders can help to eradicate the so-called African punctuality*
> *(D. G. Mon. Apr. 28, 97 :7).*

The term 'African punctuality' conveys the notion of time and always carries the negative connotation of lateness to functions by both high-ranking personalities and ordinary people. The expression also reminds the reader of the Ghanaian (African) time sense, which is measured in terms of seasons and events, and it is neither specific nor definite.

The lack of commitment to honouring occasions scheduled for specific time frames, the starting and the ending of say, meetings has become part of the culture of even the educated Ghanaian, a practice alien to the British culture hence the indigenization of the term to express it.

Sometimes the concept of family relation is expressed through the use of indigenized forms. The is because the Ghanaian family system differs significantly from that of the British. While the Ghanaian family relationship is based on the extended family system, that of the British is of the nucleus family system. There is therefore the need to establish this distinction by way of usage hence Asante has to indigenize the English language to express the Ghanaian concept of the family. Examples of indigenized forms relating to the extended family concept are illustrated in the use of 'family' and related terms in the sentence below.

> *also, find some elderly women to convey the news to the family of the dead woman and negotiate for a settlement.*

As earlier on indicated the concept of communal responsibility is sometimes embodied in the use of the term family. We get this idea from Asante's use of the terms "family jewellery", "funeral" and "out-dooring" (DG. Mon. Mar. 15, 99:7).

Again the practice of polygamy, a practice endorsed by Ghanaian traditional laws, has enjoined the write to use the terms "senior woman" and "be given a husband". The sentences below provide the context for their usage.

> *The discharge of responsibilities dominated the decision made when someone died. The senior woman of the family may keep valuable family jewellery and make them available for festive and other occasions such as marriages and funerals. (DG Mon. Dec. 15, 97:7).*

From the sentences, Asante, without stating it, does not only give the reader an insight into the polygamous system where the first wife is referred to as the senior woman, but also indicates the role such a woman plays in the extended family system. She is integrated into her new family and is trusted with the role of keeping custody of the family valuables.

The religious and the chieftaincy institutions are other areas where Asante's indigenized forms find expression. The two institutions in Ghana are so inter-dependent that one cannot do without the other. While the chief is the political head of the society, the Okomfo.

that is the indigenous priest is the spiritual head. It is on account of this that we can understand Asante's use of the terms underlined in the sentences below:

The stool keeps custody of the land for all the people
(D. G. Mon. Jun. 9, 97:7)
Chiefs were kept indoors before being out-doored.....
They are out-doored or shown to the public
(D. G. Mon. Jan. 19, 89 :7)

In the sentence above the term, "stool" is used as a synecdoche to represent the chief, who keeps the stool (symbol of power and authority) land in custody. A Standard British equivalent of the word "stool" may be "throne". To have used throne instead of stool, Asante would have failed to bring out the meaning he wants to convey to his readers.

Of the second subcategory of indigenized forms are expressions that have now gained currency in usage and are freely incorporated into the everyday English or informal speech of Ghanaians. Of this group one subcategory relates to the past or usage that connotes anything old-fashioned. Here are a few examples of this usage underlined in the sentences.

But those are colo or colonial days. Perhaps I am too colo
and the idea may be colo. It is far more useful to educate people
to standard three as some Basel Missionary Schools did.
(D. G. Mon. Oct 16, 97 :7)

Other usages that fall under this subcategory relate to adverbials or the manner of doing certain things. The following examples demonstrate this usage:

The reason was that if you go in, they will keep you at counter back and
if your tongue stumbles small they will take you to court for lying
(DG. Mon. Oct. 23, 200 : 7).
It would be useful to unearth studiously why the idea failed.
It was not set up by heart.

The terms "counter back" "small" and "by heart" are in common usage in Ghana. Counter-back has become a 'police register' and is closely associated with the habit of the police detaining a suspect behind their counter (desk) immediately after the suspect has arrived at the police station. On the other hand the use of 'small ' as an adverb of manner seems to have derived from pidgin usage. Again the usage tends to have a local flavour stemming from the idea that most Ghanaian languages do not distinguish between the use of 'small' for size and 'a little' to denote quantity.

Similarly, the expression 'by heart' modifies an action that flows from the heart and not the mind, implying an unguided action - or an action that is not backed by reason. By this usage the expression seems to describe the action rather than modify the verb.

Other indigenized forms are usages that tend to carry with their meanings an inherent intensifier, which, together with the words, convey the idea of force. Examples of such usages are underlined in the sentences below:

She would have found out that standards have fallen since her last visit a generation ago. Now and again her English was murdered. (DG. Mon. Nov. 22, 99 :7).

Sometimes, however, stories which hurt are untrue or even manufactured. (DG. Mon. Sept. 13, 99:7)

We therefore hired machomen to remove the doors or roof or reject the tenant forcibly. Alternatively, we may ask a police or a "castle friend" or relative to assist in our extra judicial way. What further weakens the legal system even more is that when, despite difficulties, the police succeed in making an arrest or in identifying a culprit, those affected try to see somebody, usually a big man so that the case can be spoilt or put aside for good.

3.42 CODESWITCHING/BOROWING IN K. B. ASANTE'S WRITING

Kropp Dakubu (1989:22) states that "speakers of Ghanaian languages are on the whole tolerant of including the possibility of expression in other languages within one's terms of social reference ..... and they tend to either integrate them completely or turn them into their own expressive purposes".

It is against this background that we would like to discuss Asante's use of codeswitching/borrowing in his writing.

As already discussed, reference to culture-specific concepts or ideas are expressed through the indigenization of the English language.
Another means of expressing such concepts or ideas is through codeswitching/borrowing because there are no standard British vocabulary or expression to convey such concepts.

Although not much use is made of this mode, Asante uses codeswitching/borrowing to state in explicit terms ideas that the English language is incapable of conveying. For example in the Monday Dec. 18, '97 edition of the Daily Graphic Asante writes: "There were also the forces of taboos, and the indigenous priests."

The questions that readily come to mind are who are the indigenous priests? Are they the same as what others call fetish priests? Is it prudent for a Ghanaian writer who cherishes his traditional values and institutions to describe one of the custodians of these values and institutions in such derogatory terms in the name of trying to sound scholarly?

Asante's use of the terms 'okomfos and wulomei' to explain "indigenous priests" removes these doubts from the mind of the Ghanaian reader who readily knows the exact priest the writer is referring to. Again, there is no way Asante could have done any detailed explanation without compounding the problem of the reader if he tries to use standard British English in place of the vernacular word, Odwira in a phrase such as : .....

occasions such as Marriages Odwira and funerals (D.G. Mon. Dec. 15, 97:7).

In a sentence like: Our pastime is no longer Ananse stories but juicy gossip in the small village of Ghana.
(D.G. Mon. Dec. 26, 98:7).

Expressions like 'folktale' or "folklore" cannot adequately replace "Ananse stories" in the context. Just as Mr. Fox is synonymous with British folktale so also is Mr. Kweku Ananse the symbol of the folkloric tradition of Ghana.

An attempt to use standard British vocabulary without, first of all, exploiting the linguistic resources of the vernacular languages to make statements about traditional practices, concepts and values which the English language is incapable of expressing would have depicted the writer removed from his own people.

3.43 TRANSLITERATION IN ASANTE'S WRITING

Crystal (1987 : 120) talks about factors that influence a writer's selection of words and mentions "norms of formality, politeness and intimacy" as examples of such factors. Two of such factors - informality and intimacy tend to be the determining factorsthat influence Asante's use of transliteration in his writing. Translitteration in Asante's writing shows three levels of intimacy; his closeness to the subject of discussion, intimacy with those he writes for and those he writes about. This observation is illustrated by the sentences below:

How my mother was wrong to wail because one of her children "had gone to soldier". Today she would not be sad that her grand-son is "in soldier". The old folks in the village bid one farewell by saying "Go with God"

(D.G. Mon. Nov. 4, 96:7).

We played on the roads as well. It was known as "gutter to gutter" today you would not dream of playing "gutter to gutter" on Accra roads (D.G. Mon. Feb. 14. 2000:7).

The expression "her children had gone to soldier", "in soldier", "Go with God" and "gutter to gutter" depict the writer as someone who is intimate with his first language and its situational use. This has made it possible for him to do an apt transliteration of what his illiterate folks say. By using these forms he tries to correctly present to his readers what his illiterate folks say. At the same time, he identifies with his people and his readers through this usage.

Similarly, his use of "gutter to gutter" gives the impression of somebody who had once participated in this type of childhood game played mostly in cities and densely populated areas.

CONCLUSION

We conclude this discussion on the observation that the elements of Ghanaian English usage found in K. B. Asante's writing are a deliberate attempt by the writer to manipulate the English language in order to capture Ghanaian concepts, traditional values and notions. He does this through a skilful indigenization process that incorporates the rich linguistic resources of Ghanaian languages and English. The result is a "creation of a new language" through which Asante discusses serious subjects in a light humorous tone to reach a wider reading public.

3.5 BILINGUAL MODES AND TECHNIQUES IN STEVE BIKO'S WRITING

The table below shows the Bilingual Modes/Techniques in Biko's Writing

MODE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Indigenization	45	33.8
Codeswitching/ Borrowing	30	22.6
Transliteration	25	18.8
Proverbs	15	11.3
Pidginization	18	13.5
Total	**133**	**100**

(Refer to Appendices)

3.51 INDIGENIZATION IN BIKO'S WRITING

The elements of Ghanaian English usage identified in Biko's writing show a linguistic spontaneity to the situations and events he writes about. This is revealed in his use of homely and everyday language that has given his language simplicity, freshness and vigour. These are mirrored through the bilingual modes and techniques he uses to indigenize the English language to achieve his result.

Three subcategories of indigenization have been identified in Biko's attempt to domesticate the English language for his expressive purposes. In the first subcategory he uses indigenized English to write in a style that can best be described as 'campus language'. We see examples of his 'campus language' and forms underlined in the following sentences.

I was reminded of those childhood years a few weeks ago when it was revealed by an okro-mouthed newspaper that some big men still cling to the idea of a common name

(GC. Fri. May 15 - Sun. May 17, '98:5)

Some okro-eyed students discovered that the heads and legs of the cows

were missing in action.

(GC. Fri. Feb. 26 - Sun. Feb. 28, '99:5)

The change to our musicians is to help by writing and composing more educational songs instead of lovie, lovie hit songs all the time.(GC. Fri. Mar 26 - Sun. Mar 28, '99:7)

Those guys who used to scale walls with the girls they imported into the halls after the porters had shut the main gates ..... can recall their adventures when they get to those emotive spots, especially those helpers who pushed the women's behinds while their men pulled them up.

(GC. Fri. Oct. 16 - Sun. Oct. 18, '98:3)

And those women whose husbands have acquired girl friends often say that when your husband's mistress begins to "do you rough" it is your husband who has empowered her to do so. (GC. Fri. Sept. 11 - Sun. Sept. 13, '98:5)

The underlined words and expressions in the sentences are usually slang used on our university campuses in Ghana hence the term "campus language". Slang is attractive to use because of its spontaneity. According to Lerner, L. D. (1969:30) the spontaneity lies in the fact that in, everyday speech it is constantly being invented, echoed, and forgotten. Biko's use of 'campus slang' has given the reader a 'fleeting taste' because the reader has the subtle feeling that he may not come across such expressions in the text again.

Moreover, the underlined expressions do not present any semantic problems to the reader. This is so because Biko imposes his imagination on these words and expressions restricted in usage to a small group of people, and skilfully creates a context for their usage making them understandable to outsiders. We recognize them as slang yet they are descriptive enough to carry the message they are meant to convey to the public. In this regard we appreciate their use because they add freshness and simplicity to otherwise remote topics.

The second subcategory of indigenization used by Biko comprises homely or familiar expressions freely used in the everyday English of many Ghanaians. They include words and expressions underlined in the sentences below;

It is when a city guy posted to such a village to teach or buy cocoa thinks that he is the only ablantefo who can chop those village beauties that the trouble starts for him.

(GC. Fri. Aug. 7 - Sun. 9, '98:7)

Don't show your too book-long knowledge here.

(DG. Wed. Nov. 12- Thu. -Nov. 13. 97:5).

They are concerned with the stomach politics being done in the country. When you were chopping your banker to banker money, was I there?

(DG. Fri. Nov. 7 - Sun. Nov. 9, 97:3)

Ei, Daavi, give him quarter.No, make it half, his colleagues

Would declare displaying their akpeteshie literacy in.. in Daavi's blue kiosk.

(GC. Wed Nov. 5 - Thu. Nov. 6, 98:5)

The culture of silence should be broken once and for all.

Others are "chorkor smokers" and "ice kenkey"

This subcategory of idigenized forms are gradually being passed into the everyday spoken English of Ghanaians.

Biko, therefore, exploits this colloquial form to establish contact with his audience thus enriching his style.

Other expressions that fall under this subclass include

I wish to voice out my views. They had to sit under bottom tree.

(GC. Fri. eb. 14 - Thu. Feb. 21, '97:4)

3.52 CODESWITCHING/BORROWING IN BIKO'S WRITING

Most of the embedded or codeswitched expressions in Biko's writing are of Akan origin. A distinction is made between intra-sentence codeswitching where the codeswitched item is embedded in the same English sentence, and inter-sentence codeswitching in which a whole sentence in a Ghanaian language (usually Akan) is embedded in the midst of English sentences. Some examples of the intra-sentence codeswitching are as follows:

When you come there, ask to be shown Akuafo Hall, Akuafo?

Like yen ara akuafo yi. When they want to emphasise

the intensity of their enjoyment or ariya they belch bodoo as

an adjunct to their ehe dzo or aben Wo Ho. Little do they

realise that today's Aben Wo Ho or if you like ehe dzo

can become tomorrow'sm ehe edo it is very hot.

(GC. Fri. May. 15 - Sun. May. 73, '98:5)

When such a pastor gets to know that his JSS lover has gone public with the secret, he sure will exclaim,

nea Gifty aye me yi.....

(GC. July. 31 - Aug. 2 . 13, '98:5)

A careful look at the samples listed under the intra-sentence codeswitching will reveal that such a usage poses comprehension difficulties to the reader. The contexts in which the embedded expressions are used are not well-defined to enable even the Ghanaian reader to make predictions about the meaning of the codeswitched items. However, Biko hides under the cover of this obscurity of meaning to attack and ridicule the political leadership at the time. He therefore uses this to claim alibi for himself but also creates semantic problems for the reader.

For the inter-sentence codeswitching we have the following as examples:

Recent events indicate beyond reasonable doubts that my fears have come to pass. Aba Muyie.

When a stranger becomes too known, he is given a contemptuous accolade. Ohoho a oto abonten pono.

(GC. Fri. Aug. 7 - Aug. Sun. Aug. 9, '98:7).

With the inter-sentence codeswitching the codeswitched items serve as explanatory notes for the preceding sentence or an element of the sentence. For instance in the first example, the adjunct ,aba mu yie, clearly shows how his fears have been allayed. The codeswitched item therefore re-echoes the clearing of his doubts therefore serving as a point of emphasis. This usage clearly demonstrates the fact that the occurrence of elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writing of the selected journalists is not coincidental or a slip. It is a deliberate attempt to fashion out the English language to serve native communicative purposes.

Loaned words identified in Biko's writing display three patterns; those words that perform certain grammatical functions, those that the writer exploits their sounds to achieve an effect and those that are used in a general sense because the writer wants to retain the original native form for a specific purpose.

Of the first we have the following examples:

It is true, father. The place is big paa
(GC. Fri. Feb. 26 - Sun. Feb. 28, 99:5)
And they have been told that the Minister must provide cows to be slaughtered to appease the river-god, who is said to be very angry paa.

In the sentences above the word 'paa' functions as an intensifier to heighten the degree of emphasis. On the other hand the term 'ne' in "let us not forget that Adam ne downfall ragim zoryi era...." has been used in the possessive to refer to Adam's downfall. Of the second, the writer exploits the resources of the sounds of the borrowed words in an onomatopoeic manner to describe an item. This has been achieved in the use of the words underlined in the following:

Huhuhu was rife after the programming, and people started their private enquiries.
(GC. Fri. Oct. . 16 - Sun. Oct.. 18, '98:3).
Here, huhuhu can only mean rumour, gossip or murmuring.
It is no joke, Kwahu will be butubutu
(GC. Fri. Feb. 26 - Sun. Feb. 28 , '99:5)

'Butubutu' is used in the above sentence to capture the din or the hustle and bustle of beehive activities that the writer suspects will take place at Kwahu. A similar effect is achieved by the writer's use of **to-nko-na-titi,** a term that reminds us of the word play game usually used by traditional medicine peddlers to create humour and persuade people to buy their medicine. The writer relies on these terms rather than any standard British form because they are forcefully and powerfully self-descriptive. Borrowed words that serve for general usage include those underlined below.

Aside from that some goats have been bought for the preparation of a special aponkye nkakra (goat light soup)
(GC. Fri. Oct. 16, - Sun. Oct. 18, '98:5)

Until 1995, we had been eating without a second thought about contracting cancer all the varieties of kenkey. Ga, Fanti, nsiho, asikyere dokono, sofo dokono, etc.
(GC. Mon. Sept. 14 - Tues. Sept. 16, 98:5).

The choice of such words as 'asikyere dokono' sofo dokono' 'Ga', etc. can only be described as being appropriate because the writer has no option to use SBE vocabulary other than use these local terms. Such usage as discussed above gives freshness and originality to his language thereby giving his writing a self-identity.

3.53 PROVERBS IN BIKO'S WRITING

The art of writing, according to Lerner (ibid) is "a matter of striking a balance between tradition and originality, between following an accepted pattern, producing expected effects..... on the one hand, and on the other, shocking one's readers by a phrase, a word, an idea utterly different from anything they have heard before in such a context from what they expected at that point (14)". In the light of the foregoing statement, we believe that the use of proverbs in Biko's writing is a mater of striking a balance between his tradition and his originality through a creative process. To achieve this, Biko draws on the imagery of proverbs in his tradition to emphasise certain issues he addresses in his articles. This is exemplified in his use of proverbs in the following sentences:

> *Our people have the saying that Ntikumah should not sit*
> *and doze under the tree whose fruits his father Ananse has eaten and died.*
> *(GC. Fri. Aug. 7 - Sun. Aug. 9, '98:7)*

In the above proverb Biko draws imagery from a Ghanaian folktale to establish the link between a father and a son and shows the possibility of they sharing the same fate. The point is being made that a child's destiny is linked to that of the father, a believe that is prevalent in the Ghanaian society.

Again in the proverb,

> *our people say that abouten benya wo a , ofie bayie fre mu, which literally means that without the complicity of the witches in your homes, no external witches can do anything to you,*
> *(GC. Fri Sept. 7 - Sun. Sept. 13, '98:5),*

the point of betrayal is being emphasized through the image of witchcraft - a concept quite remote in contemporary Europe. Thus the use of local imagery drawn from the cultural and traditional beliefs of Ghanaians seems more appropriate since it drums the message being sent more forcibly and straight to the Ghanaian reader. Through the use of proverbs the writer has been able to establish and maintain a linguistic contact with his people.

3.54 THE USE OF TRANSLITERATION IN BIKO'S WRITING

The use of transliterated forms may be a writer's attempt to give a new colour or flavour to his language possibly to give it freshness and vigour, and also to let others into the nuances of the original statement. Our discussion of Steve Biko's use of transliteration is based

on the observation that he deliberately uses transliterated expressions in his writing to give it freshness and also because he does not want to lose the imagery carried over from the original Ghanaian language. Our conviction is based on the following examples.

> ..... *the dog eat dog politics of appointments*
> *(GC. Wed. Nov. 5 . - Thu. Nov. 6, , '97:6)*
> *So, some cutlass cut some cutlass. This going I'm going, my back*
> *is not good at all (GC. Fri. Nov. 14 - Sun. Nov. 16, '97:5)*

Sometimes the transliterated expression may pose a semantic problem to the foreign reader in that the transliterated forms are still Ghanaian meaning carrying units. Let us consider an expression like a doctor's disease *(GC. Fri. Nov. 15 - Sun. Nov. 17, '98:5)* for example. The term "doctor's disease" is used to refer to any disease/sickness that requires medical care or treatment at a hospital. This contrasts with 'home'/house' disease which literally means a disease that requires herbal or spiritual treatment. Such a meaning is lost to foreign readers because the transliteration does not take into cognisance the metaphorical nature of the expressions in the original language from which they are transliterated. However, the writer uses them to give vigour to his language because of the imagery they create.

3.55 PIDGINIZATION IN BIKO'S WORK

Pidgin has a social stigma attached to its use. Among the highly educated class in Ghana its use is frowned upon because it is considered a mark of mediocrity of excellence of using Standard British English. Among students in Ghana, pidgin enjoys a high patronage because it is considered a medium to express their solidarity and identity as students.

Aside this dichotomous situation expressed in attitudes towards pidgin, educated people in Ghana sometimes resort to pidgin to depict character or to give a new flavour to their English language.

Steve Biko employs pidgin in his writing for different purposes. Firstly, he uses it to establish a social rapport between speakers to depict the status of his characters. This is illustrated in the following examples:

> *It was imprudent to walk around preceded by an ample*
> *tummy in those days. A not too polite tap on the shoulder. Hei*
> *big man, what have you got in there? Beer? Wey mankind*
> *dey huzzle for molassis.*

> *Abochi, you saabi sey I sabi the thing*
> *wey you dey do with my wife?*

(GC. Fri. Feb. 26 - Sun. Feb. 28, '99:5)

In the first example above, the writer creates the impression of a subordinate talking to his superior through his use of pidgin. In the second example, he creates equal status for the two characters hence, we see a degree of authority in the speech of the speaker, derived from the fact that he enjoys some advantages over the addressee.

Secondly, Biko uses pidgin to achieve emphasis in his writing. For instance, in the sentence:

Of course, there are some people who will call
me a liar because as for this last Christmas
they chopped it well well.
(GC. Fri Jan. 10 - Thu. Jan. 16, 97: 3)

the expression "well, well" is used to indicate the degree of enjoyment. In Ghanaian pidgin, degrees of sizes are sometimes expressed as small, small-small, small-small-small. Based on this, we find Biko's use of "small-small" in the following sentences as serving the same purpose.

The story is also told of a smart alec who was "chopping the
Beautiful wife of a wazzan small-small"

Other instances of occurrence of pidgin in Biko's writing indicate that it is used to give colour to his language. So we come across a usage such as:

The thing wey our eyes de see, our mouths no fit talk.
(GC. Fri Oct. 31 - Sun. Nov. 2, 98: 5),

when he describes the high level of corruption in the Ghanaian society. The rest are:

you lie bad, woman piking go suffer well well.
(GC. Fri Nov. 7 - Sun. Nov. 9, 97: 3)

3.56. CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, we conclude that the occurrence of elements of Ghanaian English usage in Steve Biko's writing is a deliberate attempt at manipulating the language contact situation involving English and Ghanaian languages in order to give freshness, simplicity and vigour to his language. His captivating style, therefore, sustains the reader's interest in his writing.

CHAPTER FOUR
CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to identify and examine the occurrence of elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of selected Ghanaian journalists.

Our purpose was to analyse the bilingual modes and techniques through which these elements pass into the mainstream English of the writers.

It is also to analyse the semantic implications such usages have for the reader and also their stylistic suitability.

The analysis has shown that the occurrence of the elements of Ghanaian English usage in the writings of the selected journalists is a deliberate attempt to indigenize the English language in order to convey Ghanaian cultural concepts and meanings and also to establish a Ghanaian identity.

It has been observed that the indigenization approach which has been adopted by the selected journalists has become a new style that can be balanced against the study of other styles.

It is our view that a recognition and an acceptance of the Ghanaian variety of English will serve the pedagogical and socio linguistic needs of the Ghanaian community in two ways:

a) It will be possible to study and describe this variety and make recommendations for models to be used for both national and international purposes.

b) It will also be possible to distinguish this variety from Standard British English and make students aware of its existence in order to curb the incidence of the so-called "our poor English usage" in schools.

Our position is that the innovative use of elements of Ghanaian English to convey Ghanaian identity is a stylistic strategy that should be encouraged.

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APPENDIX A

1. At the tail end it sounded in the ordinary ear as if the Chairman should have waited small.
2. People with big words call it omnivorous.....
3. As for the fish, use your own judgement, but don't forget to add a few keta school boys.
4. Always watch out for funeral arrangements.
5. Fri. 20th Sept. - Wake-keeping at his residence Saturday, another Wake-keeping at ....
6. ..... are you sure the person you speak of is Kofi Mensah, the palm wine tapper?
7. One way out of the problem is perhaps to ask all funeral orators to swear an oath.....
8. Thus when the driver's mate tells the boarding passengers, "No front", he means it.
9. ..... she would then emerge, swaggering..... to the front with a morning tweapea (chewing stick) dangling between her lips.
10. What about the traditional craftmen organised by the Arts Council, who were skilfully weaving kente and making pot?
11. What of the Sagrenti Restaurant..... that served delicious akrante light soup?
12. ..... road signs telling you which village you have reached, which chop bar has grasscutter, which fetish priest is the nearest, etc.
13. Boss, the one who died last year was my mother's cousin's final cousin from the same uncle.
14. Tema Station, alias Oburoni Wawu, alias Selection, alias Bend and Pick.
15. Retailers of selection are often graded.
16. I was reminded of those childhood years ..... when it was revealed by an okro-mouth newspaper that some big men still cling to idea .....
17. .... and our double-faced Minister joins his other bretheren in Daavi's blue kiosk.....
18. ..... give him quarter. No make it half.
19. The story is told that in those days students ..... started dying by heart.
20. Some okro-eyed students discovered that the heads and legs of the cows were missing in action.
21. Some traditionalists in the Central Region are saying that they too have gone somewhere to find the cause of the drying up of the river.
22. But some too-known writers and journalists and parliamentarians .. heard of this meeting.
23. ..... when your husband's mistress begins to do you rough it is your husband who has empowered her to do so.
24. ..... those helpers who pushed the women's behinds while their men pulled them up.
25. Chop time riddles
26. ..... help by writing and composing more educational songs instead of lovie, lovie hit songs .....
27. The young child has no mouth she added
28. ..... because one of her children had gone to soldier.
29. The bone of African punctuality.
30. Also find some elderly people to convey the news to the family of the dead women .....
31. .... I would have the means to enjoy these good foods mall .....
32. Naturally, it we have pupil teachers in the state sector, we can be fussy about qualified teachers in the private sector.
33. Chiefs against whom his supporters had been organized to institute charges were destooled.
34. We therefore hired machomen to remove the doors ...
35. Alternatively, we may ask a police or castle friend ..... to assist in an extra judiciary way.
36. ..... those affected try to see somebody, usually a big man so that the case an be spoilt .....
37. The senior woman of the family may keep valuable family jewellery .....
38. Chiefs were kept indoor before being outdoored.
39. It is we who are colo. I am too colo. But those were the colo or colonial days.
40. ..... to educate pupils to standard three.

41. Now and again her English was murdered.
42. It was known as gutter to gutter.
43. Sometimes, however, stories which hurt are untrue or even manufactured.
44. A few weeks ago, an incident occurred which made the cash and carry system look heartless and thoughtless.
45. I die finish.
46. ..... dollars easily open doors for long celibate Korean Sailors to manufacture babies .....
47. ..... to record their enstoolment in the Government gazette.
48. Here you may hear the moaning and groaning of our sisters, daughters, mothers, wives and super-concubines in the first spasmodic pangs.....
49. People who have never so much as kicked a rag ball in the stomach direction all their lives.
50. .... tie has been hot in trying to analyse and explain the current energy crisis.
51. We those who finished Sanaad Four don't understand, Jomo.
52. Small, small catch monkey tail.
53. The landguards have guns .... and dispatch armed see guards to patrol it.
54. They were on their way to bury a middle-aged woman, a kenkey-seller.....
55. Truly, Jomo, me I joke not with bush meat..... a piece of bush pig there .....
56. Some sellers of the local gin, akpeteshie do the same with drinking glasses, Jomo.
57. ..... handing the condoms to street hawkers to distribute.
58. There is not much else to rumble about except perhaps this small matter.....
59. ..... I saw two men up on the first floor of an uncompleted building with a female hawker of orange fruits.....
60. As a common man without any powerful connections .....
61. ..... as for he himself he hasn't chopped but where even his best friends.
62. Everything is defensible and in Ghana all you need is a little 'eye-strong'.
63. What minimum wage will you pay we the working masses?
64. .... trying to eat fufu and bushmeat light soup with a spoon .....
65. Some quack sociologists swallow big lumps of cassava fufu, drink some pepper soup and assure us of .....
66. No matter where you came from, no monkey business here. No Ananse palower, thank you very much sir.....
67. Guess where pot bellied children the Zongo neighbourhood will evacuate a rumbling bowl .....
68. ..... starts a small fire, warms his hands awhile and staggers home ..... Develop this story into a presidential speech on Bush fire control.
69. It would have taken a Kulungugu bomb to wake me up .....
70. ..... we should be prepared for a Nana president .....
71. ..... so has it been with the big boss.
72. ..... all you are anxious for is whether the trotro fare from Kotababi to Circle has been increased.
73. I sing the lead while they help me out with their abokyi parts.
74. I slipped into my nika boka, then my charle wote.
75. ..... but I love the signboard near Potrose which says si Ha Hwe Chop bar, come, test and see.
76. ..... his colleagues would declare, displaying their akpeteshie literacy.
77. The place is big paa.
78. Any way, sha, I attended a funeral at Odumasua.
79. What it means is that in order to make her behinds wozo a little, she has padded the entire region with-sheets of latex Foam.
80. ..... he is the only ablantefo who can chop those village beauties that trouble starts for him.
81. .... there is still opposition within akatamansonian circles to the attempts to make ..... flag-bearer for year 2000.
82. They have exposed the bottom of the First ladies!
83. And those women whose husbands have acquired girl friends ...
84. He is going to see his Ghanaian madam.
85. Nkrumahists have forgotten this loyal and doubted Secretary .....
86. There is not much else to rumble on about Jomo, except perhaps this small matter .....
87. [illegible] culture of silence.

88. They are the untrouchable.
89. This is not a doctor's disease.
90. They are too book-long.
91. They are doing stomach politics.
92. The Nyebros have clinched victory again.
93. ..... she was there to introduce to the women the use of Chorkor smokers.
94. They wanted to show their krakyee powers.
95. He wanted to cover up small.
96. I will like to add my voice to the debate.
97. .... they had to sit under bottom tree.
98. ..... speaker after speaker who addressed a reception for 26 Nkrumahist party executives .....
99. The Krontihene and the Queenmother are backing Nana X .....
100. The Ya-Na, on behalf of the member of the house, extends congratulations to Prez X.....
101. Prof. X has been installed and outdoored Kyidomhema.
102. On chieftaincy disputes Na Bondin advised contestants to vacant skins to support whoever was nominated.
103. ..... a durbar with asafo companies .....
104. Woes of operation: Gong-gong Peacekeeping officers.
105. Bales of oburoniwawu ..... were doled out to the electorate.
106. ..... a morsel of fufu would be priced 500 cedis.
107. ..... lottery zealots, with kente cloth in one hand .....
108. If Nana X finished his funeral after the forty days.....
109. ..... food sellers - waakye, yoke gari and roasted plantain sellers all came under the net.
110. To begin with, the present Bolga Nana cannot claim that he was properly enskinned.
111. Akpeteshie distillers make profit.
112. The enactment of a law to abolish the Trokosi system.
113. Nana X ..... donated four odum logs for the project.
114. Among the desecrated graves was that of Okyeame Kwao, the late linguist of the town.
115. ..... they can now afford to donate millions.
116. ..... the general executive would undoubtedly dismiss his chances of securing ..... the support of the delegates of a region.....

APPENDIX B

1. The Chairman walked straight to the Paramount Chief, the Bawku Naba; and he shook his hand.
2. I had licked delicious okro soup from my fingers a Anyako, celebrating the Akpalu Festival.
3. ..... the situation in Ghana is likely to be butubutu...
4. The dish was appropriately labelled, 'Gari foto de luxe" - a sumptuous gari foto dish with tiny pork fragments happily interlaced.
5. ..... who suggested they helped each other but in a lice-hunt festival - edwiekyere.
6. The tomatoes, don't buy the very soft — the pekyee type.
7. Not the ordinary palm oil, and not dzomi.....
8. Krakyee, I have good nkontomire..... my cassava is latest, — latest cassava.
9. Then came another feminine voice; Me Kunu (my husband) me kunu, I have garden eggs .....
10. ..... and the other speaker too, taflatse ....
11. Naagoode Ghana, Naagoode Ghana.
12. ..... we see off journeying travellers with the phrase "nante yie" or "zo nyuie - walk well"
13. Omo tuo and palm nut soup was served.
14. Sir, uh, uh - uh - uh the chief and people of my village, Ohiakrom, are celebrating annual Akwambo.....
15. I replied, I ate koko and bofrot this morning.
16. But I don't have huu.
17. ..... and when you go there you go and stay with akuafo, and not the Krakye people there.
18. Let us not forget that Adam ne downfall, rag' m zoryi ara.
19. ..... or 'ariya' they belch bodoo as an adjunct to their ehe edzo or Aben Wo Ho.
20. .... ehe dzo can become ehe edo (it is very hot).
21. ..... a smart alec who was chopping the beautiful wife of a wanzam small, small.
22. .... examples of creatures who have soiled their nyash, the abreku bird and the goats and sheep that roam our village ..... come into mind.
23. ..... their bottoms disfigured by to-nko-na-titi.
24. ..... he sure will explan, nea Gifty aye me yi .....
25. How can they preach peace when they are agents of war and wahala in their various countries.
26. Recent events indicate that beyond reasonable doubts that my fears have come to pass. Aba Mu Awie.
27. When a stranger becomes too known, he is given the contemptuous accolade: ohoho a oto abonten pono mu (the stranger who locks the main gate) or ohoho a okyere bom-kwan (the stranger who shows short cuts.
28. Some one said if you buy akpeteshie with fake currency and you are not found out you must be bold to collect your change.
29. ..... the workers cannot do tee to them.
30. ..... all the varieties of kenkey: ga, Fanti nsiho, asikyere dokonu, sofo dokonu.
31. Akora, ayekoo
32. Huhuhuhu was rife after the programming.....
33. ..... some goats have been bought for the preparation of a special aponkye nkrakra (goat meat light soup).
34. You can call it mmarima nkwan.
35. There were also the force of taboos, and the religious fiats of the indigenous priests, okomfos, wulomei, etc.
36. ..... other occasions such as marriages, odwira and funerals.
37. Our pastime is no longer Ananase stories, but juicy gossip.....
38. But our desire for a life of yo-yo gets me down.
39. The last time round, a staunch Nkrumahist called Dr. X on the electorate and it was Yei! Medi.

40. Unhuh, here is another one of them.
41. ..... a giant fufu pounding pestle.
42. From trotro drivers and aplankes cab drivers .....
43. I eat cow feet and cow hide - wele.
44. The fried yam and roasted plantain, kenkey, yoke gari or waakye sellers .....
45. ..... whether the stones come from the bean farmers' harvest, the shito, wind - driven dust .....
46. Wild cat Yen Sen?
47. Esther, wei ye sen
48. Mennim (I don't know)
49. Kwesi, wu wo hin? (where are you?)
50. Koti-socks, koti-socks wo ha!
51. Six hundred, six hundred, eye ge!
52. ..... a man who had been felled flat the night before by an incredible concoction of agbaa and brukutu.
53. No tuo zaafi, no dry okro soup with Keta School Boys and some spicing of dawadawa.
54. Too much brukutu and lack of adequate exercise have made sure of that.
55. Even if you hated the President's guts you wanted to applaud for once, at his "Eshie Rado Rado".
56. I love teezet - with - Keta School Boys - in okro - soup.
57. My Twi is rusty, Jomo, what does Abin Wo Ha Mean?
58. I ask people Abin wo hin?
59. His skull is loaded with calabashes full of palmwine or pito plus a few tots of agbaa.
60. ..... chanting the French version of choboi
61. ..... the advantage of the kukrudites.
62. ..... Osofo was more than an hour late .....
63. Nananom should not have bothered at all.
64. Monom nsa a na metumi kasa paa!

APPENDIX C

1. The old folks in the villages bid one farewell by saying Go with God.
2. She would not be sad that her grandson is in soldier.
3. ..... if you go in they will keep you at counter back.
4. ..... No matter how many spirits plotted a man's death it would come to nothing unless his personal god took a hand in the deliberations.
5. Our people say that abonten bayie benya wo a, afie bayie fra mu.
6. Our people have a saying that Ntikuma should not sit and doze under the tree whose fruits his father Ananse had eaten and died.
7. Our people have this saying that nea wawu nnim kata wo to, which loosely means it is the dead who does not care when its bottom is exposed.
8. As play picks up, night looms on the villagers, he tells his peers and zooms off.
9. Small, small catch monkey tail.
10. ..... and no one is able to cough.
11. ..... if Antelope goes to Lion's house to insult him, do you think he will come out alive?
12. A Dagbani proverb says, "If he-goat goes chasing after lion's wife, then surely he must value sexual pleasure more than his life.
13. The dog eat dog politics of appointments.
14. So some cutlass cut some cutlass.
15. He went and cut some for the road.
16. This going I'm going, my back is not good at all.

APPENDIX D

1. The police detest too sabisabi civilians .....
2. Like the man wan talk me bullshit, but I look ma face, see say I make wild.
3. Now, me I like bushmeat, Jomo.
4. You know why, Jomo? Something dey there.
5. Me, I do not believe this story, Jomo.
6. The guy fit rap pass Tony Aidoo, Apreku, Nduom and all dem guys .....!
7. I like the Germans minus the skin heads and Neo-wetin call dem?
8. Me, I have been watching By the Fire Side with the kids .....
9. Do you remember the term barracks pikin, Jomo?
10. ... so you could borrow his we no go stand up when the need arises.
11. ..... who has resigned from a we no go sit down government.
12. Aboachi, you sabi sey I sabi the thing wey you dey do with my wife?
13. But one may ask: na who causam?
14. Hei, big man, what have you got in there? Beer Wey mankind dey huzzle for molassis!
15. The students said, we too, we don't want to die by heart.
16. When you dey chop banker-to-banker money, you no see your father.
17. We no go sit down make them cheat us Walahi, Dabida.
18. The things wey our eyes de see, our mouths no fit talk.
19. Of course, there are some people who will call me a liar because as for this last Christmas they chopped it well, well.
20. ..... all in the hope that woman go get belle.
21. Woman piking go suffer well, well.
22. You lie bad.
23. He would have destroyed the nation o.
24. Take your time o.