

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF LAFA: A LOCALLY
ACQUIRED FOREIGN (AMERICAN) ENGLISH ACCENT IN GHANA**

BY

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis is the result of original research undertaken by Bruku Beatrice Oforiwaa, whereby all the specific quotations and paraphrases have been duly acknowledged towards the award of the MPhil degree in English, in the department of English, University of Ghana.

This research was carried out under the supervision of the undersigned supervisors.

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ABSTRACT

It has been observed that some Ghanaians try to speak English with a foreign accent which they have locally acquired. This phenomenon, a Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (LAFA), is acknowledged to be gradually penetrating the English repertoire of some educated Ghanaians. The phenomenon is youth related. This lately acquired accent is observed to be developing due to the influence of some media institutions, especially the electronic media. This comes about through their entertainment programmes, hosted informally by so-called Deejays', programme hosts etc. Contact with some American popular musical genres such as hip-hop lyrics, the flavoured speech of some preachers of the neo-charismatic 'international' churches and the idiosyncratic influence of the speech style of former President Mr. Rawlings have all contributed to the emergence of this new phenomenon.

The study examines the English users' perception of their own accent, and how this accent is perceived generally by their audience. The variables of age, educational level, proficiency in English and gender are taken into consideration. The results of the data analyses project some of the following:

The accent (LAFA) neither reflects the pure AmE accent nor the GhaE (uncoded) accent. However, the phonological features of each of these two accents are to some extent, present in LAFA.

The conscious effort to ape the AmE accent serves as one of the engines that propel the wheels of this emerging phenomenon.

The significance of the study has revealed negative and positive perceptions towards this emerging accent in Ghana. This bodes well for the emergence of an accent that can be described as Ghanaian, and this is thriving for prominence in the linguistic environment.

DEDICATION

To my dearest parents and siblings for their unflinching love and support.



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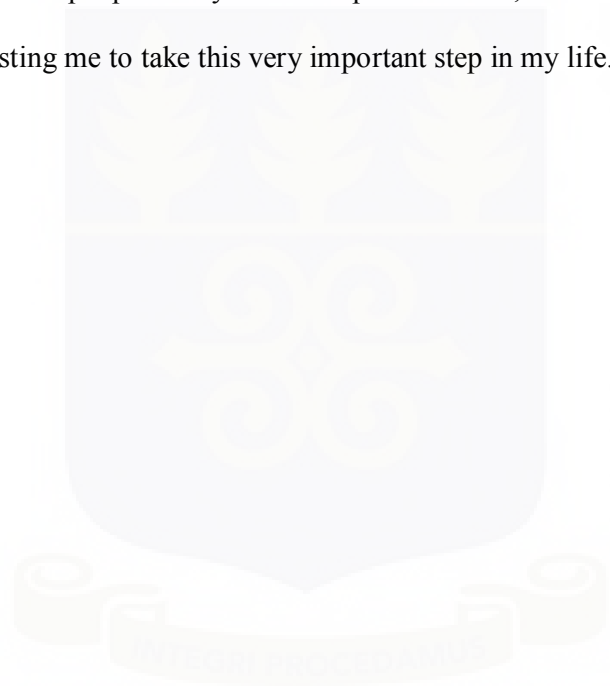


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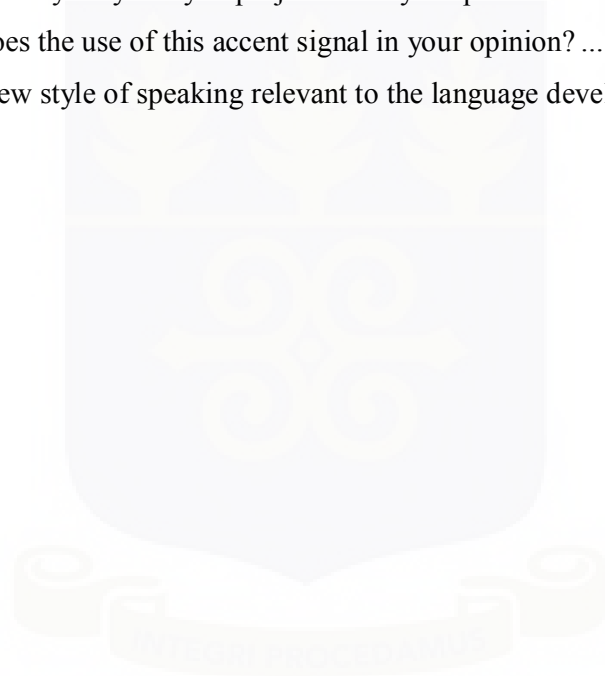
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ACRONYMS

LAFA → Locally Acquired Foreign Accent

AmE → American English

BrE → British English

GhaE → Ghanaian English

R.P → Received Pronunciation

S.E → Standard English

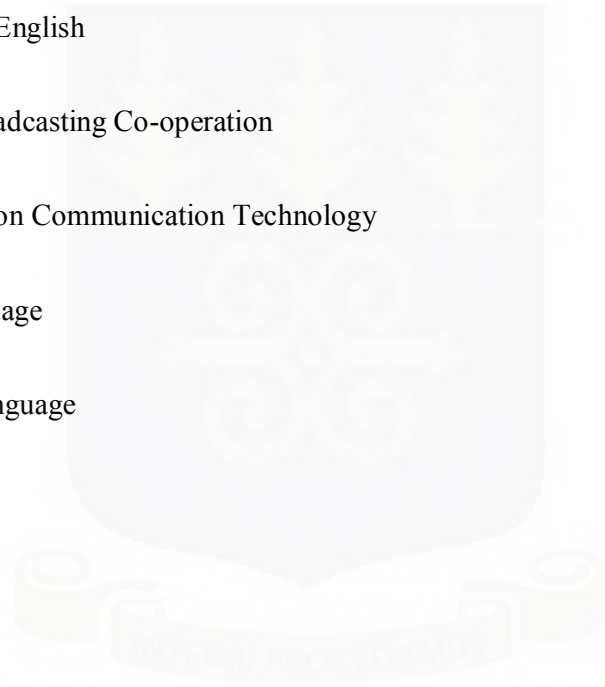
B.B.C → British Broadcasting Co-operation

I.C.T → Information Communication Technology

L 1 → First Language

L 2 → Second Language

DJ's → Disc Jockies



SYMBOLS USED

ʔ - Glottal Stop

→ - Is realized as or becomes

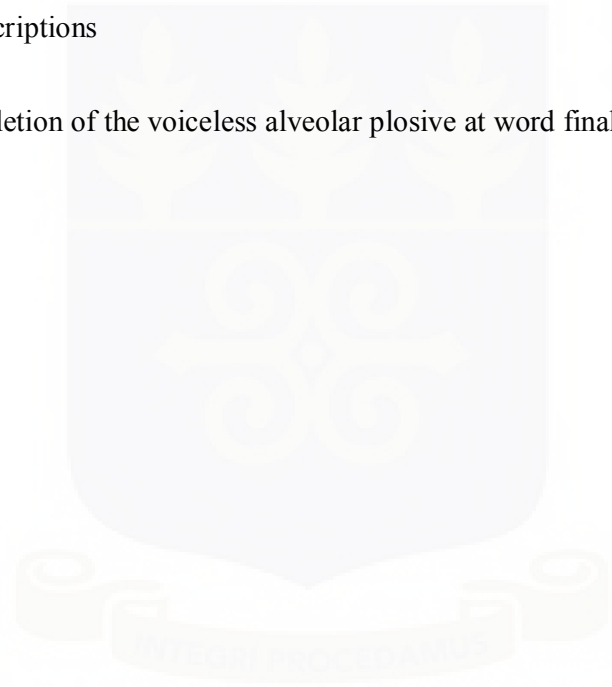
: - Full vowel length (i.e. when it occurs after vowels)

' - Primary Stress as in ['beɪk]

// - Phonemic transcriptions

[] - Allophonic transcriptions

* - The deliberate deletion of the voiceless alveolar plosive at word final / coda position



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Language is a human activity and is meta-functional. This is because it is one of the key naturally inherent characteristics of the human race that distinguishes it from other animal species. Besides its communicative role, language also binds its users together, creates a sense of belonging among them and gives them both individual and collective identities. According to Todd (1984:1), “languages cannot be separated from people and like people, they defy easy classification. It is true, as many linguists claim, that a language is an arbitrary set of signs by which members of a speech community communicate and co-operate”. Gimson (1962:3) sees language as “a system of conventional signs used for communication by a whole community”. Quirk (1962:41), in a rather parochial way, states that language exists to express our thoughts.

Considering the worth of language to the existence of humanity, there is the biblical story of how men came together to build the Tower of Babel. In the story, God saw the use of one language by humans as a threat to his own power and existence. The omniscient and strategic planner used no other means than language to destroy this challenge. This means that all human beings at the time of the incident spoke one and only one language. This gave them the opportunity to understand one another, co-exist or live together as one and with that unified force, were able to plan and execute their schemes without hindrance. God, the omniscient, realized that the strength of the human race lay in language so he weakened this

strength by creating many more languages among them to confuse them (Gen.11:1-10 [RSV]). That saw the end of the unity, and for that matter, the strength of the human race.

Scriptures also tell us of how Language variation has affected the human race through the experiences of Israel in the history of their early existence thus: “The Gileadites seized the fords of the Jordan before the Ephraimites arrived. And when any Ephraimite who escaped said, ‘Let me cross over,’ the men of Gilead would say to him, ‘Are you an Ephraimite?’ If he said, ‘No,’ then they would say to him, ‘Then say, “Shibboleth”!’ And he would say, ‘Sibboleth’. For, he could not pronounce it right. Then they would take him and kill him at the fords of the Jordan” (Judges 12:4-6[RSV]).

Over the years, human beings have also tried to use language to subdue their adversaries. During the Roman Empire, Latin was used to strip the subjects of the empire of their identity. Likewise, during the period of world colonization by the dominant European countries of the time, their languages were imposed on the colonized: Britain imposed English, France, French, Germany, German, etc.

Varieties of the same language do exist. This has come about as a result of migration or conquest, thereby creating the situation in which the same language is spoken in two or more geographical locations. For instance, the migration of British citizens to Australia and the Americas coupled with their colonizing expeditions in Africa and Asia, beside the current economic influence of the U.S.A., has brought about the world-wide usage of the English language. In effect, many and different varieties of the English language exist today. According to Quirk (1962:25), “English, in its entirety, presents a very complicated picture to the native, and it is certainly too vast for anybody to master. The more widely that English

has come to be used in the world, the more necessary it has become for the foreign learner to master it sufficiently for his particular purpose”.

This is an indicator of how vast and complex the English language has become. Quirk again reveals the vastness of English by stating that “the uses to which English is put are as various as the people and societies that use it”.

1.2 A brief history of English in Ghana

English is the official language in Ghana even though it is an L2 or a second language in the country. It was planted in Ghana by its native speakers, the Britons. Three different reasons accounted for its implantation in Ghana and in three different contexts: first, Christian British traders needed it to enhance their trading activities in the Gold Coast; second, the British missionaries needed it to help them disseminate the Christian faith; and third, the colonial government needed it in order to effectively run government business in its Gold Coast Colony. After independence, English became one of the key legacies inherited by Ghana from Britain. Today, not only is English the official language of Ghana but it has also become a major lingua franca, and the linguistic force, aided by Hausa and Akan, that keeps the country bound together. Due to its impact on the Ghanaian user, it is gradually weaving its way into some homes as an L1 since parents in such homes have abandoned their native languages in favour of English.

In an emerging phenomenon, some Ghanaians, especially the youth, are eagerly trying to develop a new spoken variety of the language in the form of a Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (LAFA) - for themselves. Saah (1986:367) asserts that, “in Ghana, as in other parts of the world, it is not uncommon to hear the older generation complain about the degeneration

of language in the youth. It may be a universal tendency which can be seen as one of the myriad conflicts which underlie the relationship between the young and the old.”

Nketia (1971:733) too states, “a child who wishes to have his own way and speaks with a pronounced nasality is said to be behaving in the manner of royalty or trying to show off”. This conclusion forms part of an attitudinal problem where attitudes can be determined based on ability or inability to use language effectively and efficiently.”

1.3 Genesis of Locally Acquired Foreign Accent

The term ‘LAFAs’ was coined by Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo¹, during her active days in the media. This coinage dates back to around 1996/1997 when a lot of private radio stations were springing up and young men were being employed to host the programmes. However, LAFAs was coined in an informal situation when she had to refer to someone who was trying to mimic the American speech style.

Based on the context of its formation, LAFAs could first be referred to as an acronym to be taken for a ‘laughable kind of speech’. It was about people who had never travelled out of Ghana, but spoke as if they had; also, those who lived outside Ghana for a short while tried to mimic as much as possible the foreign accent that they had encountered during their stay out of the country. This second group was then referred to as the “Been-To’s”.

Today, LAFAs has become a phenomenon that can be identified in the context of mixed varieties of the English language; that is, a point of intersection of the un-coded Ghanaian English variety and the coded American English variety, in respect of pronunciation. It has

¹ Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo – Director of School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. (19th October, 2009)

been noted that LAFA is spoken by some of the elite, and it cuts across genders. It is a phenomenon with no restrictions, “no rules”;

It is simply “freestyle” and can be employed as a means of entertaining one’s audience, especially when there is no reason for doing so.

The genesis of this phenomenon can also be traced to the former President of the Republic of Ghana, Mr. Jerry John Rawlings, who speaks with an accent that neither identifies him with a Ghanaian, a British or an American accent. Once his accent sounded foreign to the Ghanaian, it was erroneously taken for one of the coded foreign accents like the American or the British variety. One example of his accentual pattern is his pronunciation of ‘country’ /kʌntri/ as /kʌʊntri /. Some Ghanaians who thought it is an appropriate form, began to consciously or unconsciously to emulate this idiosyncrasy. (Mr. Rawlings can therefore, be said to be among the first people to whom Dr. Gadzekpo referred the term LAFA to).

1.3.1 Lyrical Genre

It is believed that the phenomenon of LAFA can partly be attributed to the emergence and popularization of the American musical genre especially hip-hop with its distinct definition of “keeping it real” that developed in Ghana in the 1970’s. Significantly in 1973, when Gyedu-Blay Ambolley, regarded as the father of hip-hop, released his first album, “Simigwa-Do” which involved the mixing of lyrics, sang in Fanti, with wordless vocalizing resulting in a different mode closely aligned to American rap music, employing fast rap which is lyrical and rhythmic. Hip-hop took a new turn to become rap music. Ambolley’s jazzy high-life (rap) sounds, called Simigwa-Do are (very entertaining, elevating and spiritually inescapable such that his uniqueness transcends all musical categories). Ambolley’s musical styles

affectionately won him the title “Simigwa-Do Man” due to his versatility as an, irrepressible singer, a songwriter, a producer and his multi-talented musical art forms.

Born in the Twin Cities of Secondi-Takoradi in the Western Region of Ghana, he spent a great part of his day listening to music of American origin. Ambolley attributes his free style of fast singing to great mentors such as James Brown, Ray Charles, and Sam Cook. He was heavily influenced by the popular radio show ‘Voice of American Jazz Hour’ which during those times featured Jazz icons such as Jimmy Smith, Max Roach, West Montgomery, Charlie Parker, Clifford Brown, Miles Davies, John Coltrane, Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Eckstine. These all became great inspirations to his early experiences as he emulated them locally and later adopted some of their styles in his musical genre.

Another interesting and important figure who cannot be overlooked in this dimension is Reggie Rockstone Ossei, also referred to as the God-father of ‘hip-life’ who spawned a new musical genre in Ghana in the 1990’s, which is linked to the hip-hop culture of “being youthful, expressing oneself in a free style and in a liberated way, without any restrictions or rules” (Artists, Ghana Web 14/04/10). Riggie Rockstone, as he is popularly referred to in Ghana, approximates his rapping to the American musical rap genre, employing fast tongue twisting, dancing, graffiting and the wearing of baggy clothes earlier on in his musical career, signifying the “Been-To” philosophy as in coming back from “Up-Tee”, a term popularly used by the youth in Ghana to mark one as coming from outside Ghana, but who is a Ghanaian.

1.3.2 Transferred (borrowed) Markers

The phenomenon also involved some markers picked from the African, American Vernacular English (AAVE). These markers were easily picked by speakers of LAFA since most of these

speakers were already familiar with the pronunciation of some of these markers due to their exposure to some American movies and songs. From the initial surveys, observations and discussions, some respondents confirmed how “good” they felt assimilating these markers in their spoken speech and trying to let all the other words conform to this new pronunciation system. Below are some of these noted markers:

Lexical Markers	Meaning
‘Ayt’	→ Alright
‘Chillin’	→ having fun
‘Yeah’	→ Yes, ‘I know’, ‘I know what you mean,’ ‘Exactly’,
‘Whatz up’!	→ How are you/what is going on?
You know	→ agreeing with somebody on an issue /Agreement marking.
‘Y’all’	→ all of you
‘ain’t’	→ am/are/is not
‘Nothin’	→ nothing
‘somethin’	→ something
‘gonna’	→ going to
‘mah’	→ mine
‘da bomb’!	→ Great, Genius
‘Boogie’	→ dance
‘hala’	→ call

The above examples simply establish the youthfulness in the creation of these words and are represented in the language just for a period of time as identified also by Rickford and Rickford (2000:52). It is noted that as these borrowed lexical items are introduced into the

normal speech style of the educated Ghanaian speaking English, those who speak LAFA try to maintain the way words are pronounced in the AmE and later try to spread this pronunciation style on all the other words even though it has not been completely done. Only some few lexical items are stressed in a context as a form of approximation to make the whole structure American; for instance, as is vividly expressed in the words of the quote “in this present day, someone in Cairo is feeling ‘Tupacs philosophy and graffiting it on an ancient wall. They are doing some in Tokyo ... in the last decade, black street speech has become a planetary phenomenon, with global hip-hop heads spitting’ in phrases like the examples given above,” as commented by Spady and Alim (1999) and re-echoed in the work of Rickford and Rickford (2000:85).

But the rap game wasn't all about getting “big ups” or “made pops”. Hip-hop artists also inherited the struggle to “get ovah” to the other side. Some, such as bawdy material girl Lil'Kim, envision “Money, Power, Respect” as the keys to transcendence. Others offer a more complex scenario. Nas's rap artist single “If I Ruled the World” (1996) imagines the ghetto turned B – boy utopia, and blends an appetite for luxury cars with a longing for liberated black minds: ...

Brand new whips to crush them we laugh in the iller path.

The villa house is forte crew, how we do

Trees for breakfast, dime sexes and Benz stretches

So many years of depression may one envision?

The better living; the type of place to raise kids in open they

eyes to the lies history's tole foul.

This element which is deeply rooted in LAFA connotes a socio-political feature by its speakers based on the controversy surrounding the history of hip-hop as either being used for

status search or as prestigious or a form of “defiance”, a political stance as in, “I know how to speak like a Ghanaian and I can also approximate the speech of an American, but I choose to speak my way, in my free style and context. This choice of speech is therefore a conscious one by the speakers of this pronunciation phenomenon happening in Ghana.

1.3.3 Preachers

With regard to the influence of religion, the emergence of LAFA in Ghana seems to coincide with the time that the Christian charismatic (international) churches were springing up in the country. Most of the youth in these churches, besides their pastors, always tried to project themselves as members of the Ghanaian elite. Their way of life, dressing, mannerisms and speech patterns, were moulded after the elite.

They wore suits with ties to match, even in extremely warm weather. When they speak, they do so in order to sound foreign (with an accent that is not Ghanaian) before their audience and more like American televangelist like Oral Roberts. Rickford & Rickford (2000:39), describe them as functioning

with their repertoire of styles and their passion for pageantry and dramatics, black preachers in the traditional black church don't merely deliver sermons... Many young African ... ministers strain to perfect that lavish delivery, to tap an old-school tradition of oral performance that will help them upright toppled souls and earn the respect of the most demanding congregations.

Most of these churches have head pastors from mother churches in America and other Western countries, who visit them. When these head pastors or ministers leave, Ghanaian

pastors and some of their congregants begin to mimic them in speech, thinking that is the best way to win the respect and honour of people within and outside their churches. In this way the charismatic (international) churches, through preaching, and the mannerisms of their pastors and congregants, have been contributing to the emergence of LAFA in Ghana.

1.3.4 Media

The Media also, serves as a contributing factor in fixing the phonological elements identified in the linguistic behaviour of speakers of LAFA. This is based on the analyses of recorded speeches of individuals or radio presenters during some of their entertainment programmes, and in the news items of certain radio and television stations in Ghana. The Media, especially, radio and television are used as an appropriate medium in this study because they serve as an effective vehicle for disseminating information across in the shortest possible time. This aspect of information transmission is visual and most significantly auditory. It is highly categorized because in determining an accent, we perceive and categorize it according to the sound patterns that we identify.

1.3.5 Anglicization of Ghanaian names

Ghanaian names tend to be anglicized by the English who first came into contact with Ghanaians and the process has continued to date. But today, the phenomenon is incredibly beginning to take a new turn as it is very much associated with the emergence of LAFA in Ghana. *LAFaians* (speakers of this speech style) even try to pronounce their indigenous names using the features of English pronunciation thereby changing the names' phonological structure. Thomas and Wareing (1999:40) write that “names can cause problems, particularly if they do not fit in with the conventions of a community”. They also cite Nkweto Simmonds (1998) as contributing to this concept in his writing that ‘in public, at conferences, for

example, I insist that my full name appears on my name tag'. This is peculiar with LAFA users and it is sometimes unappealing. It is no wonder that many black children will, out of frustration anglicize their names to avoid any playground taunts and much worse. *LAFaians* over-stretch, especially, the vowels in their names, as well as change the phonological structure of names and substitute their local language consonant and vowel sounds, even in the names of certain towns.

In Ghana, the term used by the youth to refer to this process is either 'slanging, slurring, or *brofolizing*'. Quite surprisingly, this new style of speaking depends on the context as can be noted in Spencer (1971:6): "circumstance will determine which language or language variety one chooses out of his total armoury in linguistic competences". With LAFA, it is rather about "putting on" a splendid performance when it comes to pronunciation, so that one can be seen as more foreign than being indigenous or native. About our Ghanaian socio-cultural community, Saah (1986:367) writes, "in other linguistic societies of Ghana, a high premium is put on the correct use of language. People's views of a person are shaped by the way they perceive him to speak. A person may be judged as wise, intelligent, or dumb by the way he speaks." Can this be a contribution to why those who 'LAFA' would like to speak in an impressive fashion or style?

Sey (1973:7-8) therefore affirms that, "poor use of English is considered disgraceful and most unworthy of an educated person. A single grammatical error in the speech of a public speaker, even if it is immediately corrected, is an almost indelible stigma on his public image."

Again, he says that “nothing disgusts an educated Ghanaian more than to be told that the English he uses is anything but standard”. LAFA, from observation and research carried out so far, is about ‘recognition’ and the transcendence beyond the whole English repertoire especially with regards to ‘the best form of pronunciation’. The speakers try to speak this way just to belong to or be associated with anything foreign which is considered by most Ghanaians as the ‘best’, since to them, anything Ghanaian ‘is less valuable’. A lot of these comments were identified in the open-ended questions which served as the second part of the primary data collated.

Below is an illustration of names which have been Anglicized.

1.3.5.1 Local Pronunciation versus Anglicized Pronunciation

Local Pronunciation

Anglicized Pronunciation

/ 'boɪfwɛ /	→	/ bo'ɪfwɛɪ /
/ 'aɔʒɛɪ /	→	/ a'dʒɛɪ /
/ sɛɪfi /	→	/ sa:'ɪki /
/ kwaku /	→	/ kwa:ku /
/ kweku /	→	/ kwe:ku /
/ 'ado /	→	/ a: 'dəʊ /
/ abɪna /	→	/ æbənə /

1.3.5.2 Anglicization of names of Towns

Local Pronunciation		Anglicized Pronunciation
/ keta /	→	/ kɪtə: /
/ legɔn /	→	/ leɪgɔn /
/ asante /	→	/ əsə:ntɪ /
/ tʃeɪ /	→	/ kɪbɪ /

1.4 Objective of the study

According to Trudge (1986:57), “urban dialect spreads partly as a result of the influence of particular individuals living in different parts of the area, such individuals - we call them ‘language missionaries’- may be village people who have been particularly heavily influenced by the urban dialect”. Looking at the assertion of Trudge, it is quite clear that there is a category of people, mostly the youth in Ghana who study a kind of urban dialect and in the case of this study; it is the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (LAFA). The objective of the study therefore, is 1.To research further into this category of ‘language missionaries’ 2.To look for what accounts for this ‘hyper- dialecticism’, adopting the descriptive rules to unravel the status of LAFA in Ghana.

3. The study will also investigate the response or reaction of the Ghanaian listener, and 4.The impact that this new development has on the English in Ghana.

1.5 Rationale behind the study

Kreidler (1989:1) believes that “in every language there is a variety.” However, most Ghanaians have pedantically refused to accept this fact, even though they are aware that mobility and difference in geographical location naturally bring about the development of

new varieties of the same language. Samuel Ahulu in his essay, *How Ghanaian is Ghanaian English?* Cites Sey (1973:5-7) as observing that "... the educated Ghanaian would not 'accept' anything other than British Standard English. The educated Ghanaian has from the very beginning aspired to proficiency in the use of British Standard English. His attempts might fall short of his expectation, but the ideal is always before his eyes ...". Ahulu (1994) also cites Gyasi (1991:26-7) to buttress this point further, that

"the higher the level of his education the greater the tendency for a Ghanaian to use British Standard English as a yard stick for measuring his competence. Convince the Ghanaian that these are deviations from the British standard forms and he will not intentionally use them again."

The many tonal languages in the country have affected the pattern of pronunciation of the English language to the extent that by the spoken English one is able to differentiate the northerner from the southerner or an Ashanti from a non-Ashanti. Dako (2001':26) writes that "Ghanaian English reflects the socio-cultural context in which it is used". This assertion by Dako is very true of most Ghanaians who try to copy foreign cultures especially those they have come into contact with. That cannot be different with LAFA speakers who are out to imitate foreign (American) accent; hence, 'a new development in Ghana where some Ghanaians speak like foreigners particularly Americans' (Responses from questionnaire).

Despite this, some Ghanaians, especially the elite refuse to accept any other variety for instance, Pidgin as a variety of English and insist on so-called 'Standard English'. In the light of this, Knowles (1987:2) writes that "the standard form of the language has considerable prestige, and non-standard varieties are downgraded accordingly. People have jumped from 'prestige' to 'correctness' and have assumed that the standard form is correct, and all other forms incorrect". Linking Knowles' statement to the viewpoint of the Ghanaian English user,

it becomes necessary for a study to be carried out on any new accent of English and its status in the system. This will then be a new basis for further research or be added to the already existing corpus of literature on the subject of English accents in Ghana.

1.6 Research questions

The study sets out to answer certain basic questions which are solely focused on the description of a Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (LAFA), noticeable in the English language spoken by some Ghanaians. The research questions are structured as follows:

1. What is ‘Locally Acquired Foreign Accent’ (LAFA) and how pervasive is it?
2. How did it begin in Ghana (Emergence and uniqueness)?
3. Who are its users?
4. What are the socio-cultural domains of its use?
5. How does the use of this speech style convey social meaning, using its linguistic and social variables?
6. What is the attitude of the public to the accent?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

According to Gimson (1962:72), “if in dealing with the changing realization of a particular phoneme, we can be reasonably sure of its sound value at two points in history, we can from our knowledge of phonetic possibilities and probabilities, infer theoretically the intervening stages of development.” By this statement, Gimson implies that, in an effort to deal with a change in the speech patterns of a particular language, we will arrive at the distinctive features which bring about the variations that have been identified, including the period when this change began. Linking this to LAFA, it means that this study is in the end going to arrive at the distinctive features of this phenomenon and the time when the phenomenon began.

Goldberg (1993:10), also states that, “Countering elements within a discourse may involve substituting a new term for some standard one local to the discourse, or assigning new meaning to some established term. But it may also involve conscious disavowal of grammatical or phonetic or conversational conventions, flying in the face of communicative fashion”.

Goldberg here, states that the dynamism of language is apparent but some people allow fashion to influence their desire to create a new variety from an existing language, be it grammatical, phonetic, etc., as is clearly the case with LAFA. The emergence of the LAFA therefore is the disavowal of the Received Pronunciation (R.P) and the local usage of the English language in Ghana. This then forms the basis or theoretical framework for the study because it is unjustifiable to condemn the development of a new pronunciation variety of a language without studying its genesis. Todd (1984:1) cautions that “we cannot despise a language or a language variety without despising the people who use it. And the better we learn a language, the closer we can come to its users because language is the means by which we all express our understanding of and attitude towards, our individual universes.

1.8 Methodology

This research does not seek to impose a structure on the phenomenon; instead, it intends to allow the phenomenon to speak for itself. This investigation therefore employs an inductive approach, which uses particular examples to make general rules and principles. The descriptive summary method is employed for the study. This means that the study adopts the survey research method which involves direct and indirect interviews, the use of questionnaires and the tape recorder to study the existing conditions of LAFA, in order to establish its norms and standards. And according to Kumeorpor (2000:280), “interviewing in

social research involves more than a mere conversation. It is a type of conversation in which the interviewer consciously directs respondents towards specific themes on which he would like information recorded”. Kumekpor, by this assertion, is trying to imply that a researcher who sets out to unravel the enigma surrounding a phenomenon must have some specific questions for the purpose. S (he) then draws the desired data from respondents using these specific set of questions. It is exactly the same thing this researcher does, by preparing a questionnaire, made up of specific questions and administering it to respondents, who in turn, provide the data that the researcher desires.

The above approach therefore constitutes the primary source of information for the study. This primary source of information is transcribed and analysed using transcription software known as Audacity. The study also discusses a polar system in pronunciation variations in AmE and GhE (uncoded) on one hand and LAFA on the other. Literatures that are relevant to the study have been critically examined and form the secondary sources for the study.

Since this research involves an observational survey with ethnographic element, natural and spontaneous data are obtained through audio-recordings (from some selected electronic media institutions) in Ghana. The University of Ghana forms the catchment area from which the knowledge and perceptions of LAFA are obtained from a sample size of 164 students. The respondents are randomly selected from the various departments, faculties, schools and institutes of the University. A self administering structured questionnaire is employed and analysed using the statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS), to determine variance.

The questionnaire is divided into two substantive parts, section A comprises the bio-data of the respondent and section B is basically on the knowledge and perceptions on the phenomena in Ghana. Some people in and outside the University community are interviewed

and their responses factored into the critical analysis of the study. The analysis employs the qualitative approach to vividly describe the situation. Some words are selected and transcribed to project LAFA as against its target (American) English pronunciation and the Ghanaian English pronunciations (uncoded). This then means that the study is synchronic rather than diachronic even though these two dimensions are interdependent.

Finally, the study employs the American Psychology Association (APA) system of documentation.

1.8.1 Sample questionnaire

(Refer to Appendix A)

1.8.2 Excess Responses from questionnaire

(Refer to Appendix B)

1.8.3 Sample recordings of some LAFA speakers

(Refer to Appendix C)

1.9 Organization of study

The study is organized in five chapters as structured bellow:

Chapter One – Introduction: the chapter introduces the emerging phenomenon, LAFA, in Ghana and some of the possible avenues aiding its existence.

Chapter Two – Literature Review: this chapter reviews related literatures which support and authenticate the choice of topic.

Chapter Three – Concept of LAFA: under this chapter a distinction is drawn between GhaE and AmE Accents and the Emerging LAFA Accent. The chapter also focuses on the concept

regarding this accent, presented on a Venn diagram to give a pictorial illustration of the concept. Data are also collated from some electronic media institutions to draw the polar systems between AmE and GhaE and the place of LAFA.

Chapter Four – Recorded Interview and Analyses of Questionnaires: this chapter addresses two critical issues of two different data. The first part of the analysis documents an interview with Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo on LAFA since its coinage is one way or the other linked to her. The second part of the analysis discusses questionnaire responses on the knowledge and perceptions of LAFA on the University of Ghana Campus.

Chapter Five– Summary and Conclusion: this final Chapter establishes reasons behind the emergence of the linguistic phenomenon in Ghana and how it has created a kind of social meaning among its users. The Chapter ends with projections on future researches into this area.

Appendices (A, B, AND C): A sample questionnaire, excess responses and CDs of recorded speeches including transcriptions of the first three speeches, are placed under this section.

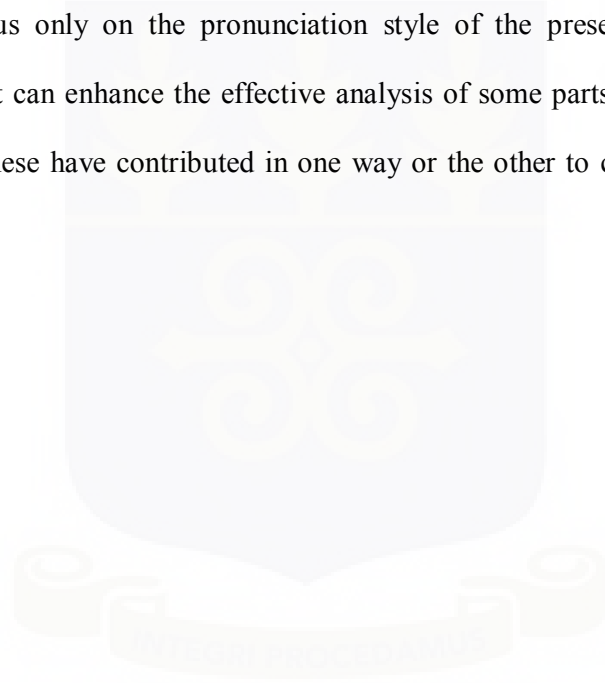
Bibliography: All the authorities quoted in the study are referenced here.

1.10 Limitations

The research topic “A Sociolinguistic Analysis of LAFA: A Locally Acquired Foreign (American) English Accent in Ghana” raises a lot of interesting issues for discussion. However, several challenges have been encountered. First of all, it has been extremely difficult to have one-on-one interview with some targeted people since most of them have been identified as speakers or users of this pronunciation variety. As these people get to know

that the scheduled interview with them has to do with an academic research, they immediately refuse to participate.

The uncompromising attitude of these respondents, especially the media personnel has posed a great challenge to the researcher thereby prompting her to spend long hours, selecting and recording the speeches of some of these people during their programme hosting on T.V. or radio. This task has been very difficult because fluctuations in the air waves and other forms of noise or irregular vibrations have served as obstacles in data collation. The researcher therefore has to focus only on the pronunciation style of the presenters. Currently, the acoustic facilities that can enhance the effective analysis of some parts of the data have not been available. All these have contributed in one way or the other to create a limitation for the study;



1.11 Definition of Terms

The words below have been selected from the entire research work and are defined appropriately from some well documented literature sources.

Standard English: It should be stressed here that the use of the term ‘standard’ does not imply either superiority or normality. The only superiority that Standard English has over any other is that it is readily understood all over the world wherever English is used, **and this is not true of other dialects to anything like the same extent.** It is neither a norm nor an ideal goal to be achieved at all costs. It is not a ‘pure’ form of the language of which all dialects are debasements. It is simply one dialect which, for non-linguistic reasons has come to be used throughout the English speaking world. As it is used here, ‘standard’ is a wholly technical term with no emotive associations whatever. (Grieve 1964:8)

Accent: The Linguistic Society of America (**LSA**) defines it as the way you sound when you speak and they distinguish between two types of accents. The first one is a **“foreign accent”** which occurs when a person speaks one language using some of the rules and or sounds of another. For example, if a person has trouble pronouncing some of the sounds of a second language they are learning, they may substitute similar sounds that occur in their first language. These sounds are “foreign”, to native speakers of that language.

The second accent, to them, is the way a group of people speak their native language. This is determined by the geographical area or cultural group to which one belongs. From this definition, it can be seen that every “native speaker of English speaks with a first language accent.”

Received Pronunciation (R.P): A prestigious accent established in England by the 17th century when comparisons began to be made between the speech of the court and the nobility in London and that of their peers from the province...It was this prestige accent, spoken in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Sandhurst and which was... representative of the best of English pronunciation, the mark of nobility and high learning...which was codified and described as R.P. From 1914, since Daniel Jones first described it, R.P has become...the most described and discussed accent on earth... (McArthur 1992:851)

Acquisition: It can be broadly defined as the internalization of rules and formulas which are then used to communicate in the L2. In this sense the term ‘acquisition’ is synonymous with the term ‘learning’. However, Krashen (1981) uses these terms with different meanings. ‘Acquisition’, for Krashen, consists of the spontaneous process of rule internalization that results from natural language use, while ‘learning’ consists of the development of conscious L2 knowledge through formal study. (Ellis 1985, **Glossary- p.293**)

Context: The ‘context’ of an utterance can mean two different things. 1. It can refer to the situation in which the utterance is produced; this is the situational context. 2. It can refer to the linguistic environment- the surrounding language; this is the linguistic context. Both types of context influence the choice of language forms and therefore have an effect on output. (Ellis 1985, **Glossary- p.295**)

Variability: Language users (including language learners) vary in the use they make of their linguistic knowledge. This variability can be unsystematic (i.e. haphazard) or systematic (i.e. two or more linguistic forms function as variants, which are used predictably according to contexts. (Ellis 1985, **Glossary – p.305**)

Learning: It can broadly be defined as the internalization of rules and formulas which are then used to communicate in the L2. In this sense it is synonymous with ‘acquisition’. However Krashen (1981) uses the term to refer to the process of developing conscious or meta-lingual knowledge through formal study. (Ellis 1985, **Glossary-p.299**)

Ethnography: Makes use of procedures such as detailed observation, interviews and questionnaires to collect data that are ‘rich’ and that afford multiple perspectives. It has been extensively used in the study of bilingual classrooms. (Ellis 1994, **Glossary – p.701**)

Transfer: Odlin (1989) gives the working definition of transfer as the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired. (1989:27)

‘L1 transfer’ occurs when the ‘influence’ results from the learner’s mother tongue. Two types of transfer are commonly identified: borrowing transfer (where the L2 influences the L1) and substratum transfer (where the L1 influences the L2). (Ellis 1994, **Glossary- p.711**)

Genre: A socially-sanctioned type of communicative event, either spoken, like an interview, or printed, like a novel. (Kramsch 1998, **Glossary- p.128**)

Style of speaking: Speech style is that part of linguistic behaviour that signals the speaker’s assessment of the relative formality or informality of the relationship between the participants in the interaction, on the occasion of the conversation. Speech style in English relies on at least three different types on manipulation of the speech material of the utterance: re-organisation of the phonetic structure of individual words, modifications of speech rate, and associated prosodic changes of pitch and loudness behaviour. Laver (1994:67)

Sociolect: A term used for an accent which characterizes the speech of a whole social group when speaking in a given style. Within such a sociolect, the uniquely idiosyncratic accent of a given speaker speaking in a given style is called the speaker's idiolect.

Lect: It is a neutral term for an accent without specific implications for its sociolectal or idiolectal status. Laver (1994:70)

Articulation: Consists of producing rapidly changing actions of the organs of the vocal tract to create short-lived phonetic patterns which can stand for consonants, vowels and other types of phonological units. Laver (1994:116)

Consonants: In the production of consonants, the active articulator moves towards the passive articulator in such a way as to interfere with the air that is coming out from the lungs. These sounds include (p, b, t, d, n, m, k, g, s, z, f, and v). Saah (2007:37)

Vowels: In the production of vowel sounds, the articulators do not interfere with the flow of the air out of the lungs. The air comes out freely. Vowel sounds include (a, e, ε, ɔ, o, and u). Saah (2007:37)

Rhotic Accent: The type of accent where /r/ (a phoneme) can be pronounced before consonants. Laver (1994:64)

Phonetics: Deals with speech sounds, how they are made (articulatory phonetics), how they are perceived (auditory phonetics) and the physics involved (acoustic phonetics). Davenport & Hannahs (1998:3)

Phonology: Deals with how these speech sounds are organized into systems for each individual language; for example: how the sounds can be combined, the relations between them and how they affect each other (systematic organisation of speech sounds in English).
Davenport & Hannahs (1998:3)

Stress: This is one way of making a syllable perceptually more prominent... The interaction of syllabic timing with stress and syllabic weight gives speech a perceived rhythm, and different types of interaction lead to different perceptions of rhythm. Laver (1994:156)

LAF*A*ians: This term is used to identify those who speak English language in the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent. (Author's coinage)

First Language: The first language a human being learns to speak as his native language.
Bloomfield (1933:43)

Second Language : A second language is, in fact, defined in terms of a language which is learned after the first language (or mother tongue) – not of course that it is inferior in any way, just that it comes after the first in time of learning, words of (Stern, 1983) in (Davies 2003:23).

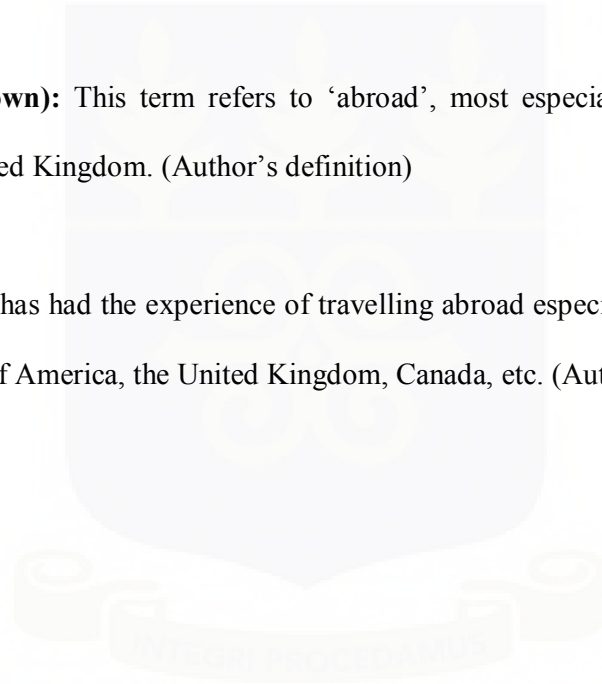
Acrolect: The highest level of English in Ghana, which involves the elite especially those who target the R.P. (Author's definition).

Mesolect: This is the middle level of English usage, which involves people who have gone through Second cycle institutions and are somehow fluent with the English language but unable to express themselves to the level of the acrolects. (Author's definition)

Basilect: This is the lowest level of usage which involves the illiterates and semi-literates who have not had any good education to enable them speak fluently in the English language. People of such level normally fall on the Pidgin English to express themselves. (Author's definition)

Up – Tee (Up – Town): This term refers to 'abroad', most especially, United States of America and the United Kingdom. (Author's definition)

Been - To: One who has had the experience of travelling abroad especially to countries such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, etc. (Author's definition)



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the key characteristics of man, according to Gimson (1962:1), is “his ability to communicate to his fellow’s simple as well as complicated messages on every aspect of his activity. A man possessing normal human faculties achieves this exchange of information mainly by means of two types of Sensory Stimulation, auditory and visual”. By this assertion, Gimson cites language as the main factor that accounts for man’s superiority over other animals.

However, Kreidler (1989:5), draws a distinction between the generality of language and the specificity of speech, the main focus of this study, by stating that “speech is not the same as language, more importantly speech is an activity which is carried on in numerous events; language is knowledge, a code which is known and shared by people who use their knowledge, for transmitting and interpreting messages in these events”.

Gimson (1962:18), states further, but in a more cautionary manner, that “it is not normally sufficient that our speech mechanism should simply function in such a way as to produce sounds; these in turn must be received by a hearing mechanism and interpreted.

In support of this assertion Nancy Friedman (2010:1), believes that “miscommunication is easy with anyone who is not talking like we are used to hearing. Today, with more and more businesses going global, it is important to be able to deal with an accent”. Friedman is, however, quick to caution that “to those from another country, we are the ones that have foreign accents”.

Gimson (1962:18) also entreats that “we must now therefore examine briefly the nature of the sounds which we hear, the characteristics of the transmission phase of these sounds, and the way in which these sounds are perceived by the listener”. Quirk (1962:47), argues on the same issue from a different perspective thus:

That the words in a language are conventional is very important. There is no fixed or predictable relation between words and their meanings. That is to say, if you were idly turning the tuning control on your radio, and your ear caught what sounded like ‘meel’, there is nothing about these sounds themselves that could help you guess their meaning...if you heard enough to know that English was being spoken, then you would interpret the sound of ‘meel’ in terms of the English code of conventions and decide that a ‘meal’ was being talked about.

Narrowed down to English, Trudgill (1986:58) asserts that “Speakers’ motivation is phonetic rather than phonological: their purpose is to make individual words sound the same as when they are pronounced by speakers of the target variety”. But Gimson (1962:6) argues that “phonetic analyses constitute but one step in a linguistic investigation; it would be necessary, in order to present a complete picture of language, to discover the ways in which the shape of words varies according to their functions”. This, however, is not a part of this study. Gimson further argues that “although linguistic science has made rapid and spectacular progress in the present century, it is not merely in modern times that speech and language has been the object of serious study”. But Quirk (1962:44), believes that “so far as we can tell, all human languages are equally complete and perfect as instruments of communication; that is, every language appears to be as well equipped as any other to say things its speakers want to say”. However, there is incompleteness in the variety of English language which is under study

here, even though it is not about the language per se but the speech aspect of it and to be specific, an emerging accent of the language.

Ingram (2009:1) observes that, “accent is how an individual pronounces a given language. Sometimes we think of people with an accent as those who ‘talk funny’. An accent includes a combination of consonants and vowels and prosodic features including duration, rhythm, stress, pitch, intonation and loudness.”

According to Trudgill (1986:71), “in English accents around the world a number of interesting phenomena occur concerning non-prevocalic /r/, the /r/ in the lexical set of cart, car, etc”. Some of these phenomena are related to dialect contact and some not. By this, Trudgill only reminds us of the difference in accent regarding the British and the American varieties of the English language. Trudgill (1986:72) cites Wells (1982) to further state that “as is well known, English accents fall into main types with respect to this feature: the non-rhotic or “r-less” varieties which do not have non-postvocalic /r/; and the rhotic or r-full accents, which do”. The rhotic has been superfluously used in LAFA. In addition to that, there is the misplacement of voicing and devoicing of the alveolar plosive /t/ in some of the words that contain it. For instance, in the word ‘pretty’ it is pronounced by *LAFAians* as /prɪdɪ/. Again, there are situations when the alveolar plosive undergoes total deletion such as in words like ‘environment’, it becomes /ɛ^rnvaɪrɒnmɛn*/ and ‘point’ rather becomes /pɔʔɪn*/. Finally, there is the high possibility of these speakers to replace the alveolar plosive with a glottal stop. For example ‘better’ becomes /bɛʔa/.

Thomas and Wareing (1999:137), in giving the relevance of accent, assert that “the importance of accent as a label of identity is evident in so far as this is the aspect of their language that speakers most frequently change, either to disguise their membership of, or

distance themselves from a particular social or regional group, or to move closer to another group they want to belong to”. This can be true of the users of LAFA who seem to want to dissociate themselves from Ghanaians and anything Ghanaian. They rather prefer to identify with Americans assuming that everything that is American is modern and for that matter the best to be opted for.

In Ghana, the pronunciation which is non-rhotic or r-less variety is the accepted form used and expected to be used by everyone in the country.

However, Quirk (1962:90) is of the view that “there are great impediments to the general use of a standard in pronunciation, compared to that existing in spelling. One is the fact that pronunciation is learnt ‘naturally’ and unconsciously, whereas orthography is learnt deliberately and consciously”. Quirk further thinks that “so far as the English-speaking countries are concerned, this R.P approaches the status of a ‘Standard’ almost only in England”.

Gimson (1962:216) , on the other hand, has a varying picture to give on the situation that “the accentual pattern of English words is fixed, in the sense that the main accent always falls on a particular syllable of any given word, but free, in the sense that the main accent is not tied to any particular situation in the chain of syllables constituting a word, as it is in some languages, e.g. to the penultimate syllable in ‘Polish’, to the first, in ‘Czech’ and to the last in ‘French’. Thus, the main accent falls regularly on the first syllable in such words as: finish, answer, afterwards; on the second syllable in behind, result, together, impossible; on the third syllable in understand, education; or later in articulation, palatalization, etc”. But Gimson notes that, “the accented shape of a word, in terms of the degree of prominence associated

with its parts, is a reality for both the speaker and the listener; but the speaker's impression of the factors which produce such a pattern of varying prominences may differ from the actual auditory clues by which the listener perceives the prominence pattern." This situation being the case of the use of LAFA, at certain times, makes it compounded. This happens as a result of the unfamiliar and inconsistent accentual patterns of LAFA.

On the genesis of the standardization of English accents, Quirk (1962:91) states that "most of us have an image of such a normal or Standard English in pronunciation and very commonly in Great Britain this is 'Received Pronunciation', often associated with the public schools, Oxford or Cambridge and the B.B.C. Gimson (1962:62) also, confirms the situation thus: "prescriptive grammars containing rules for pronunciation continued to be produced in large numbers and provide us with information concerning the contemporary forms of pronunciation; shorthand systems, too, which show an undiminished popularity, necessitated the analysis of English into its constituent sounds." Knowles (1987:3) corroborates Quirk's statement thus: "the standardisation of pronunciation really began in the late eighteenth century. Faced with various pronunciations of the same word, elocutionists and orthoepists (those concerned with correct pronunciation) recommended their own pronunciation as the correct one, and condemned others as incorrect."

Nonetheless, one can state that 'prescriptive Grammars' are gradually loosening their hold on the English Language because of the dynamism of the Language, besides the different varieties that are emerging. But Trudgill (1986:89) reveals that "the intermediate forms have not, of course, replaced the 'original' basilectal and acrolectal forms".

Ghana, which received the English language from Great Britain, has tried to aspire to this R.P. but to no avail. Simo Bobda (2000:185) asserts that,

“in West Africa, Ghana provides a typical example of a national English accent which, despite a Colonial past and sociolinguistic background, generally shared with, or similar to, that of other countries in the region, has developed in a clearly distinct manner and offers more than a little surprise to the investigator. One such surprise is the fact that there have been noticeable and systematic large-scale changes within only one generation, a phenomenon not parallel elsewhere in the region”.

It is therefore surprising that despite the uniqueness identified with the Ghanaian variety (uncoded) of the English language, a new phenomenon is emerging which targets a foreign accent, rather than consolidate the uniqueness identified in the local variety. If this is the situation regarding spoken English in Ghana, then the assertion by Quirk (1962:100) is true; that “standard spoken English is basically an ideal, a mode of expression that we seek when we wish to communicate beyond our immediate community with members of the wider community of nation as whole, or with members of the still wider community of English speakers world wide”. This means that it has never been, and will never be possible to have a single variety of the spoken language cutting across more than one geographical area, considering the difference in sociolinguistic factors that affect usage from one area to another. Thomas and Wareing (1999:144), also state that “there have been other investigations to reveal that even slight variations can be significant enough to signal affiliation with one group, and correspondingly disaffiliation with another”.

Ingram (2009:1) cites Milroy and Milroy (1999:22-23) as suggesting that “standard English is an idea in the mind rather than a reality- a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may want to conform to a greater or lesser extent. Ingram (2009:3) further states that, “we all have standards and preferences about the spoken language and certain accents can take more effort to understand. It is to be hoped, though, that we can make an effort to hear the content of the message and look beyond the stereotypes associated with the way the message is being spoken”.

Ingram (2009:2) again believes that “there are two kinds of accents. One is first language accent, or variation in the use of one’s native language. Variation may be related to the geographical area or cultural group to which it only belongs. The second kind of accent is a second language accent that occurs when a native speaker of a different language learns to speak English” Accent, as she asserts, is “the breakthrough of the native language phonology into the English”.

In Ghana, it is observed that English has become a marker of the various class groups as well as a symbol of social mobility. This aspect may possibly have some effect especially, on language use in the country. The different status groups may speak different forms of the language. The youth, mostly urban dwellers, some students in second cycle and tertiary institutions and a few adults have adopted the prevailing youth slang or the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent.

According to Hickey (1999:5), “slang expresses our delight in making language new. It is tribute to the flexibility and richness of language and to our ingenuity as language makers”.

Quirk (1962:65), on the other hand, asserts that “we cannot sacrifice the ordinary everyday

use of language merely in order to leave language permanently suitable for the 'lofty purposes'. Quirk further (1962:92) states that "while the easy and quick communications of modern times have mixed up and levelled dialectal distinctions to a great extent and encouraged the spread of a 'neutral', 'normal' pronunciation, the accompanying sociological changes have reduced the prestige of Received Pronunciation (R.P)". This is evident in the case of LAFA the emerging pronunciation phenomenon which targets the American variety other than the R.P. in the name of prestige.

Language users in Ghana can be classified into different categories based on their choice of code. Quirk (1962:74) believes that "in relation to the social aspects of language, it may well be suggested that English speakers fall into three categories: the assured, the anxious and the indifferent". Some of the users of LAFA can be categorised under the assured group. Quirk (1962:73) again, states that "if language habits do not represent classes, a social stratification into something as bygone as 'aristocracy' and 'commons', they do still, of course, serve to identify social groups". Thomas and Wareing (1999:147), posit that "speakers may wish to be identified with different groups at different times, and their linguistic patterns may produce a shift, whether it is between different varieties of a language or, from one language to another. The question of group affiliation and identity can determine the choices a speaker makes about how to speak". Quirk (1962:75) also claims that "in between...we have a far less fortunate group, the anxious. These actively try to suppress what they believe to be bad English and assiduously cultivate what they hope to be good English". Quirk further states that "the people thus uncomfortably stilted on linguistic high heels so often form part of what is, in many ways, the most admirable section of any society: the ambitious, tense, inner-driven people who are bent on going places and doing things".

This assertion gives a clear picture of the situation regarding the speakers of what has been described as Locally Acquired Foreign Accent under study. Some of these people (radio/T.V. presenters, pastors, etc.) in their speeches try to impress upon their listeners rather than making themselves discernible. Trudgill (1986:66), terms this phenomenon as ‘hyper-correction’ which he explains as consisting of “attempts to adopt a more prestigious variety of speech which through overgeneralization leads to the production of forms which do not occur in the target prestige variety”. This is what our initial study, has shown. Speakers of LAFA make such an effort to sound foreign in the hope of advancing their career particularly in broadcasting. The LAFA users see the Ghanaian usage of English as inappropriate and try to put up with a correct form which is the targeted American way of speaking English but their inability to get there or cross over to the targeted style ends them with LAFA.

Curtis (2010:1) writes that, “the second language learner speaks the acquired language in the same manner as the native language is spoken, therefore creating an ‘accent.’ Linking Curtis’s argument to the Ghanaian situation it can be said that or it has been observed that our use of English is heavily influenced by our native or local languages to the extent that our accentual patterns distinctively differs from the native speaker of the English language. This also applies to all other people who use English as an L2 such as Ghana, India, and Nigeria and as a foreign language such as Senegal, Togo and so on.

The rhythm, stress, intonation, and voice projection of the native language carries over to the second or acquired language and when spoken, it causes a number of distortions in word formations, etc”. This is what is seen any time LAFA is used. The data for this research amply show this trend as we will see later. For instance, Lacey (2005:1), tells of a similar situation of LAFA in Ghana also in existence in Kenya by adding that,

Susan Mina, a Kenyan who has never stepped outside of Africa, speaks English like the haughtiest of Britons. She can also put a fair imitation of an American accent by swallowing all her words. Still, every once in a while, some Swahili slips out of her and that is not at all helpful as she tries to enhance Africa's role in the global explosion of outsourcing.

In the case of LAFA, there is not only the intrusion of the Ghanaian variety, which is very distinct because of the influence of Ghana's tonal languages but the LAFA is also heavily overshadowed by it.

Gimson (1962:232), commenting on this issue, states that "it may happen that a word pronounced with the correct sound sequence may well be misunderstood if the relative prominence of the syllable is incorrect." Gimson goes further to explain that "accentual patterns of words are liable to change. Considerable changes of this kind have taken place within the last three hundred years, in addition to the large-scale accentual shifts affecting French importation of Middle English and still in American English; a secondary accent with a strong vowel fell on the penultimate syllable of such words as, *necessary*, *adversary*, *monetary*" etc. With the problem created by Susan Mina's spoken English, Ingram (2009:3) argues that,

Communication is a two-way process. Both the speaker and the listener have a responsibility for the act of communication. While different or foreign accents can sometimes interfere with the listener's ability to understand the message, accent can conjure up negative evaluation of the speaker, reducing the listener's willingness to accept their responsibility in the communication process. Sometimes, it becomes

easy to say, “I simply can’t understand you,” placing full responsibility for the communication process on the speaker.

Quirk (1962:90) is therefore quick to point out that,

We begin the ‘natural’ learning of pronunciation long before we start learning to read and write, and in our early years we go on unconsciously imitating and practising the pronunciation of those around us for many more hours per day than we ever spend learning even our difficult English spelling. It is “natural,” therefore, that our speech-sounds should be those of our immediate circle”.

As a result of this, as Quirk states, we learn quite early to recognise a stranger, someone who speaks with an accent of a different community.

This is exactly the case with some users of the LAFA, as they strive to make a choice that creates a new pronunciation style for them. It goes to confirm the assertion of Fasold (1987:40), that “there are choices that can be made in a society among language varieties” and in this situation, the preferred choice is on LAFA which is rather on pronunciation. Gimson (1962:69) supports Fasold by stating that “at any particular time in history there are likely to be a number of different, co-existent, realisation of vowel phonemes, not only as between regions but also between generations and social groups.”

Gimson again, asserts that “any particular point in the development of a language’s sound system is not considered a stage in the process of change of a number of sound units but rather a presentation of the functioning of a system at a certain historical moment.” Ahulu (1997:18) for his part writes that “with the development of English as an International

language, however, have developed forms or features that are divergent from ‘British’ and or ‘American English’...the vast majority of which are typically associated with non-native speakers.”

The users of English with a new accent or the LAFA aim at imitating the American accent. However, Ufomata (1996:2) cites Awonusi (1994) and Bamgbose (1995) that “this importation of Americanism complicates issues of correctness even further, as the question arises whether Americanisms in general should be treated as ‘deviant’ or ‘correct’. Other professionals who use a variety close to the media are those in the Foreign Service, academic, teaching, public relations, the Bar and Bench and increasingly the church, especially trendy new generation ones”. Ufomata explains further, citing Rachon (1956:144), as stating that “what actually happens is that language and power go together. American English is accepted for the power and superiority which America as a nation has acquired in the areas of science, technology, commerce, military affairs and politics”. Ufomata (1996:2) again, writes that in general, “the accent used in the electronic media is not uniform...presenters of musical programmes and other programmes aimed at young people are turning more and more towards an American accent.” The situation is very true of LAFA users in Ghana because their target is the American English pronunciation. This represents a general social cultural shift as young people see America as more trendy and the use of Americanisms indicates a tough guy image.

This phenomenon, also, is labelled by Trudgill (1986:62), as ‘inter-dialect’ which he explains as being “the situation where contact between two dialects leads to the development of forms that actually originally occurred in neither dialects”. Based on this assertion it can be argued

that the development of LAFAs is as a result of the contact between the Ghanaian and American varieties of the English.

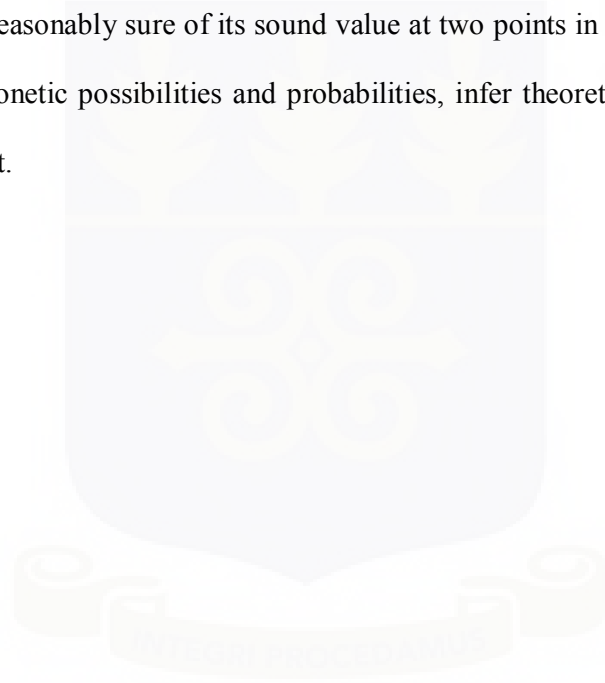
Trudgill further claims that it is important to notice, though that there is one situation where core syntax and phonology can be influenced by the media. This occurs where, for example, there is considerable linguistic distance between a dialect standard and local dialect and individual dialect speakers have made a conscious decision to acquire the standard. Then they may use the language of the media as a model: again imitation and copying is the mechanism involved, and not accommodation.

Does it therefore mean that LAFAs which serve as the focus of the study, be condemned? By no means! (Language, as is generally known, is a basic characteristic of humans). Language is known to be dynamic and so if a new phenomenon is detected in any quarters; it becomes unacceptable to outrightly condemn the phenomenon without any in depth investigation to find out how it works. It is possible that the new phenomenon may have a positive or negative impact on the already existing code accepted and adopted by the particular speech community. But until that is ascertained, the best measure is to carry out a study on the emerging phenomenon and come out with results that will reflect the place of the emerging phenomenon in the already existing language.

Quirk (1962:21), states that “we are in danger of being somewhat egocentric in our judgements of other people’s language” and this is no exception. In support of Quirk’s assertion, we are prompted to revisit the words of Todd (1984:1), that “we cannot despise a language or a language variety without despising the people who use it. And the better we learn a language, the closer we can come to its users because language is the means by which

we all express our understanding of and attitudes towards, our individual universes”. In fact no one has yet devised a satisfactory and reliable method of estimating how extensive anyone’s command of a language is.

The study is not merely on the emergence of an accentual pattern like LAFA in Ghana but it is also on the perceptions of both users and non-users regarding LAFA. The study again, looks at the nature of LAFA, its origin and some identified features associated with it. Gimson (1962:72) too asserts that if in dealing with the changing realization of a particular phoneme we can be reasonably sure of its sound value at two points in history, we can, from our knowledge of phonetic possibilities and probabilities, infer theoretically the intervening stages of development.



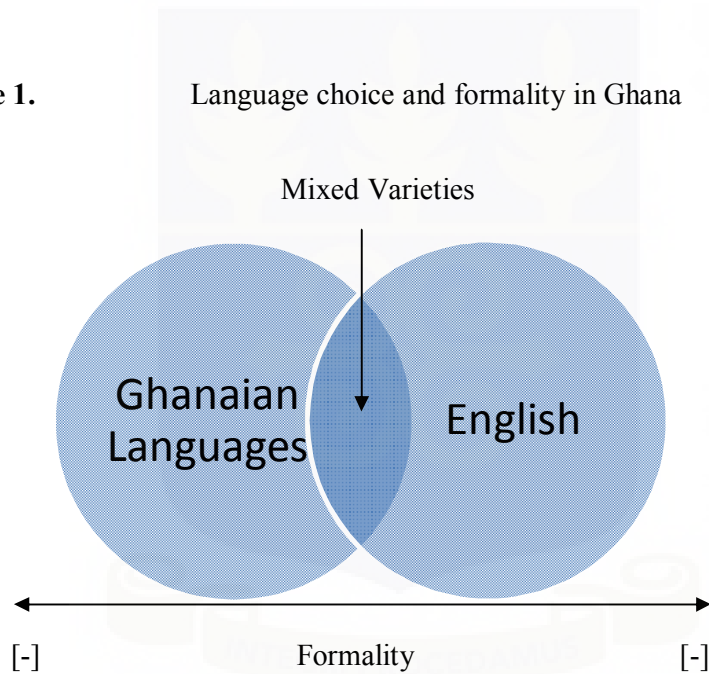
CHAPTER THREE

THE CONCEPT OF LAFA

3.1 Introduction

Owusu-Ansah (1997:26) writes that, “the relationship between English and the Ghanaian languages depends on the level of formality.” He demonstrates this with the Venn diagram below to expatiate on his stance.

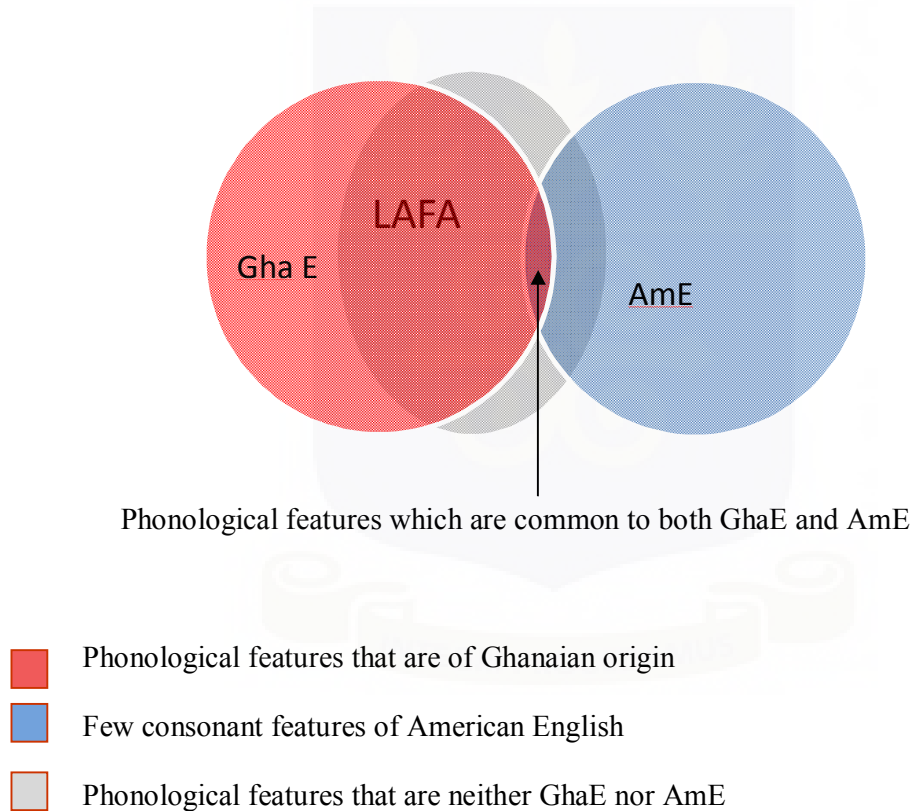
Figure 1.



Owusu-Ansah illustrates the three possibilities of language choice in Ghana in the above diagram, ranging from unmixed Ghanaian languages through mixed Ghanaian languages and mixed English varieties, to unmixed English varieties. He also identifies the two unmixed varieties, that is, Ghanaian languages and English as used in highly formal situations, while mixed varieties are chosen at the level of formality.

Invoking the concept of LAFA on the projections of Owusu Ansah, it is observed that LAFA, still being under-studied falls within the mixed varieties but it should be noted that LAFA is not a coded variety; rather, it is an emerging pronunciation style that pretends to approximate the American English pronunciation system. The diagram below gives a pictorial representation of the phenomenon of LAFA in Ghana today vis-à-vis its link with Ghanaian and American varieties of the English Language.

Figure 2. The place of LAFA between GhaE and AmE



As shown in the second diagram, LAFA takes on more features from Ghanaian English (an uncoded variety still under investigation) than from the American English. The revelation is that there are very few vowels which are pronounced the same way in both Ghanaian and American English varieties. The reason for this sameness is because of the fact that

Ghanaians formally target the British variety and therefore try to pronounce words the British way based on Ghana's long history with them. It is this group of words that seem to have some sameness or link with the American variety.

The analyses of the concept establish speakers of LAFA as more Ghanaian than American. From some observations made so far, it is noted that the speakers of this speech style are a weird accent blend which does not identify them as Ghanaians or Americans;

Again, it is noted that *LAFaians* create this speech style by deliberately identifying themselves with a non- Ghanaian accent based on their choice and pronunciation preference. But the most striking of the situation is that in as much as these people try to distort their Ghanaian accent so that they can distance themselves from it and identify with the American pronunciation style which they target, the more they sound Ghanaian than American. This is represented in figure 2 as LAFA speakers are noted to be hiding behind AmE and GhaE in a form of a shadow circle.

3.2 Some Phonological Variables of LAFA which differentiate it from the target variety (American English Pronunciation).

The fundamental objective of this section is to provide an insight into the phonological variables identified in the speech of people who employ this pronunciation style. The section provides analysis of the various recordings which are transcribed using the Audacity software. These recordings which serve as the main form of data in this chapter are all obtained from various radio presentations made for public consumption.

The phonological variables (both vowels and consonants) identified in words as recorded from the radio presentations, are singled out based on the lexical items in which they are used. The lexical items or words are structured and listed in a tabular form to construct the polar systems of pronunciation. The polar system is created to differentiate between American English (AmE) identified as the target, Ghanaian English (GhaE, uncodified) on the one hand, and the emerging phenomenon, Locally Acquired Foreign Accent, on the other. The purpose of this differentiation is to highlight the situation, whether those who speak LAFA are actually achieving their target by completely approximating the American English style of pronunciation, or whether they are developing a different pronunciation mix which is very far from their conscious target. The American and the Ghanaian English pronunciation varieties are selected alongside LAFA to serve as a template for defining the phonological variables used in LAFA and to establish the differences among the three English pronunciation systems used in this research. These pronunciation systems are as follows: American English pronunciation, the uncoded Ghanaian English pronunciation and the status of LAFA between these pronunciation systems.

3.3 American English (AmE): The target variety of *LAF*Aians

Language is dynamic. It is therefore not surprising that (American English has evolved into a distinct variety in America) different from the native British one. Even though the English language has spawned many and different varieties all over the world, the American and British varieties are used as the model-target in the educational system of countries that use English as a second or foreign language. A typical example is Ghana where the British variety is used as the target or taught-in language in her educational system.

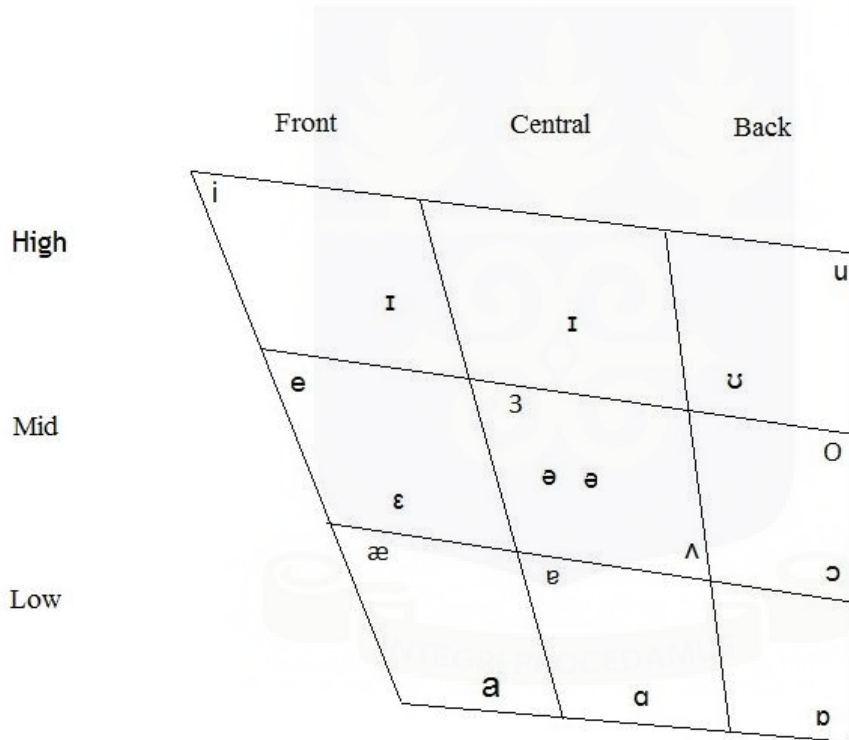
Yet it is not uncommon in recent times to observe that the American variety is gradually infiltrating the Ghanaian English system. The most active of the agents of this intrusion is the Information Communication Technology (ICT). Most of the software programmes used in the Ghanaian educational system is of American origin. This also may partly account for the link in formal usage between the two varieties. The effect is that even though the British Standard is the pronunciation variety expected to be used, it has been observed that there are preferences in usage where speakers choose to speak in their preferred forms and this is where American English pronunciation is often switched to as the preferred target pronunciation variety.

Another observation, based on the polar systems created, proves that speakers who try to approximate the American English variety are unable to speak exactly like the Americans. The speakers of this new pronunciation are identified as creatively developing another accent which best suit their linguistic context of use. It is against this backdrop that the American vowel quadrangle structure by Nelson (1958:98) is being considered as a template to vividly establish and describe whether the speakers of Locally Acquired Foreign Accent in Ghana are actually using the American vowels or moving away from it.

Again, Nelson states that “when we listen to someone speaking a language we know well, we pick out certain distinctive features as they go by in their flowing stream of speech” (p.58). In the case of LAFA, some of the distinctive features picked by the listener are the excessive use of rhotic, the deletion of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ at coda level, the substitution of /t/ with the glottal stop /ʔ/ etc. Some of their distorted sounds patterns make it difficult for the listener to pick any of these features in the explanation identified in a tabular representation with some brief explanations on the American English. The uncoded Ghanaian

English and the emerging style, ‘LAFAs,’ in the discussions below, beginning with the American vowel quadrangle which is made with the front vowels to the left just as the cross section of the vocal organs always faces left, (p.63). These vowels arrange themselves in two (2) series. The first contains [i], [e], and [æ], which are relatively long and tense; the second series [ɪ], [ɛ] and [a], are relatively shorter and lax. In each pair, the tense member tends to be diphthongal (p.98).

Figure 3. The American Vowel English Quadrangle



Culled from Nelson (1958:98)

3.4 Ghanaian English (GhaE)

Ghanaians are identified in the linguistic community as bilingual. English is used as a second and the official language while the native languages, each, constitute the mother tongue or L1. In Ghana, it is noted that the proportion of educated English speakers is less than the

uneducated English speakers. Boadi (1971:51) writes that, “There are different levels or varieties of English to be found in Ghana. The speakers of these varieties differ in educational standards. They range from the highly educated speakers to speakers who are illiterate; and the English of the least educated is the least internationally acceptable while that of the most educated is most widely understood in the English speaking world”.

Gyasi (1991:26), stresses inter alia that the higher the level of a Ghanaian’s education, the greater his tendency to use British Standard English as a yardstick for measuring competence in English because, it is the variety adopted and accepted to be used in Ghana; but it is observed from the research data that the approximation of speech is rather towards the American way of pronouncing English words and the question is why?

Sey (1973:6), suggests that,

Members of a society who understand and use English regularly, are in a position to set the fashion in English usage which might lead to the development of distinctive Ghanaian English. This people turn out to be the very people who in fact cling with great circumspection to the features of standard English they have acquired or believe they have acquired and would not endanger their social prestige in bold attempts at linguistic innovation, or in the sort of easy and unguarded linguistic habits that might result in ‘impure’ or ‘foreign’ English.

In addition, Gyasi in his essay makes a relevant remark that English, as used in Ghana, is characterized by the persistence of peculiar forms and usages that can be found in all, from the English of the elementary school leavers to that of the university graduate. Sey (1973:9), adds also to this observation by establishing his most critical view of “‘stressing the *Ghanaianness* of Ghanaian English”, that “‘of course there are elements in the English of

educated Ghanaians that mark it off as Ghanaian''. There is truly a group of educated Ghanaians which does not target the R.P. in its speech pattern. Some of the elite belonging to this group are those who use LAFA. Such people believe they have acquired enough of the English language so that they can decide to use it in a way they feel comfortable.

Further, Sey establishes some particular phonological features (vowels and consonants) that are peculiar to Ghanaian English speakers as well as remarks that "pronunciation is probably the weakest and the most remarkable feature of English in Ghana...more marked in sentence stress patterns and intonation than in the pronunciation of individual words". He finally adds that there is a deviation in sound and stress even in words. What can be said of LAFA users, in regard to what Gyasi and Sey say about the *Ghanaianness* of Ghanaian English is that they are very much aware of this fact. However, the low self-esteem in them prompts them to run away from this *Ghanaianness* in the language and to chase their targeted American English pronunciation with so much futility.

Again, Sey provides some specific consonants in Ghanaian English as briefly stated below:

- The tendency to substitute the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ for the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ for instance, thought, thank, and throw.
- The voiced alveolar plosive /d/ is preferred to the voiced dental fricative /ð/, in the following examples: them, that, and there.
- Spelling pronunciation produces such deviations as /hausis/ instead of /hauzɪz/ 'houses'.
- The prominence of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in the following words: when, while, which, and where.

- Full value is given to the voiced velar plosive /g/, so that one hears /baŋg/ instead of /bæŋ /, /siŋg / instead of /siŋ / and /kiŋg / instead of /kiŋ /.
- The prominence of the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ in words that have this feature. For instance: plumber, thumb and debt.
- Finally, the substitution between the voiced alveolar lateral continuant /l/ for the voiced post-alveolar frictionless continuant /r/ by especially speakers of Ashanti and Twi. Some Examples include: collect→ correct, flesh→ fresh.

Sey also made significant observations about vowels:

The vowel /a/ does a lot of work in Ghanaian English. It is used in initial position where the Received Pronunciation (RP) uses the unrounded central vowel or schwa /ə/. Examples are ago, about, abroad, above. The vowel /a/ is also noted at coda level of some words such as mother, tutor, conductor, and master, where RP uses /ʌ/ in words such as cut, cup, cat, hat, and the /a/ vowel is rather heard. The vowel /ɔ/ is also heard in words such as culture, cult, hot, but the different speakers of Ghana also pronounce this vowel in words differently. For instance, Twi speakers say /bas/, Ga speakers say /bɔs/ and Fante speakers as /bes/, as ‘bus’ and ‘cup’ is pronounced as /kap/ or /kɔp/.

Again, a differentiation is made between /u/, the high close back rounded long vowel and the high close back rounded short vowel /ʊ/, but in the pronunciation of words, this distinction is hardly made, for instance in the following: good, food, cook, fool, hoof.

Furthermore, is the distinction between the long vowel / i: / and the short vowel /ɪ/. Among speakers of Ewe, Ga and Akuapim Twi, the long vowel is frequently heard in the following: sit, live, pin, bid, six. The identification of diphthongs in words such as gay, pay, may, say is

a problem but not in words such as boy, buy, shine, lime. What is usually heard is the lengthening of vowel number 2, /e /, without any perceptible glide.

Finally, Sey makes a general observation that despite the above features peculiar to only Ghanaians, “they ridicule hyper-correctness in pronunciation, especially the type that strives obviously to approximate RP”, but the approximation as it has been clearly observed is rather towards the American English pronunciation style.

3.5 Polar Systems in pronunciation variations in AmE (coded), GhaE (uncoded) and the emerging LAFA.

The analyses of the following linguistic variables serve as empirical evidence to highlight the surface structure of the emerging phenomenon (LAFA) and how these variables can be realised through LAFA usage.

The transcribed words below have been classified and distinguished based on how they are said in American English, Ghanaian English and finally locally acquired foreign accent (LAFA). This activity has been carried out using a free, cross-platform Digital audio editor version 1.2.6 for change log-to transcribe public recordings of some selected speeches of certain presenters at different media houses in Ghana. Some of these media houses are Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), City Fm, Vibe Fm, Youth Fm (Y FM), Radio Gold, Joy FM etc. Basically, these are English oriented media institutions. The individual words are selected out of context and some from spoken speeches by friends and people around the researcher as they speak this new style. This activity involves a conscious observational approach with high level of acoustics used to perceive raw data (speech) before it is analysed and transcribed.

Table 3.1 Polar systems evident in AmE, GhaE (uncoded) and LAFA

Words (orthographic level)	Transcribed versions of the spoken forms			Identified Features (which either correlate or deviate from the target variety AmE)
	American English (AmE)	Ghanaian English (GhaE)	Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (LAFA)	
‘Earphones’	/ 'ɪə ^r founz /	/ ɪafons /	/ 'ɪə ^r fonz /	1.Slight deviation from GhaE (vowels) 2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘college’	/ 'kɒlɪdʒ /	/ 'kɔledʒ /	/ 'kɔ ^r ledʒ /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Cash’	/ 'kæʃ /	/ 'kaʃ /	/ 'ka ^r ʃ /	1.Slight Deviation from Ghanaian English (vowels at nucleus) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Later’	/ 'leɪdə ^r /	/ 'leta /	/ le ^r da ^r /	2.Rhotic as in AmE 1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels at syllable initial and medial are the same)
‘Language’	/ 'læŋgwɪdʒ /	/ 'langwedʒ /	/ 'la:ngwedʒ /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowel at word final) 5.The insertion of vowel features lacks consistency
‘Album’	/ 'ælbəm /	/ 'albəm /	/ 'a ^r lbəm /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE(vowels at syllable initial and final) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Hard’	/ 'hɑ: ^r d /	/ 'hɑ:d /	/ 'hɑ: ^r d /	2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘Bird’	/ 'bɜ: ^r d /	/ 'bed /	/ 'bɜ: ^r d /	2.Rhotic as in AmE 1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels at nucleus level)
‘Overnight’	/ouvə ^r 'nait /	/ ova 'nait /	/ ova ^r 'nar*/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 2.Rhotic as in AmE 6.Deliberate omission of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ at coda level

‘Operator’	/ˈɒpəreɪdəʔ/	/ˈɒpreta /	/ˈɒpɪredəʔ /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (initial and medial vowels) 2.Rhotic as in AmE 4.Voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive/stop /t/→/d/ 5.Insertion of vowels in LAFA lacks consistency
‘Thank’	/ Өæŋk /	/ tɛnk /	/ ta:nk /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (voiceless dental fricative /θ/→/t/ voiceless alveolar fricative maintenance of the alveolar nasal /n/ instead of it partially assimilating to /k/→/ŋ/ 5.The insertion of vowels in LAFA (lacks consistency)
‘Thursday’	/ˈӨə:ʔzdi:/	/ˈtɛzde /	/ˈteʔzde /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (voiceless dental fricative /θ/ is reduced to /t/; vowels at syllable initial and final 2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘Up’	/ ʌp /	/ ʌp /	/ ʌʔp /	3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary The central vowel used in all polar systems
‘Warmth’	/ wɔʔmӨ /	/ wɔ:mf /	/ wɔ:ʔmf /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (voiceless dental fricative at coda level is reduced to voiceless labio-dental fricative) /θ/→/f/; 2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘Country’	/ ˈkʌntri: /	/ˈkauntri / /ˈkʌntri /	/ˈkauntri / /ˈkɛntri / /ˈkʌntri /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 5.The insertion of different vowels in LAFA (lacks consistency)
‘Coup d’ etat’	/ ku:dei'ta /	/ kudɪ'ta: /	/ kud'ta:ʔ /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (use of monophthongs instead of the diphthong used in AmE at the second syllable) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Correct’	/ kə'rekt /	/ˈkɔɾet /	/ kɔ'rekt / / kɪ'rekt /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 5.The insertion of vowel features in LAFA (lacks consistency)
‘Pretty’	/ ˈprɪdi: /	/ˈprɪti /	/ˈprɪd: /	4.voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/→/d/

				(voiced alveolar stop/plosive at final syllable) 9. Same form in AmE and LAFA
'Prayer'	/preə ^r /	/preia/	/preia ^r /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Dissolve'	/di'zɒlv/	/di'zɔ:lv/	/di'zɔ: ^r lv/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
'Couple'	/kʌp ^l /	/'kʌpl/	/'kʌ ^r pl/	3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
'Early'	/'ɜ: ^r li:/	/'eli/	/'ɛ ^r li/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels) 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Dwarf'	/dwɔ: ^r f/	/dwa:f/	/dwa: ^r f/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowel) 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Certificate'	/sə ^r 'tɪfikit/	/'setɪfiket/	/se ^r 'tɪfiket/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Concerned'	/kən 'sɜ: ^r nd/	/'kɒnsend/	/kən 'se ^r nd/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels) 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'For'	/fɔ: ^r /	/fɔ/	/fɔ: ^r /	2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Tour'	/tuə ^r /	/tɔ/	/tɔ: ^r /	2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Towards'	/'tɔ: ^r dz/ /'təwɔ:rdz/ /'tɔ:rdz/	/'tɔwɔ:ds/	/'tɔ 'wɛ: ^r ds/	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels; /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative remains same despite being preceded by a voiced alveolar stop /d/ 2.Rhotic as in AmE
'Individual'	/ɪndi 'vɪdʒu:əl/	/ɪndɪvɪdʒuəl/	/ɪndɪ 'vɪdɔ:l/	5. The insertion of vowels in LAFA lacks consistency
'Started'	/'sta: ^r dɪd/	/'stated/	/'sta: ^r dɛd/	2.Rhotic as in AmE 1.Slight Deviation from GhaE 4.Voicing of the voiceless alveolar stop /t/→/d/ voiced alveolar stop which is ala American
'Number'	/'nʌmbə ^r /	/'nʌmba/	/'nʌmbə ^r /	2. Rhotic as in AmE 9. Same form in AmE and LAFA
'Staff'	/'staf/	/'staf/	/'sta: ^r f/	3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary 5.The insertion of vowel features in LAFA lacks consistency

‘Person’	/ ˈpɪːrˌsən /	/ ˈpɛsɪn /	/ ˈpɛːrˌsən /	2.Rhotic as in AmE (same vowel at syllable final) 1. Slight Deviation from GhaE at syllable initial
‘Appreciate’	/ ə ˈpɪːrɪː ʃiːeɪt /	/ ə ˈpɪrɪ ʃiɛt /	/ əˈ ˈpɪrɪ ʃiːeɪt /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE same vowels) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Potential’	/ pə ˈtɛnʃəl /	/ ˈpɒtɛnʃɪəl /	/ pə ˈtɛnʃɪəl / / pə ˈtɛnʃiːl /	5.Insertion of vowel features in LAFA lacks consistency (vowels at syllable final)
‘Reward’	/ rɪˈwɔːd /	/rɪwɔd/	/rɪˈwɔːd/	2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘Approval’	/əˈpruːvəl /	/ˈapruvəl /	/ˈapruvə:l /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels at syllable initial and medial) 5.The insertion of vowel features in LAFA lacks consistency (vowel inserted at syllable final)
‘Object’	/ ˈɒbdʒɛkt /	/ ˈɒbdʒɛkt /	/ ɒbˈdʒɛːkt /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels) 3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Launch’	/ ˈlɒnʃ /	/ ˈlɒnʃ /	/ ˈlɑːˈnʃ / / lɔːˈnʃ /	3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Artiste’	/ ˈɑːˈtiːst /	/ ˈɑːtiːst /	/ ˈɑːˈtiːst /	9. Same form in AmE and LAFA 2.Rhotic as in AmE
‘Butter’	/ ˈbʌdə /	/ ˈbata /	/ ˈbadə /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE at syllable initial 2.Rhotic as in AmE (same form at syllable final) 4 .The voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/→/d/
‘Difficulty’	/ ˈdɪfɪkəldiː /	/ ˈdɪfɪkɔlti /	/ ˈdɪfɪkɔldɪ /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels) 4.The voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/→/d/
‘Fuel’	/ ˈfjuːəl /	/ ˈfuəl /	/ ˈfjuəl /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (vowels) NB: palatalization ala American
‘Entertainment’	/ɛntəˈteɪnmənt/	/ɛntə ˈtɛmənt /	/ɛntəˈtɛnmən*/	2. Rhotic as in AmE 6.The deliberate omission of a consonant at word final or coda
‘American’	/ ə ˈmɛrɪkən /	/əˈmɛrɪkən /	/ ə ˈmɛrɪkən /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE at word initial and medial 5.The insertion of vowel features in LAFA lacks consistency (vowels at syllable final)

‘Undisputed’	/ʌndɪ'spju:dɪd /	/ɔndɪ'spju:tɛd /	/ɔndɪ'spju:dɛd /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels between GhaE and LAFA) 4.Voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/→/d/ at syllable final
‘Actually’	/'æktʃu:əli: /	/'aktʃuali /	/'aktʃuali /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE (same vowels between GhaE and LAFA)
‘Definitely’	/'defɪnətli /	/'defɪnetli /	/'defɪnitli /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE
‘Hesitate’	/'hezɪteɪt /	/'hesɪtet /	/'heɪsɪteɪt /	3.Rhotic introduced where unnecessary
‘Memorial’	/mə'mɔ:ɪ:əl /	/mə'mɔriəl /	/mə'mɔri:əl /	1.Slight Deviation from GhaE at syllable initial and medial but correlates at syllable final to the AmE
‘God’	/gɒd /	/gɔd /	/gɑ:d /	5. The insertion of vowel features in LAFA lacks consistency

With the analyses of the words, it has so far been identified that, eight (8) distinct features, basically phonological, have been observed as distinctive of the phonological pronunciations in LAFA. It is seen that speakers of LAFA have their own manner of pronouncing words. Surprisingly, this way of speaking has been a constant indicator in the LAFA speech patterns of all the subjects. The features identified are substantial and are as follows:

1. Slight deviation from Ghanaian English vowel system. For instance, ‘approval’ is pronounced as /'ɑpruval/ in Ghanaian English pronunciation and /'ɑpru:vɑ:l/ by *LAFAsians*.
2. Rhotic as in American English pronunciation , for instance, the word ‘reward’ is pronounced by Americans’ as /r r'wɔ:ɾd/ and this is pronounced the same way by speakers of LAFA , maintaining the rhotic in the same position just like the Americans.
3. Rhotic introduced where unnecessary as in for instance, the word ‘hot’ is pronounced / hɑ:t / by Americans but LAFA speakers tend to pronounce it as /hɔ:ɾt/.
4. Voicing of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t / → / d/ or the /d/ like pronunciation of the /t/sound. For example, ‘started’ / stɑ:ɾtɪd / → / stɑ:ɾdɪd /
5. Lack of consistency in phonetic pattern of LAFA, for instance ‘dissolve’ in AmE is pronounced /dɪzɒlv/ but *LAFAsians* pronounce it /dɪzɔ:ɾlv/
6. The absence or deliberate omission of certain consonants at word final position or coda positions (usually in contexts when the voiceless alveolar plosive is deleted at coda level. For example, the number ‘twenty’ is pronounced / twɛn*ɪ/ by Americans is pronounced the same way by *LAFAsians*
7. Use of glottal stops- usually with LAFA speakers in Ghana, /t/ is replaced with a glottal stop as in /bʌʔə/ ‘butter’, /wɔʔə/ ‘water’ is a central part of the cockney

stereotype, Sebba (1993:158). This subject is also elaborately explored by Wells (1982:322-8), where he has an indepth discussion on the subject.

It is observed that even though the glottal stop /ʔ/ can represent /p, t, k, f, v, ð, θ/ that is, it is a pervasive process in rapid informal cockney speech, Sebba (1993:158). In the speech patterns of those who speak LAFA, it represents or can substitute only the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ which happens with few lexical items but not extensively explored in so many lexical items and some examples are given above.

8. The last feature so far identified is the post-vocalic /l/ which also establishes the differences between the varieties singled out for this chapter. The /l/, the liquid or approximant in LAFA is invariably ‘clear’. It is pronounced with the tongue forward in the mouth, but the American English variety has a dark ‘l’ after a vowel, that is the tongue is retracted allowing the back of the tongue to touch the velum. Because speakers of LAFA are unable to pronounce the dark ‘l’ like the Americans, it results in them pronouncing words placing emphasis on each syllable. This activity automatically makes the words sound more Ghanaian than American but with slight modifications in a conscious and deliberate manner to be made to sound American, which becomes a wasted effort as that goal, is never achieved. That is, in an effort to accommodate the /l/, the vowel sound gets influenced. For instance, the word ‘late’ is pronounced by the Americans as /leɪd/ but *LAFAians* tend to pronounce it as /leɪ*/. In this attempt, it is rather the lateral /l/ that changes in both instances of pronunciation and not the vowels.
9. Finally, it is noted that in a rare case, the phonetic pattern in LAFA follows the exact pronunciation pattern of the AmE. For instance, the pronunciation of ‘pretty’ is pronounced as /prɪdi:/ in both LAFA and AmE.

From the analyses, it is quite significant to note that, the vowels used by the LAFA speakers can still be traced to the GhaE (uncoded) phonological system. The speakers of LAFA are not able to acquire especially the vowels of American English completely as represented by Nelson (1958:98) in figure 3 above and unconsciously use the GhaE vowel system which is directly lifted from the way the various local languages are spoken, serving as a major influence through transference.

Again, another interesting observation identified is the fact that, *LAFaians* are not able to pronounce the short vowel /æ/ when it is positioned at the initial level of a syllable. This vowel is rather substituted unconsciously with a spread vowel /a/. For instance, ‘african’ /æfrɪkən/ or ‘after’ /ɑ: ftə/ becomes /'ɑfrɪkən/ and /aftə^r/.

Also, most of these speakers are not able to effectively pronounce the dental fricatives /ð, and θ/, one of the basic features that distinguish GhaE Pronunciation (uncoded) from the other coded pronunciation varieties of English, like BrE and AmE. These speakers end up saying ‘this’ /dɪs/ instead of /ðɪs/, ‘that’ /dʌt/ instead of /ðæt/. Most of these were heard in the samples collated from the media by its performers during their entertainment programmes (casual speech performance).

The bilingual nature of those who speak LAFA reflects clearly and noticeable features that are observed in their speeches serving as indicators to what they are trying to construct and project. The question then is which coded accent does LAFA truly reflect?

CHAPTER FOUR

RECORDED INTERVIEW AND ANALYSES OF QUESTIONNAIRES

4.1 Introduction

Interview with Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo

This chapter is on two very important elements of this study. The first part provides an interview with Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo, the Acting Director of School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, Legon on Monday, October 19, 2009. She is the source of the coinage, LAFA, hence the need for the interview with her.

The second part of the Chapter is the analysis of responses from the questionnaires administered. Note that some of the responses are so many and varying that only the few recurrent ones are used for the analysis with the rest recorded under Appendix B.

Below is a full text of the interview the researcher had with Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo.

Interviewer :(Researcher) – Beatrice Oforiwaa Bruku

Interviewee: Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo

Exchange of pleasantries

“Good afternoon madam, please how are you?”

“Good afternoon, I am well and I hope you are too!”

(Introduction) – 24minutes

Interviewer: Madam, please, so many people trace the creation of the term “Locally Acquired Foreign Accent” (LAFA) to you. Some of these people are Professor John Singler of New York University, Prof. Kari Dako of the English Department, who is also my supervisor for this research I am undertaking, etc.

1. **Question:** Please, how did the creation of this term come about?

Response: Well, I had noticed when the air waves were liberalised and the first few private commercial radio stations came on air, there were particularly these D.J.'s and hosts who as far as I could tell and as far as I know, were born and raised in Ghana, hadn't lived abroad but they were speaking with accents because I imagine that they hadn't been formally trained in broadcasts and they imagined from perhaps what they hear on foreign radio particularly Western foreign radio that you needed a certain kind of voice and intonation to be a good presenter and that is why I too thought of it that these were foreign accents but they were locally acquired. Sometimes, our language is accented because we have lived and never been influenced in a particular locality that has sort of affected the way we articulated, but these ones, it was a sort of a "put on".

2. **Interviewer:** A "put on" as in ... can you please explain?

Is it a form of "faking"?

Interviewee: Well, well, "assuming a certain personality" because I do not know them personally, most of them, and so I do not know whether in real life when they are talking to their father or mother they actually do speak English that way, but I am saying that I mean we are Ghanaians and if you were born and raised and you schooled in the Ghanaian School System you will articulate words in particular ways that people, not that you will articulate them wrongly but articulate them in an accent that is uniquely Ghanaian, uniquely African, but they were getting "away from that".

3. **Interviewer:** Please, what basically prompted the coining of this term?

Response: Yes! It just came because I thought these are Locally Acquired Foreign

Accents (LAFA) and in a conversation I said it to somebody. It wasn't something I thought was ...

Follow up question: Please before this term was coined by you, have you read anything about this concept anywhere?

Response: No I hadn't read anything like that anywhere.

4. **Question:** Please, when did you observe this change, this new style?

Response: Again, because it is not something I deliberately set out to do and put in the public domain. At the time, I was very active as a radio commentator myself, much more than I am today. I was commenting on national events, Politics and also because I lectured at the School of Communication Studies, Sometimes, I will be asked for my opinions on the media. I really do not know exactly when but I can tell you that is what I meant, it was around a particular period, so we could date it from after 1996/1997 when a lot more private radio stations had been established and they were employing young, mostly males. Vibe Fm, I am sure, I mean, even though I cannot sit here and swear that Vibe was in particular had inspired the term. Vibe FM is an example of a lot of their presenters at the time who spoke with accents.

5. **Question:** What are your observations on this new form of speaking style?

Which has penetrated so many areas in Ghana today?

Response: I think my observations are things said earlier on. I imagined that, they think "that is the voice of a good presenter and I think that those who make hiring decisions at the radio stations have endorsed it by continuously putting people like that on air. I mean, I don't think it is interesting and peculiar. I don't do voice training or ... that is not my area of expertise so in this sense I am speaking as a lay person but ... I much prefer people speaking

in what I consider to be genuine African Accents, by articulating words correctly and clearly using good grammar because sometimes, people mistake especially those who are *LAFaring*, there I go again, that, that can substitute for correct usage, for correct grammar, for correct pronunciation of names and that is not the case and it especially, sometimes, leads them to actually pronounce Ghanaian names as though they were foreign names.

6. Question: Do you think it is creating a form of hybrid between the local and the standard variety (the Standard aspired to by most people in written and spoken forms)

Response: I don't know. I mean, I really do not know.

7. Question: Please, apart from presenters, which institutions in your view encourage the use of this form of accent?

Response: I think it is particularly an FM, Radio, and FM Commercial English language radio phenomenon and that is why I think that those who speak LAFA imagine that, it is the voice for radio and television. With Television, I haven't paid much attention; one, because I do not watch enough local television but it does strike me that when I do watch local television not in the news so much not news presenters so much as programme presenters, programme hosts. I wonder if it's because they are returnees and so they come along with the accent and television is looking for people like that or whether they too are ... LAFA?.

8. Question: In your perspective, do you think Ghanaians who speak this way are trying to project their *Ghanaianess* or are they trying to sound foreign-like.

Response: I think they are trying to sound foreign but not foreign for foreign sake. They think that this is how good radio presenters sound in "AMERICA!"

Follow up: - Oh, so is it possible for them to take it up and use it here?

Response: Yeah, I mean that is why they are using it. They think that it is the voice of radio.

9. **Question:** Please is this phenomenon, in your view, a form of an identity crisis?

Response: Again, I am not a psychologist. I really am very hesitant to pronounce on those things. I simply have not studied the phenomenon at all. Someone who has might be able to say that, “We have observed them when they are on air and when they are off air and when they are off air, they speak with the normal voice and if they are on air, they speak with this LAFA which then will tell me actually then, it is really just an act. They are actors acting a particular part and it is a performance and when the performance is over, they go back to their normal selves and in that case it is not an identity crises for them. But I don’t know... I do not know whether they continue it in everything they do, in the way they dress because the media can be so powerful and influential particularly in young people’s life, the more they watch foreign programming, the more they acquire all kinds of things from there and therefore it informs them. I mean, I do not know that anybody can say you are wearing Western clothes and therefore, you have identity crises. I am wearing Ghanaian clothes and I do not have an identity crisis. I think it is much more complex than that.

10. **Question:** Dr. please, with the Americanization of English in Ghana, in your opinion, do the pronunciations of words the American way really correspond to the pronunciation system of the Americans or not?

Response: I think that if you asked an American, who was versed in it, they won’t find it ... they won’t think so necessarily. But I think that those who are speaking it think they are approximating the American Accent. It’s like some people will say ‘Hai men, wɔɔʔ ju: gona du:?’ You know and perhaps if an American is listening he actually doesn’t realise that you are imitating him because that is not quite how they say it.

11. **Question:** Please based on what measurement can we say that the youth especially in the Urban and Prestigious schools (Secondary) speak what they think is American?

Response: Again, to the American, it still sounds like a foreign accent. To them (Americans) they do not see it as theirs and it may be because it is a blend. This situation arises especially because, the people who speak this way are not from America, they are culturally not American, they haven't lived there and grown up to speak in that particular way. Therefore, it is always going to be a blend, that is, yeah! It is going to be a blend and it will be; there will be hints of an American accent in it, but it is not quite. It's kind of people asking me a couple of times, especially people coming to Ghana and hearing em... former President Jerry John Rawlings speaks. He is a LAFA. You know, you know, he is totally a LAFA! He (former President Rawlings) taught everybody to say /kauntri/ instead of /kantri/ you know, and things like that. I mean, you know, Americans do not think it is an American Accent, British do not think it is British accent. This is actually a WEIRD SOUND BLEND! Ghanaians certainly think that former President Rawlings speaks in such a way that is quite different from us but it is an *affectation*!

12. **Question:** Please, do you think that Ghanaians have embraced this phenomenon? In what ways or avenues is this done?

Response: I do not think Ghanaians have embraced this at all. I just think that a small group of people who are in the public domain by virtue of being media personalities try to sound this way.

Follow up question: Do you find it useful to speak in that manner?

Response: But I don't think it is something that Ghanaians have embraced and I don't see the evidence that young people are talking like radio presenters. Certainly, my daughter and her friends when they are playing do not talk like that, you know! And so I am not sure that

they are being influenced by those speakers that is why even though, I haven't sort of studied the phenomenon, I really do suspect that even those who speak like that are 'putting on an act'. It is a performance for them, and if the performance is over, they may well speak normally, or having said that, I remember a boy in my class Anaming; he is only one of a few, who was very LAFA and that will be that ... em that's him you know, so maybe he has a bit of an identity crisis because I hear that all of the time.

14. **Question:** Dr. Please, the people who speak that way I have realised it is an urban phenomenon and basically it is a youth form of slang. Please, have you also observed anything like that?

Response: I do not know whether I will call it "slang" because, slang does mean that they use words that are S-L-A-N-G! I mean, you know what I mean, the words that would be different from how we understand those words. This is just an accent! It is where they put their emphasis and these emphases are prominent in words and how they articulate these words. It is not S-L-A-N-G!

15. **Question:** Please, in your opinion, do those who use it see it as a prestigious variety? Please do you also consider it as prestigious?

Response: I do not see it as prestigious! I see it as peculiar and sometimes funny. But I think that those who use it see it as prestigious. They think that it is a better way of speaking English than the normal Ghanaian forms.

16. **Follow-up Question:** So is it like, a better way of identifying themselves as better persons or?

Response: As "better spoken" than many of their contemporaries.

17. **Question:** Please, in your opinion, is LAFA in Ghana effective by aiding the language development in Ghana?

Response: Oh, I don't think so! I wouldn't say so at all! But then, again, I am not a linguist and hardly would I say so.

18. **Question:** Please, what would be your guessed outcome five (5) years from now if this "Americanization still persists?

Response: I do not have a crystal ball ... I am not sure, in fact, I have no idea? It is asking me to predict, you know, I don't know, I don't know. I do not know whether more and more people will continue to speak LAFA or whether having been recognised as LAFA speakers and everybody sort of jokes about it that he is speaking LAFA, speakers will drop it and realise that it is not that good, you know! It is kind of like emm You know, in secondary schools or my Senior Secondary School days err... I do remember that perhaps people will go on vacation abroad and when they come back, the way they want you to know that they did not spend their vacation in Ghana would be to speak in a LAFA. We used to call it slang, although slang technically means something else. Right so we say he is speaking in *S-L-A-N-G-S*. This does not last as they do it for a little bit and they get tired of themselves you see ... (Laughs) ... so ..., then people tease them and then they get embarrassed.

19. **Question:** Please, Dr., do you think that this research has sufficient value to the language development of Ghana?

Response: Well, I think that, yes any ... It is important that we pay attention to different things that are happening around us and in terms of your research, you are interested in changing languages or different language forms so in that sense, it is very important. Obviously, it is a distinction; it is prominent enough because of where it is being used. The

prominence of the media in the public space, and the use of this foreign accent by enough people, calls for one to pay attention why this is happening? So perhaps it will be interesting to talk to the people themselves. So talk to radio presenters about the whole LAFA business.

20. **Question:** Please, have you also noticed any of the phonetic variables used in the American form of speaking being incorporated in this new style of speaking which deviates from the American form or totally fits in the American system?

Response: I think it is for you to notice and for you to decide. It is not something I have thought about or paid attention to. I think it is obviously an attempt to Americanize the way they speak, so in that sense, there would be those things.

21. **Follow-up:** Please, you mentioned earlier on that, the whole observation in this new trend started after 1996/1997. From that period till now, do you think that those who speak using the LAFA are increasing in numerical strengths or rather decreasing?

Response: I - I, sort of again, I am not good because, I am stuck on 1 or 2 radio stations but if I really think about it on radio, I don't think about it as increasing. I think that, that crop of LAFA speakers have either outgrown it. Like I told you, in my mind, Vibe was particularly a LAFA station. They were not exclusively a LAFA station but now I don't listen to Vibe FM. But, I think the whole culture of Vibe has changed. Maybe, it has even changed ownership, I don't know, you see! ... Certainly, the people who read the news do not LAFA, you see! It is the presenters. But then, in a certain sense, yes! Because the disc jockies (D/J's) always have a bit of LAFA going on.

22. **Follow-up:** Please, what about Sports Commentators? Do you know of any?

Response: I don't think so ... I do not know, I do not know!

23. **Question:** Please, what are your general comments?

Response: I think I have given you all the general comments above.

Conclusion (End of interview)

Interviewer – Thank you Doctor for your time, co-operation, assistance and contribution to the success of this research. Thank you very much!!!

4.2 Data Analyses

4.2.1 Introduction

According to Gyasi, in his article, Do Ghanaians Have, or Even Want, a Distinctive ‘Ghanaian English’?

the members of a society who understand and use English regularly and are in a position to set the fashion in English usage which might lead to the development of a distinctive Ghanaian English, are the very people who in fact cling with great circumspection to the features of the standard English they have acquired or believed to have acquired and would not endanger their social prestige in bold attempts at linguistic innovation or in the sort of easy and unguarded linguistic habits that might result in ‘impure’ or foreign English. (p6)

Trudgill (1986:46) too asserts that “accommodation is a significant driving factor in the process of new dialect formation but it is more easily studied at the level of individuals who adjust their language behaviour given a particular set of circumstances.” The questionnaires, analyzed below, are made up of a set of circumstances that has contributed to the emergence

of the new phenomenon (LAFA), besides people's perceptions regarding it. The questionnaires are structured into two parts or sections: Section A is on the Bio – Data of Respondents and Section B is on the Knowledge and Perceptions of The Locally Acquired Foreign Accent on The University of Ghana Campus. There are forty – four (44) questions in all on each questionnaire: twenty – eight (28) are closed and seventeen (16) are open. The questionnaires were administered to one hundred and sixty – four (164) students of University of Ghana to evaluate the reasons behind the use or imitation of a foreign (American) accent in Ghana. The results of the data analyzed from the questionnaires are presented below in the form of tables and charts.

4.3 Analyses

4.3.1 Demographic Information

Sex of respondents: Most of the respondents representing 51.8% are males and the rest (48.2%) are females. See Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1 Sex of respondents

Gender	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	85	51.8	51.8
Female	79	48.2	100
Total	164	100	

Age of respondents: The ages of the respondents range from 18 to 40 years. The average age is 23 years. The ages of the respondents range from 18 to 40 years. Most of the respondents representing 69.5% of respondents are aged 18 to 23. This is followed by 26.2% of respondents who are from 24 to 29 years, 3% respondents 30 to 35 years and 1.2% of respondents aged 36 to 40 years. Table 2 has the details.

Table 4.2 Age of respondents

Age (years)	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-23	114	69.5	69.5
24-29	43	26.2	95.7
30-35	5	3	98.8
36-40	2	1.2	100
Total	164	100	

Level: 39 (24.1%) respondents are in Level 400; Another 39 (24.1) respondents are in Level 200. 34(21%) respondents are in Level 300. 17(10.5%) respondents are in Level 100. 24(14.8%) respondents are in Level 600 and the rest, 9(5.6%), are National Service personnel. See Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Level

Level	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Level 100	17	10.5	10.5
Level 200	39	24.1	34.6
Level 300	34	21	55.6
Level 400	39	24.1	79.6
Level 600	24	14.8	94.4
National Service	9	5.6	100
Total	162	100	

Faculty/Department: Majority of the respondents representing 73.4% are from the Faculties of Social Studies (37.3%) and the Arts (36.1%). See Table 4.4 for details:

Table 4. 4 Faculty/Department

Faculty/Department	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Earth Science	1	0.6	0.6
Social Studies	59	37.3	38
Faculty of Arts	57	36.1	74.1
School of Performing Arts	3	1.9	75.9
U.G.B.S	7	4.4	80.4
Faculty of Science	25	15.8	96.2
Home Science	1	0.6	96.8
Faculty of Law	3	1.9	98.7
Agric Economics	2	1.3	100
Total	158	100	

4.3.2 Knowledge and Perception of LAFA on the University of Ghana Campus

Do you have any knowledge about what the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent in Ghana is about?

Most of the respondents representing 92.5% have knowledge of what Locally Acquired Foreign Accent in Ghana is about whereas the rest (7.5%) do not. See Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Do you have any knowledge about what the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent in Ghana is about?

Knowledge about LAFA	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	149	92.5	92.5
No	12	7.5	100
Total	161	100	

If your option is “Yes” to the above question then state briefly what you know about it.

Responses to this question are many and varying. Some of the most recurring are:

- It is when Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana speak English with a foreign accent;
- It is how people try to change their accent especially imitating others just for fun and pleasure;
- Young people trying to speak like foreigners especially when they get exposed to the outside world;
- Sheer affectation causing people to speak like native Englishmen;
- When people imitate the accent of foreigners especially Americans;
- A presumed prestigious way of speaking; the language of radio presenters;
- It is used by those who want to appear exotic.

(See appendix for the others).

Which age group (s) of individuals, to your knowledge, use (s) this spoken style?

The majority of the respondents representing 76.3% believe that people between the ages of 21 and 31 years use the spoken style the most. This is followed by those below 20 years (19.4%). See Table 4.6 for details.

Table 4.6 Which age group (s) of individuals to your knowledge use (s) this spoken style?

Age group	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Below 20	31	19.4	19.4
21 – 31	122	76.3	95.6
31 – 41	6	3.8	99.4
41 – 60	1	0.6	100
Total	160	100	

Where in Ghana is this spoken style actively used?

The majority of the respondents representing 91.9% believe the spoken style is most actively used in the urban areas. This is followed by those who think it is used in rural areas (3.8%), and then, both rural and urban areas (3.1%) and others (1.3%). See Table 4.7 for details.

Table 4.7 Where in Ghana is this spoken style actively used?

Area LAFA is actively spoken	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Urban Areas	147	89.6	91.9	91.9
Rural Areas	6	3.7	3.8	95.6
Both Areas	5	3	3.1	98.8
Other	2	1.2	1.3	100
Total	160	97.6	100	

Do you at any point in time, use this spoken variety?

More than half (50.9%) of the respondents have ever used the spoken style whereas the rest (49.1%) have not. See Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Do you at any point in time, use this spoken variety?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	49.4	50.9	50.9
No	47.6	49.1	100
Total	97	100	

If 'yes', how often do you use this spoken variety??

The majority (48.2%) of the respondents use the spoken style rarely. 8% of them, however, use the style very often. See Table 4.9 for details.

Table 4.9 If yes, how often do you use this spoken variety?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Often	9	8	8
Often	22	19.6	27.7
Rarely	54	48.2	75.9
Not at all	27	24.1	100
Total	112	100	

State where you usually employ this spoken style?

The majority (66.3%) employ the spoken style among their peers on campus. This is followed by those who employ the spoken style among their peers at home (15.7%). See Table 4.10 for details.

Table 4.10 State where you usually employ this spoken style?

Place LAFA is usually employed	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Among Peers at home	14	15.7	15.7
Among Peers on Campus	59	66.3	82
Social functions	7	7.9	89.9
Others	9	10.1	100
Total	89	100	

Do you know or have you observed that any of the lecturers in your department speaks with this style?

The majority (55.2%) of the respondents do not think their lecturers employ such spoken styles whereas the rest (44.8%) think their lecturers do. See Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Do you know or have you observed that any of the lecturers in your department speak with this style?

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	42.1	44.8	44.8
No	51.8	55.2	100
Total	93.9	100	

If 'yes' how many lecturers have you observed using this accent?

More than half (56.5%) of the respondents who think their lecturers employ such spoken styles claim only 1 lecturer in each of their departments does so. See Table 4.12 for details.

Table 4.12 If 'yes' how many lecturers have you observed using this accent?

Number of lecturers	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	39	56.5	100
2	15	21.7	34.8
3	5	7.2	42.0
4	1	1.4	43.5
Above 4	9	13.0	13.0
Total	69	100	

Has/have the lecturer(s) studied abroad?

The majority (85.4%) of the respondents who claim their lecturers use such spoken styles claim the lecturers have studied abroad whereas the rest (14.6%) think otherwise. See Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 Has/have the lecturer(s) studied abroad?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	70	85.4	85.4
No	12	14.6	100
Total	82	100	

Where did he/she study (country)?

The Majority (51.8%) of the lecturers who use such spoken styles have studied in the U.S. This is followed by those who have studied in the UK (30.4%). The rest have studied in Spain, Germany, Canada, Australia and France. See table 4.14.

Table 4.14 Where did he/she study (country)?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
USA	29	51.8	51.8
Spain	2	3.6	55.4
Germany	1	1.8	57.1
Ghana	3	5.4	62.5
Canada	2	3.6	66.1
Australia	1	1.8	67.9
UK	17	30.4	98.2
France	1	1.8	100
Total	56	100	

What is your view of your lecturer(s) speaking with a foreign accent even though he/she/they has/ have been born and bred and has/ have studied in Ghana?

Indications to this question are that respondents have different views of their lecturers who use LAFA. The most frequently occurring responses are:

- A show of prestige;
- Commanding attention;
- Trying to add flavour to the spoken language;
- A show of mastery of the language;
- Denting their image;
- They reveal their inconsistency in the use of the English language.

(See appendix for the others)

Do/Does the lecturer(s) in any way inspire you to speak with a foreign accent?

Only a few (31.6%) of the respondents are inspired by their lecturers' accent to also want to speak with a foreign accent. See Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 Do/Does the lecturer(s) in any way inspire you to speak with a foreign accent?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	36	31.6	31.6
No	78	68.4	100
Total	114	100	

Give the reason(s) for your response to B13 above.

The responses to this question are double – sided. The respondents of **YES** mostly explain that

- It gives the platform to showcase and speak out when you are among foreigners;

- It makes you stand out in the midst of peers; and, due to the teaching of phonetics and intonation it is good to speak or apply them in a correct manner.

The **NO** respondents on the other hand, mostly assert that

- It is not the correct way of pronouncing words;
- It is good to remain natural and abhor counterfeiting;
- It encourages pretensions.

(See appendix for more).

What immediately comes to your mind when you hear someone who is locally born and bred in Ghana speak with a foreign accent?

Most of the responses indicate that

- Such speakers are only out to boast;
- Such speakers prefer being foreign to being themselves;
- They are ashamed of their Ghanaian identity;
- They are trying to put on a new identity;
- They are the elite who are trying to keep pace with the changing trends, etc.

(See appendix for the rest).

What are your reactions to the upsurge in the use of the foreign Accent in Ghana?

63(39.9%) respondents find the upsurge of foreign accent in Ghana as pretty normal.

47(29.7%) of them view it with indifference and 41(25.9%) of them find it to be alarming.

See Table 4.16 for detail

Table 4.16 What are your reactions to the upsurge in the use of the foreign Accent in Ghana?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Normal	63	39.9	39.9
Indifferent	47	29.7	69.6
Alarmed	41	25.9	95.6
Other	7	4.4	100
Total	158	100	

Do you know of any other person(s) who speak(s) with this type of accent?

The majority of the respondents representing 91.1% know of other persons who speak with this type of accent whereas the rest (8.9%) do not. See Table 4.17.

Table 4.17 Do you know of any other person(s) who speak(s) with this type of accent?

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	144	91.1	91.1
No	14	8.9	100
Total	158	100	

How many people do you know who speak this way?

The majority (42.1%) of the respondents who know of other people who speak with this accent can count more than 10 people who do so. This is followed by those who can count between 4 and 6 people (27.6%) who do so. See Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 How many people do you know who speak this way?

Number of people	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 3	36	23.7	23.7
4 – 6	42	27.6	51.3
7 – 9	10	6.6	57.9
More than 10	64	42.1	100
Total	152	100	

What makes you believe that the English the person(s) in 4.B18 above speak is LAFA?

The most recurring responses to this question indicate that

- These people have been known in their locality since their childhood;
- They are inconsistent and are not comfortable with their speech;
- Their pronunciation patterns do not travel the full length of the conversation;
- After studying a little bit of phonetics or listening to the B. B. C., it is not difficult to tell;
- It is when they meet new people that they speak that way. **(See appendix for the others.)**

From your observations, which professionals in Ghana are frequent users of this style of speaking?

More than half (56.1%) of the respondents indicate that radio presenters frequently use locally acquired foreign accent when hosting programmes. This is followed by those (21.6%) who think TV presenters also do so. See Table 4.19 for details.

Table 4.19 From your observations, which professionals in Ghana are frequent users of this style of speaking?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Radio Presenters	78	56.1	56.1
TV Presenters	30	21.6	77.7
The Clergy	9	6.5	84.2
Sports commentators	4	2.9	87.1
Students	15	10.8	97.8
Others	3	2.2	100
Total	139	100	

Those who use this spoken style, in your opinion, are:

Three-quarters (75.6%) of the respondents think this spoken style is normally used by the literates. This is followed by those who think it is spoken by the semi-literates (21.3%). See Table 4.20 for details.

Table 4.20 Those who use this spoken style in your opinion are

Educational status	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Literates	121	75.6	75.6
Semi-literates	34	21.3	96.9
Illiterates	5	3.1	100
Total	160	100	

As much as you know, do these/this person(s) travel outside Ghana very often?

The majority (64.7%) of the respondents do not think those who use this spoken style travel outside Ghana very often whereas the rest (35.3%) think they do. See Table 4.21.

Table 4.21 As much as you know, do these/this person(s) travel outside Ghana very often?

Travel abroad	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	54	35.3	35.3
No	99	64.7	100
Total	153	100	

Do their travels keep them longer away from home?

The majority (83.3%) of the respondents do not think their travels keep them longer away from home whereas the rest (16.7%) think they do. See table 4.22.

Table 4.22 Do their travels keep them longer away from home?

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	21	16.7	16.7
No	105	83.3	100
Total	126	100	

What is the usual duration of their stay when they travel outside Ghana?

30(33%) respondents think those who travel outside Ghana spend about a month. 19(20.9%) respondents think they spend about 3 months and 17(18.7%) of them think they spend more than a month. Refer to Table 4.23 for details.

Table 4.23 What is the usual duration of their stay when they travel outside Ghana?

Duration of travel	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
About a month	30	33.0	33.0
More than a month	17	18.7	51.6
3 months	19	20.9	72.5
6 months	6	6.6	79.1
A year	7	7.7	86.8
More than a year	12	13.2	100
Total	91	100	

Name the country(s) they travel to if they are known to you.

More than half (50.8%) of the think they do travel to the US. 28(44.4%) of them think they go to the UK. See Table 4.24 for details.

Table 4.24 Name the country(s) they travel to if they are known to you.

Country	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
USA	32	50.8	50.8
UK	28	44.4	95.2
Nigeria	1	1.6	96.8
Canada	2	3.2	100
Total	63	100	

What makes you believe that they acquired this accent locally and not on their travel outside Ghana?

Most of the responses indicate that

- they have not spent a long time enough outside Ghana so they cannot all of a sudden acquire an accent different from the one (Ghanaian) which they have been used to;
- How can someone who has not gone beyond the borders of Ghana speak with a foreign accent?
- They fancy and try to imitate the stars in the entertainment industry;
- There is irregularity in their speech pattern as they sometimes forget and switch to the local accent.

(See appendix for the rest of the responses).

How do you feel when you hear some Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana yet speak with a foreign accent?

The majority (41.4%) of the respondents feel irritated when they hear Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana speak with foreign accent. 20(12.7%) of them are however, full of admiration for them. See Table 4.25 for details.

Table 4.25 How do you feel when you hear some Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana yet speak with a foreign accent?

Reaction towards LAFA users	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Pleased	11	7.0	7.0
Admiration	20	12.7	19.7
Excited	7	4.5	24.2
Indignant	25	15.9	40.1
Irritated	65	41.4	81.5
Other	29	18.5	100
Total	157	100	

Do you think some Ghanaians just prefer to sound foreign?

Most (93.8) of the respondents are of the opinion that Ghanaians just prefer to sound foreign whereas the rest (6.3%) think otherwise. See Table 4.26.

Table 4.26 Do you think some Ghanaians just prefer to sound foreign?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	150	93.8	93.8
No	10	6.3	100
Total	160	100	

Give the reason(s) for your response to above.

The responses to this question are in two fold. Most of the responses to **YES** indicate that

- They often speak it to show that they have travelled out of Ghana before;
- People, especially those in the urban areas, view it as a modern phenomenon;
- It is an identity which seems to say ‘I am in tune with the time’;
- They think speaking this way makes them sound exotic, intelligent and articulate;

- They think speaking like the white man puts them in an advanced and polished class;
- They think a foreign accent is superior and opens doors.

But most of the **NO responses** indicate that

- It is because of inferiority complex;
- It is sheer affectation and the fallacious thought that it earns some repute;
- They sometimes want to built high self – esteem;
- They think that would make them to be distinct and respected.

(See appendix B)

Do you sometimes prefer to sound foreign when using the English language?

The majority (60.4%) of the respondents do not prefer to sound foreign when using the English language whereas the rest (39.6%) do. See Table 4.27.

Table 4.27 Do you sometimes prefer to sound foreign when using the English language?

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	63	39.6	39.6
No	96	60.4	100
Total	159	100	

If 'yes', then how frequent do you sound foreign?

Only 28% of those who sometimes prefer to sound foreign claim they want to do so often.

The majority (53.3%) of them, however, want to do so rarely. See Table 4.28.

Table 4.28 If 'yes', then how frequent do you sound foreign?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very often	6	8	8
Often	21	28	36
Rarely	40	53.3	89.3
Not at all	8	10.7	100
Total	75	100	

Why do you want to sound foreign if you answered “Yes”?

Some of the respondents who want to sound foreign want to do so to be noticed (16.7%).

Some do so for occasional mobility (24.2%) and some for popularity (9.1%). See Table 4.29.

Table 4.29 Why do you want to sound foreign if you answered “yes”?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
To be noticed	11	16.7	16.7
As a cultural binder	6	9.1	25.8
For popularity	6	9.1	34.8
For occupational mobility	16	24.2	59.1
Other	27	40.9	100
Total	66	100	

What kind of identity do you think is assumed to be projected by those who speak the LAFA way?

The majority (20.4%) of the respondents think those who speak the LAFA way are considered the refined people. Others indicate that (12.1%) are hybrid, (18.5%) foreign, (11.5%) rich, (19.7 elite (19.7%), local (1.3%), and rustic (1.3%). See Table 4.30 for details.

Table 4.30 What kind of identity do you think is assumed to be projected by those who speak the LAFA way?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Indigenous/Local	2	1.3	1.3
Hybrid	19	12.1	13.4
Foreign	29	18.5	31.8
Rich Person	18	11.5	43.3
An elite	31	19.7	63.1
A refined person	32	20.4	83.4
A rustic fellow	2	1.3	84.7
Don't Know	20	12.7	97.5
Other	4	2.5	100
Total	157	100	

What identity do you try to project when you speak with a LAFA?

The majority (25%) of the respondents think those who speak LAFA are considered refined. Others indicate that 14.6% are elite, 13.4% foreign, 12.8% don't know where to classify them, 6.7% hybrid, 5.5% rich person, 4.9% indigenous/local, 1.2% a rustic person and 15.9% persons other than those mentioned. Details are captured in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31 What identity do you try to project when you speak in LAFA?

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Indigenous/local	8	4.9	4.9
Hybrid	11	6.7	11.6
Foreign	22	13.4	25
Rich person	9	5.5	30.5
An elite	24	14.6	45.1
A refined person	41	25	70.1
A rustic person	2	1.2	71.3
Don't know	21	12.8	84.1
Other	26	15.9	100
Total	164	100	

What does the use of this accent signal in your opinion? Is it the creation of?

The majority (41%) of the respondents consider usage of such accent as self-alienation.

22.4% of them think it is hybridity and 7.1% think it is Naturalness. See Table 4.32.

Table 4.32 What does the use of this accent signal in your opinion?

Accent signal	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Naturalness	11	7.1	7.1
Hybridity	35	22.4	29.5
Self-alienation	64	41	70.5
Don't know	36	23.1	93.6
Other	10	6.4	100
Total	156	100	

Is this new style of speaking relevant to the language development in Ghana?

The majority of the respondents (71.55%) do not think speaking with foreign accent is relevant to the language development in Ghana whereas the rest (28.5%) do. See Table 4.33

Table 4.33 Is this new style of speaking relevant to the language development in**Ghana?**

Relevance of accent	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	45	28.5	28.5
No	113	71.5	100
Total	158	100	

Explanations to response in table 4.33

The responses to this question indicate that they take two divergent forms of YES and NO.

The most recurring responses which support the **YES option** above are that

- it makes people learn to speak good English and helps them communicate with foreigners better;

- It makes our way of speaking refined and interesting to listen to and less official too;
- It will help the country in its international relations in this day of interdependence;
- People will learn new words in order to keep up with the ever developing English; and
- It will help others who do not speak English to be more enthusiastic at learning it.

However, most of the responses which explain the reasons for the **NO option** above claim that

- language development is an identity marker so it is senseless to sound like something that you are not;
- LAFA is not relevant to the development of language in Ghana because those who use it frequently use it in a fashionable manner just for pride and self – esteem;
- It would not add anything good to language development because it is rather degenerating the Ghanaian accent;
- It is a fruitless strain and does not measure up to the standard required;
- It will have a negative influence on the use of English in Ghana.

See appendix for the other responses.

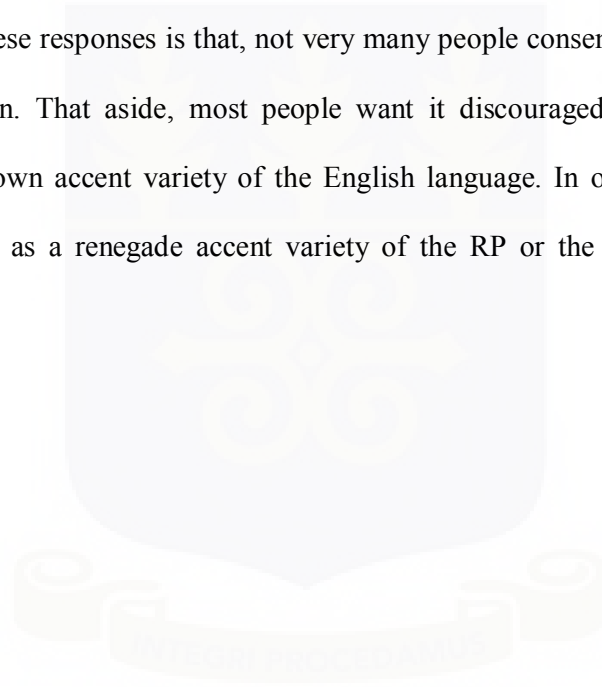
Give your final comment(s) on the issue or subject under investigation.

The responses to this question are many and various. Those that have appeared repetitively are that

- Ghanaians should learn the right pronunciation of words and not try to imitate foreign accent;
- worried about the way some of our people feel so inferior when it comes to using their own languages;
- LAFA is a sign of an abuse of the English language;

- The LAFA phenomenon needs to be discouraged because it neither promotes the use of the R.P. nor the Ghanaian variety;
- This is a good research topic, it is high time we remained original; whoever uses LAFA is only failing to acknowledge the fact of who(s) he is – Ghanaian;
- LAFA creates problems for users because stress and intonation are wrongly applied;
- LAFA used by broadcasters is not so bad because professionally the voice must be varied;
- This research work has raised awareness in us regarding language varieties.

The implication of these responses is that, not very many people consent to the emergence of this new phenomenon. That aside, most people want it discouraged because it does not identify with any known accent variety of the English language. In other words, LAFA is seen by most people as a renegade accent variety of the RP or the (un-coded) Ghanaian variety.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The study has researched into an emerging language phenomenon in Ghana. This phenomenon is the use of a locally acquired foreign accent (LAFA) of the English language. It is categorized under what Trudgill (1986:66) terms, “hyper dialecticism” or “hyper adaptation”. It is hyper dialectic because the phenomenon involves the emergence of a new dialect or variety of the English language. But Thomas and Wareing (1999:152) assert that “in theory...it is possible to separate accent and dialect, although in practice the two go together, at least in spoken English.” This means that the emergence of this accent (LAFA) in Ghana implies the advent of a new spoken variety of the English language in the country, besides the existing spoken variety.

The phenomenon is also hyper-adaptive in that its creators are trying to adapt to a foreign (American) style of speaking which has been clearly identified in the data analyses. Gadzekpo (interview) believes “it is obviously an attempt to Americanize the way they speak.” But this is not uncommon as Esling (2004:564), also affirms that “everybody has an accent”.

5.2 Final Analyses

It is quite clear that knowledge of the existence of the LAFA in Ghana proves that almost everybody is aware of its existence. This goes to confirm the words of Knowles (1987:7): ‘the sounds of the language change in the course of time’. The meaning is that the dynamism of spoken English is apparent in Ghana now as it is elsewhere. It also means that even though

LAFAs seem an emerging phenomenon, it has been shown that it has been in existence for some time now and so it cannot be said that, because it is new, only a handful of people are aware of its existence. This only serves to show that LAFAs are only one of the many uncoded varieties of the English language existing in Ghana.

In the responses to what their views are, to LAFAs, the respondents revealed a lot of issues (ref p.85 of Chapter Four). In expressing what they know about LAFAs, some of the respondents raise interesting issues that are worth noting. They show that LAFAs are the language of radio presenters, besides being the language of those who want to sound American or exotic.

In the light of the fact that LAFAs users are said to be targeting the American variety, Gadzekpo (interview) states that 'it is obviously an attempt to Americanize the way they speak' it is indicatively clear that there is a contact between the Ghanaian and American varieties of the English language in Ghana. Trudgill (1986:86) posits that 'dialect contact may give rise to both focused and diffused types of language variety.' This contact in Ghana takes three dimensions: the electronic media, a visit of Americans to Ghana, and a visit of Ghanaians to America.

The ages of the respondents, as indicated by the responses, are between twenty-one (21) and thirty years (30), with the mean age being 23 years. The majority of the respondents indicate that most of LAFAs users are found in urban areas. This goes to show that it is urban dwellers that are more receptive to such linguistic changes. For most of them, what began as affectation suddenly assumes dialectic dimensions. With regard to students, it has been observed that LAFAs are much more prevalent among peers on campus. A few of the

University lecturers have been observed to be users of this speech style; some of them have had exposure to American English. The implication however is that the lecturers who use LAFA have ended up creating some self- image (positive and negative) among the students, some of who view these lecturers as just wanting to command attention or to add flavour to their spoken language to show their mastery of English. Other students view these lecturers as denting their image because, anytime they speak LAFA, they end up revealing inconsistency in the way they speak English. Nevertheless, most of the students claim that they are not inspired nor affected by their lecturers' use of LAFA.

Generally, people hold different views in respect of the use of LAFA in English. Observations from the study indicate that, some of the respondents claim anytime they hear anyone speaking LAFA, they type that individual as simply pretending to be using a foreign accent. It is also evident that other respondents believe such a person belongs to a higher class and is trying to keep pace with the changing trends. As a result of this, people react differently to this issue of LAFA. Some say they react normally to the phenomenon. Others claim they react indifferently toward it, while a few say they are alarmed anytime they hear LAFA being used.

The study has revealed that radio and television presenters are the most common users of LAFA. The others are the clergy (especially, pastors of the emerging Pentecostal churches) and some students who are mostly at the tertiary level. The United States of America and the United Kingdom are the main countries that some of these people have had contact with. The indications, however, is that these peoples' stay abroad have not been long enough to have influenced their accent to the extent of it becoming non-Ghanaian. Some of the people are believed to be mimicking some movie stars right here in Ghana, which is their local

environment. This causes irritation to their listeners when they are heard using LAFA. Nonetheless, LAFA causes some excitement, pleasure and admiration to some listeners. Some of the responses indicate that some of the users of LAFA have no reason for its use except that they just want to sound foreign. For the other users, varying reasons are postulated: creation of self-esteem, identity, prestige, etc. In effect, some of the listeners (respondents) get infected and try once in a while to use it. Others are unaffected.

In the case of identity creation, a lot of very interesting identity types have come up. Some indicate that some of the users end up projecting themselves as foreign, rich, elite, refined, hybrid, self-alienated, etc.

Finally and most importantly, is the issue of LAFA's place or its relevance in language development in Ghana. This is against the backdrop of the fact that English is the official language of Ghana. As a result of the influence English has over Ghanaians, it is gradually but surely invading some homes and is becoming a first language in such homes. That aside, the aggressive intrusion of the American variety of English into the Ghanaian linguistic environment has been so clear that it cannot go unmentioned; more so, too as it is the target variety for the LAFA users. In this regard, just over a quarter of the respondents believe that LAFA would be relevant to language development in Ghana.

Considering the nature of this phenomenon and the reasons given in support of the stance taken by the respondents on the relevance of LAFA in Ghana, it can be stated that more research needs to be done on LAFA.

For those who want the relevance of LAFA considered in the language development in Ghana the reasons stated earlier in Chapter Four (4) of this study are instructive. Likewise, language development in Ghana too has its reasons stated, as indicated in the same chapter. So diverse and many are their final comments, as shown in Chapter Four (4).

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research has shown that a new linguistic phenomenon is evident in Ghana. One suspects an attempt to hybridize pronunciation when young people are caught between two spoken varieties of the same language. It is in the mistaken belief that one variety (American) is more prestigious than the Ghanaian variety.

There are indications from the study that LAFA is becoming pervasive among the youth and predominantly urban areas. The degree to which LAFA is becoming an integral part of the Ghanaian youth is apparent in their use in hip-hop songs, American programmes, especially movies and even in the electronic news media of some broadcasting stations in Ghana.

The research has revealed the various ways in which this accent is viewed and termed by the people. Gadzekpo (interview) sees it as 'a weird kind of accent blend' and some respondents view it to be a "hybrid type of accent". Makoni et. al (2007:43) however, throw a caution on the use of the word 'hybrid' by stating that "the term 'hybrid' may also lead us to misconstrue the sociolinguistic situation; for example, speakers of linguistic hybrids may differ considerably in the nature of their linguistic repertoire'. There is no wonder that most of the respondents classified LAFA speakers as 'lost', and 'artificial'.

The research has established that LAFA speakers try to ape the Americans by making a conscious effort to approximate the way Americans speak basically through perception or some level of contact, but fail to resemble those they try to identify with. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, (1985:181) therefore note that, ‘the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the groups with which, from time to time, he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes not to be identified’.

Since these LAFA speakers see everything foreign as the best, as cited in the data collated, it is not so out of place when Stockwell (2002:27) writes that ‘the reason why accent variation is so important in sociolinguistics is because of the significance people attach to different accents’. He goes further to state that, “when people are aware of their own accent and its prestige value, they will often adjust it either towards a more standardized form (this is hyper-correction if it is overdone) or even towards a more stigmatized form if they want to sound ‘less posh’; this is covert prestige” (29).

Finally, the study established that the emergence of this linguistic phenomenon in Ghana has created a kind of social meaning among its users. On the one hand (positive), it is a show of prestige; it commands attention; it is an attempt to add flavour to the spoken language; it is a show of mastery of the language (excepts from Questionnaire responses).

On the other hand, it dents the image of its users; it reveals the inconsistency in their use of the language; such speakers prefer foreign identity to be ing themselves; and they are ashamed of their Ghanaian identity.

In sum, the study has attempted to establish that there is a locally acquired foreign accent (LAFA) of the English language emerging in Ghana. American English is its target variety though meeting this target is rather unlikely. Wells (1973:118) states that ‘adolescents and adults can adapt their speech to a certain extent by modifying the phonetic realization of their phonemes; but they do not on the whole succeed in acquiring new phonological oppositions or in altering the distributional constraints on their phonology’.

One can therefore finally conclude with Jones (1963:4) that,

‘Good’ speech may be defined as a way of speaking which is clearly intelligible to all ordinary people. ‘Bad’ speech is a way of talking which is difficult for most people to understand. . . . A person may speak with sounds very different from those of his hearers and yet be clearly intelligible to all of them But if a speaker with an accent similar to that of his hearers articulates in a muffled way so that they cannot readily catch what he says his way of speaking must be considered ‘bad’.

We need to take note of this and advise ourselves accordingly. We need to be sure of the type of accent we use. If our accent is American or British it should remain so. If it is Nigerian or Ghanaian it should reflect their characteristics. No one, especially, of American or British origin, has ever complained of having a problem with the intelligibility of the Ghanaian accent. Maintaining our accent enhances our identity. If we, however, put it aside and begin to chase after other peoples’ then the problem of intelligibility will set in, not to mention the identity crisis that is left in its wake.

5.4 Projections

In spite of the fact that Ghanaians hold divergent views of LAFA, it is indicative that LAFA is fast catching up with the Ghanaian youth. Besides, the influence of the media and how it is serving as a major inlet for LAFA in the country has made it evident that LAFA is fast gaining grounds in the spoken English of some educated Ghanaians. Ghana's growing fraternity with America too is encouraging the growing phenomenon. It therefore means that in the near future, LAFA is going to register its presence solidly in, if not dominance over, the spoken English in Ghana.

It is hoped that this will serve as a basis for further research into this linguistic phenomenon in Ghana. The study may then become literature for the following courses of study:

COMMUNICATION STUDIES – The emergence of LAFA is deeply rooted in the spoken English of most of our broadcasters. It would therefore be worthwhile to conduct research into this area of media language.

ENGLISH/LINGUISTICS – Auto – segmental (i.e. Intonation) study into LAFA. It can also be studied in the domains of Stylistics, Pragmatics, Discourse analysis and English as a Second language in Ghana.

PSYCHOLOGY – A study into the identity crisis, especially in relation to personalities and, their mindsets and perceptions towards the use and users of LAFA in Ghana.

RELIGION – Since LAFA has been identified to be associated with leaders of some 'International' charismatic churches as a communication tool that is seductively used to convince their congregations, it is really necessary that the study into this phenomenon under religion as a discipline is apparent.

SOCIOLOGY – LAFA can be studied under Gender variations and how differently genders project their images through this medium. In addition to this, the socio- cultural elements associated with LAFA can also be researched into.



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SECTION B: Knowledge and Perceptions of LAFA on University of Ghana Campus

B1. Do you have any knowledge about what the Locally Acquired Foreign Accent in Ghana is?

Yes 1

No 0

B2. If your option is 'Yes' to Q1, then state briefly what you know about it.....

.....
.....
.....

B3. Which age group (s) of individuals to your knowledge uses this spoken style?

Below 20 1

21 – 31 2

31 – 41 3

41 – 60 4

Above 60 5

B4. Where in Ghana is this spoken style actively used?

Urban Areas 1

Rural Areas 2

Both Areas 3

Other

(Please specify)..... 4

B5. Do you at any point in time, use this spoken style?

Yes 1

No 0

B6. If yes, how often do you use this spoken?

- Very Often 1
- Often 2
- Rarely 3
- Not at all 4

Go to **QB.8** if '**Not at all**' is selected by you.

(Please you can circle more than one option in QB7)

B7. If you selected any of the answers in either options [1, 2, and 3] of QB.6 above, then state where you usually employ this spoken style?

- Among Peers at home 1
- Among Peers on Campus 2
- Social functions
(Please specify)..... 3
- At Worship places
(Please specify)..... 4
- Others
(Please specify)..... 5

B8. Do you know or have observed that any of the lecturers in your department speak with this style?

- Yes 1
- No 0

B9 If 'yes' how many are they?

.....

And please give their/him/her name(s)

.....

B10. **Has/have the lecturer(s) mentioned studied abroad?**

Yes 1

No 0

B11. **Where did he/she/ they study (country)?**

.....

B12. **What is your view of your lecturer (s) who speak with a foreign accent even though he/she/they has/have been born, bred and has/have studied in Ghana?**

.....

.....

.....

B13. **Do/Does these lecturer(s) in any way inspire you to speak with a foreign accent?**

Yes 1

No 0

B14. **If any of the options in *QB.13* is selected by you then, why do you feel obliged or not obliged to speak that way?**

.....

.....

.....

B15. **What immediately comes to your mind when you hear someone locally born and bred speak with a foreign accent?**

.....

.....

.....

B16. What are your reactions to the upsurge in the use of the foreign Accent in Ghana?

- Normal 1
- Indifferent 2
- Alarmed 3
- Other (please specify) 4

B17. Do you know of any other person(s) who speak(s) with this type of accent?

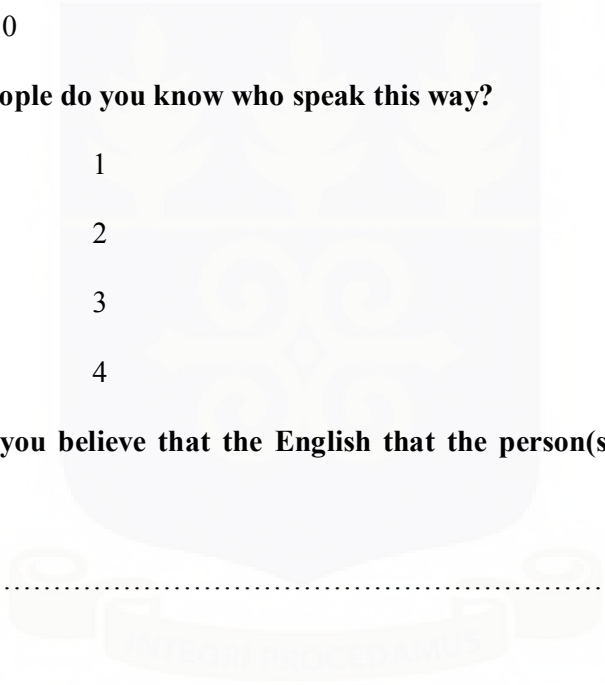
- Yes 1
- No 0

B18. How many people do you know who speak this way?

- Less than 3 1
- 4 – 6 2
- 7 – 9 3
- More than 10 4

B19. What makes you believe that the English that the person(s) in *QB.18* speak is LAFA?

.....



B20. From your observations, which professionals in Ghana are frequent users of this style of speaking?

Professionals	Name(s)	Station(s)/Institution(s)
1 Radio Presenters
2. TV Presenters
3 The Clergy (please specify),
4Sports commentators 5 Students (please specify) ,
6 Others, (please specify)

B21. In your opinion, those who use this spoken style are:

- Literates 1
- Semi-literates 2
- Illiterates 3

B22. As much as you know, do these/this person(s) travel outside Ghana very often?

- Yes 1
- No 0

B23. Do their travels keep them longer away from home?

- Yes 1
- No 0

B24. What is the usual duration of their stay when they travel out of Ghana?

- About a month 1
- More than a month 2
- 3 months 3

6 months	4
A year	5
More than a year	6

*(If the 'No' option is circled for **QB.22** then move to **QB.26**)*

B25. Name the country(s) they travel to if these countries are known to you.

.....

B26 What makes you believe that they acquired this accent locally and not on their travel outside Ghana?

.....

B27 How do you feel when you hear some Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana yet speak with a foreign accent? *(Please you can circle more answer options)*

Pleased	1
Admiration	2
Excited	3
Indignant	4
Irritated	5
Other (please specify)	6.....

B28. Do you think some Ghanaians just prefer to sound foreign?

Yes	1
No	0

B29. If 'yes'/ 'No' what makes you think so? (Give reason for your choice in **QB.28)**

.....

B30. Do you sometimes prefer to sound foreign when using the English language?

Yes 1

No 0

*(If 'No', Then Please Move To **QB.33**)*

B31. If 'yes', then how frequent do you sound foreign?

Very often 1

Often 2

Rarely 3

Not at all 4

NOTE: *(Please you can circle more answer options in **QB.32**, **QB.33** and **QB.34**)*

B32. Why do you want to sound foreign if you circled 'Yes' for **QB.30?**

To be noticed 1

As a cultural binder 2

For popularity 3

For occupational mobility 4

Other, (please specify) 5.....

B33. What kind of identity do you think is assumed to be projected by those who speak the LAFA way?

Indigenous/Local 1

Hybrid 2

Foreign 3

Rich Person 4

An elite 5

A refined person 6

A rustic fellow 7

Don't Know 8

Other (please specify) 9.....

B34. What identity do you try to project when you speak in LAFA?

- Indigenous/Local 1
- Hybrid 2
- Foreign 3
- Rich Person 4
- An elite 5
- A refined person 6
- A rustic fellow 7
- Don't Know 8
- Other (please specify) 9

B35. What does the use of this accent signal in your opinion? Is it the creation of?

- Naturalness ? 1
- Hybridity ? 2
- Self - alienation? 3
- Don't know 4
- Other, (please, specify) 5.....

B36. Is this new style of speaking relevant to the language development in Ghana?

- Yes 1
- No 0

B37. Please explain your answer to *Q.B36*.

.....
.....

B38. Give your final comment on the issue or subject under investigation.

.....
.....

Thank you very much for being a positive Contributor to the success of this project!!!

APPENDIX B: Responses to the open-ended questionnaire

This section documents the excess responses to the open-ended questionnaire, especially interesting responses from the respondents. The responses are varied bringing out the relevance and the concerns of this topic as a subject in the area of language change and development. Below are the open-ended questions asked and some of the noted excess responses derived (**both positive and negative**) during the investigation.

SECTION B: Knowledge and perceptions of LAFA on the University of Ghana Campus.

Question B2. If your option is ‘Yes’ to Q1, then state briefly what you know about it.

Responses: (The other responses provided are all bulleted under their questions below):

- It is about speaking or pronouncing words like the way the Americans and the British do speak their English.
- Speaking with a borrowed accent.
- People slanging in their use of the English accent.
- People copying the accent of a country they have not been to
- Individuals trying to fake or trying to speak like the Europeans.
- Speaking with a foreign accent to attain a class
- When people speak with adopted accents but have not had the chance to travel.
- It is when people watch foreign movies, especially the youths and after this experience their pronunciations change to imitate the ones spoken by the actors or actresses in the movies.
- People speak in this manner to some extent to show how they have control over the English language.

- When individuals speak in a foreign form to exhibit some belongingness for corporate reasons.
- When people imitate what they hear people say in the media pronouncing local dialect with foreign accent
- Acquiring foreign accent without necessarily travelling outside Ghana
- A way in which people try to westernize the English language
- A new development in Ghana where some Ghanaians speak like foreigners particularly Americans.
- It is foreign accent that people acquire without contact or influence from the natives who have that accent. It is acquired in their own country (locally)
- It is when especially female students speak to sound foreign
- LAFA is when Ghanaians try to drawl like Americans or the British
- It is when people begin to speak in a funny foreign accent.
- It is a way people speak the English language in order to sound American or British.

Question B.12 What is your view of your lecturer(s) speaking with a foreign accent even though he/she/they has/have been born and bred and has/have studied in Ghana?

- I believe lecturers who speak like that think themselves as highly educated and expect to be respected in the society for that.
- There is a sort of self-prestige and confidence over the language with some students wanting to be like the lecturers
- I think it is not the best, but adopting the British accent which is the best English is not bad
- I think it is not healthy at all especially during lecture times since some students find it difficult understanding him.

- I feel ok when they speak because culture is dynamic so you have the accent without knowing
- I think they are trying to abandon their own home accent and this means they do not appreciate theirs
- It is just to serve as a mark of distinction and uniqueness
- I think it does not speak well of her as an English teacher because she is supposed to teach us correct pronunciations not forced ones in a foreign accent
- They embarrass themselves and make the Ghanaian accent sound very ‘foolish’
- He is not worth emulating because he does not uphold his right local pronunciation and therefore not a true citizen
- It renders them inaccurate and artificial in their speech
- They look really funny and I think they are not being real at all
- Sometimes I feel good to hear them speak. I love it actually
- My view is that during his studies abroad, his interactions with foreign students and lecturers changed his mother tongue to a foreign accent
- To make us aware that he has studied and stayed abroad before
- To project that they are learned and enlightened
- Most lecturers who speak that way have at least studied for a short period outside Ghana. It is so unbelievable to have given a language you have spoken all your life for one you just met.

Question B14. If any of the options in QB.13 is selected by you then, why do you feel obliged or not obliged to speak that way?

- Because it requires less energy to speak LAFA

- I do not think LAFA is a recognized language that is why I have not bothered to learn to speak in that manner
- It does not sound too well to me and therefore it does not influence me in anyway
- I do not feel obliged, but it is nice when you speak that way because it makes you fit into today's society best
- I prefer to speak in my natural accent in order to be better understood and identify with my fellow Ghanaians
- I feel obliged to speak that way because I am inspired by the LAFA speakers
- I do not feel obliged to speak that way because I am a Ghanaian and proud of my accent
- I love my country, culture and language because that is what defines me as a Ghanaian. The right pronunciation should therefore be transferred to the younger generation and not to alter it in anyway
- I am not impressed at all even though it sounds pleasing to the ears
- I feel obliged because it is good to learn from other foreign accents as a learning process
- LAFA is not real, it is not natural and as a Ghanaian I think I should always sound Ghanaian
- It feels matured and sounds nice to speak that way
- Speaking that way does not represent a person's true self and it draws unnecessary attention to an individual
- I believe speaking that way would not influence others in anyway and at times people even make fun of you
- I am not obliged because I feel I am not a native speaker of the language. I therefore prefer to use my kind of English to suit my social context

- I do not feel obliged because it is not the African style of speaking English and as far as I speak fluently it's ok by me and everyone around

Question B.15 What immediately comes to your mind when you hear someone locally born and bred speak with a foreign accent?

- I get annoyed
- The person is not being himself/herself and in a matter of fact trying to impress
- I become very disappointed since it makes such people alienated
- I smile because it is quite funny
- That the person is trying to put on an act '*flexing*'
- The speaker lacks self-confidence
- I laugh out loud since I see the person as lost as the person tries to be someone else
- The person may be struggling for an identity i.e. to be seen as a foreigner or creating an impression of superiority since they sometimes feel big
- I perceive the speaker as trying to show off and wanting to be seen as a '*wanna be*'
- The person is fake trying to impersonate a white person, and therefore have no passion for their language and culture at large
- They want to be noticed as they speak that way to crave for acceptance and attention within their linguistic context
- His/her parents or guardian has lived abroad or because of the basic school he or she attends
- Nothing so special comes to mind
- Some want to travel outside Ghana, so they try to adopt the foreign accent before they travel so when they get the opportunity to travel, they will already be conversant with the foreign accent.

- I feel bad because such a person is not being nationalistic and therefore becomes a nuisance
- I totally lose respect for such a person
- The person has a problem or conflict with his/her identity

Question B.19 What makes you **believe** that the English the person(s) in QB.18 Speak is LAFA?

- The accent sounds misplaced and distorted from the normal way of speaking GhaE
- Unconsciously, these speakers forget themselves
- This is because I have worked with a native speaker and so I can distinguish between a native accent and an acquired accent
- This is because the person does not always speak in that manner, therefore the person lacks fluency
- From their pronunciation and slurring as the person is observed as struggling to speak
- Because they are just forcing it making it sound unnatural
- This is because I have known them since childhood and even schooled with them
- They speak to impress others and therefore it does not sound real
- It is neither American nor British accent because it has lapses in them
- This is because the person has never travelled outside Ghana before. They were born and bred in Ghana
- You just know once they start speaking as it is not clear and most of their utterances are constructed wrongly
- Because they have admitted they have never stayed abroad before
- Because I was brought up with the person and I know it's because of his profession
- It sounds very '*street-like*' due to their choice of words and intonation

- I witnessed some of them listen and imitate some foreign personality
- Not up to standard; clearly forced; besides they are born and bred Ghanaians
- The same pronunciation does not travel the full length of the conversation
- They sound different from the way Ghanaians speak English because they may not be applying rules in the spoken English language which may not necessarily be considered as LAFA
- I do not bother to believe but I just love hearing it

Question B.26 What makes you believe that they acquired this accent locally and not on their travel outside Ghana?

- They started learning how to speak it here before they travelled
- I have known these people in question for a long time (since childhood)
- Because of the way they find it difficult to let the words flow since they learn through imitation
- They try to speak LAFA in order to effectively communicate and to have a better relationship with people all over the world with English speaking abilities
- The time they spent outside Ghana is woefully inadequate to completely change their accent
- Some people acquire it from the media, others' copy from friends, and others, through movies
- This is because of the influence other people have on others' some people would like to speak like these people in order to gain acceptance in their social groupings
- I just know some of my friends who speak this way do not even have passports and had schooled in Ghana all their life
- They learnt it from their friends who have stayed outside the country before

- It should sound exactly like the way the Americans speak if really acquired on their travel outside, the lapses in them make them LAFA
- Language is acquired best during infancy, therefore it is not possible for one to use a few months or a year to learn a new accent
- What they speak is not a replica of what is spoken abroad and therefore never perfect as they sound very artificial when they speak
- Others also acquired it from their Ghanaian teachers
- I have read their profile from the media and been informed that they have even schooled all their life in Ghana and even attained their first degree in Ghana
- It is an attempt to impress others by trying to imitate the accent they hear people from these countries speak
- Because they have never travelled outside Ghana before and those who go spend few weeks or months, less than a year

Question B.27 How do you feel when you hear some Ghanaians who have never travelled outside Ghana yet speak with a foreign accent?

Under this question, some of the respondents provided other answers not included in the closed –ended answers provided such as-:

- Normal
- Indifferent
- Sometimes I become surprised if they exaggerate it
- I am very bothered about this and do not know what to do
- I feel very irritated about this occurrence
- Do not mind them; they think they are the only ones who can speak grammar
- That's something!

- They are hypocrites, ignore them at once!
- It is disgusting and appalling
- It is ‘cocktailcious’ (mixture of different accents)
- They are sick and have a complex
- It is fake and disgusting
- They really annoy me

Question B.29 If ‘yes’/ ‘No’ what makes you think so? (Give reason for your choice in QB.28)

- Because they would want to sound very sweet and make people think they are good at the Queen’s language
- People do that to seek attention and believe others will accept them when they do so
- Some Ghanaians’ cherish everything foreign
- Due to the prestige society attach to the so-called ‘borgers’
- They think it makes them unique, special, and gives them a sense of esteem
- Most people admire those who speak that way because it is assumed they have foreign exposure
- Just to let people believe they have international exposure since in most cases it is obviously not the truth
- Because they think it elevates their status
- Some use this medium to show-off by telling them ‘they have been in school and therefore educated’
- Because they wish to command a certain respect
- It makes them feel proud and superior over the other non-speakers

- It could be as a result of their affiliation with different people or an attitude they feel good about
- That makes them more accepted among their peers especially, university students
- They always have the idea that people will think they have travelled to a foreign country before
- They think it is fashionable and fun as more Ghanaians want to identify with foreign counterparts
- They often think everything foreign is good
- Since they like the affluent lifestyle of some foreigners, this medium is used as they prefer to sound like their role models, emulate them and even surpass
- For others to know they have a foreign touch by doing so to please their audience
- Some do this to be recognized and identified with a particular class
- They do this just to be admired and to appear as sophisticated
- Because they think that foreigners are better
- To make people think they know '*whats*
- *-up*' and are '*up to date*'
- They just do this to try to show-off in a way that will tell their peers that they have travelled outside before
- Some use it as marketing strategies
- They think sounding foreign makes you presentable and refined
- Because they think that is the best way to speak

Question B.37 Please explain your answer to QB.36.

- This is because many people in Ghana do not speak enough English to appreciate or struggle with the issue of a foreign accent

- Thus is because the style may deny the originality of some pronunciation
- It is not relevant because it's shrouded with bad grammar
- There is the danger of the younger generation not knowing the right pronunciation in future
- Because the LAFA is full of slangs and sometimes coinages which does not encourage good sentence formation (It exposes one to error filled sentence formation)
- It rather destroys the way or pattern with which the English language is spoken
- I do not think it adds any value because copying an accent does not mean you understand the language and its usage better. I know renowned Ghanaians who speak in the local accent
- If more Ghanaians begin to speak LAFA, it may be difficult to identify Ghanaians in their normal way of speaking English
- I do not think it is really significant to the language development in Ghana because we need to portray our identity as Ghanaians
- We are Ghanaians and our language is our identity, why would you want to sound like an American when you live in Ghana
- The world is now a global village and therefore there is diversity and the need for people to learn the foreign accent sometimes for survival
- Because it shows how the foreign media has affected some Ghanaians who admire some of these personalities as they aspire to be like these people by speaking LAFA
- Because they tend to create the impression that our accent is no good and that the best is from speakers of either the American or British accent
- This is because it does not help the youth and the kids to realize the need to speak in their own native accent

- LAFA does not fall anywhere in between the British or the American accent and as such have little resemblance to the R.P (Received Pronunciation). Speaking LAFA in no way aids in our language development
- Because being a good English speaker is not about sounding foreign
- Our identity as Ghanaians or Africans would be lost
- Because it is not natural and it does not encourage the use of our local languages
- It is not a new language that is coming up, it is just a funny way of speaking. It does not sound nice to me at all
- We can polish the English we speak by pronouncing correctly and using the right grammar but not necessarily sounding like a white man
- Adoption of that accent does not improve spoken English in Ghana
- As Ghanaians we need to project our value and culture. Adopting something foreign is not good for our cultural development
- We really need to learn to be who we really are and we must note that speaking in LAFA would not add anything to us but rather make us look like ‘*wannabe’s*’
- Because I do relate to foreigners a lot so I have to speak the language they understand and also for business transactions
- The new development should rather be the speaking of a well codified Ghanaian English

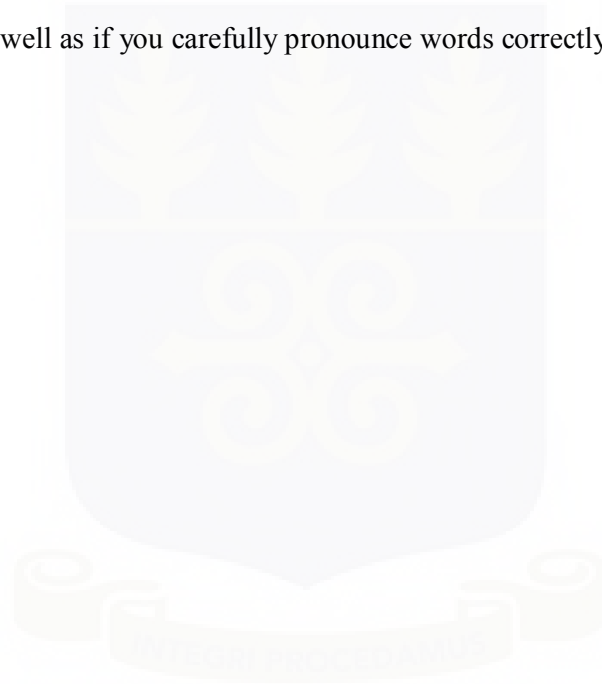
Question B.38 Give your final comment on the issue or subject under investigation

- LAFA makes one’s English polished but other times it makes one sound too artificial
- LAFA should not be made part of the Ghanaian English pronunciation because as time goes on our local accent will definitely fade away

- LAFA annoys me greatly. I wish Ghanaians would be proud of themselves and their accents. Instead of paying attention to the accent, they should rather concentrate on their grammar and pronunciation
- I think as Ghanaians we should be proud of our local accent and our culture and the fact that we have a heritage to protect as a people of one destiny. It's just a matter of speaking good grammar that is accepted internationally
- It is way too irritating when people want to sound foreign just to please a couple of people. It could be pardoned if one has travelled overseas for a while, other than that it is not
- If Ghanaians want to be proud of their languages then they should stop hybridization!
- I believe language keeps on changing and therefore should be left the way it is
- It's good to hear people speak with a foreign accent but people who do not or cannot speak it right should not try it because it's disgusting
- LAFA is really a funny accent and I do not think it's doing any good to our languages
- I believe that LAFA is not the only social canker in the country but people only practice it to show a high level of literacy, popularity, and wealth. It becomes a habit when one only lives abroad for a prolonged period of time
- It is out of ignorance for a person to assume speaking LAFA rather brings elevation
- Speaking this way allows the Westerners to feel superior over us
- It is good to have different accents
- LAFA is very necessary in Ghana because it makes one feel up to date
- I think LAFA is not going to stop but going to grow in Ghana
- This foreign accent '*stuff*' has both positive and negative effects especially on the youth. It has already come into the system and nothing can be done to get it out of the system

- Well I think it is not so bad a thing but one must not forget to speak good English free of grammatical errors
- It is normal to use LAFA since it helps the speaker to be more fluent in the English language
- LAFA really encourages people to read higher in education since it's mostly spoken by highly educated people and most parents also send their wards to prestigious schools as a result of this
- I think there is nothing wrong with using LAFA provided the speaker pronounces the words correctly and uses the appropriate grammar in sentence construction
- Some develop it unconsciously and I have no problem with that
- In as much as people who speak LAFA are sometimes viewed as fake, I think it is a phenomenon that should be looked at critically
- It sounds nice to the ears but in my opinion, I would not encourage anybody to purposely learn this type of accent
- Particularly on the university of Ghana campus, if you want a good image of yourself, you have to be able to speak in this manner by sounding like a foreigner which is bad, really bad!
- This is a very useful research work. Many people want to be persons they are not and this should stop. This is mental neo-colonialism. Let's be independent in our disposition
- I am indifferent about it
- Learning the foreign accent will promote cultural diversity and bridge the language barrier
- It is relevant to the development of the nation as it specifically enhances trade with foreigners

- I think people should try to blend their language with the foreign accents as this will encourage them to learn more and be sensitive on how they choose their words
- It should be encouraged but in a more refined and better way to make it more like a foreigner than it's acquired locally
- It is nothing to be worried about as most often it is used for fun and for recognition
- LAFA makes one more eloquent and elite
- I think many people simply adopt LAFA because they want to have some identity but seriously speaking, the accent will come naturally if you are careful with your intonations as well as if you carefully pronounce words correctly



APPENDIX C: Recorded Samples from some electronic media institutions (Sept.09 – May10) and their transcribed LAFA versions.

NB: The phonological features identified with LAFA in the recorded samples are italicized.

Data Sample one

AN INTERVIEW WITH FORMER PRESIDENT RAWLINGS AT JOY-FM ON 10TH MAY, 2010. (**NB: Only some of his responses were captured for the analyses**)

...With so much more, much worse than what has taken place in our history and how can we gloss over it?

If we do, that will be the beginning of the end of this country. We'll be accepting you know some of these crimes as a norm and we will have reduced ourselves to the level of destroying the moral fibre and fabric of this nation. But I'm not asking for anything less.

When the president Mills started talking about vengeance, vengeance, I said equally loudly, nobody is asking for vengeance, we are all asking for justice period!

How do you take a case to court when the basis of the investigation is fraud? You see what I mean skewed to hide vital evidences, so I mean laughs... .. in ... you can ... you're not gonna have the truth in the court house.

Yes that is why I keep insisting that they should have done a more thorough, a more competent investigation in all these issues, this case, the Ya- Na's one are et-ce-tera.

Lafa transcription

/wɪə səʊ məʃ mɔː/, məʃ wɛːs dan wɒt has tekiŋg pleɪs ɪn əvə hɪstri ɛnd haʊ kən wiː glɒs əʊv
it?

ɪf wiː duː, dat wɪl biː dɛ brɪ'ɡɪnɪŋ ɔf dɛ ɛnd ɔf dɪs kaʊntri. wɪl biː ak'septɪŋ juː nəʊ, sam ɔf
dɪːs kraɪms əs ɛ nɔːm ɛnd wiː wɪl hav rɪ'djuːsd əvə'selvz tʊ dɛ 'levl ɔf dɪ'strɔɪŋg dɛ 'mɒrəl
faɪb' ɛnd fabrɪk ɔf dɪs neɪʃn. bət əm nɒt əːskɪŋ fɔː 'eniəŋg les.

when dɛ 'prɛsɪdnt mɪls 'staːted tʊːkɪŋg ə'baʊt 'vɛndʒɪəns, 'vɛndʒɪəns, əɪ sɛd iːkwɔli laʊdli,
'nəʊbɔdi ɪs əːskɪŋ fɔː 'vɛndʒɪəns, wiː əː ɔl əskɪŋg fɔː 'dʒəstɪs piːrɪd!

haʊ duː juː tek ɛ keɪs tʊ kɔːt when dɛ 'beɪsɪs ɔf dɛ ɪn,vestɪ'geɪʃn ɪs frɔːd?

juː siː wɒt əɪ mɪːn skjuːd tʊ haɪd dɛ 'vɑrtəl 'eɪdɛns sɔ əɪ mɪːn ... laughs... ɪn... juː kən... jɔː nɒt
gɔna hav dɛ truːθ ɪn dɛ kɔːt haʊs. Jes dats wɪhəɪ əɪ kiːp ɪn'sɪstɪŋg dat ɵeɪ ʃʊd hav dan ɛ mɔː
'tɔrɔ, ɛ mɔː 'kɒmpɪtɛnt ɪn,vestɪgeɪʃn ɪn ɔl dɪz ɪʃuːz, dɪs keɪs, dɛ Jə Na's wən əː et-sɛ-tɛrəl

Data Sample two

COUNTRY LIFE ON UNIQUE F.M (95.7) ON 10TH MARCH, 2010.

This is country life on Unique Fm (95.7), ninety-five point seven, radio with a different network. Do you love country music? And do you love the track “where were you, when the world ...”

A few questions, yes I have few questions for you E. C. G. Ok so the first question is what? Yes you just hold in there.

Now I've got some text messages and the first message on the programme tonight it reads ɛ-
ɛ-ɛ country Togbe, Happy New Year to you, I know this year will be a great one!

... (Brief interlude)...

Ok so what a memorable package of this is country we've had together you know time network on Unique Fm of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation.

I would like to thank all of you most sincerely for joining me on the very first package of this is country for this year twenty-ten (2010).

Lafa transcription

/dɪs ɪs kɛntri laɪv ɔn ju:ni:k fm (95.7), naiti-faɪv pɔm* sɛvɪn, 'reɪdɪo wɪt ɛ 'dɪfrɛnt nɛt...'

du ju: lɔv kɛntri 'mju:zɪk? end du ju: lɔv dɛ træk "whe wɛr ju: wɛn dɛ wɛrld..."

dat ɪs ɡɔɪŋ tɔ bi: dɛ nɛst træk ɔn dɛ 'prɔʊɡrɑm. ɛ fju: 'kwɛstɪns. jɛs aɪ hɑv ɛ fju: kwɛstɪns fɔr ju: E.C.G. ok so dɛ fɛr'st kwɛstɪn ɪs wɔt? Jɛs ju: dʒɑst hold ɪn dɛr'.

Nau av ɡɔt sam tɛst 'mɛr'sɛdʒɪs end dɛ fɛr'st mɛr'sɛdʒ ɔn dɛ 'prɔʊɡrɑm tɔ'nait ɪt ri:ds ɛ-ɛ-ɛ 'kɛntri Togbe, 'hɑpi nju: jɛr tɔ ju:. aɪ no dɪs jɪɛr wɪl bi: ɛ ɡrɛ:t wɑn!

... (Brief interlude)...

ok so wɔt ɛ mɛr'mɔriəl 'pækɛdʒ ɔf dɪs ɪs kɛntri wɪ:v hɑd tɔ'ɡɛdɑ ɔn dɪs ju: no taim nɛtwɛrk ɔn ju:ni:k f.m ɔf dɛ 'ɡɑnɑ 'brɔdkɑstɪŋ kɔ'pɪreɪfɪn. aɪ wu:d laɪk tɔ tɑnk ju: ɔl moust sɪn'siɛli fɔr dʒɔɪnɪŋ mi: ɔn dɛ vɛri fɛr'st 'pækɛdʒ ɔf dɪs ɪs kɛntri fɔr dɪs jɪɛr 'twɛn*ɪ -tɛn./

Data Sample three

BILLBOARD CHART ON SATURDAYS AT Y-FM ON 19TH JUNE, 2010

Alright there you have the number eight in the billboard choice proudly brought to you by "Tigo - express yourself". If you want to check it out, you can check it out www.billboard.com.

Is fifty- four pass nine, moving on to number seven real quick. This 'chick' is re-a-l hot no doubt, that's my girl, Nicki Minaj at number seven, your love.

LAFI TRANSCRIPTION

/ɔlrɔi* dɛə jɔ hav dɛ 'nʌmbɪr ei* ɪn dɛ 'bɪlbɔ'd fʌ:'t 'praʊdli brɔ* tɔ ju: baɪ tɪgɔ ɛk'sprɛs jɔ'sɛlf.

ɪf ju: wɔn* tɔ fʃɛk ɪt aʊt, ju: kən fʃɛk aʊt wɔw dɔ* 'bɪlbɔ'd dɔ* kʌm

ɪs 'fɪftɪ fɔ:' rɑ:s nʌn, mu:vɪŋg ɔn tɔ 'nʌmbɪr 'sɛvɪn 'rɪ:əl kwɪk. dɪs fʃɪk ɪs hɔ:'t no daʊbt dɪts mɑ

gɛ'l 'nɪkɪ 'mɪnʌdʒ ʌd 'nʌmbɪr 'sɛvɪn, jɔ:' lɑ:v/.

