

**NEGOTIATING MULTILINGUALISM AT ANUM,
ASAMANKESE.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I Asare Poakwa declare that apart from references to works duly cited and acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my original research under the supervision of Dr. Grace Diabah and Dr. Seth Antwi Ofori of the Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Legon. I certify that this dissertation has not been submitted in part or whole for the award of any degree elsewhere.



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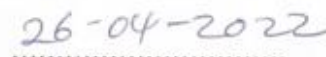


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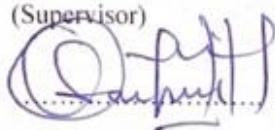


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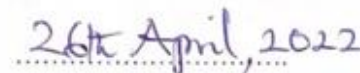


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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Glory of God



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ABSTRACT

This study examines language roles, language choices and the motivations thereof among Gua native-speakers at Anum, Asamankese, and language vitality under the title ‘Negotiating Multilingualism at Anum, Asamankese’. Data were elicited through non-participant observation and unstructured interviews with 80 respondents who are/were mostly speakers of Gua. Questions were formulated and asked purposely to understand these respondents, as a microcosm of the bigger Anum Asamankese community. Data were elicited from native Gua speakers at homes, schools, hospitals, markets and workplaces in Asamankese. The Markedness (Myers-Scotton 1993) and the Triglissic structure (Batibo 2005) models were employed in analysing data. The study identified English, Gua and Twi as the three major languages among respondents. In terms of language roles, English was associated with high functions as the preferred language among the educated and official domains. Gua was in use in non-formal (primary) domains. Twi straddles the official and non-official domains and it has a high function (and is marked) in these domains. In non-official domains and functions, however, Twi serves a high function over Gua, and also as the language of wider communication. On vitality, there are no known negative attitudes towards the use of Gua in the bigger Asamankese community. Additionally, Gua is vital in the home because of the positive attitude of speakers and intergenerational transfer on the part of parents even though there is an encroachment on Gua by Twi. So functionally, Gua is not in any way threatened; however, formally, very little documentation has been carried on Gua.

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ABBREVIATIONS

H	High Language (In terms of usage)
L	Low Language (In terms of usage)
L1	First Language
P.T.A.	Parent-Teacher Association
RO	Rights and Obligations



CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on language use in Anum, a suburb of Asamankese, hence the use of the term “Anum, Asamankese” in the thesis title. Asamankese is a multi-ethnic town in the West Akim Municipal area in the Eastern region of Ghana. Anum Asamankese is a community inhabited by early Guan migrants and is now exposed to several linguistic groupings. The ethnic language of the Anum people in Asamankese is Gua. This study is an investigation of the linguistic repertoire, and language use among Gua speakers at Anum and in Asamankese. It probes the motivations for the choice of language in some domains (of language use) among speakers of Gua at Anum and in Asamankese; and also delves into an assessment of the vitality of the Gua language at Anum and in Asamankese. The present chapter is the general introduction to the study, and it is organized as follows; section (1.2) presents the background to the study, followed by the ethnolinguistic situation at Anum Asamankese in section (1.3). The statement of the problem is presented in section (1.4), with the research questions presented in section (1.6). In section (1.7) is the significance of this study. The chapter ends with an overview of the thesis chapters in section (1.8).

1.2 Background of the study

Every country possesses its unique social-linguistic ecosystem depending on its history and its practice of language use (Dakubu 1988). Africans speak a good number of languages not because they are linguistically gifted; rather, they are often exposed to many languages through colonization (Batibo 2005). It is extremely rare to find community monolingualism, as individuals are often exposed to neighbouring languages apart from their mother tongues. This brings about complexities in language use in some domains of language use. It is worth noting that most countries in Africa have the language of their colonial masters as their official language. The presence of foreign languages together with indigenous languages, and the competition of these languages for roles, is a state of “multilingualism” in Africa today. The complexities in the use of language in several African countries have given rise to various language policies in those countries and have spearheaded countless research on language use in multilingual communities in Africa among linguists (Myers-Scotton 1993; Batibo 2005; Josep 2014).

According to Josep (2014:1) “multilingualism is the capacity of humans to communicate in different languages”. Multilingualism presents the existence of several varieties of a language in a geographical area (Josep 2014). Josep further explains that Multilingualism is the practice of using more than two languages in a particular context of language. However, Ofori (2020) asserts that to understand

multilingualism, there should be an understanding of the language contact situation that has contributed to shaping it, and this requires an understanding of the patterns of human interactions in the past. A society is considered multilingual when there is the presence of different languages, and these languages are functional in domains of language use. Individuals become multilingual with the ability to use several languages aside from their mother tongue based on their social circumstances. These circumstances present individuals in the community with the opportunity to learn other languages to their advantage. According to Amuzu (2012:18), “such opportunities may show up in the course of the individual's geographical and/or social mobility, or through marriage, or some other exposure to another language”. Individuals are then faced with the need to effectively communicate in the speech community in their everyday life. This has necessitated my aim in the current study to understand the use that is, the functional roles of languages at Anum, Asamankese.

1.3 The Ethno-linguistic background of Anum Asamankese

Anum is a suburb of Asamankese where the Anum people in Asamankese live. Asamankese is a multi-ethnic town in the West Akim Municipal area in the Eastern region of Ghana. According to Asihene (2010), oral tradition has it that the Anum people in Asamankese migrated to their present location in Asamankese from Anum

in the Asuogyaman District. The Anum group that moved to Asamankese lived in Krabo and Mamedede in the present-day Asuogyaman District before the migration of the Akwamu people to Nyanawaso in this district. It was a misunderstanding between the two ethnic groups (Akwamu and the Anum) that forced a section of the Anum group (the group known as Amoanda) to sever ties with their ancestral homes in Krabo and Mamedede in the Asuogyaman District. They sought refuge near the Mid-Volta Basin under the leadership of Nene Kwasi Anyane in 1923 and Nene Kolihue in 1928 where they shared a border with the Fiaga of Peki, who were led by Kojo Dei I. A dispute between the Amoanda then led by Afari Akwasi and the Fiaga of Peki over land led to the death of Afari Akwasi and subsequently the departure of Amoanda to a place called Totomento near Mangoase. They finally moved to the Asamankese area at Asuokaw after a warm reception by Chief Kwaku Amoa I of Asuokow. Their settlement at Asuokaw was formerly occupied by Otomfo Asare but was deserted because of its swampy nature. With time, they moved to settle at a low-lying area called Korobete which was not suitable for settlement and therefore moved to their present hillock abode closer to their farmlands and villages like Amoanda, Kyekyewere, Konakohwe, Asuokow, Damasi, Asiyie, Adiembra, and Obotwene (Asihene 2010) all in the Asamankese and Asuokaw plains in the West Akim Municipal area. It was from these villages that individuals moved to build their houses in the present day Anum suburb of Asamankese.

Gua (Anum) is a Guan language that is spoken by the people of Anum, Asamankese. According to Painter (1967a, 1967b), it is described as belonging to the Tano group of the Volta-Comoe in the Kwa language family. Painter (1967a) classifies Guan languages spoken in Ghana into four broad groups namely, North Guan, Nkonya Guan, Hill Guan, and the Coastal Guan. The North Guan language group comprises Gonja, Choruba, Ndompo, Yeji, Prang, Nawuri, Achode, Anyanga, Nchimburu, and Krachi with Nkonya Guan having only Nkonya as part of the group. While Hill Guan has Anum (Gua/Anum-Boso), Coastal Guan has Awutu and Efutu (Painter 1967a: 75). Painter (1967b) categorizes Gua as a “Hill Guan” language.

A language family tree with Gua as the focus from the Volta Comoe language family is shown below;

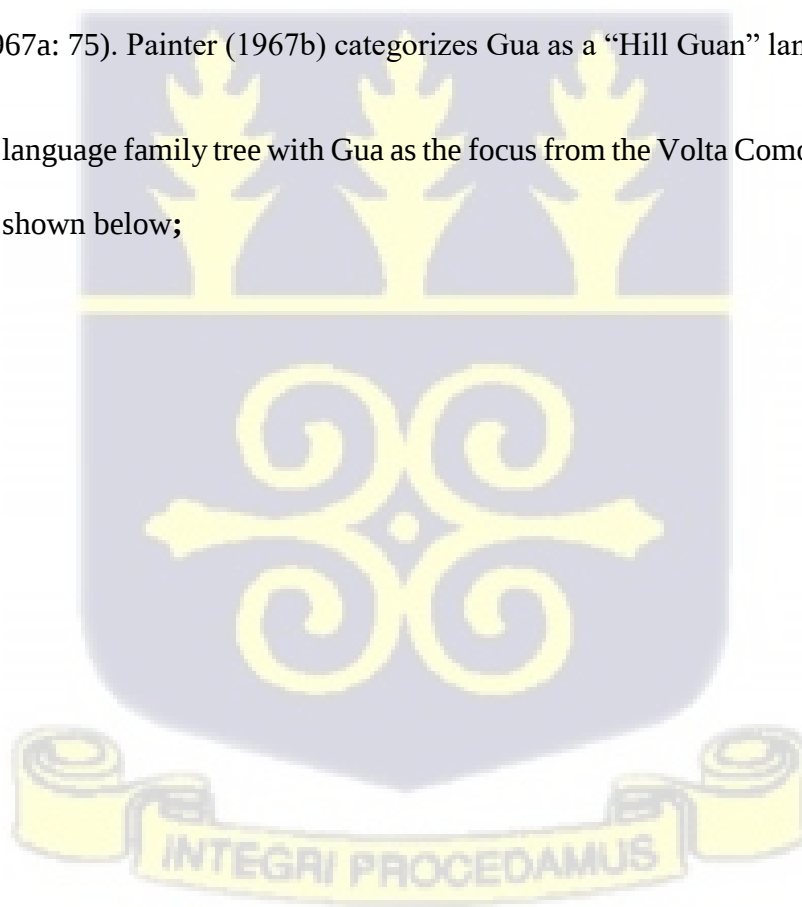
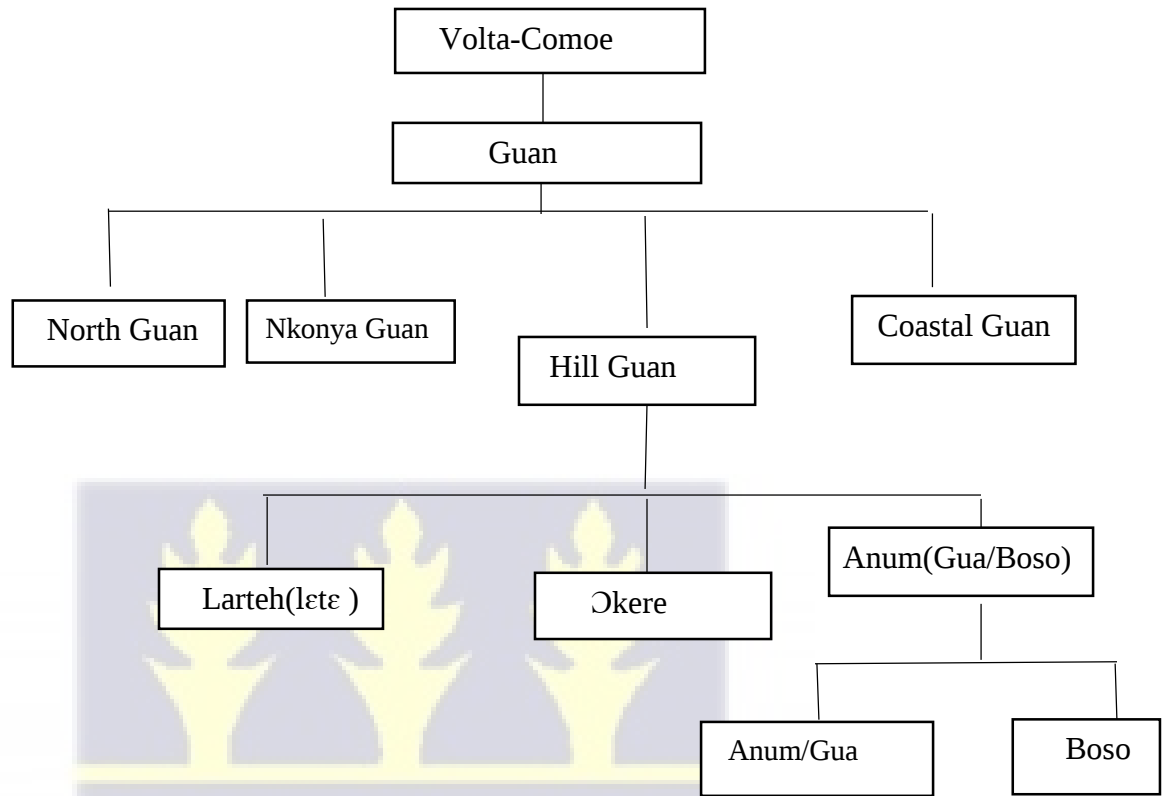


Figure 1. The genetic affiliation of the Gua.



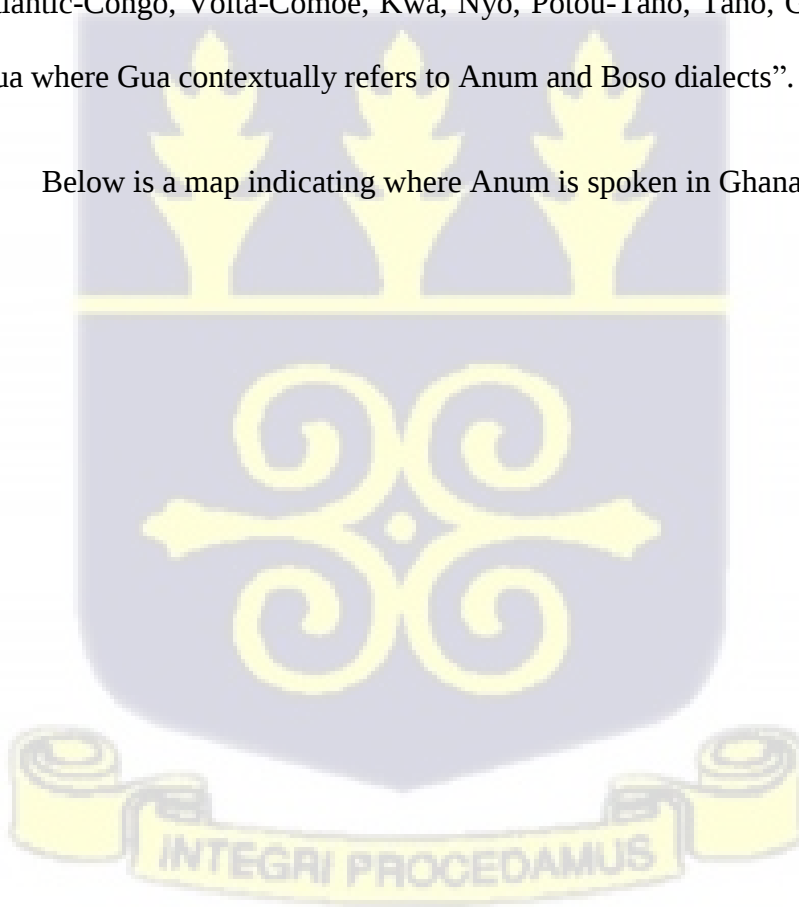
A modified language tree from Obiri-Yeboah (2013:6).

According to Ampene (2003), Guan is the name of the indigenous occupants of Ghana and the name of the language they speak as well. Even so, Ampene opines that “due to the various places where these people lived after disintegration there are many variants of the name: GWA, GUAN, GOUN” (Ampene 2003:6). Gua has about 156,200 speakers in Ghana with a pocket of them in the Ewe area (Dakubu 1988). Dakubu (1988) further asserts that Anum-Boso, known to its speakers as

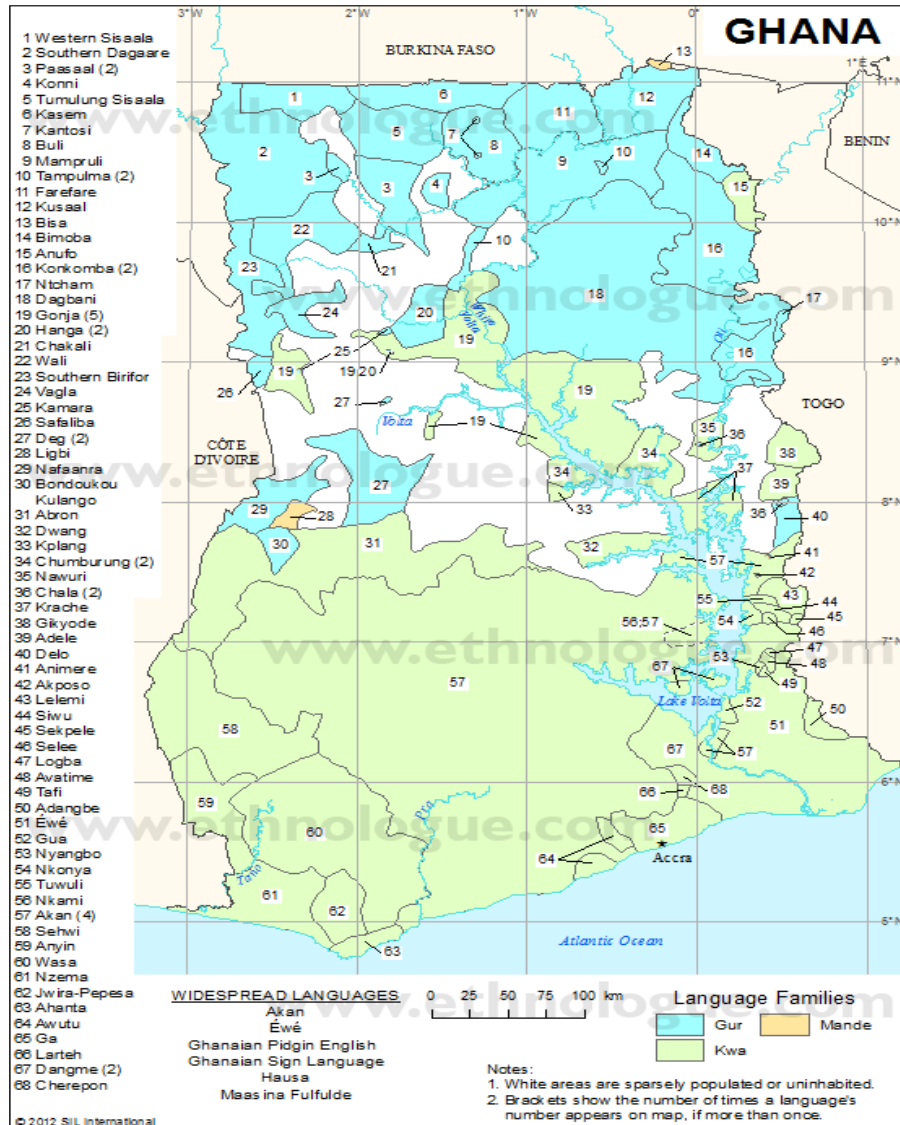
Gua, lies on the Volta to the southeast of Ho. Anu(m), Boso, Tosen, Dodi, Nanyo, Nkwakubew, Anum Apapam, Asamankese Anum, partially at Asikuma and Sankore are some places where Gua is spoken in Ghana in the report of Obiri-Yeboah (2013). Gua (herein referred to as Anum) is the language and the name of the speakers as well (Obiri-Yeboah 2013). He further asserts that Anum speakers accept this reference largely.

Lewis et al. (2013) also present the family lineage of Anum as, “Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Comoe, Kwa, Nyo, Potou-Tano, Tano, Guan, South Guan, Gua where Gua contextually refers to Anum and Boso dialects”.

Below is a map indicating where Anum is spoken in Ghana:



Map 1: The language map of Ghana



Number 52 shows where Anum is spoken.

Source: Lewis et al. (2013:13).

The linguistic situation of Anum Asamankese is such that the people are at least bilingual in Gaa and other languages. A document on the budget of the West Akyem Municipal reveals that, Akyem and/or Anum are the major languages used besides English which is the *lingua franca* even though Ewe, Hausa, Ga, and other minority languages are spoken in the community. Anum is largely used in informal settings in the community.

In Anum Asamankese, the major economic activity is Agriculture. Farmers in the community produce food crops like cassava, plantain, oil palm, and maize. Women trade in these food crops on market days in the community. Some people in the community are into animal farming like sheep, goats, domestic fowl, and pigs, which is a source of livelihood for some residents.

In education, Anum L/A (Local Authority) Junior High School and Anum Presbyterian Junior High School are the two basic schools at Anum Asamankese. Even though some of the youth are making it to second cycle institutions outside the community, the literacy level in English is relatively low. This is because over the years a few of the older population have been able to access formal education in the Asamankese locality.

“Odweegyɪ” is the festival of the people of Anum, Asamankese. This festival is celebrated as ‘Odwira’ in some other areas. Odweegyɪ is derived from two Gaa words; *Odwe* ‘a type of yam’ and *gyɪ* ‘eat or celebrate’ (Obiri-Yeboah 2013).

According to their oral tradition, it is a time when yam is to be uprooted and eaten for the first time in the year on the traditional calendar. This festival is celebrated in September and is celebrated to mark the end and beginning of their traditional calendar. The celebration of ‘*Odweegy*’ arouses the communal spirit that engenders solidarity. This season is accompanied by merriment and fun-filled events among the people.

1.4 Problem Statement

The research that was carried out for the current study revealed that Gua is one of the least-researched and consequently least documented of the Guan languages/dialects both formally and sociolinguistically. The language received mention in Dakubu (1988) where properties of the language are scantily mentioned and discussed in her typology of Guan languages. Next to this is a basic description of aspects of its phonology recently by Obiri-Yeboah (2013). The presence of Akan (the native language of the majority of people), and other indigenous Ghanaian languages and English, is one major factor that has undermined the interest, research and documentation of Gua. This poses a threat to the use of Gua in some domains of language use. Also, Gua in this speech community is geographically isolated from other Guan-speaking groups, for this reason, it lacks the numerical strength to compete with the rest of the languages in the Asamankese speech community.

Similarly, Akan (Akuapem Twi) which is a documented language is studied in schools and most students can read and write the language relegating Gua to the background. Gua has restricted usage in the classroom and is employed when the need for clarity arises during lesson delivery. The home then becomes an avenue for the use and preservation of Gua. However, Krauss (1992) asserts that most of the 6,000 languages in the world are spoken by adults and might not teach these languages to the succeeding generation. This language contact situation poses a threat to the survival of Gua in the speech community, and this is likely to cause language shift or possible language death. This language contact phenomenon has necessitated the need for a sociolinguistic study on the situation at Anum Asamankese.

1.5 Objectives of the study

This research concentrates on language use among Anum speakers in Asamankese, as there is an ongoing project on the grammar of Anum. This will help us know the actual state of Gua that is spoken in Asamankese. The study examines the linguistic repertoire of native Gua speakers in Anum, Asamankese; how Gua fares in competition for usage with other languages in the native speakers' community. To understand the linguistic repertoire in the Asamankese speech community and the

vitality of the Gua language among native speakers at Anum and in Asamankese.

Therefore the following are the objectives for this research

- a) To identify the linguistic repertoire of Native Gua Speakers in Anum, Asamankese.
- b) To understand the functional allocation of this community's linguistic repertoire.
- c) To assess the vitality of Gua at Anum, Asamankese at both the institutional and individual levels in the Asamankese speech community.

1.6 Research questions

The following research questions guide this study.

- a) What is the linguistic repertoire of native Gua Speakers in Asamankese?
- b) What is the functional allocation of language in the Linguistic repertoire?
- c) What is the vitality of Gua at both institutional and individual levels in the speech community?

1.7 Significance of the study

This study gives an in-depth understanding of language use in a multilingual speech community like Asamankese. It adds up to the efforts aimed at documenting the sociolinguistics of the Anum language. Linguists, traditional rulers, and the government would be informed about the state of the Anum language (a minority language) and its vitality in a highly multilingual setting. The study will serve as a starting point for further research on the sociolinguistics of the Anum, Asamankese dialect.

1.8 Overview of chapters

In this section, I present the organization of the thesis. The study is made up of five chapters. Chapter one is a general introduction, serving as a springboard for the rest of the study. It captures the general background of the study, the objectives, and research questions guiding this research, the significance of the study, and the organization of chapters. Chapter two presents a review of related literature, methodology, and theoretical framework in which the current study is situated. Chapter three focuses on some domains of Language use in the Anum community. Chapter four presents the vitality of Gaa in the community. Chapter five presents a

summary of the study. Key findings and recommendations for further research on multilingualism in Guan languages are presented in this chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of previous works which are related to this study. The chapter presents a synopsis of language choice in multilingual settings and ways of negotiating multilingualism in some domains of language use. The chapter further reviews work on the ethnolinguistic vitality of some languages. It also discusses the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) and the Trigllossic structure model by Batibo (2005), which are the two frameworks for the analysis of the data. The last section discusses the methodology employed in this study. This includes research sites, research instruments, participants, sampling methods, and data collection procedures.

2.2 Literature Review

The focus of this review is on scholarly works pertinent to the study. This is carried out by looking at the following headings: language choice; and ethnolinguistic vitality of some languages. Given this, this section presents a survey of language

use as a backdrop to the analysis of language use and negotiation strategies used at Anum Asamankese and the vitality of Gaa in some domains of language use.

Thus, this section gives a general overview and background to the analysis of how language is negotiated and used in some domains of language use.

2.3 Language choice in multilingual settings

People who speak two or more languages usually make language decisions on which language to be used in a particular context or domain. This is fuelled by many factors which address the following namely; the who (participants), what (topic), where (context), and how (medium) of a conversation (Qawar & Dweik 2015). Given this, Fasold (1990) asserts that multilingualism becomes a tool of interaction for the multilingual speaker in the home, school, commerce and trade and other domains.

On language choice, in multilingual communities in Europe, Qawar & Dweik (2015) studied language choice among Arabs of Quebec in Canada. The study investigated factors that necessitated language choice concerning the attitude of Arabs towards Arabic, French, and English. Qawar & Dweik (2015) assert that, Quebec which is a multicultural province as a result of immigration use side by side, the dominant official language of the host country and the ethnic language. The

study objectives were to look at factors that determine language choices and attitudes of Canadian Arabs toward Arabic English and French.

One hundred (100) participants were sampled for the study based on demographic variables like age, gender, and place of birth, marriage, occupation, marriage status, and religion. Data for the study was gathered through a questionnaire.

The study revealed that the Canadian Arabs of Quebec, who lived in this multilingual community chose language based on the situation they found themselves in. Their choice of language is triggered by factors such as purpose, topic, and preference. Members of the Quebec community have a positive attitude towards Arabic, English, and French. Their attitudes toward Arabic are from the prestige attached to their ethnic language since they are free to talk about their inner feelings and express themselves better in the language. This confirms Dweik's (1986) study that revealed that positive attitudes towards mother tongue stemmed from pride and culture. The attitude towards English and French stems from their Canadian identity across some domains of language use in the province which facilitates opportunities and access to formal and educational interactions. This also is in line with Sadanand's (1993) study that showed that, attitudes towards the use of different languages are motivated by the Speaker's perception of the role of each language and the functions they perform with each other.

Similarly, Hon (2007) investigated language use among Chinese adolescents in Miri, Sarawak on the usage of Mandarin, English, and Malay in some domains of language use. The study centred on domains of language use like family, transactional, government department, social media, and school. One hundred (100) respondents were selected from a conforming school in Miri, Sarawak. Data were elicited through observation, interview, and questionnaire methods.

The study revealed that priority was given to Mandarin by Chinese adolescents in the school, family, and transactional domains. However, English dominated the social media domain. English and Mandarin received positive attitudes but the attitude towards Malay was negative. Even though the respondents had an emotional attachment to their ethnic languages, they saw English as the highest as compared to other languages. Lack of motivation, lack of interest, and low proficiency in Malay made people not choose Malay as a prioritized language in some domains of language use as the official language. The Chinese adolescents' language attitude is closely connected to their backgrounds, their language ability, and language use in the social environment. However, the study did not take into account similarities and differences in terms of language use and factors that affect language choice and attitude. Given this, the current study will take into account similarities in language choice among individuals in the speech community, in the light of the dominant language which is Akan.

Also, Wiya (2017) investigated language choice among teenage ethnic Sasak of Mataram (capital of the Indonesian province of West Nusa Tenggara). The linguistic situation at Mataram is such that, the speakers are at least bilingual in Sasak and other languages.

His study identified some language choice factors among teens of Sasak in speech events in education, family, friends, and religious domains. A qualitative method was employed in the study and data was gathered through interviews, observation, and recordings. The sample used in this study were 70 teens of Sasak between 18 and 24 who reside in Mataram city and are students.

The study revealed that Setting, Participant, and topic affect the language of speakers in social interactions. Students speak Sasak which is their mother tongue with people who they had close relations with. This makes the regeneration of the Sasak language aroused. Also, they prefer to speak Sasak with the older neighbours but alternate between Bahasa and Sasak when speaking to the younger people in the neighbourhood. Sasak usage was dominant in religious settings by 37% as compared to Bahasa. However, Sasak speakers chose to speak Bahasa all the time in formal settings because they consider it to be more appropriate.

Essizewa (2006) has also examined the sociolinguistic aspects of contact between two languages that belong to the Niger-Congo languages in Togo. These two languages are Kabiye and Ewe which are used in the speech community

constantly. The objectives of her study were to investigate the patterns and domains of language utilization and to determine the social and linguistic factors that constrain language usage in the Kabiye community.

To Essizewa (2006), the use of Ewe in the marketplace reflects the historical and socio-economic status of the language in their everyday communication (see also Calvet 1992). Ewe is considered a dominant language in Togo as a result of the demographic size of the speakers and the prominence attached to it. Essizewa (2006:37) asserts that, “[t]here a million people (more than 65% of Togo’s population) use Ewe as a second language.” Ewe came into contact with Europeans early due to its location and was perceived as a language of “modernity” and elitism in Togo. This made Ewe the preferred language of wider communication between ethnic groups, and this elevated the status of Ewe in Togo.

On the other hand, Kabiye a northern ethnic group is demographically smaller in size as compared to Ewe. Language contact between Kabiye and Europeans was shorter and was limited by decrees that restricted missionary works to the south of the country (see Lange 1984 as cited in Essizewa 2006).

Essizewa chose 30 respondents from Kara, Pude and Agoe which are all suburbs of Lome where Kabiye speakers were lived. Observations, interviews, questionnaires, and recordings were the methods employed for data collection even though the framework used was not mentioned. These hypotheses were devised;

1. The degree of exposure to Kabiye and Ewe, sex and age, and attitude towards language depended on the usage and proficiency of the language.
2. Kabiye multilingualism is on the ascendancy in the country and Ewe in the urban communities.

The results showed that in the usage of Kabiye and Ewe code-switching, the instances of Kabiye only and Ewe only were subjected to the exposure of the two languages. The data showed the usage of Ewe only in Lome, which is the capital city where Ewe is a dominant language. Kara follows as an urban centre with a high concentration of Kabiye speakers. Pude which is the smallest community out of the three, showed the use of Ewe only, Ewe and Kabiye code-switch, in Kabiye which is a village in Northern Togo.

Comparably, the current study examines the connection that exists in the use of language in some domains and factors influencing language choices relevant to this study. The current study analyzes the motivations for the choice of codes among Gua speakers, and what has helped to maintain their language in some domains of language usage. Just like speakers of Kabiye in Togo, Gua speakers in Asamankese are gradually incorporating some aspects of the Akan culture into their culture.

Mensah (2008) has looked at the choices of two languages (Efutu and Fante) in the Winneba Speech community. In her work, she describes Efutu as an indigenous language that is spoken in Winneba in the central region of Ghana and surrounded by Fante which is a dialect of Akan.

According to Mensah (2008), the linguistic situation at Winneba is such that the members of the Efutu community are bilingual in Fante and Efutu. However, the domains in which Fante is used outweigh those of Efutu. Fante is used at the market, school, public places, and as a medium of instruction in schools. Using Batibo's "marked bilingualism" framework, data collected through interviews, questionnaires, and observation were analyzed. Mensah (2008) observed that factors such as exogamy, demographic size, the attitude of speakers, urbanization, dominant languages, and institutional support are some of the factors that account for language shift and choices. She opines that demographic size, lack of institutional support, prestige, and attitude of speakers are variables that result in language shift in the Winneba speech community.

Nevertheless, Mensah (2008) did not tackle the role of English as an official language among the choices speakers have to make in a communicative situation. This does not reflect the true picture of a cosmopolitan settlement with massive economic and trade activities like Winneba. For instance, the socio-economic activities coupled with diverse ethnolinguistic diversity call for the need for

common language use in certain domains (education and trade). However, the role of English cannot be overlooked in this situation. Given this, this study seeks to investigate the impact of English as the official language of Ghana and Akan as a dominant first language on Gua in the linguistic repertoire in Asamankese in a different context.

Additionally, Agyakwa (2018) has investigated language choice in ɔkere, a minority speech community in the Eastern region of Ghana. Her work looked at the implications of the presence of dominant languages like English and Akan on ɔkere and the social motivations that trigger language choice in the ɔkere speech community.

According to Agyakwa (2018), the majority of the members of the ɔkere community are multilingual using English, Twi, and ɔkere as languages for communication. The usage of ɔkere is confined to primary domains (home, neighbourhood) while English is assigned to formal domains (classroom and functions). Twi is used in public functions like group meetings, churches, markets, and Hospitals.

Thirty (30) participants were sampled from four communities (Adukurom, Awukugua, Abiriw, and ɔkere) to answer a twenty-four-item questionnaire in addition to interviews and observation. These research sites were chosen based on their geographical location.

The analysis of data was done in the light of Batibo's (2005) “triglossic structure model” and the sociolinguistic variationist approach to examine the implications of the presence of dominant languages such as English and Akan to ɔkɛrɛ.

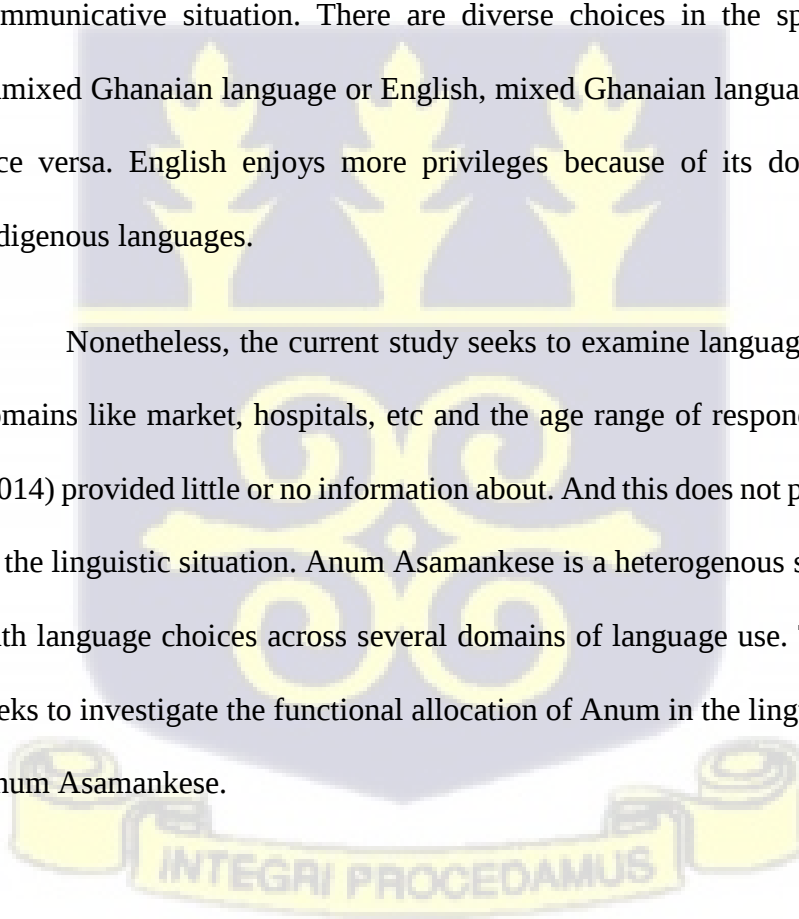
Her study revealed that demographic size, education, migration, and attitude towards speakers are factors that necessitated language choice in ɔkɛrɛ. She further asserts that the presence of English and Twi in the ɔkɛrɛ speech community does not pose a threat to ɔkɛrɛ, but rather influences the alternation of the choices between the three languages. Thus, English, Twi, and ɔkɛrɛ are assigned to domains based on their prestige, status, and functions in the speech community. This, she notes is a strategy to maintain the heritage language which is ɔkɛrɛ. The current study looks at Gaa, which is another minority language in Ghana and discusses how speakers maintain their heritage language amidst English and Twi.

Similarly, Torto (2014) also investigated language choice among first-year students of the University of Cape Coast in the Central region of Ghana. The University of Cape Coast is a multilingual setting made up of students and workers from heterogeneous language groupings in Ghana. The linguistic repertoire in Cape Coast is such that, members of the community are multi-lingual (speaking more than one language across some domains of language use).

Data for this study was gathered through observation and questionnaires. The observation was done in a social context for empirical data and a questionnaire for both demographic and sociolinguistic data.

Among the factors which informed the choices members of the community make include; lack of certain registers in local languages, lack of proficiency in English, attitude towards language, and demographic size. Members in the community switch from one language to another or mix two or more languages in a communicative situation. There are diverse choices in the speech community: unmixed Ghanaian language or English, mixed Ghanaian language and English, or vice versa. English enjoys more privileges because of its dominance over the indigenous languages.

Nonetheless, the current study seeks to examine language use across some domains like market, hospitals, etc and the age range of respondents which Torto (2014) provided little or no information about. And this does not paint a clear picture of the linguistic situation. Anum Asamankese is a heterogenous speech community with language choices across several domains of language use. This current study seeks to investigate the functional allocation of Anum in the linguistic repertoire of Anum Asamankese.



2.3.1 Factors that influence Language choice

This section discusses the possible factors that necessitate language shift in a heterogeneous speech community.

2.3.1.1 Social Factors

The literature on language choice suggests that social factors can influence the choice of one language over another. According to Kilbirk (1991), ignoring the way of life and tradition and adopting modern ways of doing things will influence linguistic choices. The more groups keep their traditional manner of life, the stronger their language communication will be. Most of the customs, beliefs, and traditions are embedded in their linguistic communication, and as we transmit these to the younger generation the language grows more potent. Contact with other languages and cultures tends to affect a language. This is because there is always exchange between these languages and cultures which breeds grounds for borrowing and could eventually adulterate the language (Bello 2013).

Marriage is a social factor that has a significant impact on language choices. Marrying from the same group helps to preserve languages especially when both parents speak the same language. Children born to such parents may not face many difficulties in acquiring their mother tongue (Agyakwa 2018). However, Children have a high potential of learning the language of their mother neglecting that of the father.

As such, Kibrik (1991) affirms that intermarriage does not always pose a threat to language. He exemplifies this by saying that marriages between the Kija and Jaru people of Kimberley in Western Australia did not threaten any of the two languages.

2.3.1.2 Demographic Factors

According to Batibo (2005), demographic causes of language shifts are made up of demographic and geographic factors. He further opines that, linguistic overlap, competition, and conflict may be the consequence of the concentration of languages in an area. The stronger language in terms of its number will dominate the others in terms of its predominance. The linguistic minority and scattered groups will then be swallowed by the majority ones. This is attributed to the fact that, the more a language group is isolated, the less its language contact. Therefore, the presence of a stronger language may induce assimilation (Bello 2013).

Rural-urban migration is a possible factor for language shift in a speech community. If a speech community is surrounded by urban centres, there is a high possibility of language change. On another note, the isolation of a speech community can either maintain a language or otherwise when they are in contact with a majority language (Fishman 1964). In a community where an intergenerational transfer is encouraged and a minority language is used in several

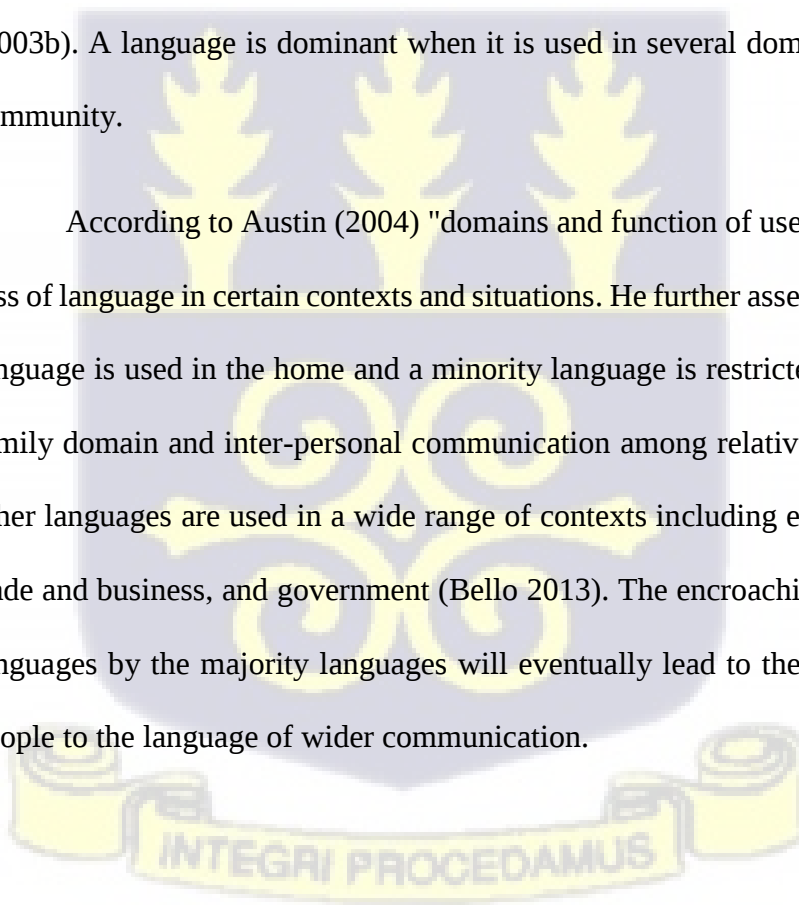
domains with no language contact with an isolated language, then, the language will be maintained. One thing that fuels the process of language loss is geography (Edwards 1992). He further asserts that, when a language shares a border with a dominant language, nearness can facilitate the process of language loss. The usage of the dominant language across several domains will sweep over the minority language if there is no resistance by the former.

In this vein, Batibo (2005) asserts that the main cause of language shift and death is the pressure that the weaker language experiences from a more powerful or prestigious language. Batibo (2005) attributes this pressure to factors such as demographic superiority, socio-economic attractions, political predominance, or cultural forces. In demographic superiority, Batibo (2005) explains that this occurs when a language with a greater number of speakers comes into contact with a language with a lesser number of speakers. The issue here is, the minority language speakers would like to associate with the linguistic majority group. He further adds that the linguistic minority in their quest to identify with the larger group abandon their culture and language to enhance their status and secure their livelihood. Hausa in West Africa, Kiswahili in Eastern Africa, and Setswana in Southern Africa have appealed to a lot of linguistic minority languages because of their demographic superiority over minority languages.

2.3.1.3 Domains of Language use

Fishman (1972:442) defines a domain as "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of a speech community". Domains of language use are couched from the relationship between the topic, participants, the relationship between interlocutors and the norms of the society. Given this, the kind of language used in domains available in a speech community is very significant for the upkeep of a language according to UNESCO (2003b). A language is dominant when it is used in several domains in the speech community.

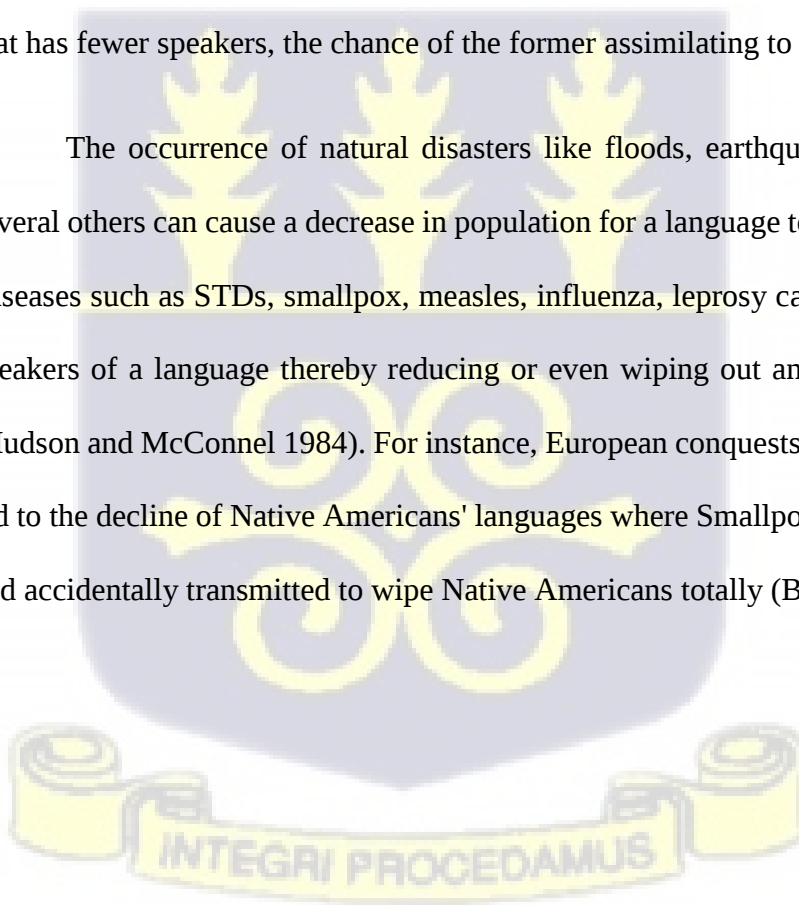
According to Austin (2004) "domains and function of use" can facilitate the loss of language in certain contexts and situations. He further asserts that a dominant language is used in the home and a minority language is restricted for usage in the family domain and inter-personal communication among relatives. In such a case, other languages are used in a wide range of contexts including education, religion, trade and business, and government (Bello 2013). The encroaching of the minority languages by the majority languages will eventually lead to the movement of the people to the language of wider communication.



2.3.1.4 *Size of language speakers*

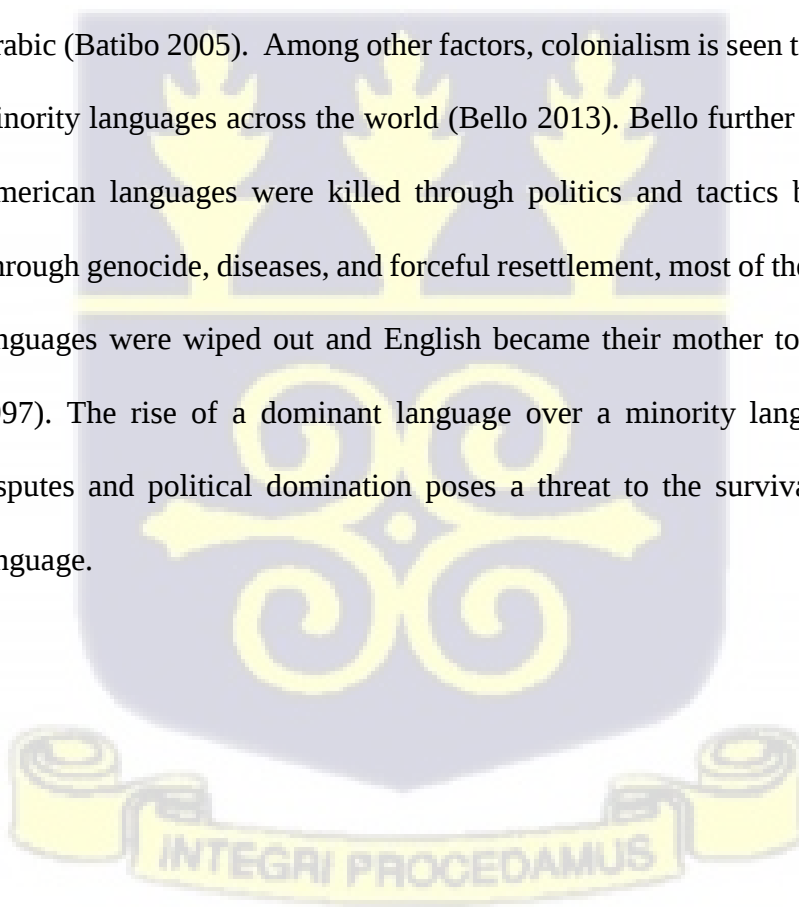
Dense populations of speakers have a better chance of maintaining their language (Fishman, 1972; Edwards, 1992). A minority language can shift to a dominant language when there is a reduction in the number of speakers of that language. This is because when speakers of a language are scattered with little or no contact, language shift or decline sets in. The proportion of speakers of a particular language to those of other languages can contribute to language decline (Brenzinger, 1997). If a language with a larger number of speakers comes into contact with one that has fewer speakers, the chance of the former assimilating to the latter is low.

The occurrence of natural disasters like floods, earthquakes, famine, and several others can cause a decrease in population for a language to lose its speakers. Diseases such as STDs, smallpox, measles, influenza, leprosy can also kill a lot of speakers of a language thereby reducing or even wiping out an entire population (Hudson and McConnel 1984). For instance, European conquests of North America led to the decline of Native Americans' languages where Smallpox was deliberately and accidentally transmitted to wipe Native Americans totally (Bello 2013)



2.3.1.5 Historical factors

One key thing that contributes to the vitality of a language is the history of the people. Whether migrants or indigenes, the ethnolinguistic lives of the people can be linked to their history of migration which is connected to the fight against oppression or in search of recognition in the speech community (Bello 2013). Factors like colonization, conquest and disputes are some of the factors that contribute to language endangerment in a speech community. For example, the Arab invasion of Northern Africa where indigenous languages were used was replaced by Arabic (Batibo 2005). Among other factors, colonialism is seen to have killed more minority languages across the world (Bello 2013). Bello further asserts that native American languages were killed through politics and tactics by the Europeans. Through genocide, diseases, and forceful resettlement, most of the Native American languages were wiped out and English became their mother tongue (Brenzinger, 1997). The rise of a dominant language over a minority language over border disputes and political domination poses a threat to the survival of the minority language.



2.3.1.6 Attitude of Speakers

According to Baker (1992:10) language attitude is "a feeling, reaction, or emotional disposition towards an idea, concept, or a phenomenon. Attitudes people have towards a language can be positive, negative or indifferent and they become pronounced when speakers become bilingual or speak several languages (Dryer 2004). He further asserts that the attitude of speakers towards the language depends on the degree of symbolic or socio-economic value manifested by each language.

According to Austin (2004), the attitudes and language ideology of a community and its neighbouring community is a very important factor that contributes to language maintenance/loss. A community's attitudes and ideology that value multilingualism and variety are less probable to contribute to language loss than one that sees monolingualism as normal and multilingualism as a menace to their local or internal social and political position (Bello 2013). Communities that are emotionally attached to their language and view it as an expression of their culture and mode of identification will find it difficult to give up on their language for another. They do not deem it necessary to learn what is considered an out-group language or context.

Language stigmatization decreases the vitality of a language in a speech community (Dorian 1986). Dorian further adds that, situations where dominant languages look down upon speakers of minority languages and talk ill about them,

breed grounds for language loss. For instance, the ‘inferiority’ attached to speakers of Irish as against English in Ireland prevented people from speaking the Irish language, and this eventually led to the loss of Irish (Cahill, 2007:11).

According to Bello (2013), the association of some attributes like poverty, illiteracy, hardship, and ill-behaviour to that of development and affluence, poses a threat to the survival of minority languages. Crystal (2003) affirms this by asserting that the use of a particular language can lead to an attitude that considers other languages to be unnecessary. The respect that is not accorded linguistic minority groups will compel the minority language speakers to abandon their language for the linguistic majority one.

2.3.1.7 Sociolinguistic factors

The conditions in which language is used in the lives of people in a community determine the vitality of the language in the speech community. The unequal usage of a language in a community will favour one language at the expense of the other in a community. The dominant language is favoured and the minority language is marginalized. When the usage of a language becomes popular in almost all domains of language use, it will curtail the development of other languages which co-exist in the community. Twi, a dominant language in Ghana, is used even in official functions in schools making it a convention to either speak Twi or English.

Crystal (2000) asserts that sociolinguistic factors may play a role in language death if the structures laid down by the said society do not favour all languages. He further opines that some languages in the community are used in personal communication among relations thereby restricting its domain to the family. The patterns of language use outside the home may project some languages to the detriment of others due to their unequal usage in some domains in the community. Crystal (2000) further added that cultural values, norms, and customs, among others, can preserve and even promote a minority language.

2.3.1.8 Socio-Economic Factors

On socio-economic factors that cause language shift, Batibo (2005) argues that socio-economic pressure arises when a language that is frequently used in daily activities (such as economic and social) comes into contact with a language with little or no socio-economic power. Usually, languages of national or regional status that are used as inter-ethnic media of communication; (for example, Akan of Ghana, for trade, education, administration, mass media) attract speakers of other languages (Batibo 2005). Batibo further added that, migration into other communities will cause dependence economically on the host community as the migrants have to adjust to their new environment for identification, trust, and effective communication.

Socio-economic factors like inter-ethnic trade force some speakers to acquire the language of trade to transact business with their customers (Blench 1998). Some employees hire people based on their linguistic background. This helps to facilitate the buying and selling process. Fluency in Kiswahili is important in obtaining some jobs but English is the indispensable language for 'high-level jobs' (Batibo 2007).

2.3.1.9 Globalization/Modernization and Urbanization

Improved communication and mass media in dominant languages tend to disenfranchise minority languages. The language of wider communication becomes important in the mass media for effective communication. Modern cultures with new technologies are encroaching on once-isolated people or minority peoples with drastic effects on their way of life (Wilson 1992). One thing that intimidates minority languages is the imposition of western values on some indigenous groups. The profit maximization motive of these institutions coupled with gaining an effective channel of communication leads them to the acquisition of the best medium to gain access to the target population. Traditional pastimes such as storytelling, puberty rites, and several others that were transmitted by the elders in the society have been replaced by the media (Crawford 1995).

The rapid development of cities and the need for one language for economic activities put pressure on migrants to shift to the dominant language. Employment

opportunities and economic activities draw speakers to the dominant language. Some people find their spouses among people of different languages. This necessitates the need for a common language of communication among couples.

2.4 Ethno-linguistic vitality

One of the issues in the language contact phenomenon in multi-ethnic /multilingual communities is the vitality of the language. This notion was introduced by Giles et al (1977) who defined language vitality as, “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations”. Some motivations allow a group to survive in a larger community with their ethnic behaviour and skills in the language. This is manifested in their attitude and the learning of a second language.

On the vitality of language, Essegbey (2007) has worked on assessing the ethnolinguistic vitality of Ga in Accra using the three variables postulated by Giles et al. (1997), that is, status, demography, and institutional support. Ethno linguistic vitality is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity Giles et al (1997). He drew a sample from 40 participants from Ga, Akan, Ewe Dagbani, and Moore (from Burkina Faso living in Ghana) using a survey.

His study reveals that Ga is not going to die soon looking at the population of its speakers. The use of Ga is restricted to the home and the culture is vibrant which shows the presence of the language for some time even though they have become a linguistic minority in their land. Most immigrants prefer to learn Akan rather than Ga to fit into and have their way in the city. This has forced Ga's in a position to learn Akan to use daily, therefore, acquiring it as a second language. However, businesses promoting the use of Akan in the city are not as extremely implausible as they might have been some decades ago. The vitality of Gua in this study helps to understand the role of language in the lives of the inhabitants of the community.

Works on the vitality of a language are not restricted to communities and societies alone. One of such works is Paolo (2020) who investigates the vitality of the heritage language vitality among university students in Malaysia. It looks at the extent to which the family heritage language has been displaced in the university. This was determined by a sociolinguistic survey on language use and attitude among 189 students from the faculty of languages and linguistics at the University of Malaya. Despite the diversity of 130 languages spoken in Malaysia, Malay is the official language with English and Mandarin widespread in the area and has taken over the ethnic languages. The study revealed that over one-third of students have lost their heritage language (Mandarin) with some able to comprehend within a specific context. According to Paolo (2020) reasons which accounted for this

include; the lack of written form of some indigenous languages; their heritage languages do not provide any direct cultural and economic advantage to the speakers. The study further revealed that the chances for the survival of some indigenous languages in Malaysia are very slim looking at the trends of globalization that favour English.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theoretical frameworks through which data gathered will be analysed. In this regard, the 'Markedness model' by Myers Scotton (1993) and Batibo's (2005) 'triglossic structure model' will be discussed in this section.

2.5.1 The Markedness Model

According to Myers-Scotton (1993:75), "speakers have a sense of Markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place". As speakers find themselves in various communicative settings, not only are they aware of the codes that are considered as the 'norm' that operates within that speech community (known as the unmarked) but they are also mindful of the codes that are not considered as the norm (known as the marked).

One core element that makes up the Markedness model is the Rights-and-obligations sets. The choice of codes by speakers indexes the rights-and-obligation sets (RO sets) between interlocutors in a given interaction setting. This indicates what codes speakers expect in a discourse. Interlocutors are aware of the RO sets and thus make use of it based on the situational features that are salient for any speech community. Myers-Scotton (1993:88) further asserts that “speakers develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets when they become cognizant of the different RO sets in their community”.

Myers-Scotton (1998) presents the Markedness model as a Rational Actor (RA) model by presenting a clear description of how social behaviours arise. According to the model, speakers are faced with the option to make choices based on what they seem to achieve with these particular codes. She further explains that the Markedness model investigates how context and cognition explain and predict the language behaviour of participants. She further explains that the model provides an explanation that gives the socio-psychological motivations when speakers alternate between languages in their conversations. Thus, motivations for the choice of codes combine both social and psychological factors at the expense of the individual in a particular domain of language use.

The ‘negotiation principle’ with the three maxims that this principle project is central in this model. According to Myers-Scotton (1993:113), the negotiation

principle states that, “choose the form of your conversation such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and addressee for current exchange”. She further notes that explanations can be given to the choice of code one makes based on the speakers’ motivations for the choice of code in a given interaction.

Myers Scotton (1998:26) presents five Maxims under the Markedness model as follows, “

1. The unmarked choice maxim by (Myers-Scotton 1993:114) states that, “make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligation set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that right and obligation set”. This means the kind of language that is expected to be used in a particular context or domain of language use becomes the code choice.
2. The Marked Choice Maxim: under this maxim Myers-Scotton (1993:131) states that, “make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligations set in an interaction when you wish to establish new rights and obligations set as unmarked for the current exchange”. In this situation, speakers make use of an unexpected code choice to negotiate for the Rights and Obligation set to replace the expected code.

3. The Exploratory Choice Maxim: when an unmarked choice is not clear, use switching between two speech varieties to make alternate exploratory choices as (alternate) candidates for the unmarked choice and thereby as an index of rights and obligations set which you favour” (Myers-Scotton 1993:142).
4. Deference Maxim: speakers switch to a code that expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances. Here, speakers make use of respectful submission to their addressees owing to the respect for that person.
5. Virtuosity Maxim according to Myers-Scotton (1998) asserts that speakers switch to whatever code is necessary to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present. They do so to accommodate other linguistic groupings in the particular setting.

The unmarked-choice maxim makes use of a variety of a language within an interaction which indexes the Right and obligations set which can be compared with the possible use of other varieties Myers-Scotton (1993) explains. This results in what she terms sequential Code-switching (which is unmarked) where the unmarked choice is preferred due to contextual preferences.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993:142), “the marked choice is used to ‘negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it”. The effect of this choice of code could be either

positive or negative relative to the context of use through narrowing or broadening the social gap between the participants.

Under the exploratory choice maxim, speakers are not certain about the particular choice of code which will help them achieve their communicative purpose. Speakers alternate between codes until they are certain of a particular code that will help satisfy their communication needs. Amuzu (2012:5 as cited in Nuworsu 2015) opines that, “this results in code-switching which may occur in exchanges between strangers as well as exchanges between acquaintances who meet in unconventional or unfamiliar settings”. Thus, the choice of code could occur in places that are irregular or uncommon in the community. However, the Rights and Obligation sets may vary depending on the society and the norms of communication which depends on the participants and the setting Myers-Scotton opines.

On the Deference Maxim, Myers-Scotton argues that the need to be accepted by a particular person or group calls for communicative measures which show respect. Respect is given to the addressee by the addresser based on the role of cultural values which brings about solidarity among interlocutors. This means that speakers make code choices to express their formal ability to their addressees.

Myers-Scotton is of the view that, a speaker makes use of the virtuosity maxim to assess the solidarity of a particular group of persons in a given

communicative situation. The choice of code accommodates all participants in a given discourse to achieve a specific purpose.

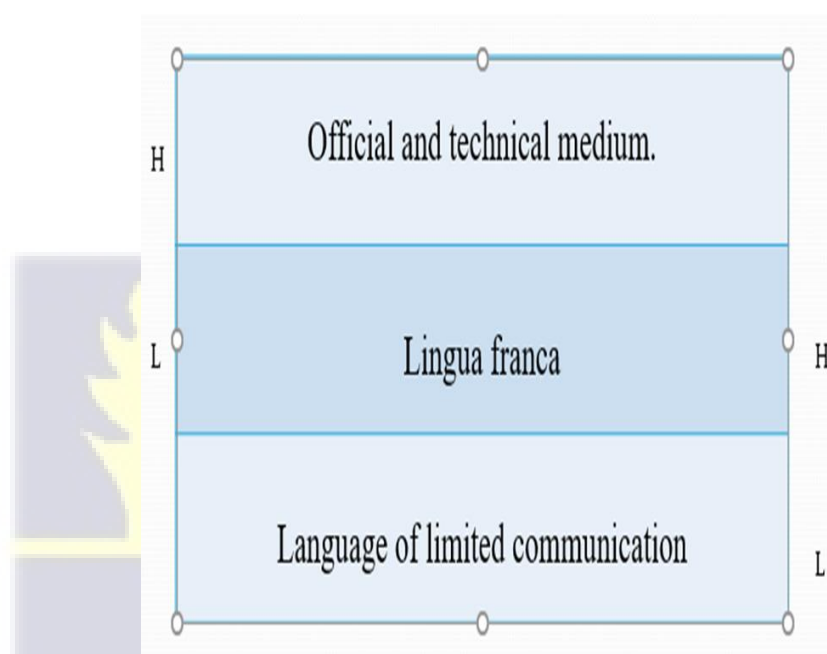
2.5.2 The Triglossic Structure Model

Batibo (2005) summarizes language use in a multilingual setting in his ‘triglossic structure model’. According to Batibo (2005), colonization and the heterogeneous nature of the African continent are determinants of patterns of language use. He further asserts that domains of language use in multilingual settings are powered by factors such as status, prestige, and the functional allocation of the language in the linguistic repertoire. Batibo (2005) assigns codes to the use of language based on the determinants as; High (H) and Low (L) according to their functional allocation. He adds that the relationship among the patterns of language use in a multilingual speech community is binary where a language could be considered as High (H) or Low (L) depending on its context. The High code is the language of prestige in a particular domain that occupies the topmost position and the Low code is the language with less dominance and prestige in a domain occupying the low position.

According to Batibo (2005:16), “the triglossic structure model is a structure that can be looked at as a doubly overlapping diglossic structure, involving a relationship of two languages”. The swift development of indigenous languages in

Africa makes them the High (H) code in comparison to other minority languages. They are however considered as a low (L) code to the ex-colonial languages. This is illustrated as;

Figure 2: Triglossic structure model



Triglossic structure model by Batibo (2005)

2.5.2.1 Official and technical medium (Ex colonial language)

Batibo (2005) terms the ex-colonial languages as exoglossic languages which include languages such as English, French, Portuguese, German, Spanish, and Italian. These languages were adopted by Africans as their official languages since they were the language of their colonial masters. The focus of Batibo was mainly on the language of these three countries (Britain, France, and Germany).

According to Batibo (2005), these powers introduced their language to help facilitate their administration in their colonies. These languages which became prestigious were affiliated with modern lifestyle, education, and paid jobs. The indirect rule system adopted by the British favoured the use of dominant indigenous languages in administration and socio-economic life. The French and Portuguese, however, adopted an assimilation policy in their administration at all levels (education and socio-economic life).

Batibo (2005:21) avers that "the prestige of ex-colonial languages, particularly English has increased in recent years due to their association with modernity, technological advancement, information flow, and internationality". Batibo (2005) further explains that most African countries consider their ex-colonial languages as principal to both the economic and technological development in their country. Most parents would prefer fluency in the ex-colonial language at the expense of the mother tongue. In some instances, some equate mastery of the ex-colonial languages with intelligence. Batibo (2005) further added that ex-colonial languages are often linked with better employment and higher-socio economic status in the African countries in question. This makes them occupy the topmost position on the model; thus, the High (H) code is used in official and secondary domains.

English is considered to occupy the topmost position as the official language in Ghana. There are high prestige and status attached to the language not even in Ghana

alone but in the world at large. Dzameshie (2012) as cited in Agyakwa (2018) asserts that English is used in Ghana as the official language in government, administration, and official communication.

2.5.2.2 The Dominant Languages

Dominant indigenous languages occupy the middle level of the triglossic structure model. According to Batibo (2005), the extensive use of the indigenous languages makes them the preferred choice for communication between ethnic groups.

Batibo (2005:21) describes this language as “.... not only demographically superior but also economically prestigious”. This makes the preference for this language at the area, national, and regional levels at the expense of other languages in their country high (Batibo 2005). He further asserts that prestige and status are dependent on the language policies of the country in question. Batibo (2005) avers that languages are given national and regional functions based on their functional allocation in the country. Languages that are assigned national roles are known as national dominant languages, those assigned regional roles as regional dominant languages and languages confined to specific demographic locations as areal dominant languages.

Adika (2012:15) affirms Batibo’s assertion on the status of the indigenous languages as having supremacy as, “[t]hese indigenous dominant languages are

mostly learned by speakers of other languages as a second language as a result of its economic importance".

Given this, Twi can be considered to occupy the dominant indigenous language slot on the triglossic structure model postulated by Batibo (2005). Akan which belongs to the Kwa language group has the largest number of speakers in Asamankese Anum according to the fiscal policy for the West Akim Municipality (2017). Twi dominates a heterogeneous speech community like Asamankese since it is the language of mass communication and socio-economic life. The supremacy and status of Twi in Asamankese have relegated Anum to the background hence the need for Anum speakers to acquire Akan.

2.5.2.3 Minority languages

Batibo (2005:23) asserts that “minority languages have a smaller demographic size, and are confined to primary domains. These minority languages occupy the lowest on the triglossic structure model. Batibo (2005) further asserts that these languages are marginalized and are considered to be of no value to socio-economic development. Speakers are then forced to learn the dominant indigenous language or the ex-colonial language to integrate into the larger community. They correspond to the Low (L) code as compared to the ex-colonial and dominant indigenous language. Anum is considered a minority language in this study occupying the lowest level on the triglossic structure followed by Akan and English.

The functional allocation of Anum in the linguistic repertoire will be discussed in this study in the light of domains of language use in the speech community.

2.5.3 Justification for the choice of Theoretical Frameworks

The Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton 1998) and the triglossic structure model (Batibo 2005) are the two models within which analysis in this study is situated. These frameworks will supplement each other to investigate the choices speakers make in a communicative event. The triglossic structure by Batibo (2005) helps determine the functional allocation of Gaa in some domains of language use in the light of English and Akan. The models present the ranking and status of languages in the domains of language use hence the need for this model to carry out the objectives of this study.

The Markedness model by Myers-Scotton (1998) will complement the triglossic model, as it helps unravel the social motivations that influence language choice by speakers in the Anum community. This will help ascertain the marked and unmarked code choices in some domains of language use.



2.6 Methodology

This section discusses the methodology adopted in this study. Here, I discuss the research design, the research site, the research population, the sample size, and the source of data employed in this study.

2.6.1 Research Site

For the sake of collecting data, the current study was situated at Anum Asamankese in the Eastern region where the language is spoken in the community. The motivation for the choice of Anum is the increasing rate of urbanization attracting people from various linguistic backgrounds because of education, trade and inter-marriages. The indigenous language is Gua even though some ethnic groupings are present in the community.

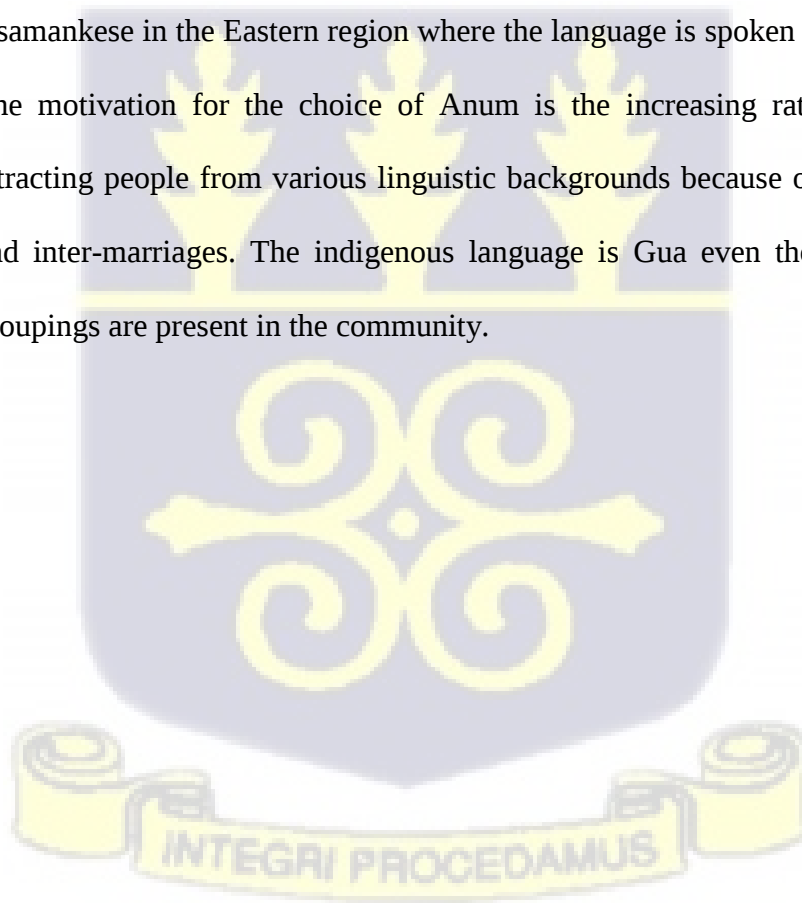
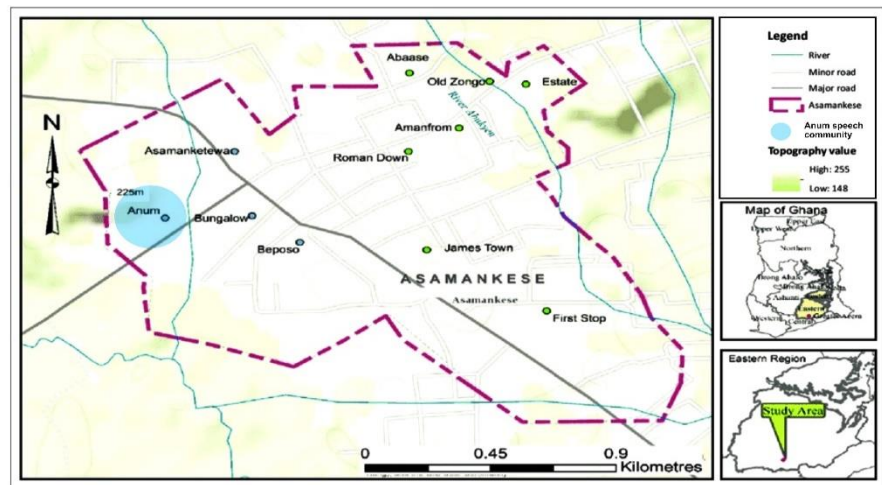


Figure 3. Anum Asamankese community.



Adopted and modified from Glago (2019)

The research site forms part of the Lower West Akim Municipal and some linguistic groupings are fairly represented (see section 3.1). For the basis of this study, priority was given to the use of Gaa, Akan and English at Anum Asamankese.

2.6.2 Research design

Data for this study was qualitative. Cresswell (1998:15) defines qualitative research as “an enquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of enquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts

the study in a natural setting.” This approach helps to study a naturally occurring phenomenon in their natural settings. Given this, making use of participant observation helps to understand the situation in the community and how the variables react in different interactions. Guy et al. (1987: 257), as cited in Akpakli (2019), affirms that; “qualitative research procedures help to produce descriptive data: people’s own written or spoken words and observations”, which is very important to this study.

2.6.3 Sample size and Sampling procedure

The speakers of Gua at Anum Asamankese were the population for this study. The participants included students, traders, teachers, health personnel, and traditional leaders who are indigenes of the community. Participants selected were at least bilingual in Gua and Akan or English. In all, 80 respondents constituted the sample for this study. These included 12 students, 12 traders, 10 teachers, 10 civil servants, 10 farmers, 8 drivers, 8 bankers and 10 health personnel. Data gathered from participants were at their place of work and their availability at the time of the data collection. Pseudonyms have been used for all participants cited.

Non-probability sampling technique was employed in this study. Purposive and availability sampling techniques were pivotal in the drawing of samples. In the purposive sampling method, Owu-Ewie (2012) notes that, participants are chosen

based on the purpose of the study. The purposive sampling technique was needful in collecting data from specific people in the community like traditional leaders, students, traders and workers. One key advantage of purposive sampling is that, it helps researchers to study a subset of a population, and Anum Asamankese can be considered as such (See figure 2). In other words, the Anum Asamankese community in this situation can be considered as a subgroup of Gua speakers in the Municipal.

2.6.4 Technique for data collection

Primary data for this study is from recordings from semi-structured interviews from schools, homes, hospitals and markets. The interviews lasted for a period of three months (from January 2020 to March 2020). In all, 80 respondents were recorded with each session lasting approximately 30 minutes using the interview guide in appendix I. The information from respondents provided knowledge of their language ability. The interview aimed at probing into some factors which affect the language choices they make in the community. The interviews were conducted in either Akan (the language of wider communication) or English depending on the preference of the respondent. This was because the researcher could not speak Gua. Interviews questions were guided by questions from

Agyakwa (2015) in determining the language used in Anum and Bello (2013) on assessing the vitality of Gua.

Non-participant observation was also employed by the researcher to complement semi-structured interviews in the course of the collection of data. I made a personal observation on some naturally occurring discourses which took place during my interview sessions with parents at home. This indicated some socio-psychological factors which affected the choice of codes in the home.

2.6.7 Selection and transcription of data

Data from interviews that lasted for at least 30 minutes were recorded. Recordings are orthographically transcribed and purposively selected concerning their relevance to the current study. Portions of interviews pertinent to the current study were analysed in addressing the research objectives and questions.

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on language choice, shift, and maintenance in some languages and the theoretical frameworks employed in this study. Factors that cause language shift like social, demographic, domains of language use, size of language speakers, historical factors, the attitude of speakers, sociolinguistic, socio-

economic, and globalization/modernization and urbanization were discussed in this section. The latter part of the chapter discussed the triglossic model by Batibo (2005) and the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton as frameworks within which the study is situated. The methodology employed in this study was also discussed in this section.



CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE USE AT ANUM ASAMANKESE

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I present respondents' use of language at home, school, hospital, market and work domains in an attempt to understand speakers' linguistic choices and the roles language play in the Anum Asamankese community. The chapter also seeks to determine the personal and sociocultural factors that motivate or prevent, observed language use (patterns) in these domains, and factors that affect language choice in some domains.

3.1 Biographical data of Respondents

This section analyses the bio-data of respondents sampled for this study. This analysis is aimed at having background information on participants in this study. The tables below (1a, 1b and 1c) show the sex, age range, educational background and occupation of respondents.

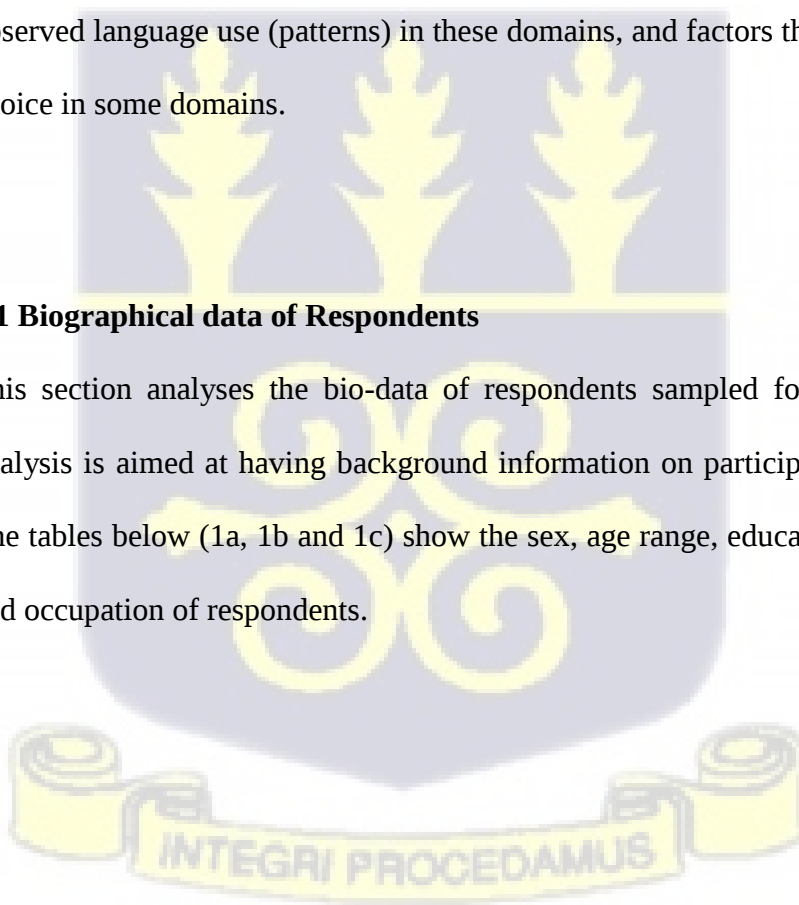


Table 1 Biographical representation of respondents

Table (1a): Age-based Grouping (Total Respondents: 80; 35 males and 45 females)

Variables		Total (Frequency)	Gender	
			Male	Female
Age	8-20 years	28	11	17
	21-40 years	18	8	10
	41-60 years	26	12	14
	61 and above	8	4	4
Total		80	Total Male=35	Total Female:45

(Table (1b): Education-Based Grouping (Total Respondents: 80; 35 males and 45 females)

Variables		Total (Frequency)	Gender	
			Male	Female
Education	None	9	4	5
	Basic	24	10	14
	Secondary	19	9	10
	Tertiary	28	12	16
Total		80	Total Male=35	Total Female=45

Table (1c): Occupation-Based Grouping (Total Respondents: 80; 35 males and 45 females)

Variables		Total (Frequency)	Gender	
			Male	Female
Occupation	Students	12	6	6
	Traders	12	4	8
	Teachers	10	4	6
	Civil Servants	10	4	6
	Farmers	10	6	4
	Drivers	8	4	4
	Bankers	8	3	5
	Health Personnel	10	4	6
	Total	80	Total Male =35	Total Female =45

From table 1, 80 respondents were sampled for the study comprising 35 males and 45 females. Respondents were subdivided into four groups: 8-20, 21-40, 41-60, and then 61 and above years to account for the generational gap in the use of Gua.

3.2 Individual linguistic repertoire

In this study, the data confirmed individual multilingualism in the community. The interviews considered respondents who mostly had Gua as their first language. The research considered the ability to speak Gua not affiliated with the ethnic

¹background but the ability to use Gua proficiently. The numbers in the table show people who mostly had Gua as their mother tongue.

Table 2: Individual Linguistic Repertoire

LANGUAGE	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS
Gua only	8
Twi only	9
Gua and Twi only	25
Gua, Twi, English	23
Gua, Twi, English & others	15

The data in Table 2 shows the linguistic repertoire of individuals sampled for this study. The data revealed that most of the respondents are bilingual in Gua and another language. A little over 79% of the respondents could use Gua and other languages. This is an indication of their exposure to other languages and the multilingual nature of the community. One thing worth revealing on the table is the presence of monolingual Twi speakers even though Gua is the indigenous language

¹ It was expected that a typical Anum community should have only Gua speakers. However, data from *table 2.0* confirmed that some respondents could only speak Twi and not Gua

in the community. Nine (9) respondents who are monolinguals (see table 1) assert they have not had any form of formal education and were 61 years and above.

3.3 Domains of Language use

In a highly multilingual society like Anum Asamankese, speakers are faced with the challenges of language use in various domains of language use. Because of this, multilinguals use the available languages to satisfy their communicative needs as they alternate their choices Romaine (2000). According to Romaine, language choices may not be structured similarly all the time as language users alternate among varieties of language.

3.3.1 Language use in the home

This section presents language use at home from interviews of respondents at Anum Asamankese. Respondents were given a brief explanation of the objective of this study. Respondents who gave their consent were interviewed and observed for some time. Interviews in the home were accompanied by observations to ascertain the sincerity of the answers given by the respondents. Language use in the home is presented in the table below as;

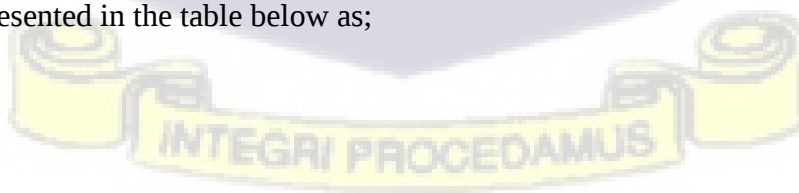


Table 3 language use in the home

Language use at Home					
	Gua	Twi	Gua & Twi	English	Others
Between Parents	35	19	24	2	-
Among Siblings	37	14	24	2	3
Parent with Children	34	21	22	2	1
Friends	28	24	25	1	2

Table 3 shows language use at home in the Anum speech community. It can be seen from the data that, Gua is the language frequently used in the home by respondents. Nonetheless, some respondents preferred the use of Akan to that of Gua with their friends and siblings. This shows their contact with Akan and the sense of belonging they get in discourse.

The usage of Gua at home recorded the highest figures among the category of respondents in table 3 above. This is an indication that Gua is largely used in the

home by respondents and it remains the reserve for the language at Anum Asamankese.

On the usage of Twi at home 19(24%) preferred using Twi to that of Gua among parents, 14(18%) among siblings, 21(26%) between parents and children and 24(30%) with their friends. In like manner, Gua and Twi recorded 24(30%) use among siblings, 22(28%) usage with parents and children, and 25(31%) usage among children which shows that Twi and Gua were preferred to Gua and Twi. This reveals the rate at which code-mixing is present in discourse at home and the complementary roles each language plays.

The data on language use reveals that, the unmarked code choice in the home is Gua. As the indigenous language of the community, the home is the place where family members can bond through the use of a common unifying language. Using Gua in this domain is expected and thus, unmarked. The ethnic solidarity of Gua speakers on the language makes Gua the reserve for the home to preserve the language. However, some respondents make use of the marked code choice to establish the rights and obligations set in the home. Some respondents make use of the unexpected code choice to replace the expected code choice. The use of English for instance becomes the marked code choice in the home and will lead to the establishment of the rights and obligations set to establish the right code for the discourse.

From the perspective of Batibo's triglossic model (see section 2.3), Gua is considered the Low code in comparison to Twi, which is a High code frequently used. Gua is the Low code in the home, and this affirms the assertion by Batibo (2005) on minority languages as the reserve for the home.

3.3.2 Language use in the school

The respondents in the school were arranged by the Headteachers in the school. They were from two different Government schools in the community which are Anum Asamankese Presbyterian Primary and Junior High and Anum M/A Junior High School. From two students arranged for the interview were three males and three females. Also, 5 teachers each were interviewed from both schools. The respondents gave their consent for their participation in the interview for this study. The researcher assured respondents of the protection of their anonymity as data gathered is purely for academic purposes. Language use in the educational domain is presented in the table below as;

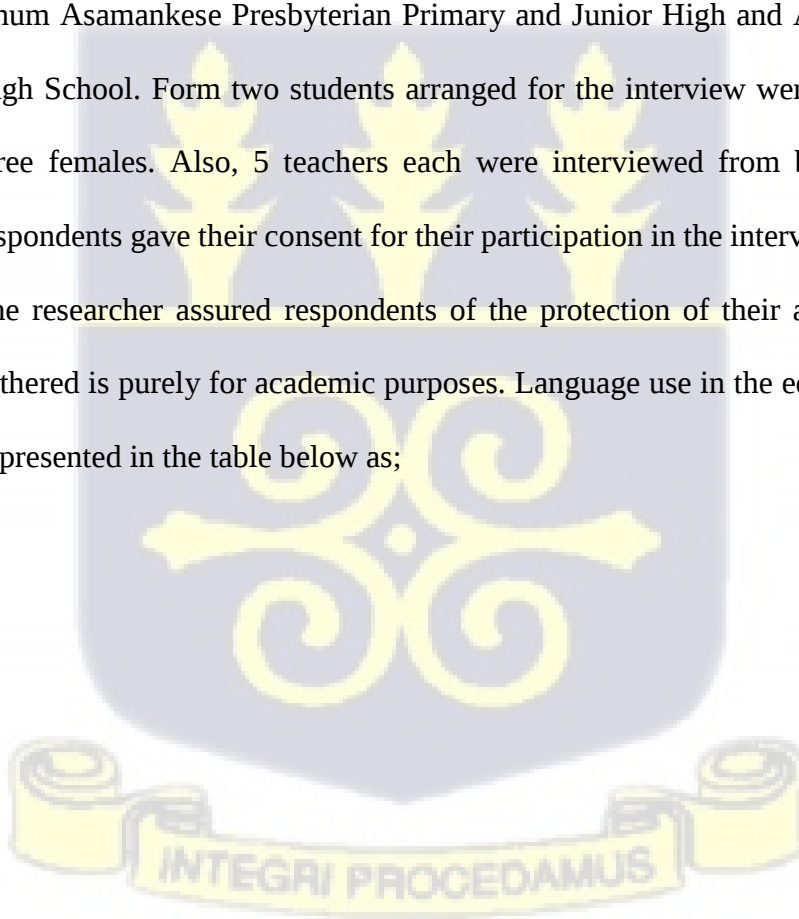


Table 4 showing Language use in the School

Language use in the School					
	Gua	Twi	Twi & English	English	Others
School teachers	1	-	2	7	-
Students with friends	-	4	6	2	-
Teachers with Students	2	2	4	2	-

Table 4 shows language use in the school which is key to this study. On the usage of language among teachers, 1(10%) were recorded using Gua, 2 (20%) were recorded using Twi and English, 7(70%) used English only in school. Similarly, 4 (33%) students used Twi with their friends in school, 6(50%) used English and Twi and 2 representing (16.7%) used English only in school with their friends. The above data shows the diverse use of 2 languages by teachers and students. It can be seen that students in school use two languages: Twi, English, and a combination of English & Twi among students and teachers. And this is expected because that is the official language for communication in that domain. Gua saw the lowest patronage in school and this I attribute to the strict adherence to the language policy at school which favours the use of English and Twi. The use of an indigenous

language is restricted to the study of the Ghanaian language which comes with restrictions.

Following the Markedness model by Myers-Scotton (see section 2.3.1), English is the Unmarked code in the school. English has the official recognition in the school as the medium of instruction, and its use becomes the norm in the school setting. In other words, the choice of English in the school setting, in the light of the language policy of education, makes it the preferred code choice, and thus unmarked. The use of Gaa becomes a marked choice as it is not the expected code in academic discourse. From my observation, teachers switch between codes during the delivery of some lessons in the classroom to help the students understand lessons. From the observation, teachers alternate between Gaa and Twi to make use of the right code which will help them deliver the content in a lesson to the students. Another thing worth noting is the code choice during the Parent and Teachers Association meeting held in the school during the time of the interview. I observed that P.T.A executives and the teachers explored the virtuosity maxim. The Headmistress explained that parents at the meeting speak different languages so a common language needs to be adopted which will favour everyone present at the meeting. The language negotiation is done at the beginning of the P.T.A meeting: switching of codes between Gaa, Twi and English. However, Twi was largely used by most speakers in their submissions.

Going by the assertion of Batibo (2005) as discussed in section (2.3.2) on the status of language, English is the High (H) code in the educational domain as compared to Twi. The same can be said of the pattern of language use in education which indicated strict adherence to the language policy of education. The prestige attached to English makes it a high code in education over the other languages existent in the school. Twi occupies the Low (L) code in the school occupying the low position. The school speech community makes the educational domain a diglossic one as a reserve for English and Twi.

3.3.3 Language use at the Hospital

As part of the objective of the current study, data was gathered from the Anum Asamankese Government hospital which is located at Roman down (an area in Asamankese). The location of the Hospital is about 1200meters from the Anum Asamankese community and it is open to residents in the community who are not necessarily Gaa speakers. Below is a table on language use at the hospital among 10 health personnel and respondents at the records department and consulting rooms.



Table 5 Language use at the Hospital

Language use at the Hospital						
	Gua	Twi	Gua & Twi	English	Twi & English	Others
Records department	-	5	1	1	3	-
Doctor-Patient	-	2	-	2	6	-

Table 5 demonstrates language use at Anum Government Hospital. The variations in language use show how Gua speakers chose codes in a particular context. Twi only recorded 5(50%) which is the highest language choice in the records department. This is the first point of call at the Hospital. The use of Twi & English recorded the highest number 6(60%) for Doctor-patient discourse. Respondents who were Health Personnel at the Health Facility affirmed that the dominant language used at the Hospital was Twi. The motivation for the choice of Twi is because some health workers are comfortable explaining some details of their profession to their clients. I observed in my interview that, functionally, physicians communicate to their colleagues in English on technical issues in their line of duty at the facility.

A critical look at the choice of language at the hospital from the data in table 5 reveals that Twi is the unmarked code in the hospital. Because the hospital serves a

variety of people with Twi, which is the language of wider communication used to serve that purpose. In instances where there is the need for clarity on the appropriate code choice, patients and practitioners make use of the Exploratory choice maxim by moving from one language to another to determine which code will be appropriate for their communicative needs.

English is the High 'H' code at the hospital at Anum Asamankese because it is used officially as the technical medium of communication at the hospital. Twi which is largely in the community was shown as the 'Low' code in this domain. The use of Twi in this domain is because of its relevance to both health personnel and patients.

3.3.4 Language use at the Office

This section discusses language use at workplaces in the Anum community. Language use for official functions in this section includes the banking hall and the educational sector. Other official domains of language use by some workers (teachers, health workers) have been discussed in sections (3.3.2, 3.3.3) respectively. For the unofficial use of language at Anum, respondents interviewed included drivers and farmers as traders have been discussed under section (3.3.5). Respondents were given notices in advance for their participation in the interviews. Interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. See below *table 6* for language use for official and unofficial purposes at the office and by drivers and farmers.

Table 6 language use at the office, and by drivers and farmers

language use at the workplace					
	Gua	Twi	Gua & Twi	English	Twi & English
Official functions	-	-	-	37	3
Unofficial functions	5	8	7	4	16
Drivers	-	3	4	-	1
Farmers	6	1	3	-	-

A critical look at the table shows that English is the language mostly used in the office for official functions. However, some respondents use Gua only, English and Twi, and a combination of these languages for unofficial functions in the office and sometimes with friends.

Language use for respondents who were drivers revealed that, they use Gua and Twi in their line of work with passengers. They explained that the multilingual nature of the community influences their choice of language. However, respondents who were farmers used Gua largely on their farms. They explained that, hired hands who assist them on their farmlands are mostly Gua speakers and so that's the language they use for communication.

English is the unmarked code choice in the workplace for official purposes at the office for civil servants and bankers. Respondents, therefore, work with the status quo of ethics at their place of work. Nevertheless, they are privy to the language background of their colleagues and can use that for communication. In some instances, where there is the need for clarity of intent, the exploratory choice is explored. Making use of the exploratory choice is intended to favour the participants in the discourse.

Gua is the unmarked code on the farm among farmers and hired hands. Thus, the use of Gua in this domain is expected and the use of Twi and or English will be marked (unexpected). However, the use of Gua only, Gua and Twi fall under the exploratory choice maxim for drivers with passengers at Anum. In the event of uncertainty, respondents resort to the choice that best suits their needs in that domain.

Twi is considered as the Low 'L' code as compared to English as the language with a greater number of speakers. English is High under the language policy in Ghana, so even if few people use it in a particular domain, it is still High. This affirms the assertion by Batibo (2005) that, Twi is not only demographically superior but also economically prestigious. Gua, which is considered a minority language given the triglossic structure is the reserve for some farmers in the

community. This presents a functional leakage in considering Gua to occupy the third level in the triglossic structure.

3.3.5 Language use at the Market

This table presents language use at the market in Anum Asamankese. The market is close to the Asamanketewa community. In an interview, Nana Kojo (pseudonym) narrates that the patronage of goods and services at the market has seen a decline in favour of the larger market at Asamankese on Mondays and Thursdays. Traders and farmers from the community and other adjoining communities come and sell their goods at the market. The table below presents language use at the Anum Asamankese Market.

Table 7 Language use at the Market

Language use at the Market				
	Gua	Twi	Gua & Twi	Twi & English
Among traders	2	5	4	1
Traders and Buyers	16	27	32	5

The data indicates that 5(41.7%) traders reported using Twi, which is the frequently used code in this domain. Gua and Twi 4(33%) depicted significant figures and was an indication of language alternation. English had the lowest usage of 1 (8.3%) in the Market, which shows that it is scarcely used in that domain. However, thirty-two (32) respondents used Gua and Twi with traders in the market and the community. This is an indication of the economic importance attached to various languages in the linguistic repertoire of respondents in the speech community. The choice of a language in the market is aimed at boosting bargaining power since group identity plays a major role in the market (Agyakwa 2018).

A critical look at the data shows Gua as the unmarked code at the market. Thus, Twi is frequently used in the market domain and plays economic importance in the community. Additionally, the data reveals that the use of English in the market will necessitate the need to explore the RO sets for the communicative event to suit the particular purpose. In other instances where the interlocutors are not so clear, they switch between codes until they agree on one which will help them achieve their communicative needs.

Looking at the data, Twi and Gua is the most frequently used language in the market. Twi which occupies the middle as the 'H' code and the language of wider communication, is frequently used in this domain. The data further indicates the presence of Gua as the 'L' code in the market.

3.4 Comparison of Domains of language use

A relative comparison of tables on domains of language use depicts the patterns of language use at Anum Asamankese. Gua dominates as the language used in the homes of native speakers, looking at the numbers recorded for language use at home (*See section 3.3.1*). This buttresses the assertion by Fishman (1991) that, the home remains a stronghold for the maintenance of minority languages. The choice of language in the home is influenced by the participants and the function of the discourse in an environment. A father will speak to the daughter to run errands in the house with Gua. However, the language choice for television discussion will differ based on the topic under discussion. This affirms the assertion by Swee (2017) that topic is an important role in language use.

However, the majority of the respondents assert that they use Gua with their parents at home. Nonetheless, language use with friends and siblings has seen a reduction in Gua in favour of Twi. This supports the point that the youth between the ages of 8-20 and 21-40 find Twi to be prestigious and innovative while the aged are conservatives (see table 3). Besides, the choice to use Twi gives them a wider audience of friends who are not native speakers of Gua due to education.

On another note, the language policy which favours the use of English and Twi may have influenced the language choices of the youth. This can be attributed to the

Language policy of Ghana which stipulates the use of a mother tongue in the primary levels of education. The distribution of Gaa teachers in the schools was minimal as compared to Akan. Because of this, few teachers were considered to be bilingual in Akan and English. Some teachers adopt the bilingual strategy in teaching through code-switching. According to Mr. Atakora (*pseudonym*), a primary 4 teacher, the choice of code is determined by the objective he wants to achieve at the end of each lesson. Accordingly, responses given by students are linked to their ability to comprehend and freely express themselves in their recognized language of choice.

The teacher's choice of English in a classroom situation becomes the unmarked choice of language. The unmarked choice is what is expected to be used in a typical educational situation and Johnson (1975), refers to this as a 'situational rule', where the situation determines the choice of language. In such a domain, language choice is prescribed and so there is strict adherence to the language policy of education. The usage of English and Twi by students in the classroom is said to be unmarked since they were expected codes. The language choice of the student would have been considered to be marked should they have used Gaa. Ansah (2014: 48) asserts that this pattern of language use in education is not different from what happens in some multilingual communities in Africa. Teachers and learners make use of their linguistic ability and resources (Ncoko et al. 2000) to control their conversations. He further added that, this is done according to their content, and circumstances

which are not different from the observed trend in the Anum Asamankese classroom.

The outcome of responses from the office witnessed almost the same outcomes as that of the school, as there were varieties of languages recorded for official and unofficial functions. The pattern of language use at the workplace is such that even though respondents were capable of using varieties of languages, they use English with their colleagues in the office. The unmarked code at the workplace (office) is English for official purposes which makes them multilingual at some point. Twi then becomes the unmarked code for unofficial functions and it can be used among friends in the office. The usage of any other language apart from English and Twi makes the language choice marked.

Similarly, patterns of language use at the Anum hospital recorded high figures in favour of Twi followed by English and Twi. Members of the Anum community would make use of Twi before exploring the RO sets in their choice of language at the Hospital. This is because the services offered to the community by the facility are not for Gaa speakers alone. Twi, which is largely used in the Asamankese is likely to be used at the expense of English and other linguistic minorities. This was the same for language use at the market which shows the economic importance attached to the use of Gaa in the community. It is worth noting

that, Nkunim FM. which is a popular radio station in the town, holds the majority of its program in Twi and just a handful in English.

3.5 Motivations for Language choice

This section is a discussion on factors that affect language use amongst respondents at Anum Asamankese. The family influences the language ability, the first language (L1) and language use of the respondents. The problem respondents share is the inability to read and write Gua, due to the lack of standard orthography (*see section 4.2.3*). An observation from interviews revealed that, respondents have motivations for the choice of a code in a particular domain of language use.

3.5.1 Language ability

Respondents in this study had the opportunity to use Gua, Twi and English in answering unstructured interview questions. Respondents chose the language they were comfortable answering research questions with. 64 (80%) out of 80 respondents answered interview questions in Twi, even though they could speak Gua. This high number of preferences for Twi has negative implications for the future of Gua. Respondents were more comfortable expressing their thoughts confidently in Twi than in English and Gua. Few (3) respondents chose to answer the questions in Gua because it was their mother tongue. Gua offers family solidarity and ethnic emotional attachment and respondents would love to use it always. This

showed that ones' language ability contributes as a factor that results in their language choice and language use.

3.5.2 Language use in a social environment

Language may play several roles in a multilingual setting in a community. According to Swee (2017), the use of language by respondents is closely related to the language used in a social environment as a common communication language: a language for science and technology, a language for social media, a language of books and so more. Thus, the environment presents possible domains for language use for respondents in the Anum community.

Respondents prefer to use Gua in their homes and the community for conversations. This is because Gua is the frequently used language in the community which brings communal acceptance. Even though Twi and other languages like English are present in the community, their preference for Gua in the community and the home is very high. From the interviews, the respondents hope that Gua would have a standardized orthography with official recognition over time. The respondents also supposed that Gua needs to be taught and learnt by children and the youth in the community.



3.5.3 Language use and personal background

The language that respondents use shows information about their background, education, vocation, age, gender, geographical location, belief system and other personal characteristics (Swee 2017). Crystal (2003) shares a similar assertion that a language can be used to express the identity of the language user e.g. personal, social, and political. Most respondents in the community acknowledge themselves as Gua speakers with a common Guan ancestry.

The respondents' background such as their family members' language is linked to their choice of language in some domains of language use. Respondents in this study mostly have Gua as their mother tongue and had a positive attitude toward the language which they would love to learn. This shows the pride and loyalty speakers have towards the language even though they do not use it in some domains. Those from mixed marriages prefer the frequent use of Twi and or English as a lingua franca. Respondents who are 41 years and above frequently use their own ethnic language Gua, mostly in the family domain, and especially when they are communicating with their grandparents and elderly relatives.

I can say that personal background is closely related to the language use of an individual, especially the language of the family. This also buttresses the findings of Scheffler et al. (2016) that, “the learners' language background is one of the factors that may influence the amount and functions of own language use.

3.6 Functional allocation of Gua at Anum Asamankese

This section discusses the functional allocation of Gua at Anum Asamankese looking at the data presented in section 3.3 of this chapter. The roles assigned to the languages in the community show their functions in each communicative context.

The data gathered on the domains of language use reveals that there is the functional use of English in school, in the bank and by some civil servants at the office. The use of English in some domains of language use like the home and informal domains was less significant. Twi was largely functional in the hospital (see section 3.3) and the market (see 3.3.5) domains, and is the language used for P. T. A meeting for wider communication. Gua is functional in the home as the ‘L’ code and is largely used by farmers and adults. The home is a reserve for Gua and an advocate for its transfer and preservation in the community.

3.7 Summary of Chapter

Data on biodata, language proficiency, linguistic repertoire, domains of language use and the triglossic structure of Anum Asamankese were examined. The data revealed the language proficiency of respondents as being at least bilingual in Gua and Twi. The language distribution showed the existence of other linguistic minority groups in the community. The data also showed the existence of English in the linguistic repertoire of respondents as the official language used in educational and

office domains. Twi remained the language of wider communication in the market and the hospital; whereas Gua was the language of the home and used in primary domains.

English is the unmarked code choice for official and educational domains as a result of the official language policy of the country. The marked code choice is used at the market and the hospital. The exploratory choice is used in cases where there is the need to establish RO sets in the discourse. However, an observation revealed the use of the Virtuosity maxim at P.T.A meetings in the school domain.

Language use at Anum Asamankese showed that, English is the official language of Ghana and is assigned official roles making it the High code as compared to Gua and Twi in formal domains. The data revealed that English is used for official functions in the office and is used among office colleagues. This makes English the 'H' (High) code which occupies the top of the model as compared to Twi and Gua. The same can be said of the pattern of language use in Education which indicated strict adherence to the language policy of Education. The prestige attached to English makes it a high code in education over the other languages existent in the community.

Comparably, Twi occupies the second structure as the language of wider communication in the market and the Hospital due to the economic importance attached to it. Twi is a High code to Gua (minority language), but when compared

to English it becomes a low 'L' code. This is because the usage of Gua has been restricted to primary domains like the home as compared to Twi (*see section 3.3.1*).

Twi occupies the middle as the language of wider communication in the community, market, and hospital. Twi becomes a High code when compared with Gua. Gua is then confined to the home and intragroup activities thereby making it a minority language confined to primary domains as compared to Twi.



CHAPTER FOUR

THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF GUA AT ANUM ASAMANKESE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses research objective three (to determine the vitality of Anum at both the institutional and individual levels by presenting the Ethnolinguistic vitality of Gua in a multilingual community like Anum Asamankese. The chapter looks at the vitality of Gua in the light of the data to depict its distribution of speakers, status, language attitude of speakers, institutional support, and response to social media domains.

4.2 Ethnolinguistic variables.

The vitality of a language is those factors that enable a group to survive and behave as a distinct group in a particular location (*see also section 2.4*). Variables that will be used in assessing the vitality of Gua include; the demographic position of speakers, population and distribution of speakers, the status of Gua, Attitude of speakers towards Gua, community members' attitude, intergenerational transfer of Gua, the response of Gua to new domains, the economic capital of Gua and institutional support and policies.

4.2.1 The demographic position of Gua Speakers

The demography of a speech community, according to Landweer (2000), is the first thing to consider when assessing the vitality of a language. The vitality of a language is affected greatly by its number of speakers whether in an urban or remote location. Gua speakers in the community are exposed to other languages like Ga, Ewe, Dangme, Kasem and Twi. The Anum, which is a hill community is bordered by Asamanketewa on the south and Bungalow to the east. The bungalow is considered a residence for the elite and top government officials in Asamankese. This has made English the dominant language as the home language for residents in Bungalow. Mr. Addo (personal communication), (who is a kingmaker, a native Anum speaker and a resident at Anum since infancy) in an interview affirmed that some residents accorded children from these Bungalows respect based on their ability to use the English language. Given this, most children in the neighbouring communities saw the ability to use English as prestigious as compared to other Ghanaian languages.

Mr. Addo (pseudonym) in an interview said that the number of Gua speakers in Anum Asamankese keeps dwindling. He further added that, one thing that has contributed to the decline in the population of residents at Anum is immigration looking at the current population of the town over time. He made this assertion owing to the claims made by Asihene (2010), in his publication on the 143 early settlers of Gua speakers who settled at Anum Asamankese. The Anum community has attracted more inhabitants as a result of its fertile lands, inter-marriages and

educational institutions. The rate of endogamy is very low in the community, giving rise to the presence of inter-ethnic marriages (exogamy). Responses from respondents showed the presence of inter-marriage between Gua speakers and other ethnic groupings like Ewe, Ga, Akan, Kasem, Krobo, and Dangme.

4.2.2 Population and distribution of Gua speakers

One of the most cited factors to determine the vitality of a language is the number of speakers of that language (Landweer 2000). The linguistic representation in some domains of language use is essential to this study to help assess the vitality of Gua. The entire population of Asamankese according to the 2010 population census is 108,298 but that of Gua speakers is not precisely known. Administratively, the Anum community is considered to be part of Asamankese and this affects the proper documentation of the speakers of Gua (Anum) inhabitants (but Asihene (2010) reports of 143 settlers).

Out of 14 teachers at Asamankese Anum Presbyterian Primary 'A' & 'B' schools, Gua recorded 2, Twi 7, Ewe 2, Dangme 1, Fante 1, and Kasem 1 in the educational domain. The data revealed that Gua is not fairly represented in this school and as such, there is a limit to the usage of Gua among staff members. Mrs. Sakyibea (pseudonym) narrated in an interview that, she uses Gua with her colleague Gua

speaker scarcely since the language policy in education will not permit the usage of the language.

Example 1

“You already know that the language we use in school would not permit us to use Gua in school even though it’s the native language in the community here. I speak Gua with the class 2 teacher because she can also speak the language.

Apart from that, it’s either I use English or Twi”.

She further added that she uses Gua with monolingual parents when the need arises for her to do so. This largely depends on the code they choose to address her with.

Further observation at Asamankese Anum M/A JHS revealed that 1 out of 5 students speaks Gua. Data gathered from interviews showed that one-third of students who speak Gua were from adjoining towns like Brekumanso, Adiembra, Kyekyewere, and Amoanda. An observation on 9th February 2020, during an emergency P.T.A meeting revealed that, even though English is the official language, Twi dominated the discourse.

The Headmistress said on record that, Twi, which is the code of wider communication, is used during meetings to enable parents to express themselves very well. She further added that, in some instances, if there is the need for speakers

who have been permitted by the chairman to speak to code mix or switch, they can do so for clarity. Findings from interviews further revealed that only one teacher at Anum Presbyterian Junior High was a native Gua speaker. Speaking to her on the usage and distribution of the language, she opined that, she does not use Gua in school with her colleagues since no one could speak the language. But she does that occasionally with students who can speak the language.

Additionally, 2 out of the 10 workers interviewed at the hospital could speak Gua. The Health officer in charge asserts that Gua speakers are not fairly represented at the Hospital. Postings of Health personnel to the facility are not necessarily on the grounds of the ability to speak and use Gua. Varied languages are represented with Twi speakers dominating the number of speakers at the facility. Consultation with patients at the facility is mostly done in Twi, and in some cases a combination of English and Twi. The Anum Hospital is located 4 kilometres away from Asamankese Anum and is open to all patients. The officer in charge added that the inhabitants at Roman down where the Hospital is situated, largely use Twi.

Aunty Attaa (pseudonym) also added that there is no definite number of speakers of Gua at the Anum market. There is a decline in the speakers of Gua at the Anum market; the decline in the number of speakers is attributed to the movement of some traders to the bigger market at Asamankese because of its size and the ready market it offers in terms of patronage.

4.2.3 Status of Gua

Gua is one of the languages which has not been properly documented (Yeboah 2015). There are few scholarly works on Gua and one of such works is Dakubu (1988), which is a description of the language typology. Since Gua is not written, its survival rate is not assured in an environment where Akan is used in wider communication (*see also section 1.4*). It is good for a language that is used in a particular jurisdiction to be used in schools as a medium of instruction other than restricted to specific times termed '*subjects*' (UNESCO 2003). A language is strong when it has both written and oral forms (Bello 2013), and its speakers are empowered to use them. Dwyer (2011:12) consents that, "for a language to be strong, there must be a lot of historical and contemporary language materials". But the assertion made by Dwyer is not the situation of Gua because it is non-operational in the classroom. The Language policy of Education in Ghana does not allow for the use of Gua in educational domains (*see also section 3.3.2*).

The study revealed that Akan is gaining ground in some domains of language use where the usage of Gua is gradually becoming minimal (*see table 3, 4, 5*) even though Twi recorded non-significant figures. Gua is not studied in schools as compared to Akan and its usage is limited in the educational domain. Some teachers employ the use of Gua where the emphasis is made on some peculiar reasons for students who speak Gua. There are no written materials on Gua available in the community. The few existing ones are the ones useful to some members of the

community and others who see the need to preserve that portion of their history. During an interview, Nana Debrah (a kinsman in the community) said that, the only document he is privileged to have is the History of the Guan-speaking peoples of Ghana by Kwasi Ampene (2013). Some existing works on Gua are a typology of Gua (Painter 1967a, 1967b; Dakubu 1988; Yeboah 2013). Looking at the assertion by Dwyer (2011) and UNESCO (2003) that a language with official recognition and proper documentation has a high status, then Gua can be considered a language of poor status in this regard.

4.2.4 Attitude of speakers towards Gua

One thing worth considering in determining the vitality of a language is the attitude of speakers towards that language. Members of a community identify and promote a language that they value as essential to their community (Fishman 1991). When there is a positive attitude towards a language and its tradition, it grows stronger (Bello 2013). The attitude toward language is seen especially when speakers are at least bilingual in their language which makes them behave differently in different contexts of language use. Data were elicited to understand individual native speakers' attitudes towards their language, Gua.

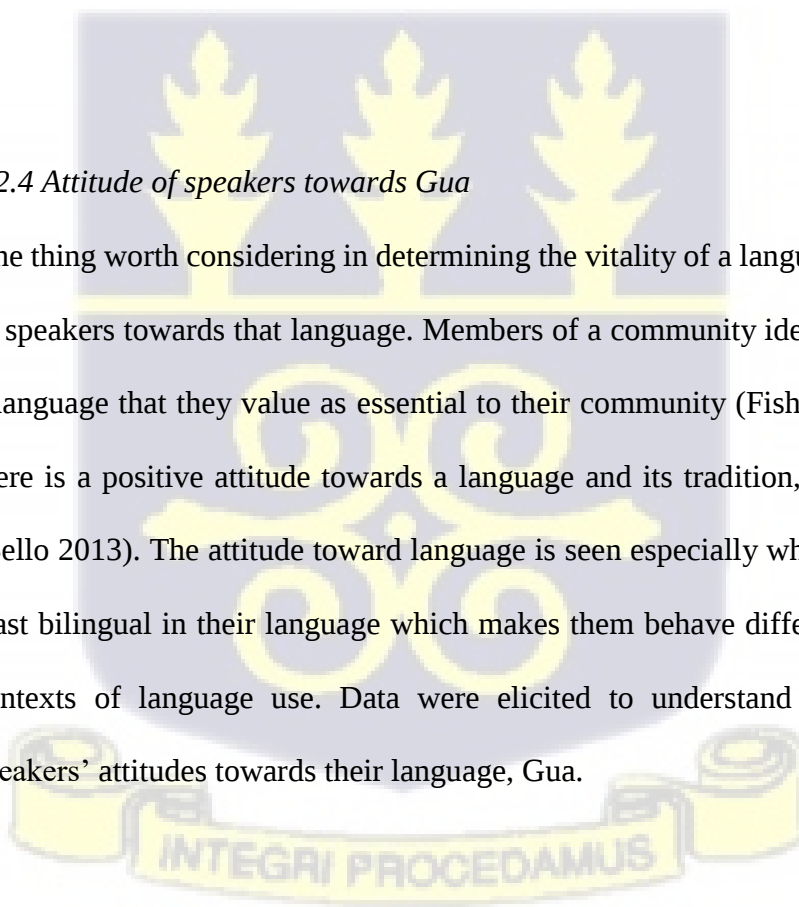


Table 8 Attitude of speakers towards Gua

Statements	Number of speakers
The language I like the most	16
The language that expresses my ethnic identity	28
Support language maintenance and promotion	20
Indifferent on language maintenance.	16

Data from interviews showed that, speakers of Gua use the language in the home and have developed a sense of loyalty to the language. The use of Gua is linked to the home, family, and tradition which fosters identity in a social group. The family remains an advocate for the preservation and maintenance of Gua which they consider prestigious. 20 out of 80 respondents support the maintenance and promotion of the language which indicates a strong and positive attitude towards the language. The study showed that some respondents liked to keep their ethnic language since they do not want to lose it in the future. Below are a few extracts from semi-structured interviews by respondents.

Example 2

Respondent A Parents of Anum should speak the language more with their children

Respondents B We have to learn the language and speak it with the younger ones.

Respondents C Government should help us develop the language so that we can learn it in school because it's a nice language.

Respondents D Mothers should speak the language more with children.

There is a gap in the knowledge of the language beyond their ability to use the language. Given this, they are not sure of the modalities to put in place to retain the language even though not all could speak the language well but scarcely use it.

The language attitude of community members towards their language may stem from the perception they have towards the language and the functional value they attach to the language (Bello 2013). This is reflected in the attitude they have towards the languages they speak especially when they are highly multilingual. The

attitudes towards each language will be determined by other factors in the discourse setting. When community members see language as an embodiment of their origin and culture, they identify and promote the language.

Data gathered through interviews disclosed that, Gaa speakers have a sense of community spirit towards the use of the language (*see table 4*). Most members wish to see Gaa promoted, this is an indication of the value they attach to the language. An observation revealed that, the younger generation, however, showed a lack of concern about the maintenance of the language. Given this, the older generation is positive about the language and encourages its use among the younger generation. This shows that, the family undoubtedly remains a stronger force through which the community keeps the language by transmitting it to the younger ones. The identity of the Anum community is kept by the ability of speakers to use the language where necessary indicating a positive attitude towards the language.

4.2.5 Intergenerational transfer of Gaa

For a language to be stronger, there should be an uninterrupted flow in its transmission from the older to the younger generation (Bello 2013). The transfer of language is very crucial to the survival of the language in the Anum community. Data from interviews on language use revealed that, the use of Gaa in the home is facing encroachment by Akan even though it recorded low figures (*see table 3*). For instance, Nana Debrah speaks Gaa with his wife in the home at all times but

alternates between Gua and Akan with his children. He asserts his choice of language depends on the topic of discourse. His two children reply to him using either Twi or Gua because their preference is based on their ability to express themselves well. This was revealed in the way respondents who were teenagers chose to answer questions in an interview using Twi. This is an indication that the survival of the language which depends on the younger generation is not assured (Batibo 2005) and this is true for Gua in this context.

Some parents interviewed, consider the proficiency of English vital to that of Gua. They would love their wards to exhibit mastery in English to that of Gua and so introduce it to them in their formative years. An extract from an interview is presented below;

Example 3.

‘Woahu sɛ seesei obiara pɛ sɛ ne ba ka brofo efirise brofo kɔ akyire sen Anum kasa no. enti me ba no sua brofo no a, megyedi sɛ ebeboa no paa.’

Have you observed that everyone wants his/her child to speak English

more than Gua because English is gaining ground worldwide. I believe that When my child learns it, it would help him/her.

Children between the ages of 8 and 20 use Gua limitedly in the home with the family but prefer to use Akan with their peers in the community. Agya Addo (personal

communication) said that, he alternates between Gua and Akan most at times in the context of language use in some domains like the community and the market. However, they prefer the use of English in formal domains and would like to attain higher proficiency in the use of English.

4.2.6 Response of Gua to new domains

The rapid expansion of the world and new trends in the usage of language give rise to the use of language in new domains. Social media has evolved over the years as a vibrant communication tool due to its social value. This has called for dynamism in language use in that domain. A language may be able to expand the scope of its use in these new domains because of its social and economic value (Bello 2013). The vitality of a language is enhanced when the language is used in new domains which are vital in the acquisition of knowledge and its spread. A language also expands when it is used on the internet, electronic media (radio and television), and print media.

Gua which is a minority language is not used on both the internet and electronic media. *Nkunim* radio, a local radio station in Asamankese, does not host any program in Gua but Akan and English. Eighty(80) percent of Talk shows, advertisements, news, and announcements from the FM station are carried out in Akan. Hosts of the various programs give their guests the option to code mix Twi and English if they are not proficient in Twi. A local information center at Anum

Asamankese which one would think should use Gua only in the dissemination of information uses Twi and sometimes Gua. The interviewee added that adverts presented to them by herbal drug sellers are recorded tapes, which they play for them. The tapes are recorded in Twi which makes them have no control over the choice of language. The people in the community have not lodged an official complaint so they see no problem with the choice of language.

The study revealed that the majority of the youth use English on the internet and on social media in their communication with others with the presence of other Ghanaian languages. There is no print media in Gua in the community and the country and the same can be said of even codified languages like Akan, Ga, Nzema and several others in Ghana.

Besides, the respondents equate speaking English to high status and they consider it to be powerful because it can be considered an international language connecting people all over the world. Writing in English is easy as compared to other Ghanaian languages, looking at its popularity on websites and electronic platforms across the globe. Besides, English is technically the official language and the language of education. They further added that proficiency in English creates accessibility to jobs and many online courses and schools.

4.2.7 Economic capital of Gua

Donavan (2016:1) asserts that “the ability to use more than one language in business potentially opens up opportunities for roles in global business”. Multilinguals make use of their language ability to negotiate to their advantage when doing business. People do this for some reason of which Bello (2013) asserts that this happens as a result of the economic advantage people attach to their language. This helps people to relate better and make negotiations successful.

Market days in Anum create an avenue for sellers and buyers to demonstrate their linguistic skills. Sellers display their wares in their peculiar way based on the commodities they sell. Farmers bring their produce to the market to sell to buyers in both retail and wholesale quantities. The study revealed that 4 out of the 6 traders interviewed, drew the attention of customers to their products using Twi and 2 others using both Twi and Anum (*see section 3.3.5*). Data from the interviews disclosed that traders often preferred using Twi to reach out to their customers as compared to Gua. In instances where they realized their buyers can speak Gua, they switch to Gua to make communication easy. Even though Speakers of Gua are not many compared to other language speakers, they speak Gua to people who they already know are inhabitants of the community. They do this to foster the strong interpersonal relationships on which business is built.

In an observation on the vitality of the use of Gua, some respondents opined that, they alternate between language choices to gain an added advantage when doing business. They are attracted sometimes to sellers based on the linguistic choices made by some of these traders. One respondent who was a shopkeeper at the market asserts that, she considers the use of Gua vital to her business. Below is an extract from a shopkeeper on language use;

Example 3.

Esiane sɛ ha kasa a wotae ka	Gua is the language in this
ne Anum nti no, ɛnoara na mene	community so that is what
me customers no ka.	I normally use with my
	customers.

And the reason for her assertion was motivated by her popularity and language skills, which enables her to reach out to more customers in Gua, Twi and English.

4.2.9 Institutional support and policies

A language grows stronger with institutional support and well-structured language policies. The presence of Government policies that promote the use of minority languages in regional or administrative domains helps the language grow and preserve the language from extinction. However, the use of many languages in a bid to foster unity in a country may not auger well for the survival of minority languages

(Bello 2013). Minority languages suffer in the language policies of a country, and such can be said of Gua. There is no official language policy protecting the growth and preservation of a minority language like Gua.

The language policy of Ghana favours the use of eleven out of forty-six languages as mediums of instruction to be used in schools. The policy stipulates that, the dominant language in a particular area should be used as a medium of instruction and studied as a subject in schools (Owu-Ewie 2006). This makes the government-sponsored languages (Bello 2013) gain official regional status and are used in schools. The ethnolinguistic groups in the country are encouraged to use their language in private domains like the home, and religious gatherings by the government.

The situation of Gua in the Anum community is that Gua enjoys dominance and reputation in the home and religious functions. English and Twi are predominantly used in public domains like the school and for official functions. The unavailability of a clearly defined policy to protect a minority language like Gua, which is facing encroachment by English and Twi, therefore, poses a threat of language shift in the community.



4.3 Summary of Chapter

It was found out that, Anum Asamankese is a highly multilingual community where inhabitants are at least bilingual in Anum and other languages, these are Twi, English, Gua. The data gathered from interviews revealed that the use of Gua is vital in the home with a strong sense of loyalty to the language.

The data revealed that speakers of Gua have a positive attitude towards the use of their language based on their linguistic ability and personal background. Elements such as pride and loyalty are factors that motivated Gua speakers to use the language. Gua speakers pride themselves on their ability to use the language and identify with the community.

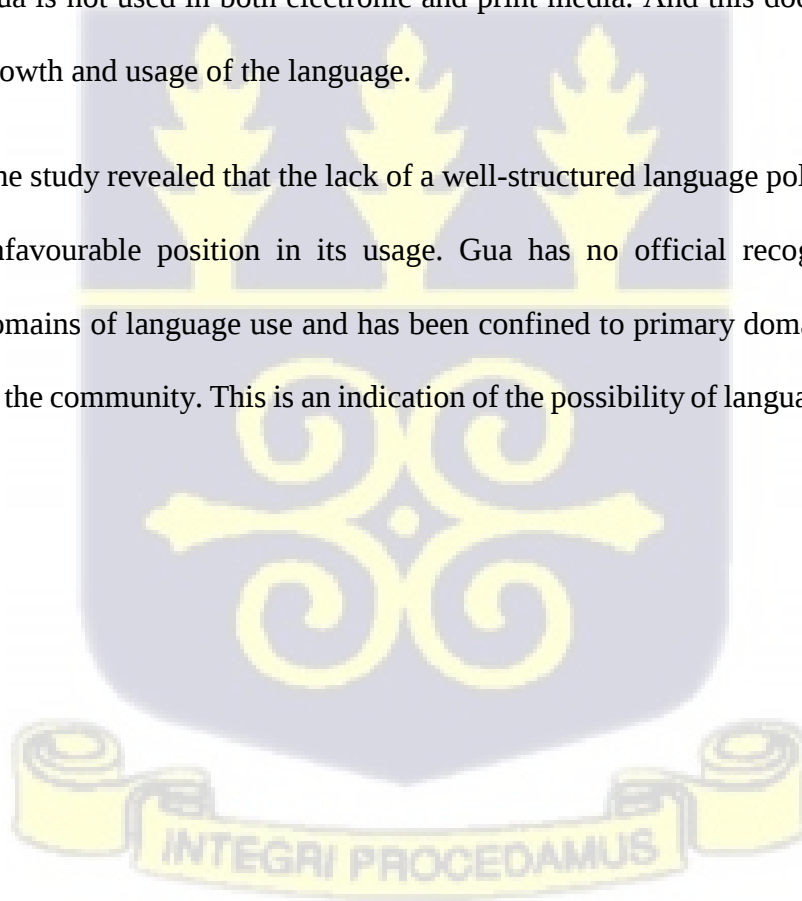
The study further revealed that there is no accurate documentation on the actual speakers of Gua. Gua speakers are not fairly represented across some domains of language use (hospital and office domain) but are highly distributed in the home and community. On the status of Gua, the study revealed that Gua is not an official language and has not been properly documented. There is no Government policy favouring the use of minority languages like Gua in some domains of language use as the school and the office for official functions. English has the highest dominance in the hospital and educational domains.

The transfer of Gua from the older to the younger generation in the home has been positive among parents and their wards. The teens in the community prefer the use

of Gua in the home but alternate the use of English and Twi in the community and at school with their peers. They attach prestige to proficiency and competence in the use of English.

The study revealed that the respondents in the community prefer to use English in social media domains. They assert that it is the language they can conveniently express themselves in very well. Given this, they liked the use of English and preferred to learn and explore its use. The findings from the interview unveiled that, Gua is not used in both electronic and print media. And this does not promote the growth and usage of the language.

The study revealed that the lack of a well-structured language policy puts Gua in an unfavourable position in its usage. Gua has no official recognition in official domains of language use and has been confined to primary domains like the home in the community. This is an indication of the possibility of language shift with time.



CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This study investigated negotiating multilingualism at Anum Asamankese. Findings from this study are based on responses gathered from 80 respondents who are mostly speakers of Gua, from the Anum Asamankese community. The responses were gathered through semi-structured and non-participant observation. The interview questions were formulated purposely to understand the linguistic repertoire of these respondents, the nature of their linguistic choices and the motivations thereof. This is a microcosm of the bigger Anum community in Asamankese. The study, therefore, helped gain some understanding of the bigger picture of language roles among Anum speakers in Asamankese. The research focused on establishing code choices and the motivations thereof in formal domains such as the hospital, schools and informal domains such as home, the Asamankese community (on the streets), drivers, farmers and the market.

This study also examined the linguistic vitality of Gua as spoken in Anum Asamankese by looking at the following; status of the language, demographic position of speakers, attitude of speakers, the absolute number of speakers, and response to new media and institutional support and policies.

In addressing my objectives, two sociolinguistic models, the Markedness model (Myers-Scotton 1993) and the triglossic structure model (Batibo 2005), were employed to understand language choices and use among respondents in the selected domains.

This chapter concludes the study by first, giving a summary of the preceding chapters. It also presents the key findings from the study and recommendations for future research.

5.1 Summary of the Study

The summary of the various chapters is presented in this section of the thesis.

Chapter one presented a general overview of the thesis by presenting the linguistic situation of Anum Asamankese. The chapter spelt out the objectives that necessitated the current study and questions guiding the study. The research questions of the study were further outlined, along with the significance and organization of the various chapters in the thesis.

In Chapter Two, I reviewed works and literature relevant to the study, by looking at Multilingualism, language choice, factors that affect language choice and shift and language vitality. I further explained the triglossic structure model by Batibo (2005) and the Markedness model by Myers-Scotton (1993&1998) in this

chapter. The Markedness model looks at socio-pragmatic reasons that influence the language choice of individuals in a speech community, while the triglossic structure model investigates the binary relationship between codes. And this is done according to their functional allocation as High (H) and Low (L). On methodology, it was noted that qualitative research design motivated the collection of data for this study through semi-structured interviews and non-participant observations. Samples were drawn using purposive and availability sampling techniques.

Chapter three focused on language use and factors that motivated language choice at Anum Asamankese, like personal background, community and group solidarity. Language use in the community was discussed using the Markedness model and triglossic structure. The chapter finally looked at the functional allocation of Gua in some domains in the community like the school, market, Hospital, and the Home.

In Chapter Four, I discussed the linguistic vitality of Gua at Anum Asamankese. Some factors which determined linguistic vitality like the demographic position of speakers, population and distribution of Gua speakers, the status of Gua, attitude of Gua speakers, intergenerational transfer of Gua, and the response of Gua to new domains, the economic capital of Gua, and institutional support and policies.

I indicated some key findings in the subsequent sections as follows.

5.2 Summary of Key findings

In addressing the research question (what is the linguistic repertoire of native Gua speakers at Anum Asaankese?), the study revealed that most of the respondents had Gua as their mother tongue and could speak Akan and or other languages like English, Ewe and others.

In response to research question 2 (What is the functional allocation of language in the Linguistic repertoire?), the study revealed that English is largely used in the school and office domains for official purposes even though there is the presence of Twi in unofficial discourse. The economic importance attached to Gua makes it significant in the market, and for transacting business. Even though it recorded insignificant figures on its usage. Also, the home remains an avenue for the transfer of Gua in the community with Twi largely used at the Hospital for wider communication, and clarifications. In the Batibo(2005) triglossic model, the functional allocation of language is presented as, English as High, Twi as High/Low and Gua as Low code in Anum Asamankese.

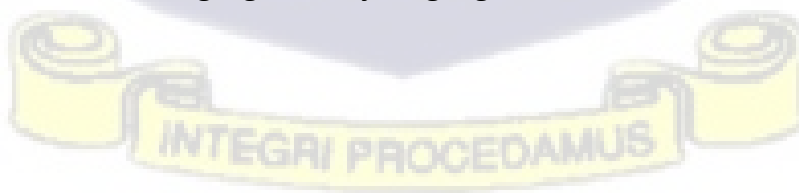
The study observed that speakers switched from one language to the other based on socio-pragmatic reasons namely; domains, language ability, and social environment. This accounted for the choices of language which were marked/unmarked in relation to the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton 1993

&1998). Reasons for the choice of marked code among respondents are the domain of language use, interlocutors, and the function of the language in the discourse.

The motivations for the choice of code in the community could be traced to their background, language ability, and group solidarity.

It was also revealed in the study that, the Home remains a key domain where the transfer of Gua from the older to the younger generation takes place. This shows the attachment of some inhabitants to their ethnic language and identity creation. This is one of the factors which affects the language choices they make in some domains of language use.

In response to research question 3 (What is the vitality of Gua at both institutional and individual levels in the speech community?), it was noted that Gua has no official recognition and no institutional support and policies. This is not an encouragement to learn and use the language. Also, Gua is not fairly represented in some domains like the hospital. Additionally, the response of Gua to new domains like social and print media is non-existent. However, the attitude of speakers towards the language is positive and the older generation is non-conservative in the transfer of the language to the younger generation.



5.3 Contribution to Knowledge

Gua has not received much attention in scholarly works (see section 1.4) on language use and vitality. This study provides evidence on issues on language use, functional allocation and vitality of the language in some domains. For instance, the study revealed that the domain of language use influences the linguistic choices of speakers of Anum Asamankese in communication. English is largely used in domains like educational and office domains as an official language. Choice of codes is negotiated in the market domain due to the economic importance attached to language and the contact between people of different linguistic backgrounds. And then, Twi is preferably used in the out-patient department in the Hospital where codes are alternated between English and Akan for discussion on technical issues among health personnel. Meanwhile, Gua is used in the home and for intra-group discussions among members of the community.

Besides, the rate of exogamy is high and this fuels multilingualism in the speech community. Gua is vital in the home and the community and speakers have a positive attitude towards the language. However, this study has shown that Gua which enjoys dominance in the home and for intra-group discussions is gradually facing encroachment by Twi. This is likely to cause a possible shift in language in the future should this continue for some time.

These findings suggest that Gua is under threat in some domains of language use and therefore needs intervention. This contributes to our knowledge of the state of this understudied language. This will help policymakers and other stakeholders to know the current state of the language and the path on which it is travelling so they can provide the necessary interventions.

5.4 Recommendations

It was shown in this study that, speakers of Gua make code choices in their everyday interactions. This shows that they are exposed to other languages other than their native language. Given this, similar studies can be done to ascertain the influence of Twi and other languages on Gua. Then, similar works can be done to determine how respondents code-switch in their interactions to know the extent of the influences from other languages.

Additionally, studies on other minority languages can be done to understand the behaviour of speakers of minority languages in multilingual settings. This will help detect threats of possible language extinction of minority languages.

Finally, F.M stations can serve as ambassadors for the propagation and preservation of minority languages in the country. There should be sensitization on language literacy to encourage speakers of linguistic minorities. This will encourage speakers to use the language, and see the need to preserve it.

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APPENDIX I

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

LEGON, ACCRA.

This interview is to investigate “Negotiating Multilingualism at Anum, Asamankese”. The confidentiality of information given is assured as data is purely for academic purpose. However, the viability of the study depends largely on the response to be given.

1. Name (Optional)
2. Age. [10-20] [21-40] [41-60] [61-70] [71-....]
3. Place of birth.
4. How long have you lived in this town?
5. Are both parents from Anum Asamankese?
6. How many languages do you speak?
7. What is your level of education?
8. What language do you use to communicate at home with;
 - a. Parents
 - b. siblings
 - c. friends
9. Are there any occasions when it is mandatory to use the Anum language?
10. Do you prefer the use of Gaa to other languages in your daily activities?

SECTION II (For students)

11. What language do you use with...
 - a. friends in school?
 - b. Teachers in School?
12. c In school how do teachers explain a difficult point for you to understand?

(for Teachers)

13. What language do you use with the following people?
 - a. friends in school
 - b. students in school

SECTION II

14. What language do you frequently use at the following places?
 - a. Hospital
 - b. Market/ Traders
 - c. Community
 - d. Office (official and unofficial duties)
15. How is your purpose for selecting your languages in the above domains achieved?
16. Are there any books or manuals written such as dictionary in Gua that you know of?
17. What is the attitude of children towards the Gua language?
18. Are they interested in speaking the Anum language anywhere they go?
19. Do you teach your children/ friends to use the language.?
20. What is the attitude of the local youth of today to the Gua language?

21. In your younger days what did elderly people do to make sure that children learn and speak the Gua language?
22. Do you think one day the Anum language will be extinct due to the current linguistic trends?
23. What do you think should be done to revive the language?

