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DISAMBIGUATING THE DENTALISATION TAG ON PRE-DENTAL /t/ DELETION IN L2 ENGLISH

Amos Mivojour Agboyinu
Oluwasegun Matthew Amoniyan

While the phenomenon is described as /t/ deletion in some linguistic environments, its occurrence before the dental fricatives has been labelled as dentalisation. This suggests that /t/ invariably acquires dental features when it occurs before a dental sound in a cluster. This assumption for pedagogy implies that learners of English are likely to get confused over a dentalised variant of pre-dental /t/ at the phonetic input. To dogmatically retain this description implies that just as the alveolar /n/ is produced as /ɲ/ and /m/ before velar and labial sounds, there should be a dental variant of /t/ before a dental sound in clusters. This work examined the dentalised (/t/) in pre-dentalised contexts. It was found that the L2 speakers deleted pre-dental /t/, thus indicating that /t/ has no dentalised variants but gets deleted in the pre-dental environment. We suggested imposing the term *dentalisation* on pre-dental /t/ should be reviewed in L2 English.

Keywords: Pre-dental /t/, dentalisation, dentalised /t/, pre-dental environment, /t/ deletion

1.0 Introduction

Variations in English sounds have attracted elaborate discussion in the phonological literature from the perspectives of generative phonology and other linguistic theories. Among the linguistic phenomena identified as bases for sound variation and alternation in speech production are the need for articulatory ease, sound distinction, gestural constraints, language contact, phonotactic constraints, morphological modification, and language preference. When Chomsky and Halle (1968) argue that sound change is motivated (primarily) by the innate properties of the human mind and the interaction of these properties with the external world, similarly to this study, Giegerich (1992) suggests that sound change is influenced by phonological and phonetic factors, such as the phonotactics of a language with which certain sounds can be produced. He argues that sound changes are often the result of the gradual modification of sound patterns in response to these factors. Meanwhile, Browman and Goldstein (1989) argue that sound changes are often the result of changes in the coordination of the articulatory gestures that produce speech sounds. Schane (1973) suggests that social and cultural factors, such as prestige and identity, often drive sound change. He argues that people may adopt specific pronunciation strategies or dialects to signal their alignment with a social group or to distinguish themselves from others (Awonusi,

2004; Bybee, 2003; Fromkin et al., 2011). These studies agree that sound change occurs owing to more factors than innatism and phonetics.

Unlike others, scholars (like Anderson, 1975; Anttila, 2002; Ladefoged, 1972 and Pierrehumbert, 1990) agreed on Chomsky's (1980) description of sound variations as phonological rules (p-rules), which account for different sound changes that are triggered by varying factors in different linguistic environments. Examples of such changes include the deletion rule, assimilation rule, liaison rule, reduction rule, degemination rule, and so on (see Agboyinu, 2018; Awonusi, Ademola-Adeoye, 2015, 2018; Chomsky & Halle, 1968). Agboyinu (2018) and Awonusi and Ademola-Adeoye (2018, 2015) argue that assimilation is a complex phonological process that can be influenced by various factors, including articulatory, phonetic, phonological, sociolinguistic factors and speech context (Dziublska-Kolaczyk, 2001). This implies that change of sound sequence in oral speech production is universally accredited in phonological literature in cross-linguistics.

The above studies have established sound change phenomenon cross-linguistically (e.g., /t/ deletion in variant cluster environments remains valid in English). However, little investigation concerns L2 speakers about dental gestures in the /t/ environment. This rare perspective has not received attention in the literature, and it is, therefore, a driving force that necessitates the need to study whether dentalised /t/ ([t̪]) is phonetically present in the speeches of L2 English users. The outcome of this investigation helps to describe segment interactions in the phonological system in the non-native English context.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The assimilation process is described (Pavlík, 2009) as changing speech sounds based on the sound environment. This implies that any sound being assimilated will be produced with the feature it acquires in the environment; examples of this context are nasalization of vowels, such as [vowel] → [+nasal]/__ [+nasal]. It can also be seen in place feature assimilation of the coronal nasal /n/ → [+labial]/__[+labial]. This suggests that /n/ becomes [m] in the environment before any labial sound, such as /b/, /m/, /w/, et cetera; going by this, it can be deduced that the assumption of dentalisation, from the perspectives of assimilation would imply that the coronal fortis /t/, would assume the place feature of dental sounds at the post-dental position. This infers that /t/ occurring before any dental sound would be phonetically realized as [t̪] before the dental articulation. This hypothesis concerns the phonotactics principle of English, which excludes stacking some obstruent sounds in a particular order. Also, considering the gestural motion induced by a catenate pair of the fortis and the dental sounds, it is evident that such a gesture as conscription at the tongue tip immediately following the tongue blade would infringe the manoeuvres permissible in a natural speech event. Birjandi and Salmani-Nodoushan (2005:130) further explain that "...any form of speech that can interfere with breathing is impossible" and query the possibility of stacking a coronal fortis with a coronal dental of which are obstruent sounds that involve strictures at the exterior region of the articulatory tract. One is, therefore, constrained to ask whether the [t̪] is realized with acoustic evidence or is just a mental assumption based on its contiguity with a dental sound. This motivated the need to study whether [t̪] is phonetically present in the speeches of non-native English users. The study does not primarily aim to compare native and non-native English speakers but tests the hypothesis of dentalization in [t̪] environment in phrasal/sentence context in different Englishes.

2.0 Literature review

When viewed from the perspective of gestural phonology, it is plausible to contend that the occurrence of /t/ immediately before a dental sound can instigate articulatory overlap. This is because the two phonemes, being coronal, require articulatory execution at almost the same tongue position in quick succession, which negates the ergonomic articulation principle. Figure 1 below illustrates the position of gestural phonology regarding the multiple activities to which the tongue is subjected in speech production. The labels shown in the coronal axis indicate that tongue tip constriction location (TTCL) is almost symmetrical for both /t/ and /ð/ vs. /θ/; hence, repeating tongue tip constriction degree (TTCD) at the coronal point will muddle the gestural configuration. This justifies the need for /t/ deletion to achieve distinctness in the acoustic release of the two sounds.

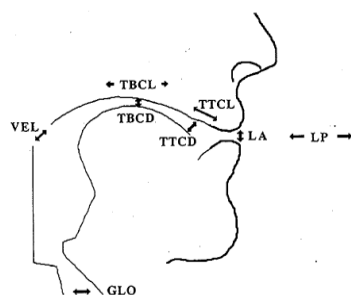


Figure 1: Browman and Goldstein 1989: 96

Looking at Figure 1 (above), it is noticed that Browman and Goldstein (1986) present the motions of the tongue during speech sound production as complex actions in the oral cavity. Besides, the sound being examined in this discourse involves tongue tip constrictions at the same position in the oral cavity. Invariably, the realisation of such double articulation poses challenges to the speaker.

Deletion of the alveolar sounds in a clustering environment is a universally acknowledged linguistic practice (Tammenga et al., 2020; Temple, 2003; Guy, 1980; Raymond et al., 2006; Myers, 2020). The phenomenon of /t/ deletion is described in English phonological literature due to the aerodynamics of consonant clusters (Agboyinu, 2018). It is assumed that /t/ and /d/ are the most liable to deletion in a clustering environment because they are the least sonorous among English sounds. Guy (1980), explicating the various motivations and factors conditioning the deletion of /t/ and /d/ in the English language, identifies, among others, preceding segments, following segments, speech rate, the length of the cluster, articulatory complexity of the cluster, and so forth. Stressing further on this process, Guy 1980:33-34 says:

Another significant aspect of this rule is the universality and uniformity of its force. It applies to a greater or lesser extent to virtually all native speakers of English in almost all social settings. I have noticed its effects in the speech of university professors lecturing their classes and linguists delivering papers before LSA Nixon delivering the State of the Union message to congress....

It is evident from the standpoint highlighted in the quotations above that /t/ deletion is robustly validated by many phonological rule discussions over the years. Thus, describing the

disappearance of the sound in the pre-dental environment as deletion should be discounted, especially if there is no acoustic evidence of its realisation in such an environment.

In almost all instances of assimilation, there is always an acoustic substance that confirms the existence of the affected sound (target) in juxtaposition with the environment (trigger). This truth can be verified from the ordering of rule formalization, which is usually rendered in the order exemplified in the format /n/ becomes /m/ in the environment before a labial sound. This implies that the effect of the influence of the trigger is only evident in the concrete sound, which retains its syntactical position, though with an altered feature. More examples can be found in cases like nasalization of vowels before nasal sounds, homorganic nasal rules altering the alveolar sound to agree in place feature with the following stop sound, etc. Proponents of the dentalisation rule seem to reason that /t/ becomes dentalised before a dental sound, [+alveolar + fortis] → [+ dental]/ -- [+dental]; or /t/ → [t̪]/ ---[ð]. Going by this phonological structure, one would expect that there should be a concrete realisation of the dentalised form before the conditioning dental sound; otherwise, the notion of dentalisation regarding predental /t/ can be better regarded as a mental assumption.

Some available instances cited as dentalisation in phonological discussion present conflicting reports. For instance, Gasser (2020), in an argument that dentalisation occurs when /t/ comes before a dental fricative, illustrates with the phrase *at the top*, claiming that the /t/ in 'at' becomes dentalised as a result of the influence of the following dental sound /ð/ at the word boundary. Gasser (2020) further supports his claims with other examples such as *eighth* and *width*, transcribed respectively as [eɪt̪θ] and [wɪt̪θ]. Similarly, Williamson (2015) claims that the pre-dental /t/ is usually produced by retracting the tongue to the back of the upper incisors and articulating the /t̪/ at the same place as the dental sound it precedes. Williamson also transcribed *eighth* and *width* as [eɪ t̪ʰθ] and [wɪdθ]. Looking at the two obstruent sounds juxtaposed in the identified examples above, one cannot but query the prospect of achieving a complete gestural execution of these clusters without running into an articulatory mess. In another development, Febriyanti (2015, p.18), in his phonological analyses of the song lyrics of *Avenged Sevenfold*, identified predental /t/ as an incidence of elision. This was illustrated with phrases like *it through*, *left the*, which were transcribed as [ɪθru:] and [lefðə], respectively. In this situation, the coronal fortis /t/ disappears before the dental sound is noticeable, thus making the gestural manoeuvres easy to perform. Although its discussions appear to be scarce in the phonological literature, the contradictions inherent in the tenets of dentalisation of pre-dental /t/ and its concomitant gestural dilemma motivated this study with a view of juxtaposing the effect of teaching-learning of English phonology in the second language context.

3.0 Methodology

Ten English sentences with various cluster contexts form the data sample. The choice of words explores alveolar and dental fricatives. The tokens are at the beginning, medial, or final sentence positions. The words include *cut the cake*, *fast thinker*, *lift this*.... The meaning of the words is known to the first and second English users. The participants have varied language backgrounds, and their English proficiencies were not uniform. The participants include a native English (Briton) speaker (35 years) whose production serves as the control, 5 Dutch English Speakers (DESSs), 5 Ghanaian English Speakers (GESs), and 10 Nigerian English Speakers (NESs). The Nigerian speakers have Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba as their first languages. Apart from the native speaker, other speakers have English as a second language. The non-native speakers were university

graduates in Ghana, Nigeria, and Dutch. The Dutch speakers were postgraduate students at Wageningen University. As of the time of data collection, the native speaker was residing in Canada. A text containing twenty simple sentences, each with words or phrases involving clusters with predental /t/, to check whether the predental /t/ would be phonetically realised with acoustic evidence or get deleted before the dental sounds. The data were collected from the participants by reading a text and comparing targeted tokens in different word and syllable positions of phrases and simple sentences. The production of the Native English speaker was labelled as Control's model to provide the benchmark for the indorsed production. Instances where pre-dental /t/ was deleted and participants failed to delete the targeted phonemes were noted. Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2017) was used for sound file processing and acoustic analysis. For the acoustic analysis, intensity (dB) and duration (ms) were manually aligned on Praat to determine the targeted segments. The frequencies of such instances were counted respectively to derive numerical data for descriptive and inferential statistical analysis through IBM SPSS 25. The data obtained through this process were subjected to Chi-Square analyses for the relationship between the variables for a significant difference, and the p-value was set at $\leq .05$.

4.1 Statistical Data Analysis

The clustering units extracted from the semi-spontaneous utterance obtained from each group of participants were juxtaposed with the production of a native speaker, tagged Control's Model (CM), to verify the viability of dentalisation or deletion of the pre-dental /t/ and appraise the non-native speakers' performances on this benchmark. Forms that were found to approximate the Control's Model in the speeches of the three groups, Dutch, Ghanaian, and Nigerian English Speakers, were converted into numerical data and were subjected to statistical analyses using the Chi-Square statistical tool as presented in separate Tables 1-18 below.

Table 1: Production of /t+θ/ by Dutch English Speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Phonemic form	Control's Model	DEs' approximation	Errors
1	<i>fast thinker</i>	5	/fæstθɪŋkə/	[fæstɪŋkə]	[fæstɪŋkə]	Nil
2	<i>must thank</i>	5	/mʌstθæŋk/	[mʌstæŋk]	[mʌstæŋk]	
3	<i>right thing</i>	5	/raɪtθɪŋ/	[raɪtɪŋ]	[raɪtɪŋ]	
4	<i>great theorist</i>	5	/ɡreɪtθɪɔrɪst/	[ɡreɪtɪɔrɪst]	[ɡreɪtɪɔrɪst]	
5	<i>white thrones</i>	5	/waɪtθrəʊn/	[waɪtɪrəʊn]	[waɪtɪrəʊn]	
Total		25		25		

Table 2: Production of /t+θ/ by Native and Dutch English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+θ/ by Dutch Speakers					Total
		fast thinker	must thank	right thing	great theorist	white thrones	
Production of /t+θ/ by Native English Speakers	fast thinker	5	0	0	0	0	5
	must thank	0	5	0	0	0	5
	right thing	0	0	5	0	0	5
	great theorist	0	0	0	5	0	5
	white thrones	0	0	0	0	5	5
Total		5	5	5	5	5	25

Table 3: Chi-Square Tests on the production of /t+θ/ by Native and Dutch English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	100.000 ^a	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	80.472	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.000	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 25 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.00

Table 3 revealed the chi-square result of the calculated value more significant than the critical table value at $p > 0.05$, at $df = 16$, with a minimum expected count of 1.00 at Pearson Chi-Square of 100.000. Since $p\text{-value } .000 < 0.05$, the result was therefore significant at *alpha level of .05*. From table 3, it was observed that there was no statistically significant difference between the production of /t+θ/ obtained from Native English Speakers and the production of /t+θ/ obtained from Dutch Speakers as the results were similar (no variation). The chi-square revealed the respondents' position of significant difference.

In Table 1 above, it is observed that the native speaker's data, which is tagged Model, the first two phrases, *fast thinker* and *must thank*, were rendered as [fæstɪŋkə], and [məstæŋk]. This reflects that the dental fricative, /θ/, was rendered as /t/ in this situation (Oyebola et al., 2019). This is consistent with the generative phonological concept of dissimilation, which holds that adjacent sounds avoid taking on the same features to enhance differences that can make the sounds more auditorily distinct (Agboynu, 2018; Aldrete, 2003; Katamba, 1996). Thus, the frication existing between /s/ and /θ/, which are fused due to the deletion of the medial /t/, licensed the substitution of the dental fricative with alveolar fortis, /t/ (Wilson, 2001). In the same vein, the performance of the Dutch English speakers, as displayed in Table 2 above, showed that the participants observed /t/ deletion before the dental fricative and also performed the dissimilation process by substituting /θ/ with /t/ because of the absence of voiceless dental fricative in Dutch consonant chart. For the five phrases containing /t/ before voiceless dental fricative sounds, the native English speakers deleted all the pre-dental alveolar fortis, /t/; this was likewise observed in the rendition of all the phrases by the

Dutch English speakers. Thus, the notion of dentalisation of pre-dental /t/ is negated by the rendition of the phrases by the English native and the Dutch English.

Table 4: Production of /t+ð/ by Dutch English Speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Phonemic form	Control's Model	DESs' variant form	Errors
1	<i>cut the cake</i>	5	/kʌt ðə keɪk/	[kʌðəkeɪk]	[kʌðəkeɪk]	1
2	<i>let the</i>	5	/let ðə mæn/	[leðəmæn]	[leðə]	
3	<i>hate the dog</i>	5	/heɪt ðə dɔːg/	[heɪðədɔːg]	[heɪðədɔːg]	
4	<i>fight the plague</i>	5	/faɪt ðə pleɪg/	[faɪðəpleɪg]	[faɪðəpleɪg]	
5	<i>lift this association</i>	5	/lɪft ðɪz əsəʊʃən/	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊʃən]	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊʃən]	
Total		25				

Table 5: Production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Dutch English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+ð/ by Dutch Speakers						Total
		.00	cut the cake	let the dog	hate the dog	fight the plague	lift this associat e	
Production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers	cut the cake	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
	let the	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
	hate the dog	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
	fight the plague	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
	lift this associate	1	0	0	0	0	4	5
Total		1	5	5	5	5	4	25

Table 6: Chi-Square Tests on the production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Dutch English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	100.000 ^a	20	.000
Likelihood Ratio	80.472	20	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.222	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 30 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Table 6 revealed the chi-square result of the calculated value more significant than the critical table value at $P < 0.05$, at $df = 20$, with minimum expected count of 0.20 at Pearson Chi-Square of 100.000 Since $P\text{-value } .000 < 0.05$, the results is therefore significant at *alpha level of .05*. from table 6 it was observed that there was no statistically significant difference between the production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers and production of /t+ð/ by Dutch English Speakers, as the results were almost similar (only one error - variation), '.00' from Table 5 justifies the number of errors(variations) committed by the Dutch English speakers in the Production of /t+ð/. The chi-

square revealed the respondents' position of significant difference. In the phrases involving clusters of /t+ð/, as displayed in Table 4 above, the Control's Models show that pre-dental /t/ was deleted by both the native speaker and the Dutch participants. However, only one of the five Dutch speakers mispronounced the phrase, *fight the*, by articulating the pre-dental /t/ alongside the dental sound. This resulted in only one error, while in the remaining 24 instances, the coronal fortis /t/ was deleted. This implies that the notion of assimilation of predental /t/ into dental place does not hold for the Dutch English Speakers, as they all elided the sound before the voiced dental fricative, as similarly observed in the native speaker's speech (Control Model).

Table 7: Production of /t+θ/ by Ghanaian English Speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Phonemic form	Control's Model	GESs' Production	Errors
1	<i>fast thinker</i>	5	/fæstθɪŋkə/	[fæstɪŋkə]	[fæstθɪŋkə]	16
2	<i>must thank</i>	5	/mʌstθæŋk/	[mʌstæŋk]	[mʌstθæŋk]	
3	<i>right thing</i>	5	/raɪtθɪŋ/	[raɪθɪŋ]	[raɪtθɪŋ]	
4	<i>white thrones</i>	5	/waɪtθrəʊn/	[waɪθrəʊn]	[waɪtθrəʊn]	
5	<i>great theorist</i>	5	/greɪtθɪərɪst/	[greɪθɪərɪst]	[greɪtθɪərɪst]	
Total		25				

Table 8: Production of /t+θ/ by Native English and Ghanaian English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+θ/ by Ghanaian English Speakers						Total
		.00	fast think er	must thank	right thing	great theoris t	white thrones	
Production of /t+θ/ by Native English Speakers	fast thinker	3	1	0	0	1	0	5
	must thank	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
	right thing	3	0	2	0	0	0	5
	great theorist	3	0	0	1	0	1	5
	white thrones	3	0	0	2	0	0	5
	Total	16	2	2	3	1	1	25

Table 9: Chi-Square Test on the production of /t+θ/ by Native English and Ghanaian English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.583 ^a	20	.218
Likelihood Ratio	22.614	20	.308
Linear-by-Linear Association	.707	1	.400
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 30 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Table 9 revealed the chi-square result of the calculated value less than the critical table value at $p > 0.05$, at $df = 20$, with a minimum expected count of .20 at Pearson Chi-Square of 24.583. Since

$p = .218$ is greater than 0.05, the result is not significant as the significant level is greater than .05. Results in Table 9 revealed a statistically significant difference between the Production of /t+θ/ obtained from Native English Speakers and articulation of /t+θ/ obtained from Ghanaian speakers as the number of errors was sixteen. '.00' in Table 4.8 justifies the number of errors committed by the Ghanaians in the Production of /t+θ/. The chi-square revealed the respondents' position of significant difference.

Table 7 (above) shows Ghanaian English speakers' production of the phrases. It was discovered that, of the 25 instances produced by the 5 participants, the predental /t/ was pedantically articulated along with the dental sound 16 times. This is revealed by the sharp contrast between their phonetic components and those of the Control Model in Table 7. While some produced the /t/ in quick succession with /θ/, some repeated the occlusion for /t/ in quick succession, /t+t/, a manifestation of /t/ substitution for /θ/. This suggests that Ghanaian English speakers are more concerned with the perceptibility of the predental /t/ irrespective of its tongue-twisting influence on their articulatory effort.

Table 10: Production of /t+ð/ by Ghanaian English Speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Control's Model	Control's Model	GESs' Production	Errors
1	cut the cake	5	[kʌðəkeɪk]	[kʌðəkeɪk]	[kʌtðəkeɪk]	17
2	let the	5	[leðəməɪn]	[leðəməɪn]	[letðəməɪn]	
3	hate the dog	5	[heɪðəðɔːg]	[heɪðəðɔːg]	[hertðəðɔːg]	
4	fight the plague	5	[faɪðəpleɪg]	[faɪðəpleɪg]	[fartðəpleɪg]	
5	lift this association	5	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊsɪəʃən]	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊsɪəʃən]	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊsɪəʃən]	
Total		25				

Table 11: Production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Ghanaian English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+ð/ by Ghanaian English Speakers						Total
		.00	cut the cake	let the	hate the dog	fight the plague	lift this associat ion	
Production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers	cut the cake	4	0	0	1	0	0	5
	let the	3	0	0	0	2	0	5
	hate the dog	4	0	0	0	0	1	5
	fight the plague	3	1	0	1	0	0	5
	lift this associati on	3	0	1	0	1	0	5
Total		17	1	1	2	3	1	25

Table 12: Chi-Square Tests on the production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Ghanaian English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.686 ^a	20	.416
Likelihood Ratio	19.507	20	.489
Linear-by-Linear Association	.028	1	.867
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 30 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Table 12 revealed the chi-square result of the calculated value less than the critical table value at p-value is greater than .05, at $df = 20$, with a minimum expected count of .20 at Pearson Chi-Square of 20.686. Since the p-value is $.416 > 0.05$, the result is insignificant as the significant level is greater than .05. results from Table 12 revealed a statistically significant difference between the Production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers and the production of /t+ð/ by Ghanaian English Speakers, as the number of errors was seventeen (17). '.00' from Table 4.11 justifies the number of errors committed by the Ghanaians in the Production of /t+ð/. The chi-square revealed the respondents' position of significant difference.

Table 10 above shows that the Ghanaian English speakers pedantically produced the pre-dental /t/ along with the voiced dental fricative, /ð/, in a similar order to their sound production in Table 3 above. Of the 25 pre-dental /t/instances in the text read by 5 participants, there were 17 incidents of meticulous pronunciation of [t+ð]. This confirms that while the native speaker's model indicates deletion of the sound /t/ in the pre-dental position, the Ghanaian speakers of English struggle to ensure that the two sounds are produced.

Table 13: Production of /t+θ/ by Nigerian English speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Phonemic form	Control's Model	NESs' variant form	Errors
1	<i>fast thinker</i>	5	/fæstθɪŋkə/	[fæstɪŋkə]	[fasttɪŋkə]	20
2	<i>must thank</i>	5	/mʌstθæŋk/	[mʌstæŋk]	[mɔsttæŋk]	
3	<i>right thing</i>	5	/raɪtθɪŋ/	[raɪtɪŋ]	[raɪttɪŋ]	
4	<i>great theorist</i>	5	/greɪtθɪərɪst/	[greɪtθɪərɪst]	[greɪtɪərɪst]	
5	<i>white thrones</i>	5	/waɪtθrəʊn/	[waɪtθrəʊn]	[waɪttɹəʊn]	
Total		25				

Table 14: Production of /t+θ/ by Native English and Nigerian English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+θ/ by Nigerian English Speakers						Total
		.00	fast think er	must thank	right thing	great theorist	white thrones	
Production of /t+θ/ by Native English Speakers	fast thinker	3	1	1	0	0	0	5
	must thank	4	0	0	1	0	0	5
	right thing	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
	great theorist	4	0	0	0	1	0	5
	white thrones	4	0	0	0	0	1	5
Total		20	1	1	1	1	1	25

Table 15: Chi-Square Tests on the production of /t+θ/ by Native English and Nigerian English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.500 ^a	20	.427
Likelihood Ratio	16.600	20	.679
Linear-by-Linear Association	.261	1	.610
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 30 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Table 15 revealed the chi-square result of the calculated value less than the critical table value at $P > 0.05$, at $df = 20$, with a minimum expected count of .20 at Pearson Chi-Square of 20.500. Since $p = .427$ is greater than .05, the result is not significant. Results from Table 4.15 revealed a statistically significant difference between the production of /t+θ/ obtained from Native English Speakers and the Production of /t+θ/ obtained from Nigerian Speakers, as the number of errors was twenty (20). '.00' from Table 4.14 justifies the number of errors committed by the Ghanaians in the Production of /t+θ/. The chi-square revealed the respondents' position of significant difference.

Meanwhile, Table 13 above shows that the Nigerian English speakers produced the pre-dental /t/ along with the voiced dental fricative, /ð/, 20 times in a similar order as their Ghanaian counterparts. The Nigerian English speakers' production of the two phrases *fast thinker* and *must thank* was observed to be fraught with repetition of /t/ in the cluster. Thus demonstrating a crucial manifestation of articulatory struggle. Their failure to delete /t/, as observed in the forms rendered by the Control in the Table, added to the struggle in cost them to achieve the double occlusion of /t/ in their speeches.

Table 16 Production of /t+ð/ by Nigerian English speakers

S/no	Lexical input	N	Phonemic form	Control's Model	NESs' variant form	Errors
1	<i>cut the cake</i>	5	/kʌt ðə keɪk/	[kʌðəkeɪk]	[kʌtðəkeɪk]	17
2	<i>let the</i>	5	/let ðə mæn/	[leðəmæn]	[letðɪmæn]	
3	<i>hate the dog</i>	5	/heɪt ðə dɔːg/	[heɪðədɔːg]	[heɪtðədɔːg]	
4	<i>fight the plague</i>	5	/faɪt ðə pleɪg/	[faɪðəpleɪg]	[faɪtðəpleɪg]	
5	<i>lift this association</i>	5	/lɪft ðɪz əsəʊsɪəʃən/	[lɪfðɪzəsəʊsɪəʃən]	[lɪftɪzəsəʊsɪəʃən]	
Total		25				

Table 17: Production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Nigerian English Speakers crosstabulation

		Production of /t+ð/ by Nigerian English Speakers						Total
		.00	cut the cake	let the	hate the dog	fight the plague	lift this associate	
Production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers	cut the cake	3	1	1	0	0	0	5
	let the	4	0	0	1	0	0	5
	hate the dog	3	0	1	0	1	0	5
	fight the plague	3	1	0	0	0	1	5
	lift this associate	4	0	0	0	1	0	5
Total		17	2	2	1	2	1	25

Table 18: Chi-Square Tests on the production of /t+ð/ by Native English and Nigerian English Speakers crosstabulation

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.353 ^a	20	.630
Likelihood Ratio	17.781	20	.602
Linear-by-Linear Association	.212	1	.645
N of Valid Cases	25		

a. 30 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .20.

Table 18 revealed that the chi-square result was not significant, as the calculated value was less than the critical table value at $p > 0.05$, with $df = 20$ and a minimum expected count of 0.20 at Pearson Chi-Square of 17.353. The result is insignificant since the p-value of 0.630 is greater than 0.05. Results from Table 18 showed a statistically significant difference between the production of /t+ð/ by Native English Speakers and Nigerian English Speakers, with 17 errors. Table 17 justifies the number of errors committed by Nigerians in the production of /t+ð/. The chi-square revealed a significant difference in respondents' positions.

Table 16 reveals that the Nigerian English speakers struggled to articulate the pair of the two coronal sounds, /t+ð/, as evidenced by the meticulous occlusion of /t/ in clusters with /ð/ in 17 instances. They could only delete the pre-dental /t/ in 8 instances, indicating a significant struggle. This linguistic behaviour is a key aspect of the research and is a notable finding.

4.2 Acoustic Analyses

The acoustic analyses aimed to demonstrate the acoustic distinctions between the native speaker's pronunciation of phrases containing pre-dental /t/ and that of the non-native speakers. This was achieved by subjecting selected extractions of their productions to acoustic analyses using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2014). The focus was on the amplitudes to establish acoustic evidence of the presence or absence of /t/ in the syntactic position preceding the dental sounds in extractions of four phrases, including *fast thinker*, *right thing*, *cut the cake*, and *let the man speak*. The acoustic values of the productions of the selected phrases uttered by the three groups (non-native speakers) were checked against the extractions from the native speaker to confirm the veracity or otherwise of the dentalisation hypothesis.

4.2.1 Acoustic analyses of *fast thinker*

The phrase, *fast thinker*, rendered by the native speaker and the three groups of non-native speakers, is vertically arranged in Figure 2-4 below to show the differences in their acoustic properties, especially at the amplitude level.

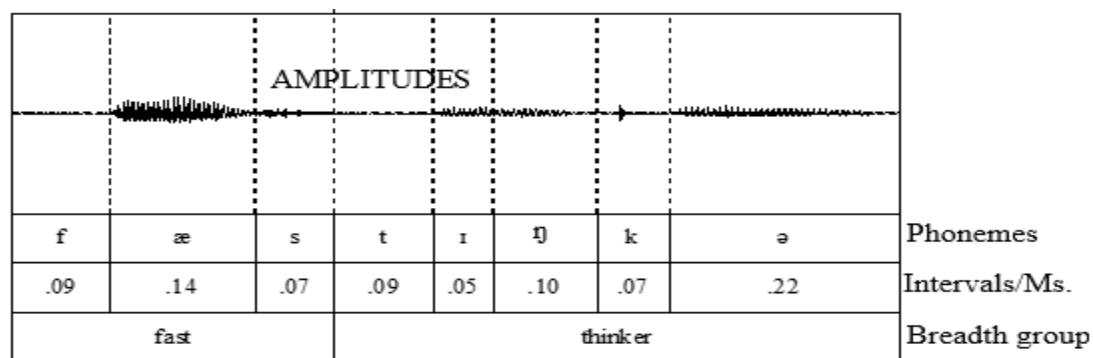


Figure 2: native speaker production of “*fast thinker*”

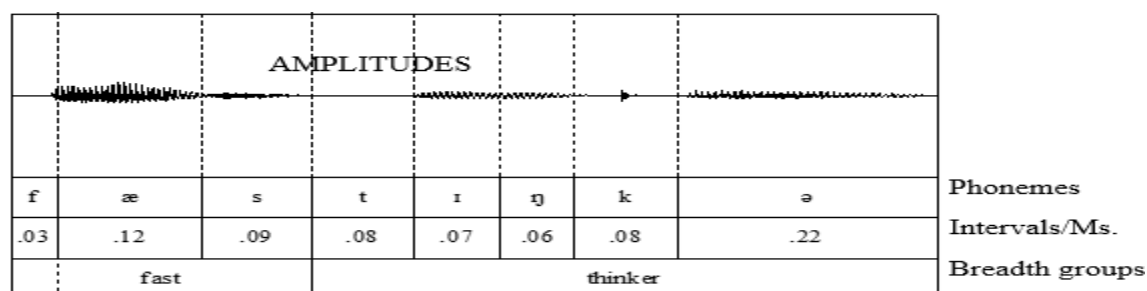


Figure 3: Dutch English speaker's production of *fast thinker*

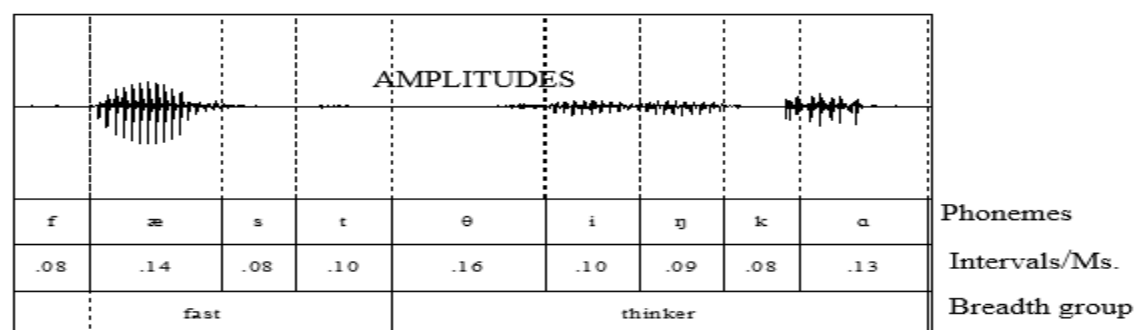


Figure 4 Ghanaian English speaker's production of *fast thinker*

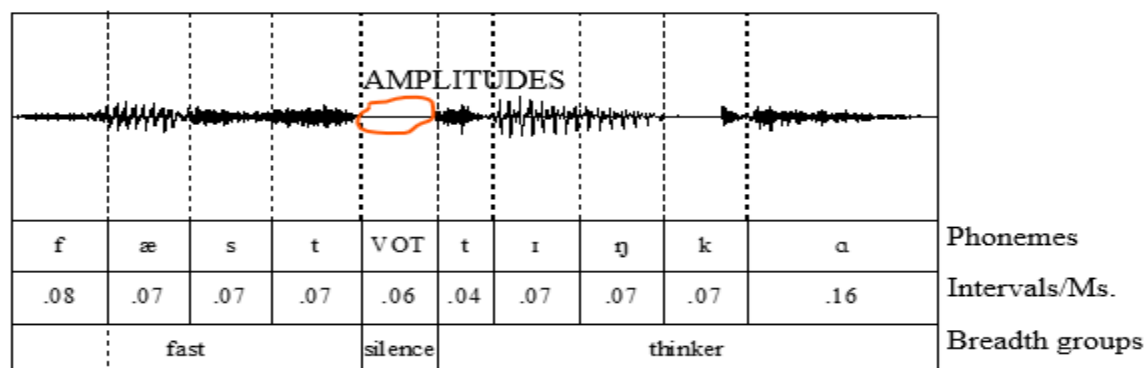


Figure 5 Nigerian English speaker's production of *fast thinker*

The acoustic analysis displayed in the Figures 2-5 (above) divulged obvious symmetries between the production of *fast thinker* by the native speaker and the Dutch speakers of English in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. Both groups elided the predental /t/ and substituted the dental segment with /t/ due to the contiguity warranted by the disappearance of the intervening segment between /s/ and /θ/, which created an environment for fricative dissimilation. On the contrary, the acoustic display extracted from the speeches of the Ghanaian and Nigerian English speakers showed that the two groups preserved the two segments, /t/ and /θ/, in contiguous relations. While the Ghanaian produced the two contiguous sounds, /t+θ/, distinctly, the Nigerian English speaker substituted /t/ for the dental sound (Oyebola et al., 2019), thus repeating /t/ in quick succession. This is evident in the amplitude region of the Figure above, which shows the occurrence of the first /t/ followed by silence, indicating a silence prompted by voice onset time (VOT) before the acoustic release of the second /t/ at the initial position of the word, *thing*.

4.2.2 Acoustic Analyses of *right thing*

The phrase, *right thing*, as rendered by the native speaker and the three groups of non-native speakers, are vertically arranged in Figure 6-9 below to show the differences in their acoustic properties, especially at the amplitude level.

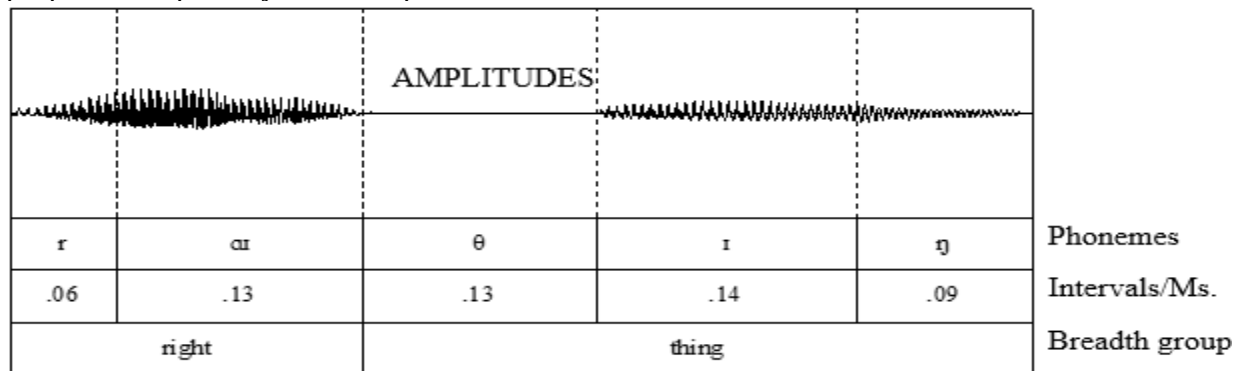


Figure 6: Native English speaker production of *right thing*

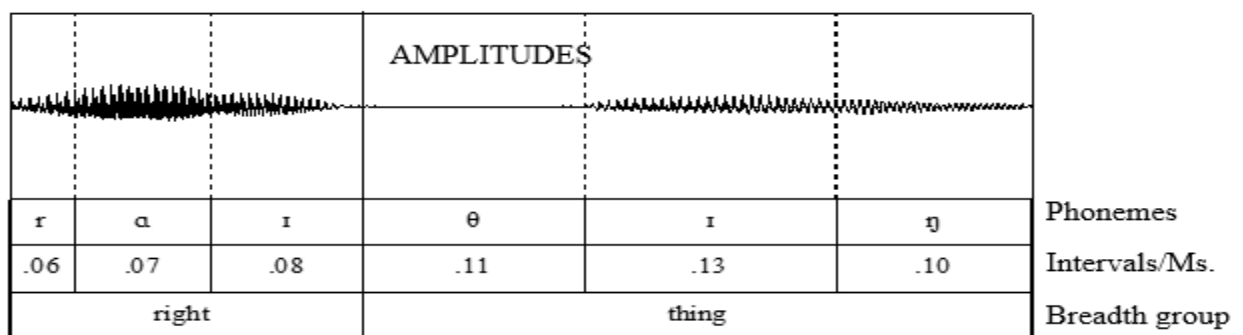


Figure 7: Dutch English speaker's production of *right thing*

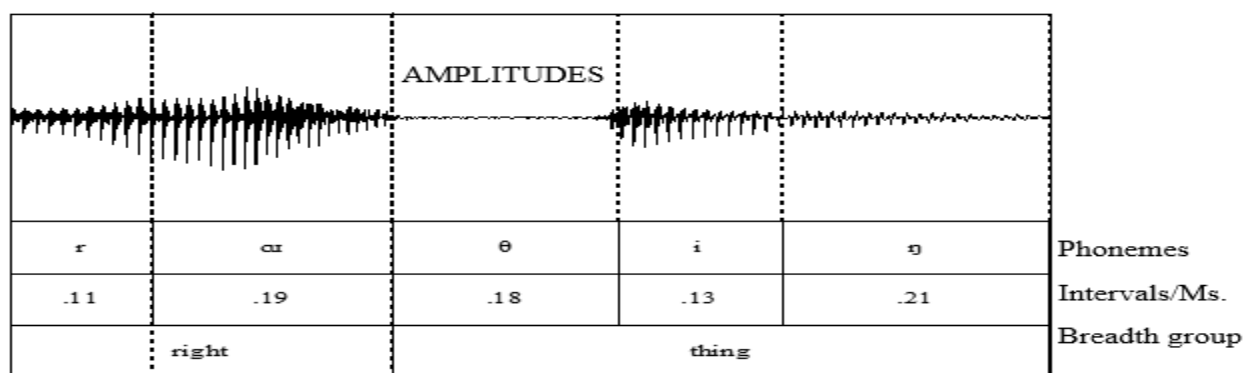


Figure 8 Ghanaian English speaker's production of *right thing*

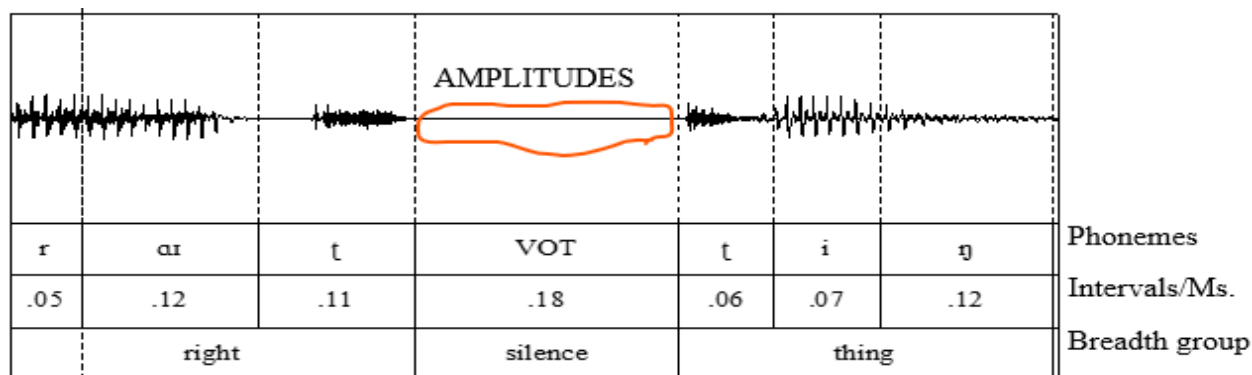


Figure 9: Nigerian English speaker's production of *right thing*

4.2.3 Acoustic analyses of *let the man speak*.

The spectrograph representation of the unit *let the man speak* rendered by the participants, i.e., Native English speaker, Dutch English speaker, Ghanaian English speaker, and Nigerian English speaker are presented below with specific focus on the amplitude values of each display to highlight the differences observed in the phonetic manifestation in the portion syntactically occupied by the predental /t/ in the lexical input. The native speaker forms the baseline for other speakers (Fig. 10 – 13)

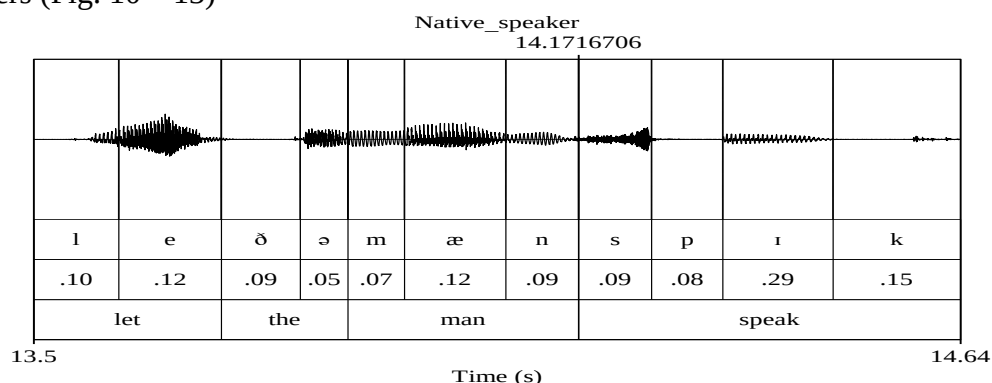


Figure 10: Native speaker's production of *let the man speak*.

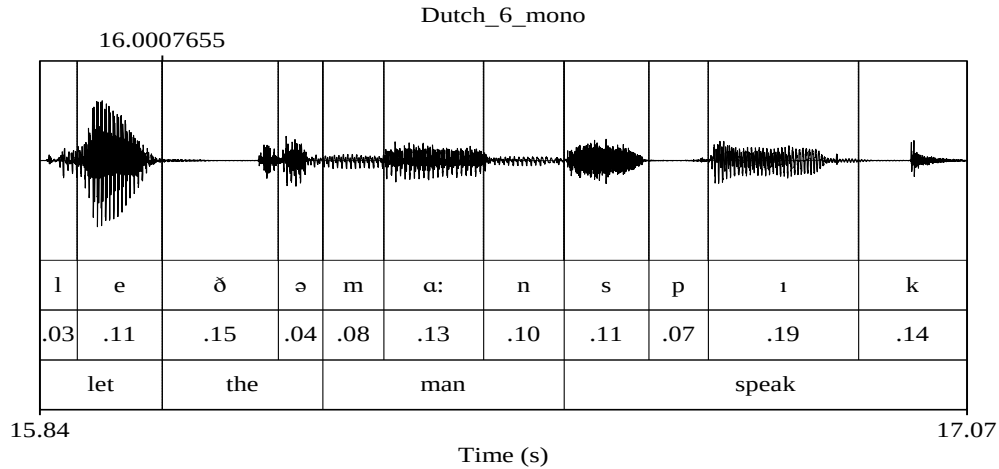


Figure 11: Dutch speaker's production of *let the man speak*.

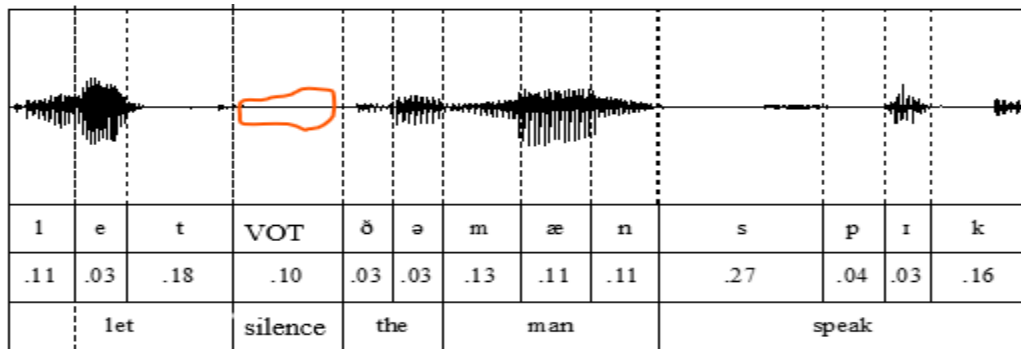


Figure 12: Ghanaian speaker's production of *let the man speak*.

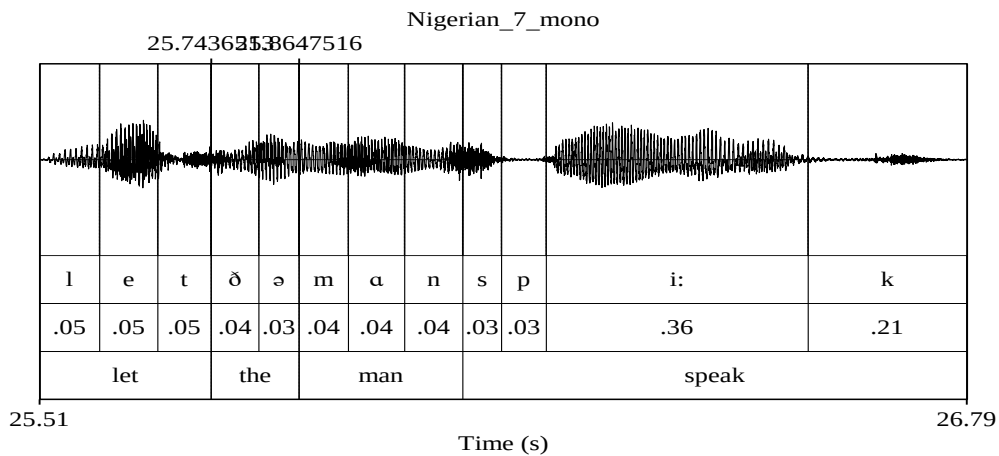


Figure 13: Nigerian English speaker's production of *let the man speak*.

5.1 Summary of findings

Based on the analyses presented above, it is established that the native speaker's production of the phrases tested consists of deletion of pre-dental /t/ in all the productions. This was also observed in the productions of the Dutch English speakers. However, among Ghanaian and Nigerian English speakers, the pre-dental /t/ was meticulously pronounced in most instances. This implies that the linguistic behaviour of 'bookish' pronunciation earlier reported by scholars about Nigerian English speakers is preponderantly responsible for the performances of the Nigerian English speakers and their Ghanaian counterparts in this study.

The current study contrasts with Gasser (2020) and Williamson (2015) who emphasize dentalisation as an assimilatory process in the alveolar and dental fricative context. This study shows that L2 English speakers either delete or produce alveolar before the dental fricative or alveolarized the dental fricative while native deletes it. Furthermore, the production of /t+θ, ð/ at the final and initial boundary of words does not describe or support dentalisation, rather deletion of voiceless alveolar that precedes dental fricative (Febriyanti, 2015). The preference for alveolar over dental may have been triggered by language preference or articulatory factors. For example, Ghana English speakers prefer to substitute voiced fricative with alveolar and retain the default alveolar.

The study has described that the phonological rule of dentalisation may be evident in single word context, especially among the native as identified by Williamson (2015) but the current study argues that our findings do not align with dentalisation tag, rather there is a deletion or substitution of a sound for another. This further shows that the theory of phonological rule for dentalisation cannot be universal; otherwise, the L2 English speakers may misapply the concept of dentalisation.

Our findings further argue that the production of eight → [eɪtθ], width → [wɪdθ], tenth → [tɪnθ] and health → [helθ] for dentalised alveolar, nasal, and approximants can only be obtained in a single clear word context with slow speech tempo. The study has established a rare production among L2 English speakers in phrase/sentence contexts. Also, L2 English speakers without dental sounds delete or substitute dental for similar sounds (Christine & Adrian, 2019). The findings of Christine and Adrian are similar to this study on the production of dental in Dutch English. Their studies assert that Dutch English speakers often substitute voiced dental fricative with [d], [f], and [s] (Aoki, 2011). Our study and Christine & Adrian, 2019 contrast Grasser 2020 & Williamson 2015. Therefore, generalising dentalisation in native and L2 English for citation, phrases, and spontaneous requires a re-analysis.

5.2 Conclusion

Discussing that the concept of dentalisation of pre-dental /t/ was evident in the English language, the evidence produced by the native speaker in the texts used in this study shows that /t/ is not produced in a cluster with the dental sounds. Rather, it was elided in all instances of their clusters. This deletion behaviour was also evidenced in Dutch English speakers' production of the same tokens. This showed that the pedantic articulation of these forms observed in the productions of Nigerian English speakers and their Ghanaian counterparts is not to be regarded as an instance of dentalisation but their usual meticulous pronunciation. It is also interesting to note that the native speakers and Dutch English speakers observed dissimilation in the phrases, *fast thinker and must thank*. This occurred probably because of the deletion of /t/, which brought /s/ closer to the dental fricative, /θ/, resulting in an environment that applied the dissimilation rule to distinguish between two voiceless fricative sounds. This instance also deserves discussion in teaching and learning

English in a second language environment like Nigeria to moderate the generalisation of rules relating to phonemic differentiation in non-native settings. The hypothesis shows that dentalisation does not occur in [t] environment, especially in phrasal/sentence context; rather, deletion occurs among speakers of English as a first and second language. The future direction could examine dentalisation in word isolation in Englishes to hypothesise if dentalisation only occurs in the native or non-native English context as well. Similarly, the speech tempo could be explored. This will enhance understanding of dentalisation in Englishes.

5.3 Recommendation

The underlying motivation of this work is to establish the prototypical phonological situation about /t/ dentalisation notion to provide an avenue for disambiguating the realities around the cluster of /t/ and the dental sounds. The findings in this study have confirmed that the native speakers, as well as non-native Dutch English speakers, whose language originated from the same proto-language family as English, do delete the coronal fortis before dental sounds rather than execute the assimilation process in such an environment. Considering this, it is relevant to recommend that the deletion of /t/ when it occurs in clusters (of phrases/sentences, especially) with the dental sound should be taught to students at all levels of education. The tenets of dentalisation may be applied to sounds like /n/ and any other valid ones (Williamson, 2015), but its application to /t/ should be avoided, as repeated gestural execution at these closely located coronal points would complicate gestural manoeuvres; hence, it is usually resolved by the native speakers through deletion.

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Appendix

- i. My English teacher is a fast thinker.
- ii. We must thank our boss for granting us the request.
- iii. That is the right thing to do in this circumstance.
- iv. My daughter will cut the cake.
- v. Let the man speak.
- vi. No one cat hate the dog for barking.
- vii. Fight the plague before it spreads over the town.
- viii. The African monarchs love sitting on white thrones.
- ix. Let us lift this association to a laudable height.
- x. My English teacher is a great theorist.

PURISM AND DECAY IN AKAN LANGUAGE: THE ROLE OF RADIO AND TV BROADCASTERS

Kofi Agyekum

The main objective of this paper is to investigate and identify the decadence and the use of inappropriate Akan language in Akan Media Discourse (hereafter AMD) and to suggest appropriate ways by which we can protect and maintain the purity of the rich Akan language. The paper discusses language change and purism and argues that even though the electronic media has played a tremendous role in the development of the Akan language, it is negatively affecting the purity of the language. The paper investigates the areas of decadence including phonology, improper pronunciation, and wrong semantic and lexical usage, improper neologism, borrowing from some Ghanaian language structures (syntax), as well as code-switching and code mixing. Other areas of decadence include over-colouring of news; overly use of proverbs, humour in news and use of taboo expressions. The paper will explore the causes of Akan language decadence. A qualitative data was collected from Akan sports discussion, news items and talk shows from four (4) radio stations in Accra namely, Peace FM, Adom FM, Accra FM and Oman FM. Interviews were conducted from renowned broadcasters to find out their perceptions about the current use of Akan on radio and TV.

Key words: *Language decadence, linguistic purism, linguistic innovation, language change,*

1.0. Introduction: Radio, Language Change and Decadence

Agyekum (2010a: 144) avers, “Radio broadcasting in Ghanaian languages, especially in Akan, has become so vibrant that it is one of the major tools for the sustenance and development of local languages.” The use of Akan on radio has gained ascendancy over the other Ghanaian languages and even English, because Akan is the major language spoken in Ghana as a native language and a lingua franca to many people. Private and commercial radio stations are of the conviction that using Akan gives them a wider audience, and commercial gains through adverts and announcements. Despite the above gains from Akan media discourse, many Akan purists are of the view that radio is both a “good master” and a “bad servant” in the view that radio is destroying our language and that is the centre of this paper.

In all languages, the adult and very old speakers lament over how the young generation is “messaging up” their rich language, cultural norms and values. The motivation for this paper is based on the numerous complaints from listeners of Akan radio and TV programmes, and improper language I have heard myself and those I have corrected when I am on Akan radio as a regular panelist. It is a fact that language purists normally fight a lose battle because the decadence of the language continues as the dynamism of the society supports the new generation to carry on with their versions of the pure language. In the large non-native Akan Cosmopolitan areas like Accra, Tamale, Bolgatanga and Wa, purism can do little to block the adoption of new words through coinage and borrowing.

Some old speakers of the Akan language sound some alarm that the language is being corrupted, and it is at the verge of decadence and degradation. They fear that if care is not taken, the future generation will not be speaking the language we speak today as Akan, but a mixed Akan. These speakers are scared and their fears emanate from their strong socio-cultural emotions since language and culture are inseparable and language is the cornerstone of cultural and national identity. It is these sentiments that have triggered this study. Due to the orality of the Akan language, the complaints are targeted on the oral forms of the Akan, especially the one used in the electronic media. In terms of orthography, it is even worse at the pre-tertiary and tertiary levels, and that needs a whole paper in the future.

1.1. Language Change

Language change can bring about decadence and destruction of the language; it is a natural phenomenon that relates to the universality of changes in human life, and language change is no exception (Veisbergs 2010:7). Ancient philosophers in classical times saw the inevitability of language change and the Akan language cannot be exempted from this universal law (Saussure 2006:77).

Veisbergs (2010) further opines that

individuals, including linguists, often condemn changes, warn about changes, and threaten society with changes by attributing them to ignorance, lack of education, carelessness, negligence, or even conspiracy. New meanings of words, loanwords, various changes in pronunciation and orthography are condemned (Veisbergs 2010:7).

In looking at whether language change is good or bad, Veisbergs (2010) states,

There seems to be the view that good changes are those which have been suggested and are supported by someone (linguists, authorities); bad changes seem to be those which occur naturally. Yet in real life, language change is usually unpredictable; it is often controversial and frequently inexplicable. It is almost impossible to view change as good or bad Veisbergs (2010:8).

The evaluation may depend on who is evaluating the change based on generation, geographical location in terms of rural and urban set ups and the level of western education.

Language change is looked at from two fronts, namely positive and negative, but how and when it changes is unpredictable and uncontrollable. However, in the case of language change in Akan in the 21st century, one can easily attribute it to the proliferation of radio and TV, urbanization, western formal education that places emphasis on the English language, language contact especially in the urban areas, westernization, globalization, some foreign religion, and the negative attitude of the indigenes.

There are always reasons for language change that result from the dynamism of society and culture and the constantly changing world. As it is with human nature, the people together with their culture and language adapt themselves to the current needs. In the process of linguistic transformation in response to modernization, some archaic words disappear from the language, and are constantly supplanted or replaced by neologisms. The new forms of education, communication, ICT such as e-mails, SMS, WhatsApp,

Instagram, Twitter (presently named X), Facebook, mobile phones and all forms of social media, have created new words, new abbreviations and new symbols. The more rapid the changes in society are, the more rapid the changes in language; new generations always want to find the easiest and quickest ways of communicating, and many languages fall under this system.

Language changes come about as a result of social and language contacts; especially, when minor languages meet major languages, this brings language shift. According to Garret (2006:63), “Language shift refers to a situation in which a community of speakers effectively abandons one language by shifting to another (not necessarily by conscious choice).” Agyekum (2009:382) states, “Language shift involves the gradual replacement of the communicative functions of one language by another that the user considers to serve the maximum linguistic and social benefits of a particular place and time” (Trudgill, 2000:191). In language shift, the functions of the minority language diminish in relation to the more “prestigious language” whose functions expanded to cater for previous functions of the minor language.

Language change activists, indicate that isolation from the outside world is more dangerous for the future of language and that is why many languages want to be abreast with current trends in the world especially those dictated by modern communication and globalisation. Veisbergs (2010:12) posits, “language is influenced by fashion, prestige, copying, imitation; -people like to appropriate and imitate everything that is new, fashionable and seemingly attractive.” All the above have affected the Akan language and have been extended to Akan media discourse.

1.2. Linguistic Purism

In the view of Crystal (1997) linguistic purism is the desire to protect the supposed purity of a language and the attempt to remove “corrupt” or “contaminating elements” from the language. From the point of view of purism, it is the conscious rejection from a language of elements that are regarded by the speech-making community as undesirable. For many people, in purism, there is a conscious attempt to kick against neologism and the introduction of loan and international words especially when the speakers feel that there are perfect and suitable equivalents in the source language.

Veisbergs (2010:15) avers, “Purism is often defined as resistance to language change or attempts to eradicate some former changes or phenomena. Purists can oppose changes in general, specific changes, or, in the case of ultra-purists (regressive purists) even well-rooted phenomena in language.”¹ Trudgill (2003: 107) goes even further to state, “any set of beliefs about language which are based on the notion of correctness can be said to be prescriptive.” Linguistic purism is thus an active type of prescriptivism and is in most cases emanated from strong cultural and language identity and loyalty as well as nationalism (see Veisbergs 2010:15). Thomas, a scholar on purisms, asserts that

purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid of putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the language) (Thomas (1991:21).

Thomas further argues that the advocacy for purism is based on the folk psychology concept that associates purity with the aesthetic notions of ‘wholeness’, ‘oneness’, ‘homogeneity’ ‘pristineness’ and ‘correctness’. These notions fall exactly under the umbrella of the complainants of the Akan decadence, and under the feet of those who advocate Akan language purism. Purism is also in tandem with advocates of mother tongue education and all the advantages it brings it (see Agyekum 2003, Boadi 1976), Thomas (1991) sees language purism as a heavy task and conceptualises the purist along these metaphorical lines. He presents seven images of a language purist, namely: the purist as a *millers*, *gardener*, *grinder*, *metallurgist*, *physician*, *genealogist/geneticist*, and *priest*. In all these, the purist aims at refining the language and bringing it back to life by protecting it from death (see Kamwendo 2004:276-277, Sijs 2004).

Thomas further outlines five types of puristic orientations as follows (see Li 2004:106).

1. **Archaising purism:** attempt to resuscitate the linguistic material of a past golden age, an exaggerated respect for past literary models, an excessive conservatism towards innovations or recognition of the importance of literary tradition.

¹ A current vogue term is “prescriptivism”, which assesses language from the perspective of right and wrong.

2. **Ethnographic purism:** nostalgia and idealization of the countryside and folk virtues; rural dialects are somehow purer than city speech.
3. **Elitist purism:** embodies a negative, proscriptive attitude to substandard and regional usage; often manifest when prestige has to be defended against the democratizing force of an army of newly literate speakers.
4. **Reformist purism:** renunciation, rationalization, or outright acceptance of language traditions that have accrued over earlier periods, and adaptation of the language for communication in a modern society—a salient feature of efforts to create standard languages.
5. **Xenophobic purism:** the eradication or replacement of foreign elements (Thomas, 1991:76–81).

In the Akan context, if you assemble all the complaints made by some old speakers of the language, the literate and illiterate, the city, urban, and rural dwellers, the first four purist orientation by Thomas prevail. The final one, which is xenophobic, is a little bit mild because we cannot refuse to accept new ICT and other technological tools and the terms and language they come with.

In an earlier work, Wexler (1974: 1) saw linguistic purism as the tendency to evaluate linguistic variants and give them evaluative labels such as *correct*, *incorrect*, *genuine*, *acceptable*, *bad*, *real* and so on. These labels arise when a speech variety borrows elements of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics or lexicon from another variety. Akan old speakers who complain at the decadence of the language in the Akan Media Discourse use evaluative labels such as those above to judge the new speakers.

1.3 Negative Aspects of Purism

Language is an aspect of life and because of the cultural dynamism, it becomes imperatively difficult to break the changes in language; these are due to language contact, modernization and globalization. With time, as the society changes, the linguistic changes that are lamented upon by the purists become accepted as the norm in the language (see Veisbergs (2010:17). Veisbergs (2010:17) aptly asserts that

the permanent fixing of norms inhibits innovation, and that is contrary to the development of language. Purism can seriously limit language diversity and hinder its development because language is a living and changing system, and changes in language usually begin with diversity.

Purism effectively bars the language from the modern world by blocking the adoption of new pronunciation, spellings, word forms and borrowings from the dominant languages like English and French. In fact, in a personal interaction with one of my colleague linguistic Professor EKO, he argues along the same line and thinks that Akan purists are fighting a lost battle. His assertion is based on the fact that language contact will definitely bring about language change and dynamism in language usage and we should therefore expect some synchronic aspects of Akan language. This will imply that there could be generational changes in Akan language usage.

In a work by Cru (2016) in the Yucatec Maya language in Mexico, he states that “within the context of increasing efforts to expand the functional expression of indigenous languages, in Latin America, language ideological debates have often revolved around the interdependent issues of purism, authenticity, legitimacy, ownership, and standardisation.” The above presupposes that there should be a perfect blend between purism and language change.

1.4. Methodology

The study employs qualitative method for data collection. The data for this paper was collected from radio broadcasting involving news, talk shows, sports discussions and commentaries, and other interactive programmes from four radio stations in Accra namely, Peace FM, Adom FM, Accra FM and Oman FM and two Akan TV stations- UTV of the Despire Media and Net 2 TV of Ken City Media.

There were interviews and audio recording of news items and talk show programmes. Interviews were conducted from renowned broadcasters to find out their perceptions about the current use of Akan on radio and TV. I interviewed, the late Akwasi Donkor of Antirepa fame on the defunct GBC1 and Bosie Amponsah a retired radio broadcaster.² Opanin Kwasi Donkor furnished me with some recordings on CD

² Some of the data are based on examples that people complain about and therefore tell me, and want me to help solve it as a linguist who is regularly on radio and TV and uses AMD. Some Akan purists lament as follows, *Opanin nkurfo yi resEe yEn kasa yi. MonnyE ho biriribi mma yEn.* ‘Opanin these people are

that he did during the 2017 Christmas festivities. Some of his concerns form part of this paper (see section 4.0. (h)).

Other sources of my data were from personal conversation with some Akan elderly people who are activists of purism and therefore lament bitterly on decadence of ADM. On my trip to Freetown on the 25th of November 2018, I met one Mr. Banful aged about 60 years at the airport who was also travelling to Freetown. He asked: “Prof. what can you professors of Linguistics do about the decadence of our Akan language on radio stations?” In that same trip, a passenger who was traveling from Accra to Monrovia by the same airline sat by me and remarked as follows. “I do not listen to radio because the news items are too much coloured and embellished at the expense of facts.”

Other sources were recordings of informal interactions with some Akan speakers who are peeved about some current Akan broadcasters and how they handle the Akan language in media discourse. For instance, one Akan professor of philosophy at the University of Ghana Legon, told me that he does not listen to the news of one radio broadcaster on Peace FM. His point was that the broadcasters’ news casting is very opinionated and pushes himself too much into the news instead of telling us the raw facts.

2.0. Data Analysis of Problems of Wrong Language Usage in AMD

This section and the subsequent sections will look at examples of AMD that people have been complaining about as going contrary to the rich Akan language that people cherish. In this section, we will discuss the data collected and categorise them into the following: morphophonology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, codeswitching, codemixing and colouration of news items.

2.1. Phonetics and Morphophonology. Wrong Pronunciation of Akan Words

(a) The radio and TV presenters wrongly pronounce the word *dwumadie*, ‘activity’ or programme’ with a low tone instead of a high tone.

Dwumadie; [*ɔ̀wùmádié*] but not [*ɔ̀wùmàdiè*]

1a. Wɔ̀reyE *dwumadie* no Kwasiada. ‘They are having the activity on Sunday.’

spoil our language and you should intervene for us.’ One retired Akan broadcaster of GBC 1, the late Opanin Kwasi Donkor lamented bitterly on some decadence of the Akan language on radio and wanted me to educate the masses on these since I have the opportunity to be on radio programmes very frequently.

1b. *Ghana* $\square\hat{m}a\leftrightarrow m\hat{p}a\hat{n}i\hat{n}$ instead of *Ghana* $\square\hat{m}a\hat{m}pa\hat{n}i\hat{n}$ ‘Ghana’s president’

Other lexical items that are mispronounced include:

- 2 (a) Kibi [kibi] instead of Kyebi [tɛbi]
- (b) Akrokerri [akrɔkɛrri] instead of AkrokyerE [akrɔtɛrE],
- (c) Ashanti [aɛanti] instead of Asante [asanti]

The items in number 2 are mispronounced because that is how the places have been spelt.

(b). Non-assimilation of voiced plosives and affricates.

In the Akan-Twi language, when a voiced plosive or affricate is prefixed by a nasal *m-*, *n-*; the nasals assimilate the voiced affricate and plosive into nasals. Examples are:

3. *mb*-----> *mm*, *nd*----->*nn*, *Ng*----->*NN*, *ngy*----->*nny*, and *ndw*-----> *nnw*

mb -----> **mm**, hence

mbaa (females) -----> mmaa,

mboa (animals or help) -----> mmoa

nd ----->**nn**, hence

ndua (trees) -----> nnua,

n+da (days) -----> nna

ngy -----> **nny**, hence

ngye (does not collect) -----> nnye

ngyedua (shady trees) -----> nnyedua

ndw -----> **nnw** hence

ndwom (songs) -----> nnwom

ndwan (sheep) ----- --> nnwan

Apart from the above, the same morpho-phonological assimilatory process is found in the formation of plurals of nouns, negation, imperatives, and nominalisation of verbs using homorganic nasals *N*----- --> [*m*, *M*, *n*, *N*, *n*] (see Dolphyne 1988).

On radio, many of the Akan-Twi presenters and callers rather fail to employ the assimilations and thus produce the unassimilated homorganic plosives and affricates. These non-assimilated forms are regular phonological features in the Fante dialect of Akan and the Twi youth and even some adult speakers have adopted them since they find

them easier to be used in AMD. They are also more prevalent among urban dwellers. They include the following:

4. *me+n +di*, ‘I do not eat’ instead of the assimilated *me+ nni* -----> *menni*
- me +m+ ba*, ‘I do not come’ instead of the assimilated *me+ mma* -----> *memma*
- me+ ngye*, ‘I do not collect’ instead of the assimilated *me+ nnye* -----> *mennye*
- yE+mboa w□n*, ‘we do not help them.’ instead of *yE +mma w□n*----> *yEmmoa w□n*
- me + ngyina*, ‘I do not stand.’ instead of *me + nnyina* -----> *mennyina*
- + nd□me*, ‘He does not love me’ instead of *□+ nn□me* -----> *□nn□me*

2.2 Lexicon

Let us turn our attention to the use of wrong words, which emerge out of generalisations and not following the irregular use of some lexical items.

(a). The misuse of the negative of *w□*, ‘to be located at/to possess

The stative verb *w□* has the core meaning of ‘being associated with something’. It can mean ‘to be located at a place’ or ‘to possess something’ as in the following:

- 5a. *Ama w□ Kumase.* ‘Ama is at Kumase.’
- 5b. *Ama w□ sika.* ‘Ama has money.’
- 5c. *Ama bEw□ Kumase.* ‘Ama will be at Kumase.’
- 5d. *Ama bEw□ sika.* ‘Ama may have money.’

The verb *w□* is normally used in the present and sometimes in the future but not in the other tense and aspectual forms; *w□* is a ‘defective’ verb. Unfortunately, some Akan broadcasters use *w□* like any productive verb that can be inflected for all other forms as in

- 6a. **Ama w□□ Kumase.* ‘Ama was at Kumase.’
- 6b. **Ama w□□ sika.* ‘Ama had money.’
- 6c. **YareE no aw□ h□ akyE.* ‘The disease has been there for a longer period.’

Apart from its defective and unproductive nature, *w□* is the only verb whose negative is an entirely different word –*nni*. The sentence below identifies that form.

6d. *Ama w□ sika.* ‘Ama has money.’

6e. *Ama nni sika* Ama has no money.

Unfortunately, some broadcasters and the Akan youth say

6f. *Ama nw□ sika* Ama has no money.

(b) The use of the expletive EyE, ‘it is’, as in

7. *EyE Owura Manu a □firi EyE Ajumako, □se EyE Agyemang a □firi Asikuma a Ew□ EyE Mfimfini Mantam nti na □baa EyE EnnE ayie yi a yEreyE no EyE Mankesim yi.*

‘It is Mr. Manu who comes from it is Ajumako; he says that, because of it is Mr. Agyemang who comes from Asikuma which is in it is Central region that he came it is today’s funeral that is been performed at it is Mankesim.’

A translation of the Akan text by maintaining the expletive renders the English text cumbersome and difficult to understand. In fact, these expletives are wrongly and randomly used in AMD especially in football commentaries.

(c) Use of tautology

The Akan media continuously use expressions that are tautologous; examples include: *nya akwanya*, ‘get the opportunity’ *di dwumadie*, ‘to embark on a activity’ *hyE b□hyE*, ‘to promise’, *di nk□mm□die*, to engage in a conversation, *tu anamm□ntuo*, ‘to proceed on a venture’, etc.

The broadcasters are ignorant of the rule of nominals derived from VP where *nya* + *kwan* are transposed into *akwanya* and *di* + *dwuma* is transposed into *dwumadie*. Let us now look at explicit examples recorded from FM stations.

(i) Peace FM News 24th May 2017:

One of the panelists on Kookurokoo morning show on Peace FM was a communicator representing the ruling NPP government. He said as follows:

8a. *Kwame meda wo ase sE woama manyakwanya yi akyerE m’adwene.*

Aban adi dwumadie ahodo□ pii w□ afe yi mu

‘Kwame, I thank you for given me the opportunity to express my opinion.

‘The government has embarked on a lot of activities this year.’

The tautologies here are the expressions *manya akwannya*, and *adi dwumadie* because (a) the verb *nya* is incorporated in the nominal *akwannya*, to get the equivalent for “opportunity”. Again, the verb *di* is incorporated in the word *dwumadie* to derive the nominal word for ‘activity, programme, and project’.

(ii) Tuesday 5th December 2017 Oman FM, morning show newspaper review:

There was a story about the performance of the current President Nana Akufo Addo. The panelist indicated that the late former president of the opposition party Flt. Lt J. J. (NDC) and would definitely comment positively on the policies of the (NPP) government and this was what the lady panelist said.

8b. *President Rawlings, [nya akwannya] biara a [bEka deE [mampanin reyE yi ho asEm.*

‘President Rawlings when he gets any opportunity he will comment on what the president is doing.’

The expression *[nya akwannya]* is tautologous.

(iii) Top FM 23/12/17: Programme Adadamu

The DJ of the programme Dr. Floppy invited some Taxi drivers to the station to express Xmas wishes and greetings to their relatives and friends. One of them called John said:

8c. “*EyE me anigye sE me nso, Taxi driver, EnnE [manya akwannya] sei aba afidi kEseE yi so ne [manfo] rebEkasa. EnnE [nk[mm]die a yEredie yi bEsan aboa me nuanom taxi adr[bafo]w[w]n nnwuma mu.*

‘I am pleased that I, as a taxi driver, have got the opportunity today to come to this big radio station to talk to the general public. Today’s conversation will also help my fellow taxi drivers in their job.’

The tautologous expression is *nk[mm]die a yEredie*; because the nominal *nk[mm]die* is derived from the VP made up of the verb *di*, ‘to be engaged in something’ and the noun

nkɔmmɔ, conversation’ to imply a chat or conversation. The verb *di* is captured in *nkɔmmɔdie* already and hence *di nkɔmmɔdie* is repetitive and tautologous.

(iv) Monday 4th December 2017 2.30pm. On Peace FM Programme *Wo haw Ne sEn* hosted by Nana Yaa Konadu, the host said.

9. *DeEn na maa ɔsɔfo no hyEE bɔhyE sE ɔbEboa Abaayewa no?*

‘What prompted the pastor to promise that he will help the girl?’

Here, the VP *hyE bɔ*, ‘to promise’ is transformed into the nominal *bɔhyE*, ‘a promise’, by changing the positions of the V and the N. To say *hyE bɔhyE* is saying *hyE*, twice, and thus the expression is tautologous since the nominal *bɔhyE* is derived from the VP *hyE bɔ* that has been transposed to *bɔhyE*, ‘promise’.

(v) Adam FM 22/12 17 6Pm Akan News'

There was a news item on some of the activities and policies earmarked by the current NPP government, and one of the supporters called from Bono region and commended the government and the president by saying:

10. *Nana Akuffo Addo anammɔntuo a watu afa Free Senior High School (SHS) ho yi som bo pa ara.* ‘Nana Akuffo Addo’s policy (lit. movement) on Free SHS is highly commendable,

Bio, akwantuo a amanyɔfoɔtu no nyinaa yE ɔman sika a.

‘Again, all the trips embarked by politicians come from our state coffers.’

The tautology here is the expression *anammɔntuo a watu* the VP *tu anammɔn* is made up of the verb *tu*, ‘to move’ and the noun *anammɔn*, ‘feet’. The nominal, ‘movement of the feet’ is derived by changing the positions of the verb and the noun to get *anammɔntuo*. The use of *anammɔntuo a watu*, implies that the verb *tu*, ‘to move’ has been used twice.

(d). Misuse of kinship terms.

In the Akan language, the word *wɔfa*, ‘uncle’ is restricted to one’s mother’s brother/male cousins while one’s father’s brother is still referred to as *papa*. Due to the contact with the English people, some people now refer to their father’s brother as *wɔfa*. Some ladies refer to the sons and daughters of their sisters as *wɔfaase*, ‘niece or nephew’. These expressions are based on English equivalents. In Akan, it is only males that have nephews and nieces. A lady should refer to the children of her siblings or cousins as her children as if they are biological.

Some presenters and callers on AMD use wrongful pluralisation: The commonest is the pluralisation of kinship nouns with the suffix *-fo* instead of *-nom* thereby having examples like *maamefo*, ‘mothers’ instead of *maame-nom*, and *ne nnamfofo*, ‘his friends’ instead of *ne nnamfonom*. Most Akan broadcasters and callers use the plural suffix *-fo* without knowing its boundaries.

(i) Adom FM 15/11/17

A female broadcaster X said

11.**Seesei deE yEhunu ne sE obi ba aban mu a, na ɔde nnwuma pii ama ne nnamfofo*.

‘Currently what we see is that when somebody enters into government, s/he gives all the positions to his/her friends.’

The expression *adamfo* friend is a kinship noun and therefore the right plural form should be either *nnamfo* or *nnamfonom*, but not *nnamfofo*.

Other kinship terms that are wrongly pluralized include, *maamefo*, ‘mothers’, *wɔfafo*, ‘uncles’, *mmerewafo*, ‘old ladies’, *nkɔkorafo*, ‘old men’. All of these nouns should have attracted the kinship plural suffix *-nom* but not *-fo*. In the case of *mmerewafo*, the singular is *aberewa* and the plural is formed by using the plural prefix *m-* to get *m-berewa*, and the assimilation of *mb* becomes *mm*, thus producing *mmerewa*. We note therefore that *mmerewafo* is not only wrong because of a wrong suffix; but a

double pluralization. In *nkɔkorafo*, the singular is *akɔkora* and the plural marker is the nasal *n-* to produce *nkɔkora*, hence *nkɔkorafo* is totally wrong.³

(d2) Dwumadie, ‘activity, programme’

The Akan media practitioners have been pluralizing *dwumadie* into *nnwumadie*. The word *adwuma*, ‘work’, has a plural *nnwuma*, (from *ndwuma*) ‘works’. However, *dwumadie* the noun that connotes ‘activity’, or ‘programme’ derived from a combination of *di* + *adwuma* does not have a direct plural *nnwumadie*.

12.* *YEw* *nnwumadie pii Kwasiada*

We have activities many Sunday

‘We have many activities on Sunday.’

It should be better rendered as *YEw dwumadie pii/ahodo Kwasiada* but not *nnwumadie* as wrongly used in ADM. The pluralization of the word *dwumadie* is marked by the quantifiers: *pii/bebree/ahodo*, ‘many/ various’, or *ahodo*, different or sorts.

3.0. Taboo Expressions and Over Embellishment of News Items

Many Akan broadcasters colour the facts in news with jokes, humour and opinion of the broadcasters. They also **embed news items** with many proverbs some of which do not fit appropriately into the narratives. They use bare taboo expressions without euphemisms.

3.1. Use of Bare Taboo Expressions and Using Indirection

Some of the Akan presenters are not mindful of the implications of the use of verbal taboo expressions without employing strategies of indirection. They at best employ coining of terms for sexual activities and sexual organs and these are very awful.

³ There are some words like *adamfo*, and *panin*, that have double plural forms such as, *adamfo*, friend’ becoming *nnamfo* or *nnamfo-nom*, ‘friends’. *Nnamfonom* could connote groups of friends such as school mates, fellow employees, team mates, etc. Again, the word *ɔpanin*, elder’ have two plural forms; *mpanin* or *mpanimfo*, and the two could be used interchangeably. The kinship noun *aberewa* refers to an old lady, and *akɔkora* is an ‘old man’. Both refer to age, and they have single plurals, meanwhile *adamfo*, *nnamfo*, *nnamfonom* (types of friends) semantically refers to collateral relations and the set is open despite the age.

(a) Peace FM 15 Dec. 2018, 12 midday News

One of those who propagate this anomaly is one Mr. K.A. of Peace FM. On the above date; he said as follows:

13. *YEse ̯barima kantinka bi ak̯to Abaayewa bi a wadi mfeE 10 ayaase donko. Wei na ̯kaa no timm mpa so̯ na Suhum-Nsawam, Suhum Nsawam 2X na finfanamm.*

‘They say a very strong man has gone to defile a girl aged 10 years. It is said he put her on a bed and started Suhum-Nsawam, Suhum Nsawam 2X.

The expression *ayaase donko*, means a kind of “see-saw” in the pubic region of the girl. The rhythmic expression *Suhum-Nsawam, Suhum Nsawam* in a musical form makes the narration of the illegal sexual activity comical, but defilement is a criminal offence.

3.2. Rampant use of Simile in News items and Jokes

There is a popular broadcaster KA on Peace FM who gives the 12 midday news on Wednesdays and Fridays and mixes the news items with unnecessary similes that border on humour. It makes the news rather funny, no matter how serious it should have been.

14. *AsEm no ayE twann te sE B̯gor̯̯mankani fufuo.*

‘The case has been so tight like Begoro cocoyam fufu.’

15. *WohwE barima anantu a, abob̯̯asE apoka*

‘If you look at the man’s calf it is like some round water yam.’

3.3. The Misuse of the modal Tumi, ‘Can’

This modal is overly used in contexts that are inappropriate. For instance, the modal *tumi* implies the propensity, ability and affordability to do something that is not easy to be done (see Downing and Locke 2006: 390). Unfortunately, we hear expressions like *X atumi awu*. ‘X has been able to die’. The worst practitioners of this usage are the sports journalists. Rainbow FM, has a sports journalist who comes on air after 7 pm news for 10 minutes. I always listen to him just to count the number of *tumi*, ‘can’ he uses in that short period. On the average, he uses about 30; and there was a time I counted about 40.

On 30th August 2021 a lady broadcaster AOO, on Peace FM 6pm news used about 10 *tumi* in a 15 minutes' news. Almost every verbal phrase had one *tumi* prefixing the substantive verb. Below is an example of the misuse of *tumi*, 'can'

16. *O! aberantee no atumi abɔ bɔlo no tenten, nanso akyire yi watumi ahwe ase.*

'Oh! the young man has played the ball very far but later on he was able to fall.'

In the above, one does not make any effort to fall down; falling is accidental.

4.0. Misuse of Right Semantic Lexicon

There are selections of certain lexical items that do not fit into the semantic features of the Akan language. They include the following:

(a) The use of *dwane*

The word *dwane* is used in Akan to refer to running for safety especially when one is being chased. The expression *tu mmirika* is used to imply ordinary running either for a race or for exercise. Unfortunately, some Akan media presenters use *dwane*, 'run' in place of *tu mmirika*.

17. *Ama dwane papa enti ɔdii nkonim.* 'Ama runs very much so she won.'

In 17 above, the appropriate word should have been *tu mmirika*. The word *dwane* can be used in the following example.

18. *Ama hunuu ɔkraman kEseE no, ɔdwanee.*

'When Ama saw the big dog she ran away.'

In example 18, *dwane* is appropriate because Anan run to save her life.

(b) Akɔbadie

There is a nice expression in Akan called *akɔ-ne-aba*, 'to and fro', which is derived from the verb *kɔ* 'to go' *ne*, 'and' and another verb *ba*, 'to come; the nominal prefix *a-* is attached to the verbs to change them into nouns; *akɔ* 'going' and *aba*, 'coming'.

(i) Peace FM 18/10 17 6pm News

A female broadcaster AAA said as follows:

19a. *soafo a hwE akwantuo so se aban reb ne ho mm den sE haw a Ew akbadie so no bEte.*

‘The minister in charge of road and transports says that the government is doing everything possible to reduce the impediments in transportation.’

The expression *akbadie* is one of the Akan Media Course (AMD) coinage that violates aspects of Akan morphology and terminology. The right expression is *akneaba*. The word *akneaba* means to-and-fro as in the example below.

19b. *Owuo no nti, Kofi redi Kumase ne Nkran akneaba.*

‘Due to the death Kofi is commuting between Kumasi and Accra.’

(c) Misuse of the Expression Kasabom

There is a confusion between the use of *kasabom* and *kahwebom*. The word *kasobom*, (lit.) means, ‘bite the top and strike or dip it into the stew’. This practice prevails when people are eating from the same plates or bowls and there is enough stew such that when you bite the top of the boiled plantain or yam you can still dip it into the stew. If the stew is not enough, we say *yEnni kasobom*, ‘we do not entertain *kasobom*’; this is to preserve the stew for it to be enough for the entire food. This expression is used under the domain of food and eating.

The other expression *kahwe-bom* (literally) means that you fish together and the proceeds go to the same bowl since you live in the same house, cook and eat together. It signifies a strong intimacy between two people or groups. It is unfortunate, that in the media front, people use *kasobom* instead of *kahwebom*. Let us look at the excerpt below.

20. *NPPfo bi ne NDCfo di kasobom wo esum ase.*

‘Some NPP members and NDC have some undercover alliance.’

(

i) Peace FM Friday 22/12/2017

An officer from the Food and Drugs Authority was indicating how they now have strong ties with the Ghana Standard Authority to make sure that Ghanaians buy the right food and drugs. He remarked as follows:

21. *YEne Ghana Standard Authority ne apolisifo di kasobom sEdeE nkurfo mfa nnuane a ne berE atwa mu mma dwa so.*

‘We have teamed up with Ghana Standard Authority and the police to ensure that people do not send food items with expired dates to the market.’

22. *Seesei Nana Akuffo ne ne yanko Quattara a w Cote d’Ivoire redi kasobom w kooko bo ho.*

‘Now, Nana Akuffo and his colleague Quattara from Code d’Ivoire have joined hands on the pricing of cocoa.’

23. *Apolisifo ne asogyaf adi kasabom retu galamsey ase.*

‘The police and the army have joined hands to eradicate galamsey menace.’

In all the above examples, the right expression should have been *kahwebom*, *nkutaho* or, *aka abom*, ‘to be in touch’, ‘to combine, joined hands, respectively.

(d) Misuse of the expression *abooboo* ‘lamentation’.

The term *abooboo* refers to ‘sorrow, hardships and lamentation’. Unfortunately, presenters of AMD mostly use it to refer to ‘discussion, analysis, deliberation and debate’, and use the verb *booboo*, ‘to lament’ to mean ‘to discuss’.

(i) Adom FM 26th Nov. 2017

The newscaster was saying something about the debate on the national budget that was presented by the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning. He said

24. *MmarahyEbadwafo ahyE aseE rebooboo afe yi aban aknhomasika a de bEb man yi ho bra no.*

‘Members of Parliament have started debating on this year’s budget.’

The right expression in place of *booboo* should have been *dwendwene*, ‘to think critically about something’, or *pEnsEmpEnsEn mu* ‘to analyse’, *toatoa adwene*, ‘to discuss’.

A similar misuse of terms is found in the translation of the two ministerial positions below: Some media practitioners confuse information with communication and sometimes use them interchangeably.

25a. Information = *Amanneb*□, Minister of Information = *Amanneb*□ *Soafo*□

25b. Communication = *Nkutahodie*, Minister of Communication = *Nkutahodie Soafo*□

(e) The term *Temanmufo*□

The term *temanmufo*□ is made up of *te*, ‘live’, + *man*, ‘state’ *mu*, ‘inside’ + *-fo*□, ‘citizen plural suffix’. It literally refers to the people who live in the country- residents; it is wrongly used in place of *manfo*□, ‘citizens’. The news casters use the term *temanmufo*□ to make a contrast between the citizens (especially the civilians) and others like the army, police, parliamentarians, ministers, etc. The appropriate word *manfo*□ is used by the ‘town cries’ in the villages when they are relaying information from the chief to the citizens as in:

26a. *manfo*□ *ee*, *Nana se mo nyinaa mommEhyia ahemfie seesei ara*.

‘Citizens, the chief says all of you should meet at the palace just now.’

You can encounter a wrong example like the one below which is normally used by broadcasters, pastors and apostles on radio & TV.

26b. ***Apolisifo*□ *se temanmufo*□ *mma w□n bo nt□w□n yam w□banb□ho*.

‘The police say that the citizens should relax on the issue of security.’

(f) The expression *ne Koko Apae*

When somebody is outraged and very furious, one of the Akan metaphorical expressions is *ne koko apae* (lit) ‘his chest has burst’; he cannot be controlled because there is an explosion of the heart (represented cognitively by the chest). When somebody is angry, it is the chest ‘*koko*’ the caveat for the heart that shows the anger (see Agyekum 2018).

The current Akan broadcasters rather use the expression *ne kooko apae*; the term *kooko* refers to a disease called ‘piles’. It is alleged that it can be like a boil at some delicate part of the body and grows bigger until it bursts for the person to be free. The broadcasters are hanging on phonetic resemblance to misrepresent the information.

27a. * DCE *no se* □*manfo*□ *ak*□*ka sE* □*mm*□ *mm*□*den, □munii a, □se ne kooko apae.* *The DCE says people have said he is incompetent; his piles have burst.’:
instead of

27b. DCE *no se* □*manfo*□ *ak*□*ka sE* □*mm*□ *mm*□*den, □munii a, □se ne koko apae.*
‘The DCE says people have said that he is incompetent, he became very furious.’

The first one, 27a is not metaphorical, it simply means that his boil has been burst and has no connection with being angry. They have not mastered the use of Akan body parts to express emotions (see Agyekum 2018).

(g). Direct Translation of English Phraseology

There is a current trend where broadcasters do not use **nouns in apposition** where the first noun acts as a pre-modifier and puts the second in a class (classifier) for the second in a kind of possessive or genitive construction. The existing structure is seen in the first three examples below, but the AMD does a direct translation of the English structure X for Y, where X is the occupier of the position for the outfit Y. The expression **de ma** is literally translated as ‘used to give’ and extended to cater for the word ‘for’.

28. *Asantehehene, Asante king*’, *Nwomasua Soafo*□, Minister for Education

Sukuu KwankyerEfo□, ‘Director of School’

Unfortunately, the AMD have examples like the following I collected them from Peace FM and the new phraseology has been a “contagious” wrong expression that has spread and used wrongly by Akan media discourse practitioners.

29a. **Minister for Education* = □*soafo*□ *de ma Nwomasua*

29b. *DCE – *Krakyepanin de ma Manisni no*

29c. *CEO for Lands = *Krakyepanin de ma Nsaase*

29d. *Vice Chancellor for Legon - *Vice Chancellor de ma Legon*

29e. **President de ma Dormaa Traditional Council, Osagyefo Agyemang Badu II*

This same phenomenon of direct literal translation had brought about the wrong expression for Chief Director as *Panin KwankyerEfo* instead of ***KwankyerEfo*** *Panin*. In the first place the head of the NP is *kwankyerefo*, 'director' and the *panin*, 'elder/chief' is a modifier. In Akan all nominal modifiers (except possessives come after the nouns they modify (see Agyekum 2010b). A term like the one below would be disastrous.

30a. **Panin KwankyerEfo de ma Nwomasua AsoeE* instead of

30b *Nwomasua AsoeE KwankyerEfo Panin*

You can also use the relative clause, *a da*, or *a w* 'one who is in charge' or 'who is at'

30c. ***KwankyerEfo Panin*** *a w Nwomasua AsoeE*

'The Chief Director of the Ministry of Education'

(h). Misuse of *wo tiri nkwa*,

In Akan ethnopragsmatics, the term *wo tiri nkwa*, literally, 'life to your head' is used as a post-event compliment to mean 'congratulations', or 'we thank God for saving your life'. It is used when somebody survives a serious accident, a woman delivers a child safely, when one is promoted, given a new position or has passed an exam (see Agyekum 2018).

Unfortunately, some Akan radio broadcasters now use it as a pre-event comment as an equivalent of the English expression "good luck" as in the example below.

31a.* *Wo tiri nkwa*, if one is going to write an examination

The most appropriate expression should have been

31b. *Onyame nka wo ho, kyere wo ho.*

'May God be with you, go and do your best.'

(i) *Afe nk mmEsiane yEn ho* (December 2017)

This is a recent wrong term used as a response to *afenhyiapa*. During Christmas time, the following adjacency pair is used as Christmas greeting.

32a. A: *Afenhyia pa* 'Good year to you, Merry Christmas.

B: *Afe nk mmEto yEn.* 'May the year go round and meet us.'

This has been the standard greetings and response before the proliferation of FM stations that have introduced the following in AMD:

32b. A: *Afenhyia pa* ‘Good year to you, Merry Christmas’

B: *Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho.* ‘May the year go round and pass round.’

The expression *X siane Y ho*, implies that X has passed by Y, which means that there is no contact or interaction between the two entities, X and Y.

(The late) Opanin Kwasi Donkor lamented as follow:

33. *SE mete saa asEm yi koraa a, na me yam ahye me paa. Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho deE Ene sEn? Na Efiri hene, ni? Na radio kasa no bi ne no anaasE onipa dasani a ɔte Ghana man yi mu a ɔse ɔka Akan kasa na ɔno ɔde biribi abEto mu sE Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho. Mentee ne mpaninsEm da, Efiri sE woka saa kasa “Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho a”, na woabɔ wo ho dua; AsEm afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho no EyE duabɔ, EnyE kasapa. SE worepE kasa pa deE a, Ene afe nkɔ mmEto yEn.*

Seesei ebinom de wɔn ho akɔwurawura radio adwuma mu a wɔmfata sE wɔkɔyE radio adwuma nanso wɔawura mu, Enna yEwɔ wɔn nso a Onyame adaworoma adwuma no fata wɔn a wɔreyE no kamakama. Seesei yEn radio adwuma no, ebinom reyE no yie kama fEEfEEfE a wɔba radio so a, w’ani gye ho sE wobEtie wɔn, nanso ebinom reyE no potɔɔ. Ebinom nso reseE no.

Ebi ne Buronya da yi a ebinom agye akɔsi bɔne yi; sE Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho. Nso yEn deE yEnim Afe nkɔ mmEto yEn bio. SE woka sE Afe nkɔ mmEsiane yEn ho a, na worebɔ wo ho dua; EkyerE sE wo mpaeE a worebɔ ne sE mma afe 2018 no mmmEto wo.

English Gloss:

I get shocked when I hear this expression. What is “the year should come and by-pass us? Where is it coming from? Is it part of the radio discourse, or an Akan language speaker in Ghana has introduced “*The year should go and by-pass us?* I have never heard about its history. This is because if you can use such an expression “*The year should go and by-pass us*”, you have cursed yourself. It is a curse; it is not a proper language. If you want the appropriate expression, it is “*The year should go round and come to meet us.*”

Now some people have entered into radio broadcasting who are unfit. We also have those who by the grace of God are excellent radio broadcasters, efficiently doing their work. There are some performing creditably well in radio broadcasting and it nice listening to them, *but others are messing up with the profession.*

An example is the Christmas greetings that some wrongly say “The year should go and by-pass us”. We rather know “The year should go round and meet us again.” If you say the year should go and by-pass us, then you are cursing yourself, it implies that you are praying the new year 2018 should not meet you.

The longer form should have been *afe nkɔ, na afe mmEto yEn bio*, ‘May the year go and another year come to meet us’, but it has been reduced to *afe nkɔ mmEto yEn bio*. Opanin Akwasi Donkor emphasized that “Now some people have entered into radio broadcasting who are unfit.”

(j). Code-mixing and Switching:

In bilingual or multilingual situation, speakers may usually select a particular code in social interaction and may decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes even within very short utterances and thereby create a new code known as *code-switching*. Code-switching can occur in conversation between speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn (see Wardhaugh (2006:101). Code-switching, is the use of elements from more than one language within a conversation, among bilinguals and multilinguals (see Muysken (2011). Some bilingual speakers code-switch because they cannot express themselves adequately well in one language and sometimes they are short of appropriate words. This prevails among some Akan broadcasters, panelists and those who call into programmes.

34a. *Mefeel sE,* 'I feel that'

34b. *I think sE,* 'I think that'

34c. *I promise sE* 'I promise that'

34d. *'I saw sE na both of them nyinaa anya understanding.*

'I saw that both of them had got the understanding.'

34e. *DeEn na influencee wo maa woyEE saa?* 'What influenced you to do that?'

(k). Overstretching of Terminology

There are some presenters who want to find the Akan equivalent for every English term even where the term is not appropriate. They would refuse to borrow international terms and transliterate them. Examples of such terms are found below.

35a. Internet: *amansan ntentan* = *IntanEEt*

35b. Fridge: *asuk□tweea adaka* = *freegye*

35c. Computer: *afidie badwemma* = *k□mpiwta*

35c. Budget: *□man ak□nhoma sika*: *bagyEte*

In example 35a, the AMD is using the spider web that is called *ntentan* and aligning that to internet or web and then using the word *amansan*, 'universal', the composite then implies a universal web. In 35b, the word *asuk□tweea* is the wrong translation for snow,

because *asukɔ̃tweaa* is the pebbles that fall on roofing sheets during a hailstorm. The term *asukɔ̃tweaa adaka*, literally means a ‘snow box’ and that is what they think a refrigerator is. The term *afidie badwemma* is an over-stretched term because it means an intelligent machine; it can also mean a robot or any form of artificial intelligence.

The final term *ɔ̃man akɔ̃nhoma sika*, means ‘house-keeping money’ given to a wife for domestic uses especially food. If you extend this to *ɔ̃man akɔ̃nhoma sika*, it will restrict it to only food, meanwhile budget encompasses all the financial aspects including revenue and expenditure. In all the above, it would be ideal to use the transliterated terms written against them, because all the overstretched terms do not conform to appropriateness, precision, and user friendliness as principles in terminology. We have to resort to internalization (see Agyekum, 2003 on Akan Terminology).

5. Conclusion

The paper has identified that language change is associated with decadence and destruction of the language. It is a natural phenomenon; it relates to the universality of changes in human life, and language change is of no exception. Changes in communication are attributed to ignorance, lack of education, carelessness, laziness, negligence, western education, negative attitude, western indoctrination and globalisation.

We have noted in this paper that linguistic purism is the desire to protect the supposed purity of a language and the attempt to remove “corrupt” or “contaminating elements” from the language. We have noted in this study that purism is simply the conscious rejection from a language of elements that are regarded by the speech community as undesirable. This is to maintain the status quo with all the richness of the language and culture. The paper has discussed the need to protect, maintain and preserve the rich Akan language from all levels of language analysis. The radio and TV with its vibrant nature and technological advancement have a lot to offer to help preserve and document the Akan language rather than to pave a way for language decadence. We have found out that notwithstanding the fact that that media houses have a lot to offer to the Akan language, they are nevertheless contributing to some extent towards the pollution and decay of the Akan language.

The paper further identified that the educational component of broadcasting is becoming questionable based on the emphasis on humour and pollution of the language. Some Akan media have rather heightened the entertainment aspect to the extent that even in serious news items like rape and defilement cases, one can encounter some comedy.

The areas of Akan language decadence that were discussed in this paper included phonology, improper pronunciation, morphology, inappropriate lexicon, wrong phraseology, syntax, improper neologism, terminology, borrowing from some language structures, semantics, pragmatics, culture, sociolinguistics, code-switching and code mixing. Other areas were over-colouring of news, overly use of proverbs, humour in news, and use of taboo expressions, and wrong usage.

The paper notes that language change is inevitable in the history of the development of languages especially in mediatized discourse; that notwithstanding, it should be done in such a way to respect language purism and avoid language decadence.

6. Recommendations

Having looked at the issues of adherence to purism and the prevalence of language change based mainly on Akan media discourse (ADM), I wish to make the following recommendations that can tackle the non-adherence to Akan purism.

In the first place, owners of FM and TV stations that use the Akan language in broadcasting should employ people who are well-versed in the Akan language and do not embark on language sensationalism.

Again, there is the need for Akan broadcasters to embark on annual mandatory training, workshops and conferences to enhance their linguistic knowledge and skills in all the aspects of the Akan language.⁴ The paper further recommends pragmatic ways by which owners of media houses can salvage the Akan language decadence; and then tread on the path of Akan purism by training their practitioners. The knowledge enhancement includes the culture, the ethnopragmatics, the sociolinguistics, semantics, syntax, the lexicon, the morphophonology of the language so as to apply them in the job.

⁴ The first Akan Media Discourse workshop was organized by the Institute of African studies and the Linguistics Department of the University of Ghana in 2002. All the Akan media houses in the Greater Accra, Central and Eastern regions were invited, unfortunately, many of them failed to attend.

Thirdly, the communicative competence of the broadcasters will help reduce the frequency of impure Akan language on the airways. The broadcasters of Akan should be avail themselves for extra linguistic knowledge. As a matter of urgency, they should listen to their own broadcast and presentations at the end of each week to make sure that they can critically evaluate themselves to make amendments. They should not feel shy to consult experts or colleagues in cases where they cannot find answers to their errors and mistakes. In the case of toponyms, it is always prudent to consult citizens from those areas to get the right pronunciations of names of towns, rivers, and even some Akan personal names, honorifics and titles.

In addition to all the above, the media houses that embark on Akan language policy should liaise with the Linguistics and Ghanaian languages departments at Legon UCC, UEW, and KNUST for training. They should consult the language experts when it comes to the recruitment of staff so that rigorous interviews could be conducted to select efficient staff that may not be scholars of linguistics but have the flair for improvement.

Finally, the media houses should build up small libraries where informative materials and reference books can be sourced by broadcasters to enhance their communicative competence in Akan indigenous language and culture. The owners of the media houses should also quip the libraries with, journal articles, electronic materials and books in all aspects of the Akan language. These include phonology, bilingual and monolingual dictionaries in English and Akan. Others are oral and written literature, customs and institutions, history, religion and above all, Akan Bibles.

I am of the opinion that if these steps are taken, we could enjoy the impeccable Akan language in radio broadcasting we had before the proliferation of many radio and TV stations in the fourth republic. That could also contribute to the documentation, preservation and the dissemination of the Akan language via the media.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEARNER AND TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARDS CODESWITCHING: INSIGHTS FROM GHANA AND TURKEY

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The present study sought to investigate students' and teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards codeswitching (CS) in foreign language classrooms. The study was conducted in tertiary education contexts in Ghana and Turkey that differed in a variety of aspects including the target language and number of languages spoken by participants. A survey was administered to 189 learners and six teachers of Spanish as a foreign language from a Ghanaian public university, and to 101 learners and eight teachers of English from a Turkish public university. The data were analysed quantitatively using SPSS. To compare the contexts, chi square and Mann-Whitney U Test were employed according to the question types used in the survey. The findings showed that although learners from both the Ghanaian and Turkish contexts generally had positive attitudes towards the moderate use of CS in the foreign language classroom, students from Ghana appeared to have slightly more favourable attitudes towards it. In the case of the teachers, although participants from both countries generally supported the moderate use of CS, teachers from Turkey had more positive attitudes towards its usage than those from the Ghanaian context. Learners from both contexts believed CS was necessary for explaining difficult concepts or ideas, for teaching grammar and vocabulary and for metalinguistic purposes. In general, the study showed that a dominant use of the own language was not supported in either context neither by the teachers nor by the learners. Rather, its judicious use was advocated for.

Keywords: Foreign language teaching and learning, Codeswitching, Ghana, Turkey, Tertiary education

1. Introduction

Code-switching (CS) is a widespread phenomenon that has attracted the attention of several researchers in sociolinguistics. In the past, CS, the act of alternating between two languages, was frequently regarded as a negative phenomenon. Dewaele & Wei (2014) report that 'verbal salad' (in Nigeria), 'still colonized' (Morocco) and 'very irritating' (Hong Kong) are some of

the extensive pejorative terms that have been coined to reflect this disapproval (pp. 236-237). Martin-Jones & Romaine (1986) also use the term ‘semilingualism’. An increasing interest in multilingualism and multiculturalism, along with an awareness of the consequences of linguistic imperialism and its resultant devaluation of minority languages have occasioned a change in the way CS is perceived (Hall & Cook, 2012). As Simon (2001) explains, the appreciation of the value of CS as a communicative resource in multilingual communities has led to a “shift in social opinion moving away from monolingual language ... to the progressive tolerance, if not acceptance, of the use of more than one code, including code-switching phenomena, the latter contributing to the enhancement of a speakers’ communicative competence” (p. 312). More recently, CS has been appreciated and reconceptualised from a translanguaging perspective that recognizes speakers’ diverse linguacultural backgrounds as an array of linguistic means unified in a crosslingual system to enhance communication (Canagarajah, 2018; Garcia, 2009; Shin et al, 2019).

Indeed, the use of CS or translingual practice is not peculiar to social interaction alone as it is a frequently observed phenomenon in the language classroom. Several scholars in foreign or second language (L2) teaching now advocate for the judicious use of the learner’s own language (L1) in the foreign language (FL) classroom (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Kerr, 2015; Littlewood & Yu, 2011). Nonetheless, research shows that some language teachers still perceive CS negatively, and questions still arise as to its acceptability in the FL classroom (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015; Wang, 2019). As Levine (2014) notes, the debate on the earlier “rigid dogmas” and the place of the L1 “in language pedagogy and classroom interaction is far from settled” (p. 332).

Undeniably, studies on CS in foreign language teaching and learning contexts are essential given that they provide deeper insights on CS beyond its usage for regular social interaction. Consequently, scholars have shown an increasing interest in research on the dual presence of the L2 and the L1 in the language classroom. Given the tenacious nature of the debates on code alternation in the FL classroom as well as its potential benefits for target language learning (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Greggio & Gil, 2007; Levine, 2013), the examination of CS from a pedagogical perspective remains crucial. Notwithstanding the growing research interest in the area, there is a lack of comparative studies which examine translingual practices and perceptions from different contexts (Vold & Brkan, 2020). The current paper seeks to address

this lacuna by comparatively examining learner and teacher attitudes and perceptions towards CS in Ghana and Turkey. Through the identification of the similarities and differences found between the two contexts; it highlights strategies for the maximal use of CS without detriment to the foreign language learning process. It also aims at providing deeper insights into the effects of language attitudes and perceptions on language practices.

2. Previous studies on language choice in the FL classroom

Previous studies on CS in the foreign language classroom have centred on two fundamental areas: language choice and attitudes towards CS.

2.1 Language choice in the FL classroom

As mentioned earlier, the question of if, and to what extent the L1 should be accepted in foreign and second language teaching has been the object of a long-lasting debate (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; G. Cook, 2010; Shin et al., 2020). As a reaction to the usage of the L1 in the Grammar Translation method of language teaching with its perceived inadequacy to develop the learners' ability of using the target language for communicative purposes, the L1 has been claimed to be detrimental for FL learning (G. Cook, 2010). With a few exceptions, language teaching methods with a focus on communication often refute the possible benefits of the L1 and rather postulate its exclusion (Littlewood & Yu, 2011).

However, monolingual approaches in FL teaching and learning have been criticised for lacking a theoretical basis (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; G. Cook, 2010; Cook, 2001; Kerr, 2015). In particular, the arguments that L1 and FL learning share the same characteristics and that they should be separated have been questioned (V. Cook, 2010; see also Amuzu, 2012). Indeed, the L1 has been described as “an indispensable Language Acquisition Support System” (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009, p. 66) that allows learners to benefit from existing competencies and skills and to anchor the target language into their existing linguistic system (Brooks-Lewis, 2009; Bruen & Kelly, 2017). The L1 serves as a tool that helps learners regulate their learning by negotiating meaning in interaction with others and expressing their affective needs (DiCamilla & Anton, 2012). The validity of these arguments has been confirmed by the observation of translingual practices of bilingual or multilingual speakers in and outside school contexts who make use of at least two different languages to enhance communicative effectiveness (Garcia, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Accordingly, the second/foreign language classroom has been re-conceptualised as a bilingual space in which learners are

appreciated as developing bilinguals who develop their crosslingual system (Meier, 2017; Turnbull, 2016) and make use of different resources available for them to facilitate language learning (Cenoz, 2017; Wei, 2018).

2.2 Attitudes towards CS

Studies conducted with learners at different age levels have shown that learners hold positive attitudes towards CS as it is a tool that enhances learning opportunities (e.g., Carson & Kashihara, 2012; Hidayati, 2012). It is perceived as an available linguistic resource that enables learners to understand structures and tasks more fully. It helps them organize their learning in a safe environment as they can incorporate the target language into their existing L1 (Brooks-Lewis, 2009). The use of the L1 has been shown to promote autonomous and discovery learning because learners can raise awareness of differences and similarities between languages. Additionally, CS serves purposes of communicative language learning because learners' L1 use prevents possible breakdowns due to barriers set by restricted proficiency (Bozorgian et al, 2021; Bruen & Kelly, 2017; Yuzlu & Diklitaş, 2021). However, the potential advantages of the L1 may conflict with the perceived need to be exposed to the FL as much as possible (Aberdeen, 2018; Nazary, 2008). Language policies and uncontested assumptions about the role of the L1 in FL teaching (Levine, 2013; Daniel & Pacheco, 2016) may lead to a perceived “discomfort with translanguaging as a form of pedagogy while praising it for its beneficial effect on their language learning” (Kwihangana, 2021, p. 94). Indicative of this discomfort is the observed mismatch between assumptions reported by teachers and their actual CS practices that aim, for instance, to clarify linguistic aspects, manage classrooms or respond to time pressure (Aberdeen, 2018; Kkese, 2020; Lomotey, 2020a, Parker & Karaağaç, 2015).

3. Purpose Statement

Given the prevalence of CS in FL teaching and learning, and its increasing appreciation in the scholarly literature, there is a need to examine learners' and teachers' attitudes to CS from different contexts in order to identify differences or similarities and to account for potential differences. Such contextual differences may be, for example, different departure and target languages, learners' and teachers' monolingual or multilingual environments in which the target language is learned or modes of delivery—an aspect that has gained significance due to the need to conduct lessons online during the COVID-19 pandemic (Moorehouse & Kohnke,

2021). Examining a Ghanaian and a Turkish tertiary FL learning context, this paper sought to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What are the current perceptions and attitudes of students and teachers towards CS in Ghana and Turkey?
- 2) Do the perceptions and attitudes of the learners and teachers in the two contexts differ?
- 3) How do these perceptions and attitudes impact their learning of the foreign languages through CS?

4. Method

The background of the research contexts and participants as well as the data collection procedures and analysis methods are described below.

4.1. Research setting and participants

The following sections provide information about the linguacultural situation in Ghana and Turkey. Additionally, each subsection also deals with the research context and sampling strategies.

4.1.1. Ghana

Ghana is a West African country. Ghanaians have indigenous languages as their L1, but the linguistic situation is quite complex. According to Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig (2022) there are a total of 83 living languages in Ghana. Of these, 73 are autochthonous and 10 are non-indigenous. Since the native language of the parents of an individual are often different, a person could have two languages as his/her L1. Additionally, English is the official language of the country due to British colonization. Thus, most Ghanaians are multilingual. The languages spoken by the research participants of the current study were thus mainly Ghanaian languages, English, and Spanish and/or French for those learning these foreign languages.

Due to the complex linguistic setting of the Ghanaian context, the authors use the term “own language” introduced by Cook (2010) to denote the languages already spoken in the Ghanaian context (i.e., English and the indigenous languages). Cook (2010) defines own language as “the language which the students already know and through which (if allowed), they can approach the new language” (p. xxii). By new language, Cook (2010) refers to “the language

being learned” (xxi-xxii). English is therefore the own language of the Ghanaian participants whereas the new language is Spanish.

The study was conducted in a national university. Students at the university choose a programme/language they want to study when applying for admission to the university. They do a four-year programme (sometimes five if they do a year abroad) or less if they drop the course in order to do other subjects of their preference before completing the university programme. All the research participants of the present study were students of the Modern Languages Department (in addition to belonging to other departments due to the combination of courses). Since some of them combined French and Spanish, they were also students of the French Department. At the end of the 4/5-year programme, many of them attain the level of B1 (threshold or intermediate) or B2 (upper intermediate). A few of the students who do the year abroad programme attain the level of C1 (advanced level). The foreign language classes are held about 4-8 hours per week excluding tutorials over a thirteen-week semester. The programme had a focus on orals, grammar, translation, literature, and civilization.

Table 1 displays information on the participants from the Ghanaian context. The research settings were selected based on the consideration that they would be information-rich cases as they had FL learners with diverse linguacultural backgrounds (Patton, 2015). Put differently, the familiarity of both researchers with their research contexts led them to the conclusion that these research settings would provide rich insights on FL learner attitudes towards classroom CS. The snowball sampling technique was employed for the selection of the research participants.

Table 1: Demographic information on Ghanaian lecturer and student participants

LECTURER PARTICIPANTS			
Question	Response	Freq	%
Age	41-50	3	50
	51-60	1	16.7
	61+	2	33.3
Gender	Female	3	50

	Male	3	50
Nationality	Ghanaian	4	66.7
	Spanish	2	33.3
How long have you been teaching Spanish as a foreign language?	6 - 10 years	1	16.7
	11- 15 years	2	33.3
	21 - 25 years	1	16.7
	26 years plus	2	33.3
STUDENT PARTICIPANTS			
Age	15-20	94	49.7
	21-25	91	48.1
	26-30	4	2.1
Gender	Female	166	87.8
	Male	21	11.1
	Prefer not to say	2	1.1
Nationality	Ghanaian	181	95.8
	Other	8	4.2
Level*	200	88	46.6
	300	52	27.5
	400	49	25.9
How long have you been studying Spanish as a foreign language?	1 year	53	28
	3 years	46	24.3
	4 years	41	21.7
	2 years	40	21.2
	More than 4 years	9	4.8
Did you choose this subject when applying for admission to the University?	Yes	157	83.1
	No	32	16.9
How would you describe your level of proficiency in Spanish?	Beginner	34	18
	Elementary	64	33.9
	Pre-Intermediate	40	21.2

	Intermediate	46	24.3
	Upper-intermediate	5	2.6

‘Level’ refers to students’ year of study (e.g., Level 200 = second year student; Level 300 = third year student etc.)

4.1.2. Turkey

Turkey is a transcontinental country located between South-eastern Europe and Western Asia. Even though the official language in Turkey is Turkish, minority languages (numbers differing from 15 to 41) are spoken by bilingual speakers who, however, have diverse attitudes towards their own languages and often display a preference towards Turkish as it has by far the greatest prestige as the dominant language in the public (Çetintaş Yıldırım, 2020). The study was conducted at a state university among students in an English preparatory programme leading learners from A2 to B2 according to the Common European Framework of Languages (Council of Europe, 2001). The learners were students in the English Language Teaching programme, and the preparatory programme was compulsory for those who did not pass the proficiency exam at the beginning of an academic year. Students who complete the preparatory programme successfully would start their major in the upcoming academic year. While the school delivering the preparatory programmes granted certificates to successful students, it had not received accreditation by third party accreditation bodies at the time of data collection. The sizes of the four classes examined in the study (proficiency level A2 according to the school syllabus) were between 20 and 25, and classes were held 26 hours per week and taught by four teachers. Teacher A taught 12 hours, teacher B taught 10 hours in a main course based on a general English coursebook, while teacher C and D delivered skills lessons (speaking and writing). In the study, two participants of each teacher (A, B, C and D) responded to the data collection tools.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, classes were delivered online over the videoconferencing tool Zoom at the time of data collection. Detailed demographic information on the participating teachers and learners in the Turkish context are given below. As seen in Table 2, only five out of the 101 participating learners were bilingual in terms of L1. It should also be noted that the indicated levels of proficiency in English were self-reports. Given that the students were still enrolled in the programme at the time the questionnaire was administered, the rather high number of learners claiming to be at upper-intermediate level may not be accurate.

The sampling strategy employed was the same as for the selection of the participants in the Ghanaian context (see Section 4.2.). The participants were believed to provide valuable data to engage in an examination of the focus of inquiry (Patton, 2015).

Table 2: Demographic information on Turkish teacher and student participants

TEACHER PARTICIPANTS			
Question	Response	Freq	%
Age	31-40	5	62.5
	41-50	2	25
	51-60	1	12.5
Gender	Female	4	50
	Male	4	50
Nationality	Turkish	8	100
How long have you been teaching English as a foreign language?	6 - 10 years	2	25
	11- 15 years	2	25
	16-20 years	1	12.5
	21 - 25 years	1	12.5
	26 years plus	2	25
STUDENT PARTICIPANTS			
Age	15-20	73	72.3
	21-25	25	24.8
	26-30	2	2
	31+	1	1
Gender	Female	73	72.3
	Male	28	27.7
Nationality	Turkish	101	100
What is/are your native language(s)?	Turkish	97	96
	Turkish, Kurdish	3	3
	Turkish, Arabic	2	1

How long have you been studying English as a foreign language?	4 years	57	56.4
	1 years	17	16.8
	2 years	15	14.9
	3 years	12	11.9
How would you describe your level of proficiency in English?	Beginner	1	1
	Elementary	5	5
	Pre-Intermediate	31	30.7
	Intermediate	14	13.9
	Upper-Intermediate	50	49.5

4.2. Data collection

An adapted version of Tang's (2002) questionnaire (Appendices A and B) was used to conduct this study. The questionnaire was developed to elicit learner and teacher attitudes towards CS in the foreign language classroom. Both questionnaire versions (for learners and teachers) were parallel as the same aspects were examined in the same order and with question formulations that took the respondents' perspectives into account (e.g., "Do you like your teacher to code-switch in the classroom?" in the learner version and "Do you think your students like you to code-switch in the classroom?" in the teacher version). The questionnaire asked about general views on CS (questions 1 and 2), functions of CS (question 3), reasons for CS (question 4), its potential significance for the learning of a foreign language (question 5) and preferred and actual frequencies (questions 6, 7 and 8). Participants were also allowed to add purposes and reasons not provided in the given options, and to add other comments. For the teacher survey, questions were added inviting the participants to explicate their general views on CS.

Questions eliciting demographic information preceded the questionnaire items on CS. In the Ghanaian context, the questionnaires were administered in English. Only the target language named in the original survey ('Chinese') was replaced with 'Spanish.' Accordingly, the target language name was changed in the questionnaire used in Turkey to 'English.' Additionally, a Turkish translation of the learner survey was administered for the Turkish participants. The translation was available as it had been done by the second author (for his Master's thesis). The translation procedures included back translation, independent check by two English language

teachers (L1 Turkish) and modification by a Turkish language linguist as well as piloting with students enrolled in the same programme to examine the comprehensibility of the questionnaire to ensure its validity.

In the Ghanaian context, the questionnaires were administered to level 200 and 300 students during lecture hours in the first semester of the 2020/2021 academic year. However, in the case of the level 400 students, the survey was administered electronically via Google forms due to the Covid-19 pandemic. At the time of the survey, they (final year students) were not available on campus as the university was running the modular system to ensure social distancing. Level 100 students were excluded from the study because lessons for first year students were conducted mainly in English. Lessons for the other Levels (200-400) were however ‘expected’ to be conducted in the target language only (see Lomotey, 2020b).

In the Turkish context, the questionnaires were administered online using Google Forms. This procedure was necessary due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which did not allow a face-to-face administration.

4.3. Data analysis

The analysis of the quantitative data was conducted descriptively by calculating percentages displaying the learners’ and teachers’ views and preferences concerning the CS aspects asked in the questionnaire. For practical reasons, each participant was given a study-intern ID. In order to compare the results gained in the two contexts, two different statistical tests were employed. A two-way group independence chi-square was performed for questions 1, 3 and 4, in which the participants were asked to select categorical variables denoting preferences, purposes and reasons related to CS. Concerning the analysis of the responses to the other questions, Mann-Whitney U Test (which is identical with Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test) was considered the appropriate statistical test to identify potential differences between the two contexts as the items consisted of categorical variables and the number of participants differed in both groups (Larson-Hall, 2010, p. 377).

Since only six teachers in the Ghanaian context and eight teachers in the Turkish context participated in the survey, it was not possible to compare questions 1, 3 and 4 with a two-way group-independence chi-square because for all questions 50% or more of the cells had expected counts less than 5. Direct quotations from the responses to the open-ended questions coming

from the Turkish participants shown in the Result Section were translated from Turkish into English. A colleague (L1: Turkish) of the second researcher was consulted to check the accuracy of the translations.

5. Results

The results of the study are presented in the following sections. The learner views on CS are reported first in three subsections. These sections document 1) the learners' general views of CS, 2) the perceived benefits of CS for FL learning and 3) the results concerning the preferable and reported frequency of CS in the classroom. The same structure is followed to report the teacher survey results. Student and teacher comments from the open-ended questions in the questionnaires were incorporated into the report to support the quantitative findings and to document participant voices that accentuate specific aspects not inferable from the statistical results. Readers are directed to the appendices for references made to the survey questions in the following sections.

5. 1 Data from learners

4. 1.1. Learners' perceptions and attitudes towards CS

To evaluate the learners' general views on CS, the survey asked the students to indicate if the use of CS in the foreign language classroom was generally appropriate. For the analysis, a two-way group-independence chi-square was performed to assess the relationship between location and general view of CS. This aspect was examined through the first survey question. Figure 1 shows the results.

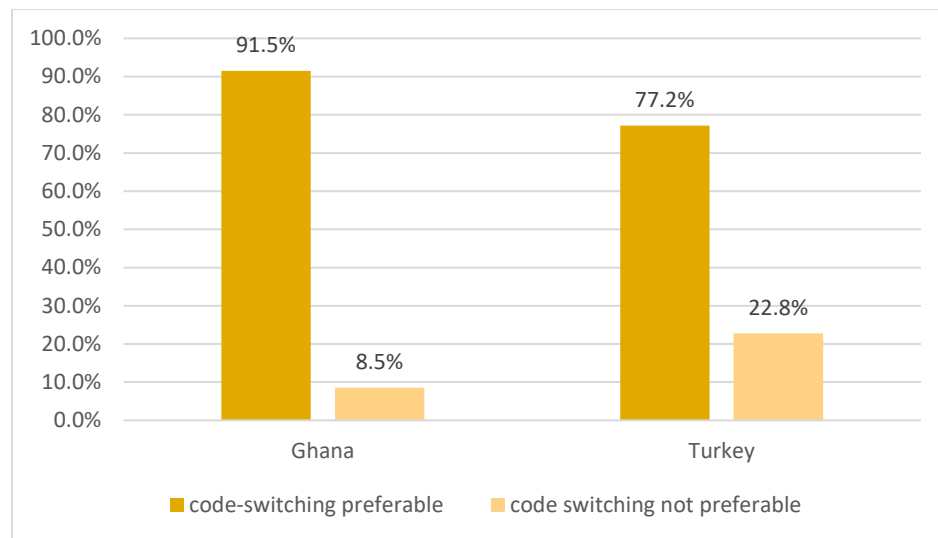


Figure 1. Learners' perceptions on whether CS should be used in class

While it was apparent that CS was preferred by the majority of learners in both contexts, there was a statistically significant difference between the groups ($\chi^2 = 11,6$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$). CS appeared to be more preferred in the Ghanaian context.

When asked if they liked it when their teachers engaged in CS, the answers were varied. However, the learners generally indicated quite positive attitudes to the use of CS by their teachers. Figure 2 shows a comparison of the results for the participants in Ghana and in Turkey. The statistical analysis of the responses to this question suggest that the Turkish learners had more positive attitudes to the use CS in their classrooms.

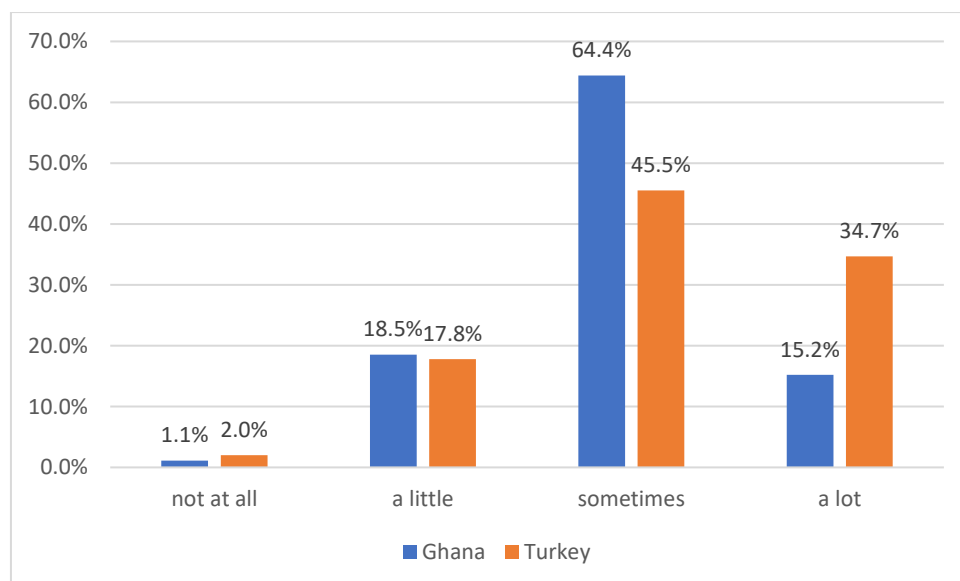


Figure 2. Ghanaian and Turkish learners' preferences regarding teacher CS

The Mann-Whitney U Test revealed statistically significant differences between the two groups, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=189, N_{\text{Turkey}}=101) = 8138.00, z = -2.33, p = .020$. Remarkably, a third of the Turkish learners reported liking their teachers engaging in CS, while only one sixth of the Ghanaian participants reported this.

Across local contexts, the participating learners expressed that although CS had benefits, its extensive usage had to be avoided in order to ensure sufficient learner exposure to the target language: “In some cases, it might be useful, but the teachers must be careful about it. Using the method too much may affect the classroom environment negatively. It is an extremely sensitive topic” (Turkish learner 9).

There were distinct opinions about whether teachers should be able to engage in CS from the Ghanaian context: “Foreign [language] lecturers should be able to express themselves in the official language of the student” (Ghanaian learner 115). This was elaborated upon by another student who emphasised that:

foreign lecturers should be fluent in English so that they can explain some difficult concepts to students when necessary. Also, lecturers who understand English should explain difficult concepts to students, when necessary, instead of strictly keeping to the foreign language they are teaching (Ghanaian learner 116).

5.1.2. Learner views on CS as a learning aid

Three questions in the survey (questions 3, 4 and 6) were related to the potential of CS as a learning tool. The learners’ perceptions on the extent to which CS helps with learning a foreign language is displayed in Figure 3.

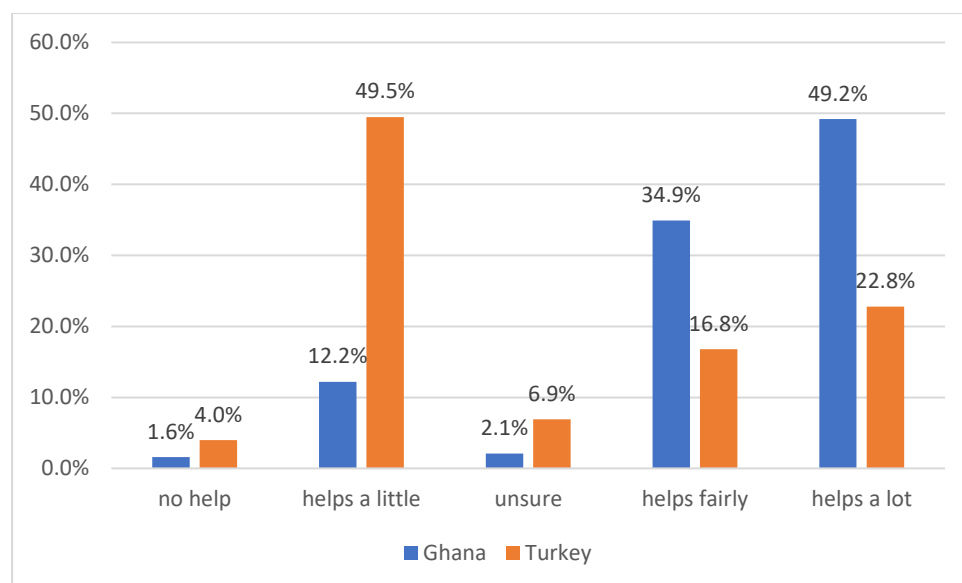


Figure 3. Learner perceptions of CS as a learning aid

Figure 3 shows that the potential of CS to contribute to language learning was more strongly appreciated by the Ghanaian learners. The Mann-Whitney U Test revealed statistically significant differences between the two groups, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=189, N_{\text{Turkey}}=101,) = 7697.00, z = -2.91, p = .004$. When asked about areas in which CS would be necessary, the learners in both contexts arrived at relatively similar understandings. The results are shown in Figure 4.

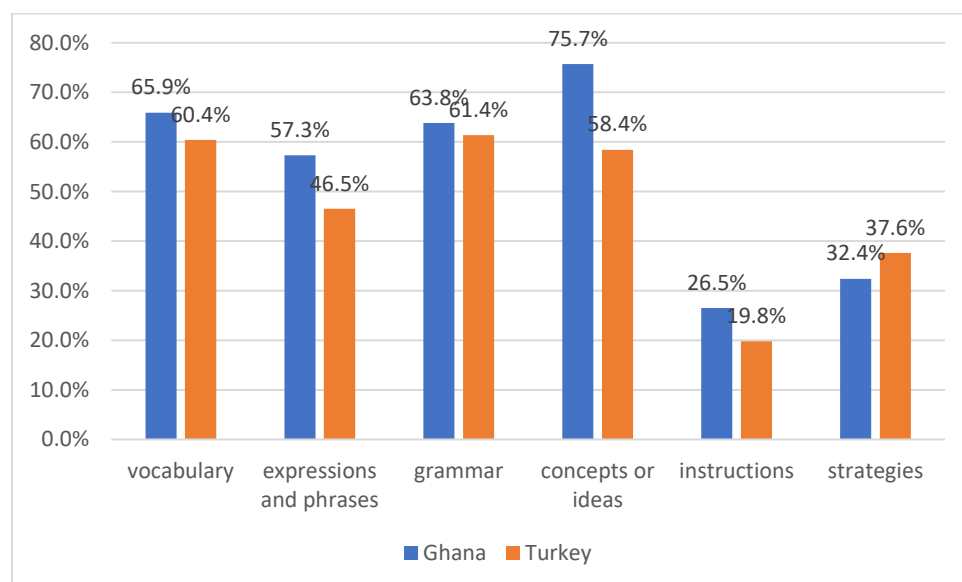


Figure 4. Areas in which CS is considered necessary by learners

Figure 4 shows that the majority of learners in both countries saw the need to engage in CS to explain difficult concepts or ideas, for grammar and vocabulary teaching and to better

understand chunks and idiomatic expressions. This need was not seen for instructions and to get suggestions on how to learn more effectively by no more than a third of the learners. A two-way group independence chi-square was performed to detect statistically significant group differences. Differences were not found for any of these options ($p > 0.05$).

When asked about the reasons for their appreciation of CS, the learners saw more advantages for the process of learning a foreign language rather than for their own emotional/psychological well-being. The results are summarised in Figure 5.

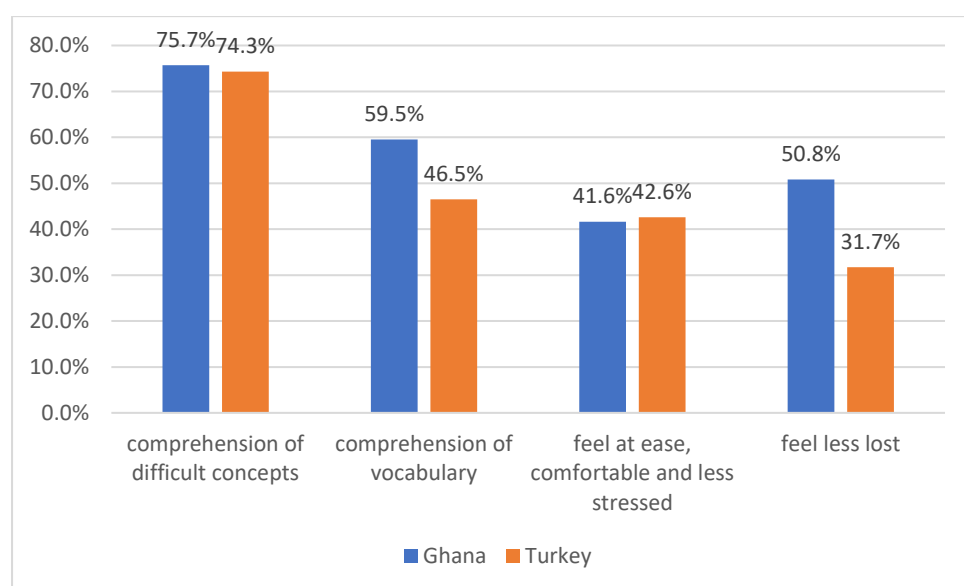


Figure 5. Learners' perceptions on the functions and advantages of CS

As seen in Figure 5, the Ghanaian learners appreciated CS as a tool that enabled them to understand difficult concepts or vocabulary and to avoid feelings of insecurity more than the Turkish learners. The two-way group independence chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference for the item *I feel lost* ($\chi^2 = 7.8$, $df = 1$, $p = .005$). For the other items, no statistically significant differences between the groups were revealed.

In support of the results of the multiple-choice survey questions, some learners stressed in the open-ended questions that CS would help them to access difficult lesson contents and allow them to participate more fully in class: "Code-switching is a method that I want to benefit from for topics that are new for me or that I feel myself not competent in" (Turkish learner 12); "Some of us are not really familiar with the language so understanding it while it is being spoken is quite complex, hence there should be code-switching" (Ghanaian learner 8); it

“improves and adds up to the student participation in class ..., therefore I will encourage its usage more often” (Ghanaian learner 90). A student pointed to instances when CS might be helpful to explain words that have no straightforward equivalent in the other language (Turkish learner 70). Some students expressed their satisfaction with their teachers who code-switched “when necessary and decreased stress levels that way” (Turkish learner 48).

Another learner emphasised his need for CS by pointing out the opportunities CS provides learners who have just started to learn an additional language: “[I am] very new to the language and I plead to be taught in a way that will help me (us) grasp the language faster to avoid feelings of being lost or dealing with the pressure of learning like us” (Ghanaian learner 68). More specifically, pointing to CS as a tool to learn another language by contrasting the new language with the own language, a student reasoned: “I think code-switching really helps because you sharpen your skills in the L2 language because one gains or uses the ability to blend both the current language spoken and the L2 and that helps a lot in learning an L2” (Ghanaian learner 178).

However, there were also students who stated that CS should not be used at higher proficiency levels (e. g., Ghanaian learner 43; Turkish learner 61). Other learners also held critical views on CS saying that “to improve our English, there should be a native speaker teacher who is not Turkish or students who are not Turkish” (Turkish learner 43). The need to be exposed to the target language was stressed by some learners in both contexts, as they believed that CS would jeopardise the aim of FL learning. A Turkish student expressed his view forcefully: “I wish I had received only classes in which code-switching doesn’t take place” (Turkish learner 78). A similar, entirely negative attitude towards CS was expressed by a learner from the Ghanaian context who claimed that “code-switching breeds laziness because students feel so relaxed and reluctant in class rather than being pushed to further explore the language” (Ghanaian learner 89). This, in the words of another student, would “make students be spoon fed” (Ghanaian learner 95).

Objections of these kinds against CS were sometimes put into perspective in the light of the challenges posed by specific language subjects: “Code-switching does not help me as a student. Since I have less exposure to the language, I prefer that the lecturer does not code-switch so that I can learn better. However, it is needed in specialized courses like history” (Ghanaian learner 96).

5.1.3. Learner views on preferred and actual frequency of CS in the classroom

The learner participants were also asked about their preferences regarding how often CS should be used in the foreign language classroom. The results are shown in Figure 6 below.

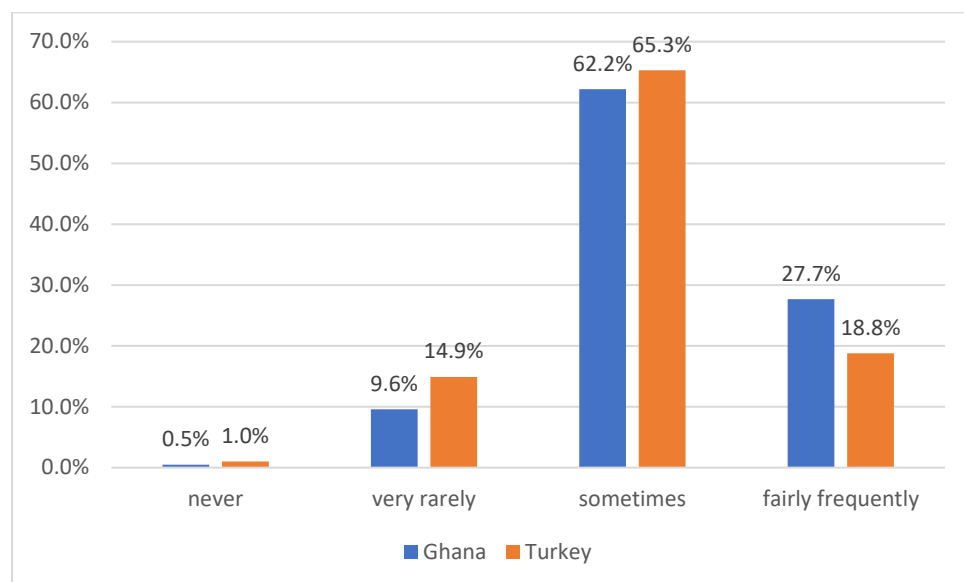


Figure 6. General learner views on the preferable frequency of CS

While Figure 6 shows that learners in both groups tend to appreciate a moderate use of CS, the group differences were statistically significant as evidenced in the Mann Whitney U test, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=188, N_{\text{Turkey}}=101,) = 8343.50, z = -1988, p = .047$. It should be noted, however, that the p value (0.47) is remarkably close to the significance level.

To arrive at a more exact understanding of the learner preferences on how often CS should be used in class, the participating learners were asked to select percentages indicating how much class time should be assigned to CS. The results are shown in Figure 7 below.

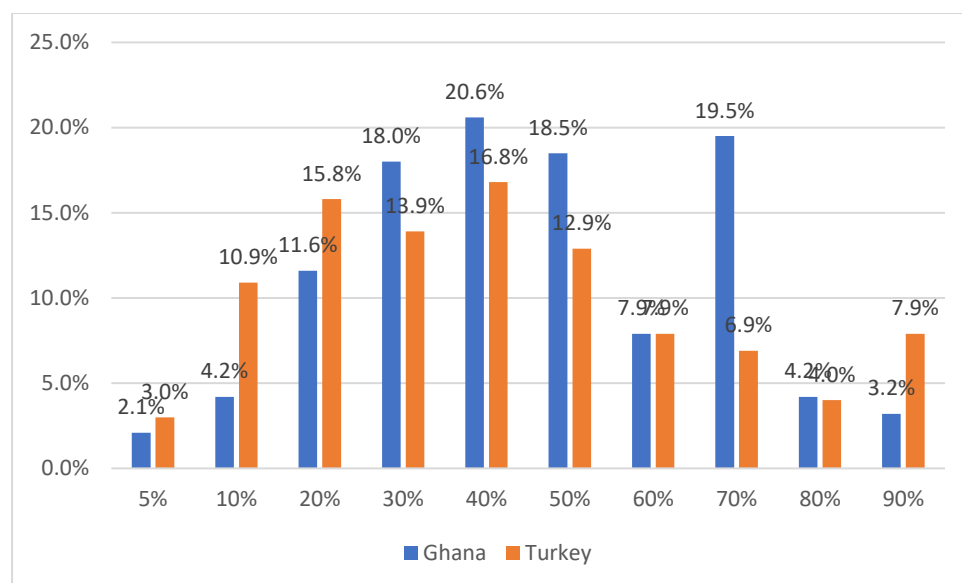


Figure 7. Amount of class time preferred by learners for CS

Once more, responses to this question were quite diverse. However, generally, participants from both contexts indicated a preference for the moderate use of CS. 20.6% of the Ghanaian participants and 16.8% of the Turkish participants showed a preference for 40% CS usage in the FL classroom. While the Mann Whitney U test did not indicate statistically significant differences ($U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=189, N_{\text{Turkey}}=101) = 8844.50, z = -1.040, p = .298$), it is remarkable that some Ghanaian learners (19.5%) preferred as much as 70%, while a few Turkish learners (about 8%) sought to see 90% of the class time reserved for instruction in the learners' own language. One Ghanaian student stated: "Lecturers should kindly know that a fair percentage on the use of code-switching is not deteriorating as compared to completely not using it at all" (Ghanaian learner 92).

Additionally, learners were asked what they believed the actual amount of CS used during class time was. The results are presented in Figure 8.

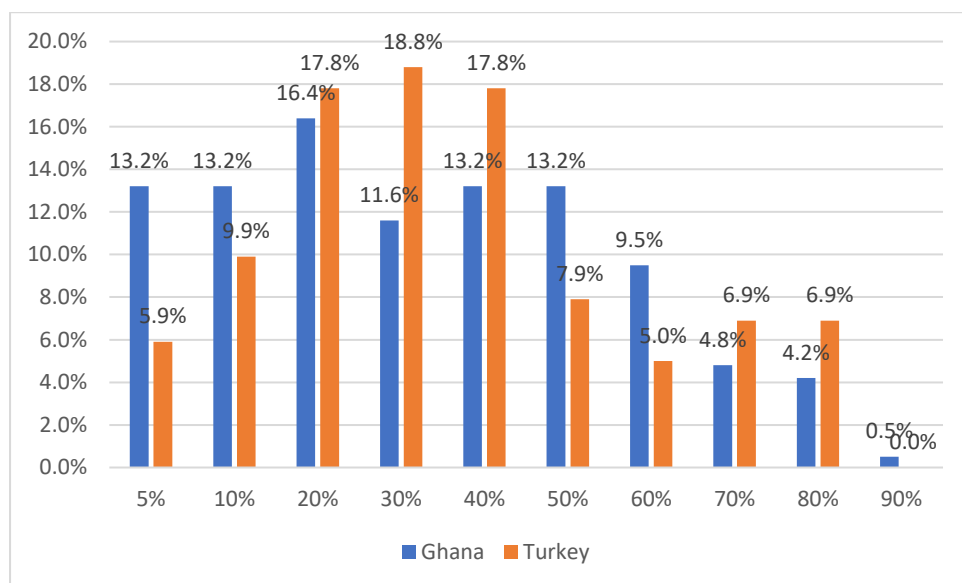


Figure 8. Learner beliefs on the amount of CS used during class time

Regarding the results for the reported amount of CS used during class time, there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups as evidenced in the Mann Whitney U test, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=189, N_{\text{Turkey}}=101) = 8617.00, z = -1.374, p = .169$. While the bar graph suggests a comparable tendency for both contexts, a total of 54.4% of the Turkish participants reported 20%, 30% and 40% (the most frequently selected options) CS in their classrooms, while 41.2% of the Ghanaian learners reported the same amounts (20%, 30% and 40%) of CS in their classrooms.

Some learner voices underlined the awareness that CS may be beneficial to FL learning but detrimental when used too extensively. A learner observed: “If the mother tongue is used at an amount of more than 40 or 50%, lessons become ineffective because we do not learn new words. For that reason, it should be restricted to grammar teaching or the clarification of difficult lesson content; I wouldn’t like to see it applied all the time” (Turkish learner 12).

5.2 Data from teachers

5.2.1. Teachers’ perceptions on the appropriateness of CS in the classroom

To evaluate the teacher participants’ perceptions on CS, the survey elicited information on their views on whether CS should be allowed in the foreign language classroom and whether they believed that their learners welcomed their teachers engaging in CS. Results are presented in Figure 9.

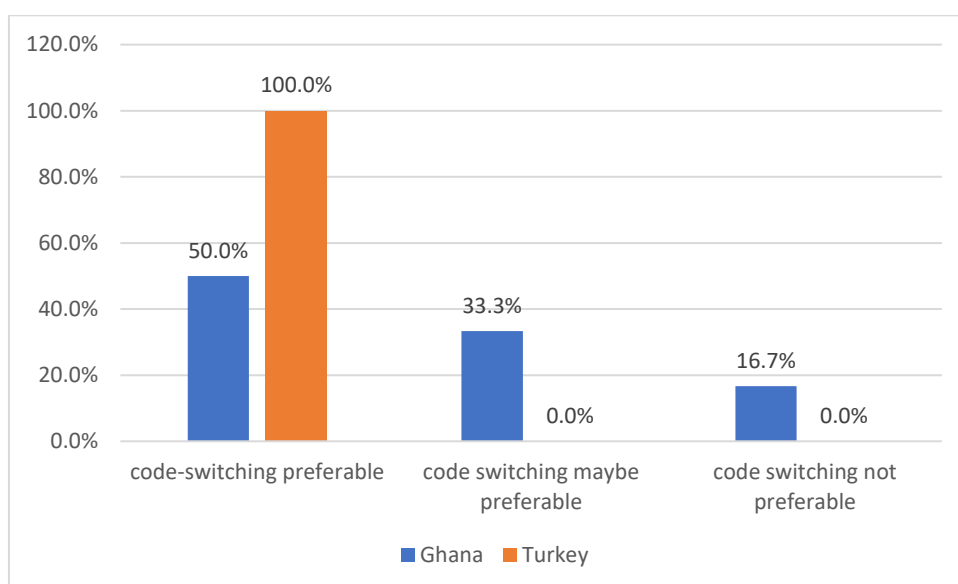


Figure 9. Ghanaian and Turkish teachers' perceptions on whether CS should be used in class

As shown in Figure 9, the teachers working in the Ghanaian context had more diverse attitudes towards CS. Only 50% of them stated that the learners' own language should be used in the foreign language classroom for CS purposes. On the other hand, all teachers in the Turkish context (i.e., 100%) were in favour of its usage.

When asked about their views on their students' preferences regarding teacher CS, both groups held similar views as more than 80% of the teachers believed that their learners would like to see their teachers engage in CS sometimes or a lot (Figure 10).

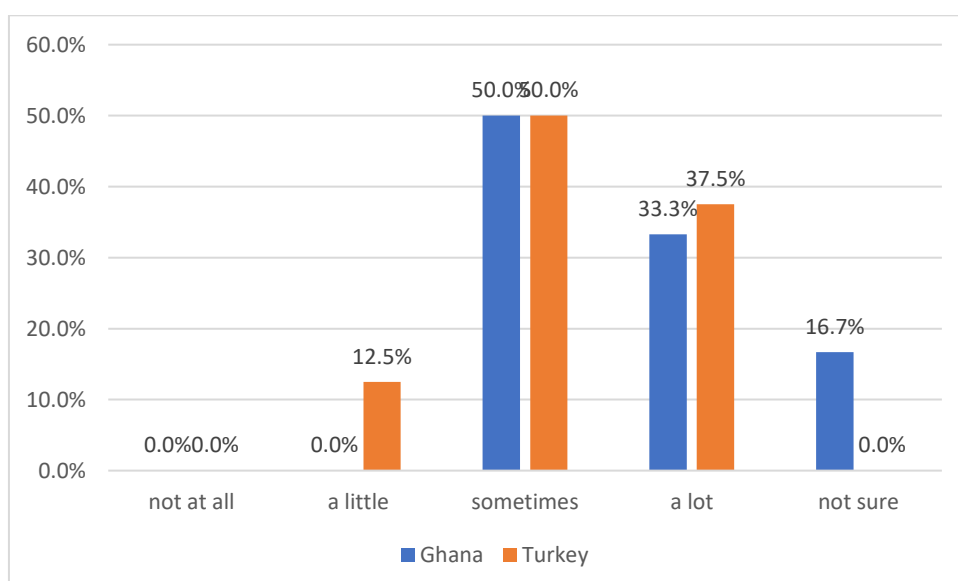


Figure 10. Teacher views on learners' preferences for teacher CS

The teachers were also asked whether their students should be allowed to engage in CS. The responses are shown in Figure 11.

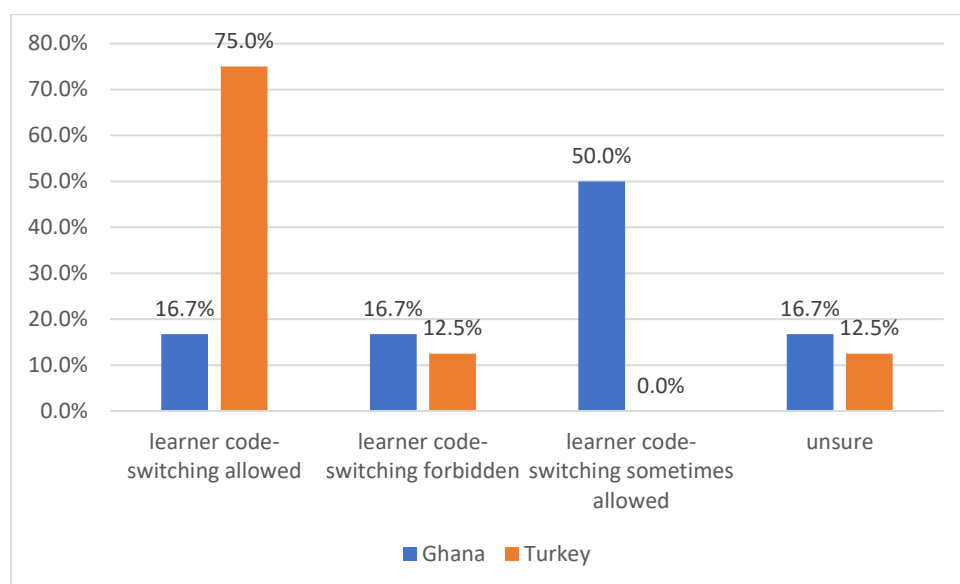


Figure 11. Teachers' beliefs as to whether learners should be allowed to engage in CS

As shown in Figure 11, the teachers in the Turkish context held more tolerant views on learner CS as six out of the eight teachers stated that it should be allowed. Three teachers pointed to the affective component of CS stating that a bilingual environment would make their learners feel more confident and safer. A teacher drew the attention to its potential benefits: “Along with saving time, it facilitates weaker students’ participation in the lessons, thus building self-confidence to be involved in the upcoming lessons” (Turkish teacher 6). Thus, learner CS was explicitly seen as a means of encouraging learners’ participation: “If they cannot find the suitable expressions to complete the task, especially in speaking tasks, there is no problem to allow the students to switch languages” (Turkish teacher 2). Another teacher pointed out that a classroom policy in which “students are not allowed to switch languages and forced to use only the target language in the class can discourage some students who are afraid of making mistakes” (Turkish teacher 7).

In contrast, the rather diverse views of the teachers at the Ghanaian university were reflected in their comments. One teacher claimed that learner CS should be banished because learners “need to use the new language regularly” (Ghanaian teacher 4). It is interesting to note that

despite the striking variance between the Ghanaian and Turkish teacher participants' overall responses to this questionnaire item, this comment (from Ghanaian teacher 4) was in tandem with a Turkish teacher's views that CS "hinders the new language learning process" (Turkish teacher 5). Another Ghanaian teacher perceived CS as a tool that should only be used "for important information not related to teaching" (Ghanaian teacher 6). On the other hand, another Ghanaian teacher perceived CS as a strategy for the "teacher to help students who have difficulty expressing an idea or problem in the target language" (Ghanaian teacher 2).

The mixed views on CS held by the teachers working in the Ghanaian context are illustrated by a teacher who expressed his/her doubts on its usefulness but, at the same time, appeared to perceive it as a means to address challenging teaching conditions:

Code-switching is generally not advisable for effective language teaching but given the very large classes we have today, many students will only pretend to be grasping what the language instructor is saying in Spanish, hence the inevitability of code-switching. (Ghanaian teacher 4)

Overall, the teachers in the Turkish context held more positive views on CS but they also showed awareness of the fact that it needs to be employed with caution. For example, some of them affirmed that CS should be reserved for lower proficiency levels, and that learners should be aware of the need to avoid CS when they reached a higher proficiency level (Turkish teacher 6). Another teacher held the view that the learners' own language could not be turned off and that, it had the potential to facilitate FL teaching and learning:

While learning or teaching a foreign language, it is impossible not to switch languages because we have to link some expressions (idiomatic expressions especially), grammar topics etc. to the ones in the mother tongue. It enables us/our students to express/catch the mentioned tasks more clearly/easily. (Turkish teacher 2)

The Mann-Whitney U Test revealed no statistically significant differences between the two groups, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=6, N_{\text{Turkey}}=8) = 15.00, z = -2.250, p = .211$.

5.2.2. Teacher views on CS as a teaching aid

Three questions in the survey (questions 3, 4 and 5) were related to the potential of CS as a teaching aid. The teachers' perceptions regarding the extent to which CS helps students learn a foreign language is displayed in Figure 12.

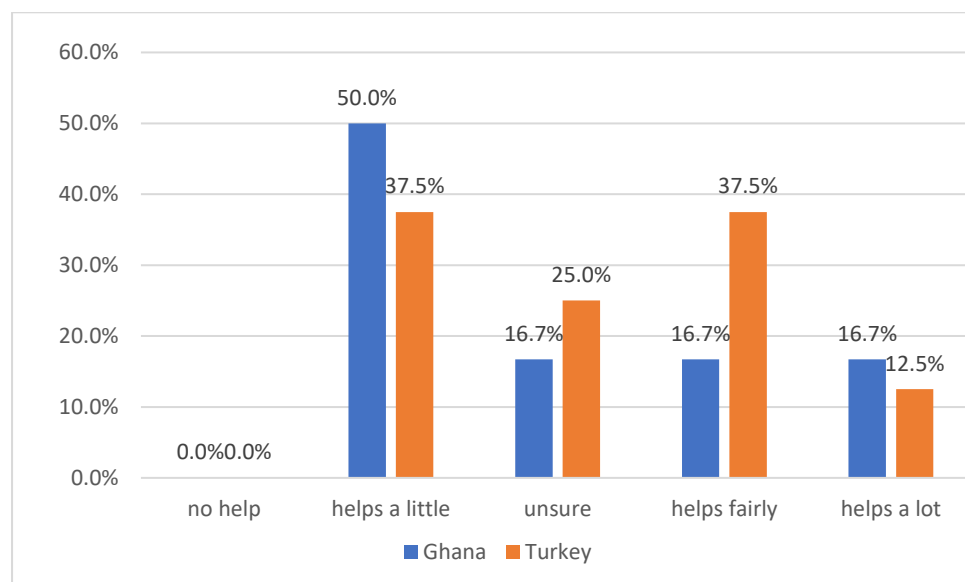


Figure 12. Teacher perceptions of CS as a learning aid

Figure 12 shows that the potential of CS to facilitate FL learning was more strongly appreciated by the teachers in Turkey. The Mann-Whitney U Test however revealed no statistically significant differences between the two groups, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=6, N_{\text{Turkey}}=8) = 18.00, z = -.811, p = .417$.

Asked about areas in which CS is most useful, the teachers in both contexts arrived at similar understandings. The results are shown in Figure 13.

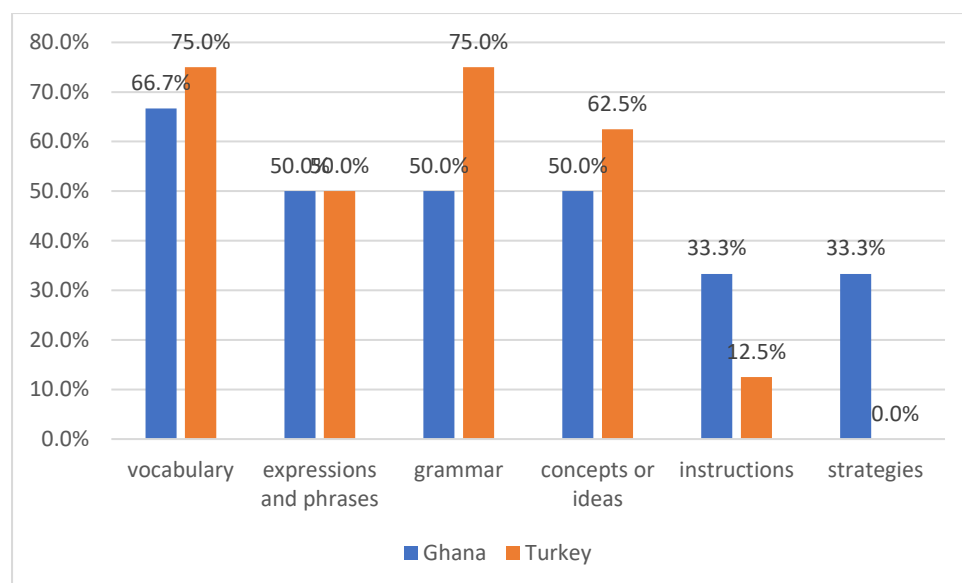


Figure 13. Areas in which CS was considered useful by teachers

Figure 13 shows that at least 50% of the teachers in both contexts appreciated the role of the own language for language related aspects of teaching. However, a lesser percentage of the teachers regarded CS as necessary for classroom management (e.g., instructions) and explanation of strategies (e.g., giving suggestions on how to learn more effectively).

Addressing more strongly the usefulness of CS, the teacher participants were asked about three potential advantages of CS: facilitation of comprehension, general effectiveness, and timesaving. The results are summarised in Figure 14.

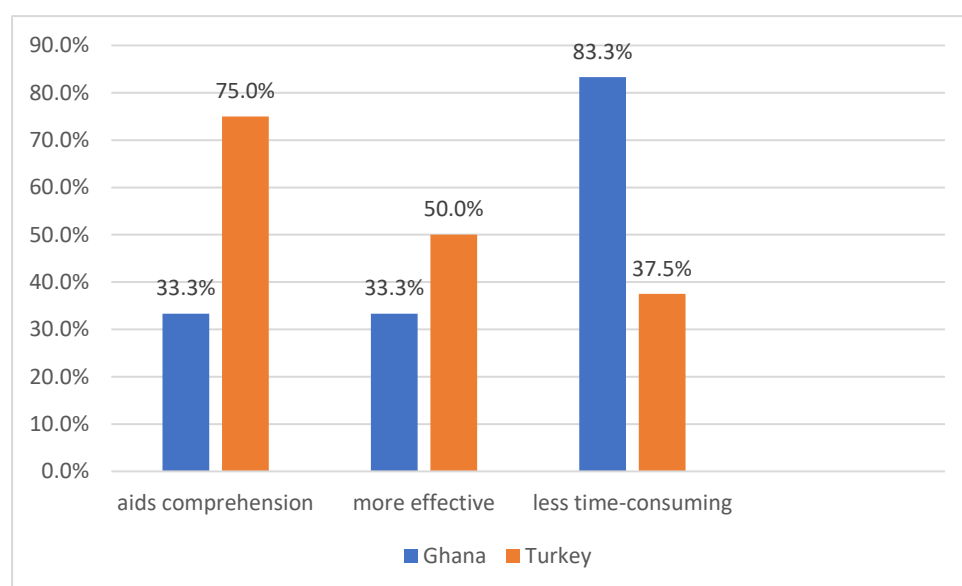


Figure 14. Perceived advantages of CS

As seen in Figure 14, the results differed in that the Ghanaian teachers appreciated especially the time-saving aspect of using the learners' own language, whereas the Turkish teachers particularly pointed to the advantage of enhancing comprehension.

5.2.3. Teacher views on preferred and actual frequency of CS in the classroom

The teacher participants were also asked about their perceptions regarding the preferred frequency of CS in the foreign language classroom. The response option *unsure* was not given in the survey for the Turkish teachers. The results are shown in Figure 15.

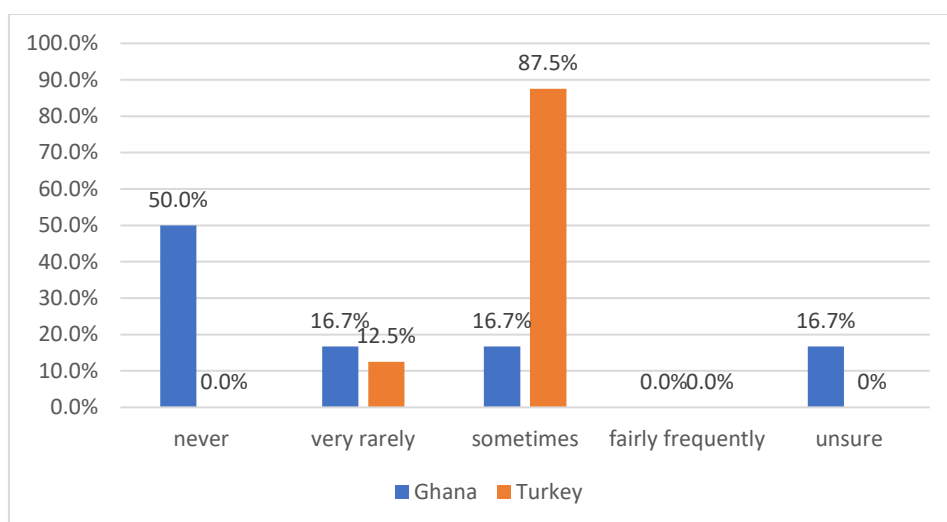


Figure 15. Teacher perceptions on the preferable frequency of CS

Figure 15 shows that the participating teachers in Ghana held more diverse views on how often CS should be allowed in the foreign language classroom. Strikingly, half (50%) of them were of the opinion that CS should never be used. On the other hand, the majority of the Turkish teachers, seven out of the eight, stated that CS should be used sometimes.

To arrive at a better understanding of the teachers' preferences on how often CS should be used in class, they were asked to select percentages indicating how much class time should be allowed for CS. The results are shown in Figure 16.

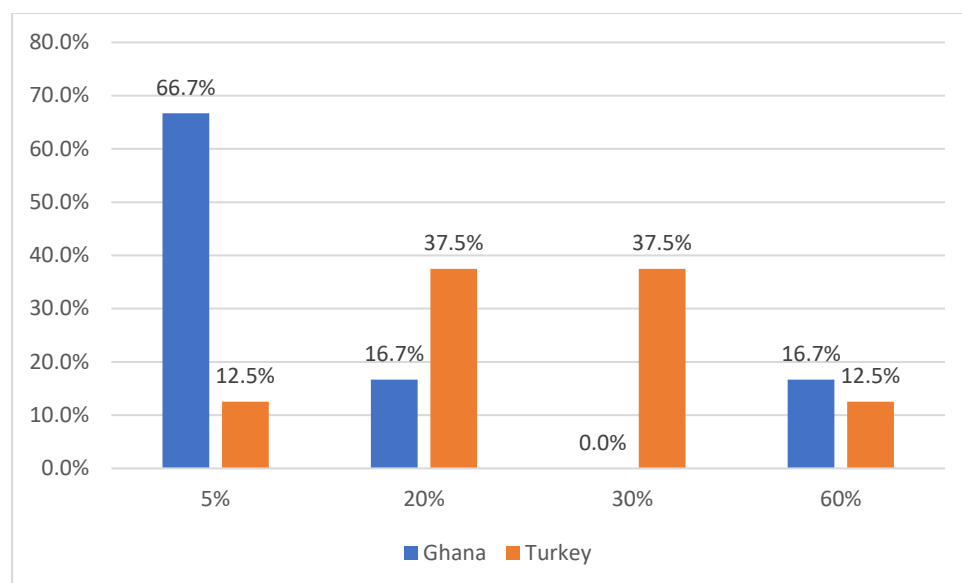


Figure 16. Teachers' perceptions on the percentage of class time during which CS should be allowed

Figure 16 shows only the responses that were selected by the teachers. Whereas a greater percentage of the Ghanaian teachers (66.7%) recommended only 5% usage of CS, the responses of the teachers in the Turkish context were more varied. A participant from the Ghanaian context stated that CS should be “just another resource for teaching but [used] very moderately” (Ghanaian teacher 2). One teacher in each group preferred the use of the learners' own language as the main medium for giving instructions. The Mann Whitney U test did not indicate any statistically significant differences, $U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=6, N_{\text{Turkey}}=8) = 12.00, z = -1.612, p = .107$.

Additionally, participants were asked about the actual amount of CS which they believed they used in their classes. The results are presented in Figure 17.

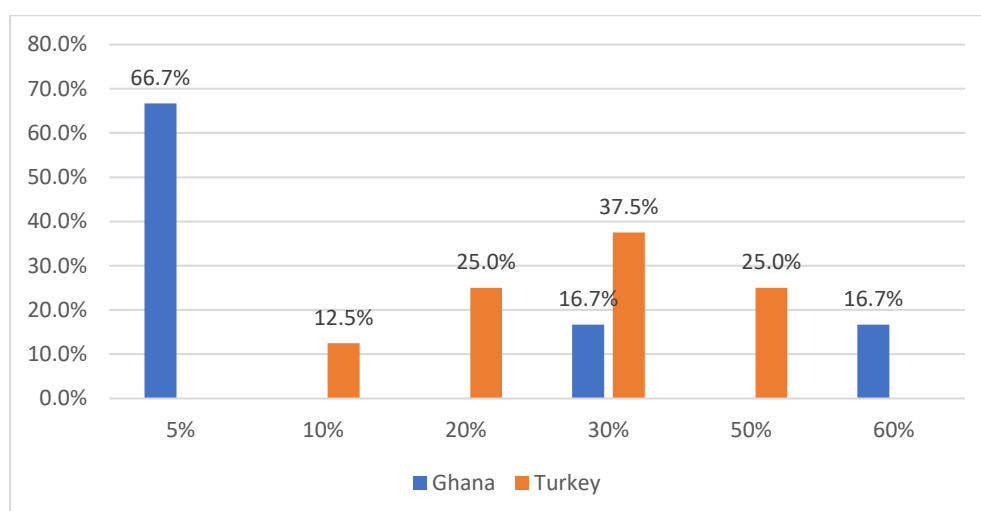


Figure 17. Teachers' self-reported amount of CS used in their classes

Varied responses were once more recorded for this questionnaire item. Within the Ghanaian context, 66.7% reported using only 5% CS in their FL classrooms, 16.7% indicated that they used 30% CS whereas another 16.7% of the participants reported using 60% CS. As can be observed from figure 17 above, the responses from the Turkish context were less polarised as a wider range of responses were given by the teacher participants. There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups as evidenced in the Mann Whitney U test, ($U(N_{\text{Ghana}}=6, N_{\text{Turkey}}=8) = 15.00, z = -1.552, p = .128$).

Before proceeding to the Discussion Section, some few observations need to be made. It should be noted that the responses from the teacher participants appear to mirror their own practices depending on the proficiency level of the class being taught: “Personally, I don't mind code-switching in A1 and A2 levels as long as they know/realise and admit they won't be able to code-switch that frequently in B1 and plus. This policy is part of my class agreement/management” (Turkish teacher 6).

6. Discussion

This study investigated the attitudes of foreign language learners and teachers in Ghana and Turkey towards CS. The findings suggest that, overall, the teacher participants within the Turkish context had more positive attitudes towards CS (Figure 9). However, in reference to the student participants, the Ghanaian students had slightly more positive attitudes towards CS than the Turkish students (Figure 1).

It is worthy to note that both contexts examined differ in several aspects. While both countries display a linguacultural diversity, the diversity is more pronounced in Ghana. Also, a low number of Turkish learners participating in this study came from a bilingual background. Furthermore, the Turkish learners participating in this research were students of only one FL (English). In the Ghanaian context however, a combination of different FL programmes was possible (i.e., Spanish and French). These factors may account for the slightly higher levels of positive attitudes among the Ghanaian student participants towards CS. The authors submit that this is a result of the fact that Ghanaian students experience and benefit from CS more frequently in out-of-class contexts and consequently, their attitudes towards CS may be shaped distinctively by their multilingualism. Indeed, CS has been characterised as the “Third Tongue” in Ghana, and sometimes, even the “First Tongue” (Amuzu, 2005, p. 162).

It is important, however, to point out that despite the slight differences in the Ghanaian and Turkish student participants’ attitudes towards CS, in general, it was perceived positively in both contexts. Nonetheless, the need for a judicious use of the learners’ own language to avoid crowding out the target language was emphasized by participants from both contexts. The intricate nature of this long-standing debate on the use of CS in the FL classroom was mirrored in the insightful but sometimes inconsistent (e.g., Ghanaian teacher 4, p. 22) observations made by the participants of this study.

Leaving aside (but not ignoring) inconclusive attitudes some participants had in this research, the current study confirms Shin et al.’s (2020) observation that “most students appear to favour L1-inclusive approaches, but in forms which use L2 as the dominant medium of instruction and utilise L1 as a resource” (p. 412). This finding was supported by participants’ indications of their preferred amounts of CS in the classroom. Both groups stated that they would not like to have their own language as the dominant medium of instruction in their FL classrooms. Indeed, the qualitative data suggests that some participants from both contexts also held critical views on CS as, for example, also reported by Kkese (2020). However, a general appreciation of CS was observed among the learner participants. Both groups acknowledged the potential of CS to contribute to foreign language learning. They perceived CS as a tool to make lesson contents more accessible. This reported perception strengthens arguments put forward to support bilingual approaches in FL teaching and learning (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; G. Cook, 2010). The potential of CS to create a safe learning environment (cf. Brooks-Lewis, 2009) was more strongly appreciated by the Ghanaian learners (Figure 5), which may, again,

be explained with their more diverse linguacultural environment and assumingly stronger familiarity with translingual practice outside the classroom.

Positive views of CS were also identified in the results of the teacher survey—particularly, the unanimous consensus among the Turkish teachers and their more tolerant attitudes towards learner CS was striking. In line with this result, the Turkish teachers appreciated the pedagogical values of CS as a tool to aid comprehension and increase general effectiveness in teaching, while the Ghanaian teachers focused more on the practical advantages of CS as a time-saving device. Given the multilingual context and frequent use of CS in Ghana, it was expected that Ghanaian teacher participants would also have positive attitudes towards CS as learners from their context did. However, the data showed that the Ghanaian teachers' perceptions of CS were not in tandem with the expectations of their students and additionally, they held more critical views on FL classroom CS than their colleague teachers in Turkey. Put differently, Turkish teachers had more positive attitudes towards CS than their peers in Ghana. These results also suggest that while teachers in the Ghanaian context were aware of learners' needs and preferences for CS, they were reluctant to allow it. The authors interpret this finding to be a result of the negative attitudes towards CS (see Section 1) and the target language-only teaching doctrine in the Ghanaian research context. As explained by Lomotey (2020b) in her study carried out in the same research setting, “although there is no official institutional policy on language use” for foreign language teaching in the research setting “there is an undocumented institutional preference for the monolingual approach” (p. 103). Additionally, this finding could be an indication of the Ghanaian teachers' (inadvertent) underestimation of the importance of considering learners' needs. As Borti (2021) observes, “educators sometimes underestimate learners' ability to make informed decisions about their learning needs” (p. 192). This is, however, detrimental to the formation of a conducive FL learning environment. As Chambers (1992) observes, the failure to recognise FL students' need for a moderate usage of the own language “can result in alienation and demotivation” (p. 66).

These negative attitudes towards CS, be it in the context of the language classroom or regular social interaction, should be overturned since there is a lack of convincing empirical findings to support them. In fact, for the case of Ghanaians in particular, it is important to cite Amuzu (2012) who contends that “bilinguals like them [Ghanaians] who use marked code-switching alongside unmarked code-switching normally have the mental capacity to keep their languages

apart as codes with separate identities” (p.1). This calls into question the negative reactions towards CS. Teachers must capitalize on its ability to facilitate FL learning rather than its assumed potential to cause the own language to interfere with the new language.

Additionally, the number of Turkish teachers who believed that CS contributed only a little or fairly to FL learning was higher than those who believed CS helps students a lot in their learning of the FL (Figure 12). An explanation for these observations may be the tendency, well documented in FL teaching in Turkey, of delivering grammar focused instruction that favours the use of Turkish to teach about the target language (Dağtan & Cabaroğlu, 2021). An additional explanation for this somehow contradictory finding may be that the Turkish participants may perceive CS as only one factor among many which facilitate FL learning, and especially because FL learning is not considered successful in Turkey (Dağtan & Cabaroğlu, 2021).

Overall, the results suggest that in the Turkish context, CS is perceived as a tool to be utilised by teachers. However, in the Ghanaian context, it is accepted more as an instrument in the hands of learners.

7. Conclusion

The similarities and differences identified in the perceptions of CS in the Ghanaian and Turkish FL classrooms examined in this study can be attributed to contextual factors. The learner participants from both contexts were aware of the facilitating potential of CS and desired its strategic usage. However, they were also aware of its debilitating effects when used indiscriminately and expressed their desire to avoid such a situation. The advantages of CS emphasized by participants point at the need for considering CS and translingual practice in FL teacher education and professional development. It is necessary for learners and teachers to negotiate on the implementation of the learners’ own language into FL classroom teaching. Such opportunities should help teachers and learners capitalize on the advantages of CS and provide them with examples of bilingual activities, so that they can develop a more systematic understanding of CS as a tool for foreign language education. Indeed, exploring learners’ and teachers’ attitudes and views towards CS is an appropriate starting point for arriving at an

understanding of what is meant by judicious use of the own language (Daniel & Pacheco, 2016; Vold & Brkan, 2020).

However, these findings and conclusions need to be interpreted against the limitations of the current study. This paper only documents perceptions and does not examine the actual translanguaging practices in the Ghanaian and Turkish contexts. In other words, collecting quantitative and qualitative data on attitudes and views cannot confirm how CS is really used and to what extent it actually contributes to FL learning. Despite these limitations, this study contributes valuable comparative data on how learners' and teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards CS could inhibit them from making beneficial use of CS as a valuable FL teaching and learning strategy. The study also shows that despite the negative perceptions that still persist regarding CS, the language learners' own language is an inescapable pathway on the long journey to attaining proficiency in a foreign language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Appendix A

Learner questionnaire

B. YOUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS USING CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM

1. Should there be code-switching in the foreign language classroom?
a) Yes b) No
2. Do you like your teacher to code-switch in the classroom?
a) Not at all b) A little c) Sometimes d) A lot
3. When do you think it is necessary to code-switch in the foreign language classroom?
(Please check all that apply)
a) to help define some new vocabulary items (e.g., some abstract words)
b) to practice the use of some phrases and expressions (e.g., doing translation exercises)
c) to explain complex grammar points.
d) to explain difficult concepts or ideas.
e) to give instructions.
f) to give suggestions on how to learn more effectively.
g) other, please specify _____
4. If you think the use of code-switching is necessary in the foreign language classroom please indicate why. (Please check all that apply.)
a) It helps me to understand difficult concepts better.
b) It helps me to understand new vocabulary items better.
c) It makes me feel at ease, comfortable and less stressed.
d) I feel less lost.
e) other, please specify _____
5. Do you think the use of code-switching in the classroom helps you learn this language (Spanish)?
a) No b) Yes. A little c) Yes. Fairly d) Yes. A lot e) Am not sure
6. How often do you think code-switching should be used in the classroom?
A) Never b) Very rarely c) Sometimes d) Fairly frequently
7. What percentage of the time do you think code-switching **should be used** in the classroom? (Please choose only one option).
a) 5% b) 10% c) 20% d) 30% e) 40%
f) 50% g) 60% h) 70% i) 80% j) 90%
8. What percentage of the time do you think code-switching **is used** in the majority of the classes you currently attend? (Please choose only one option).
a) 5% b) 10% c) 20% d) 30% e) 40%
f) 50% g) 60% h) 70% i) 80% j) 90%
9. Is there anything you would like to add? Please write your comments here.

8. What percentage of the time do you think you code-switch in your classes? (Please choose only one option).
- a) 5% b) 10% c) 20% d) 30% e) 40%
- f) 50% g) 60% h) 70% i) 80% j) 90%
9. In your opinion, should students be allowed to switch languages?
- a) Yes b) No
10. Please explain your answer to question 9.
11. Is there anything you would like to add? Please write your comments here.

Simon, D.-L. (2001). Towards a new understanding of codeswitching in the foreign language classroom. *Trends in linguistics studies and monographs*, 126, 311-342.

ONOMATOPOEIA IN DATOOGA NOUNS

Kuria Mdoe

The study looks at the forms of Onomatopoeia in Datooga nouns and their place in the grammatical system of the language. Data from the study was collected through elicitation and extraction from oral narrations and existing written Datooga literature. The study has identified three forms of onomatopoeia in the language. The first form reflects a purely sound imitation and has a sub-form where the sound imitating element inflects for number/definiteness. The second form reflects the fair approach to onomatopoeia as it involves derivation process which combines with the sound imitating components. The gender marking prefixes combine with the sound mimicry elements. The third form involves sound mimicry understood from semantic extension and cognitive approaches where metonymical extension is central in realization of the sound imitation. On the place of onomatopoeia in the Datooga grammatical system, the study finds onomatopoeia in concurrence with the Datooga grammatical system though in the morphological aspect, onomatopoeia dwells in the marked morphology of the language. Therefore, onomatopoeia integrates with both the marked and unmarked aspects of Datooga. It clearly exemplifies both the 'fairly generous approach' and the 'pure sound imitation approach' to onomatopoeia while further showing how onomatopoeia can be understood from a semantic extension point of view.

Keywords: Datooga, Datooga nouns, ideophones, onomatopoeia

1. Introduction

Onomatopoeia falls in the broad category of ideophones, words depicting sensory imagery, (Kunene, 2001; Dingemanse 2012). Within the category ideophones, the sub-class onomatopoeia is identified. Although studies in individual languages have shown the presence of onomatopoeic words in every continent (Akita & Pardesh, 2019), onomatopoeia is one among the understudied fields in linguistics. This is attributed to the lack of an arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified making

onomatopoeia, to be termed immature, inorganic, peripheral, negligible and unnecessary linguistic phenomena (Saussure 1959, Schourup 1993, Tamori & Schourup 1999, Guldemann 2008). Scholars agree on the general view of onomatopoeic words being iconic by imitating sounds of extra-linguistic reality where their phonological form appears to be directly related to its meaning (Newman 2001, Sugahara 2010, Bauer 2014, Akita & Pardesh 2019, Kórtvelyessy 2020). With sound and mimicry being central in the definition and occurrence of onomatopoeic forms, two different approaches come into contention in identifying what onomatopoeic formations are. Kórtvelyessy (2020:35) summarizes the two approaches. She terms the first approach as ‘a fairly generous approach’ which shows that any word bearing a sign of sound imitation is termed onomatopoeic, the second approach treats onomatopoeia as ‘a pure sound imitation’ with the sound imitation having not only a motivating function but also defining the meaning of a word. Bauer (2014) is in support of the second approach as he asserts that onomatopoeic words are pure sound imitation. Further, Bauer (2014) is of the view that words motivated by and derived from onomatopoeic imitations cannot be considered onomatopoeic forms. Feist (2013) also supports the second approach by pointing that if meaning of an onomatopoeic word is extended to a new domain eg. from sound to action, such a word might become abstract making the iconic link between sound and sense become symbolic.

In addition, scholars (see Akita, 2013, Nasu, 2015) have shown that onomatopoeic forms have lexically appeared to denote different word categories in different languages with their nature and roles in some languages termed questionable. In English language, onomatopoeic appear mostly as verbs, and in some instances nouns while in Japanese, Chinese and Korea they are mostly adverbs modifying verbs. Kórtvelyessy (2020:15) shows that in Slavic, onomatopoeic forms are treated as institutionalized interjections. In Hausa, Newman (2011) shows that onomatopoeic words do not stand out from

ideophones, rather, they exist as independent lexemes distinct from other words in the language. The same has been observed in Siwu, see Dingemanse (2011) where in the language, ideophones stands out as a unique sound word associated with interjection roles. In line with Dingemanse (2011), Mietzner (2016: 150-151) identifies the general ideophone class in Kalenjin which she says that it behaves more like interjections. She further shows a less productive class of onomatopoeia formations, providing only 5 examples of onomatopoeic forms. The examples include: ***cemArmAr*** ‘zebra’, ***kiptapúrpúr*** ‘butterfly’ and ***kipkuurrkurr*** ‘juggle’. The interjection-like roles make the onomatopoeic forms to be seen as redundant elements within constructions as their functions are dependent of what is described in the main clauses. This claim is raised in Diffloth (1972) who terms them syntactically redundant as they appear to provide information that is already expressed in the clause they modify.

In light of the above discussion, this study examines the Datooga onomatopoeic scenario by establishing where it fits in the two approaches mentioned above and by looking at Datooga onomatopoeic phenomena in relation to the sound symbolism system in the language. Further, the study looks at how Datooga onomatopoeic nominal forms behave in the general Datooga nominal system by determining if they behave like other nouns in Datooga or they contain any unique linguistic features or whether they can be treated as a special category in the language.

After the introduction, the article is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief methodology used in the study. Section 3 presents the study findings and section 4 show how Datooga onomatopoeic forms integrate into the grammatical system of Datooga language. Section 5 provides the conclusion to the study.

2. Methodology

The study focused on Datooga, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in Tanzania. The language falls in the Southern Nilotic sub-group of the Nilo-Saharan Languages which comprise Kalenjin, Datooga and the already extinct Omotik language. Rottland (1982) identifies seven Datooga dialects grouping them into the Eastern dialects and the Western dialects. The Eastern dialects comprise Barbaiga, Gisamjanga, Asimjeega, and the Bajuuta. The Western dialects comprise Bianjiida, Buraediga and the Rotigenga. The study used data from three of the seven Datooga dialects. The dialects were Barbaiga, Gisamjanga and Buraediga dialects. The dialects were selected as they have a higher number of speakers compared to the other dialects thus data obtained from these speakers was a prototypical one as these dialects are used in daily conversations of the speakers. For instance, the researcher's fieldwork experience showed the number of speakers for the other dialects was few. The speakers were also linguistically influenced by the neighbouring languages. The onomatopoeic words were identified from a list of 1500 Datooga nouns collected by the researcher who is involved in a larger project involving the Datooga nominal. The nouns were collected using various methods that included elicitation, documentary review, interviews and extraction from oral Datooga narrations. A total of nineteen nouns associated with sound and mimicry were identified and used in the analysis stage. The nouns appeared to be used in all the dialects with a few variations observed in pronunciation of the terms across the dialects.

3. Findings of the study

3.1 Forms of onomatopoeic formations in Datooga

Three forms of onomatopoeic nouns were identified in all the three Datooga dialects. The first form, which was the most productive, involved a noun derived using a gender affix and a mimicry form in Datooga. Such examples are exemplified in 1-8 below:

1.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Raven	<i>uda-guu</i>	fem- mimicry sound

2.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Owl	<i>uda-hiihi</i>	fem- mimicry sound

3.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Crane	<i>ud-cuwan</i>	fem- mimicry sound

4.

English	Datooga	Meaning
a wild fruit	<i>uda-bwak</i>	fem- bursting sound

5.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Small plastic water bottle	<i>uda-pak</i>	fem- mimicry sound

6.

English	Datooga	Meaning
a small bee species	<i>uda-qhemba-dii</i>	fem- lord-mimicry sound

7.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Personal masculine name	<i>Gida-niini</i>	masc- mimicry sound

8.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Goose	<i>uda-wecenda</i>	fem- to cough

The second form of onomatopoeic formation involves nouns derived from sound associated with the referents. The formations do not involve the use of prefixes. They are exemplified in 9-13 below:

9.

English	Datooga	Meaning
'Month of the year'	<i>Gaugau</i>	Mimicry sound made by dry leaves when stepped on

10.

English	Datooga	Meaning
Whirlwind	<i>farara</i>	Sound made by whirlwind

11.

jii-fi-hadee-da
mimicry- formative-number marker
'drizzle'

12. **ńgɔńgɔɔ-da**
mimicry-number marker
'hen'

13. **hɔɔhɔ-wɛɛ-da**
mimicry-formative- number marker
'colt'

The third form of onomatopoeia in Datooga involves a form of semantic extension. This form seems to be less productive. The sound imitation factor is only recognized through its association with metaphor and metonymic extensions. Noun 14 exemplifies this:

14. **daqata- humɛɛda**
chest sky
'thunderbolt'

From the above examples, Datooga onomatopoeic nouns show variations in terms of their forms. Examples 9 and 10 stand out as pure sound mimicries. The sound made by dry leaves when stepped on (example 9) and the sound made by the moving whirlwind (example 10) are used to describe the two referents. Unlike 9 and 10, examples 11, 12, and 13 involve sound mimicry too, but the sound mimicry elements stand out as the root of the words. Number/definiteness marking morphemes are added to the roots, thus forming the onomatopoeic nouns. For example, in 10, the sound mimicked is *fiifi* 'drizzle' with the formative *-hadɛɛ-* and the number/definite marker *-da* being added to the root. Examples 9 and 10 fit into the approach that treats onomatopoeia as pure sound imitation (Bauer 2014; Körtvelyessy 2020:35). Examples 11, 12 and 13 are also put into this class of pure sound imitation as the other attached structural elements, formative and number/definiteness marker do not have a motivating function in defining the words rather the sound imitating structure has the motivating function and defines the meaning of the nouns. This assertion is in line with Körtvelyessy (2020: *ibid*) and further supported by Feist (2013) who points out a change or extension of meaning eg.

from sound to action makes a word lose its sound iconicity, thus as the added structural elements in 11, 12 and 13 do not lead to meaning extension, the nouns qualify to be pure sound imitating onomatopoeic formations.

The other category involves Datooga gender derivation morphology in which the gender prefixes combine with the sound mimicking element in forming various nouns in the language. This is exemplified in examples 1- 8. For instance, in 2, **hihi** sound (crying sound of an owl) combine with the feminine gender prefix **uda-** in deriving the noun **udahihi** ‘owl’. The same is evidenced in example 4 where the **bwak** sound (sound as the fruit bursts to indicate maturity) combines with the feminine gender marker **uda-** to derive the noun **udabwak** ‘name of a wild fruit’. The examples in this category reflect the second approach which Körtvelyessy (2020:35) terms as the fairly generous approach which shows that onomatopoeic form includes any word that bears a sign of sound imitation. The sound imitating elements in the exemplified nouns combine with either of the gender prefixes. Both structural elements together motivate and contribute to the sum meaning of the formed onomatopoeic nouns. The gender derived onomatopoeic formation have also been observed in Kalenjin, a sister language with Datooga, where nouns such as **ce-mArmAr** ‘zebra’, **kip-tapúrpúr** ‘butterfly’ where the feminine prefix **ce-** and masculine prefix **kip-** combine with the onomatopoeic elements (Mietzner 2016). This affirms the presence of onomatopoeic forms that combine sound mimicry and derivation morphology.

For example 14, the nature of sound mimicry is not a direct one, rather through semantic extension the sound mimicry situation is understood. The noun **daqatahumɛɛda** ‘thunderbolt’ is formed through compounding. The word **daqata** literally means ‘chest’ but is, through semantic extension extended to refer to any sound of high intensity. For instance, a lion roar, in Datooga is termed **daqatapadiida** literally meaning ‘chest of a lion’ but through semantic extension ‘chest’ is understood as the ‘high

intensity roaring sound’. In the language, associating body parts to other linguistic roles is a common linguistic phenomenon as Bruckahaus (2015) has shown that body part nouns also function as locational nouns. Thus, in the noun **daqatahumɲɛda** the head element in the compound is a sound mimicking word and the other word being a modifier. This example is a fairly unique form which, though it can be treated in the fairly generous approach, the sound imitating element is understood from a semantic extension point of view making it a metonymically extended onomatopoeic form. This form of metonymic onomatopoeia approach is supported in Guldemann (2008:276) who asserts that, in some cases of onomatopoeia, the speaker attempts to demonstrate, to re-instantiate, to imitate, to replay the event as close to the purported original as is desired in the context and as human expressions allow him/her to do so. For this case, the intensity of the thunderbolt sound is better captured by the use of the metonymical extension of the term ‘chest’ which clearly captures the intensity of the sound of the thunderbolt. This example supports the semiotic model in which ideophones are understood as lexicalized depictions of sensory imagery in speech where in explaining the depiction Akita and Dingemanse (2019:2) indicate that ideophonic formations, onomatopoeia included, invites the hearer to simulate the depicted experience as if s/he were in the reported world. Thus, through the metonymical extension the depicted sensory imagery is clearly seen by the hearer.

4. How Datooga onomatopoeic forms integrate into the system of the language.

A major question about onomatopoeic formations has been on how they integrate into the system of a particular language due to their sound iconic nature.

4.1 Morphological integration

The onomatopoeic words integrate into the Datooga noun morphological system in different ways as explained below:

Datooga noun is obligatorily marked for number and definiteness in their secondary form (Rotland 1982, Creider & Rotland 1997, Kiessling 2001, Mitchell 2015, Mdoe 2021). Variations have been observed in Mdoe (2021) where some nouns are only marked for number and definiteness in their primary forms thus raising the presence of marked and unmarked forms of nouns in Datooga which are typically marked for number in their secondary form. Like other gender derived derivations in Datooga, the onomatopoeic gender derivations are marked for number and definiteness and their primary forms are the most occurring forms as exemplified in 15 below:

15.

Specific reference	unit reference	multiple reference	gloss
<i>mɔtukajenda</i>	<i>mɔtúku</i>	<i>mɔtukajɛga</i>	‘motorcar(s)’
<i>udɔɔmajenda</i>	<i>udɔɔmu</i>	<i>udɔɔmajɛga</i>	‘hippo(s)’
(Mdoe 2021:50)			

The examples above show how derived nouns behave with regards to number marking. The onomatopoeic forms behave like the other gender derivations: thus, integrating into the marked class of Datooga nouns. This is as indicated in 16 below:

16.

Specific reference	unit reference	multiple reference	gloss
<i>udahihajenda</i>	<i>udahiihi</i>	<i>udahiihahajɛga</i>	‘owl(s)’
<i>udaguuhajenda</i>	<i>udaguu</i>	<i>udaguuhahajɛga</i>	‘raven(s)’

For the prototypical Datooga nouns, their occurrence in regard to number marking is shown in 17 below, where binary opposition with regards to number marking between individual and multiple forms as the marked means of indicating number see (Rotland 1982, Creider & Rotland 1997, Griscom 2019). A few prototypical nouns have been observed as having ternary opposition with regard to number marking (Kiessling 2000).

17.

Singular	gloss	plural	gloss
<i>kúgú-ceń-da</i>	‘maggot’	<i>kúgú-út-ka</i>	‘maggots’

<i>Búród-ceñ-da</i>	‘puss’	<i>búród-út-ka</i>	‘puss’ (quantified)
<i>jeer-ɔɔ-da</i>	‘honey harvesting bag’	<i>jeer-út-ka</i>	‘honey harvesting bags’
(Mdoe 2021:58)			

Thus, from examples 15-17 above, it is clear that onomatopoeic formations fall in the marked class of nouns which has ternary opposition to number marking, contrary to the most occurring basic prototypical Datooga noun that has binary opposition with regards to number marking.

In their plural formation, the onomatopoeic forms are derived using the residual formative *-ajɛɛ-* which Mdoe (2021) has described as ‘a fit all’ formative as it used to form plural of various marked Datooga nouns which include gender derivations, borrowed forms and a few compound forms. Thus, in terms of plural derivation the onomatopoeic forms behave like other marked Datooga nouns.

Further, as shown in 6 and 14, the sound imitating components form part of the Datooga nominal compounds. Nominal compounds represent a productive noun formation process. Endocentric, creative endocentric, exocentric and synthetic compounds all identified in Datooga (Mdoe 2021, Mdoe & Lusekelo, forthcoming). In example 6, the mimicry component *-dii* plays the modifier role combining with the gender prefix *uda-* and the noun *qhemba* ‘lord’ while in example 14 the metonymically expressed sound form *daqata* ‘chest’ plays the head role and is modified by the noun *humɲɛɛda* ‘sky’ in the respective compound formations. This parallels the concurrence nature of the Datooga onomatopoeic forms. The same has been observed in Japanese where Kageyama and Saito (2016) show that mimetics participate in compound word formations in parallel with words from other vocabulary strata in terms of combinatory possibilities.

Reduplication, a productive morphological process, is associated with ideophones and onomatopoeic forms of some languages (Mattes 2007, 2018). In Datooga onomatopoeic nouns, the process has been observed too. The process is two ways, where in pure

onomatopoeic formations as seen in 6, the sound mimicked **gau** has been reduplicated hence the realization **gaugau** ‘Month of a year’. The other way shows the fair approach compounds where the sound mimicking part shows the reduplication of the sounds made. For instance, in 7, the mimicked sound **nii** is reduplicated hence **niini** in **gidaniini** ‘a personal name’, in 13, the mimicked sound **hɔɔ** is reduplicated hence **hɔɔhɔ** in **hɔɔhɔ-wɛɛ-da** ‘colt’. As shown in 7 and 13, their vowels are lengthened in the first mimicked sound elements which is in par with Zwicky & Pullum (1987) who term it ‘expressive lengthening’ in achieving the sound depictory role.

4.2 Semantic integration

Semantically, the onomatopoeic forms are observed as being in harmony with the Datooga semantics. For instance, examples 1-8 which comprises the prefixes and the sound mimicry element, the prefix semantic content is in conformity as it always occurs with other Datooga nouns. Mdoe (2020, 2021) has shown that the feminine prefix **uda-** is used to derive nouns with the feature small size, attractive and docile entities. The same is observed with the onomatopoeic forms where the feminine prefix combines with small sized referents. For instance, in example 5, the referent is only associated with a small plastic bottle. A bigger bottle is named using another term. Example 3 also is derived using the feminine gender prefix, as the bird is deemed attractive by the Datooga speakers.

4.3 Phonological integration

The onomatopoeic forms are in harmony with the Datooga sound inventory system. Datooga language has a total of 21 consonant sounds and 14 vowel sounds. The vowel sounds are basically 7 sounds with each having a lengthened pair (Rottland 1983:218). The onomatopoeic forms, being sound imitating language components, in Datooga the imitated sounds conform to the conventionalized sound system of the language. An

example with vowel sounds where the short and long pairs are found in some of the mimicry structural components of the different nouns. In 3 and 7 /I/ and /II/ are observed, in 13, /ɔ/ and /ɔɔ/ are observed too.

Other phonological and morpho-phonological processes that apply in Datooga nouns are also observable with the Datooga onomatopoeic derivations. One of the processes is phonological assimilation among various structural components of a noun (Kiessling 2000). For instance, in example 3, the /a/ sound in the feminine prefix **uda-** assimilates to the /ɔ/ sound of the sound mimicking structural component *ɔuwɔn* hence the realization **ud-ɔuwɔn** ‘crane’. This is in agreement with Kwon (2018) who shows that among the feature of ideophones is indicating harmony for vowels a feature in parity with the Datooga morpho-phonological processes.

The Datooga onomatopoeic forms fully integrate into the Datooga language system as it is evident with the phonological and semantic integration. This concurs with various studies that shows that onomatopoeic forms fall within the conventionalized systems of the specific languages they are part of as in English, Schourup (1993), Hausa, Newman (2001), Japanese, Akita (2013), English and Slavic, Kórtvelyessy (2020). Although the morphological integration of the Datooga onomatopoeic forms fall in the marked category it has been indicated that the formations behave like other marked nouns in Datooga thus fully aligning to the Datooga language system.

5. Conclusion

The study has focused on the onomatopoeic scenario in Datooga nouns by looking at their forms and how they fit in the Datooga noun system. The study has shown the presence of onomatopoeic formed nouns in the language. Across the definitions and approaches to onomatopoeia forms, Datooga covers the two approaches to the definition and goes further to the realization of the third way of understanding this category. In the first form, the language has a set of onomatopoeic forms that only reflect the mimicked

sounds. A sub-class to this is set of nouns where the obligatory number/definite marking morphemes are attached to the mimicry components.

The second type of onomatopoeia involved sound imitating forms and Datooga derivational morphology. Datooga prefixes combined with sound mimicry components in the derivation of the onomatopoeic formations. In the third category, sound mimicry is elicited in the form of semantic extension and is properly understood from a cognitive semantic point of view where meaning is understood from an encyclopaedic view.

Therefore, the nature of onomatopoeic forms in Datooga comprise of pure sound imitations, sound imitation combining with number/definiteness markers, sound mimicry components combining with derivation morphology plus onomatopoeia expressed through semantic extension and properly understood through cognitive semantics.

On how the onomatopoeic forms fit in the Datooga nominal system, the study has shown that they concur with the Datooga nominal system. Morphologically, they concur with the marked Datooga morphology in terms of number marking. They also conform with other Datooga word formation processes including derivation, compounding and reduplication. Semantically, they conform to the Datooga semantics more specifically in the derivation and use of prefixes where prefixes spread their semantic content to the sound mimicry components in the meaning derivation of the given referent.

Phonologically, the onomatopoeic nouns conform with the sound system of Datooga. All identified onomatopoeic forms sounds reflect original sound system of the language with both short and lengthened vowels identified. Thus, the onomatopoeic Datooga forms are part of the integral Datooga nominal grammar.

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CONTEXT-CREATED IDEOPHONIC INSULTS AMONG SOME AFLAO-EWE

Cosmas Rai Amenorvi

This study explored on-the-spot context-created ideophones in Ewe insults among some fisherfolk of Aflao, Ghana. Data was collected from a purposive sample of one of the fishing companies in Aflao. Findings reveal novel context-created ideophones which are largely reduplication or triplication of syllables or groups of syllables or a particular vowel sound. The ideophones function as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections. The structure of the insults containing the ideophones is a comparative language that gives meaning to the ideophones. This study has extended the boundary of knowledge of ideophones in the Ewe language in particular, and on ideophonic languages in general, by showing that apart from mainstream ideophones of Ewe, context has the capacity to create novel ideophones whose meaning can only be supplied by the context, revealing the inexhaustible quality of Ewe in creating ideophones. Other ideophonic languages can be studied to ascertain whether the findings of this study are unique to Ewe.

Keywords: context, culture, Ewe language, ideophones, insults; sound symbolism

1 Introduction

The complexity and dynamism displayed in the fibre of language continue to raise linguistic and literary eyebrows. In response to our day-to-day growth and systems, human languages level up by generating new lexical items and expressions to enhance free and easy communication. They rely on word-formation processes to augment already existing words to adequately express thoughts and ideas (Yule, 2023; Fromkin et al., 2017).

One main way languages augment their vocabulary is by borrowing words from other languages. The literature on the importance of borrowing to supplement the vocabulary of languages across the globe is as new as Hoque et al. (2021) and Sasala et al. (2019), as recent as Myers-Scotton (1992a, 1992b), and as old as Sobin (1976). From the numerous studies on

borrowing, we can conclude that there hardly exists any human language without a borrowed element from another language.

Apart from borrowing, languages also rely on other word-formation processes to augment their vocabulary. Some of these are compounding, blending, affixation, conversion, clipping, old words with new meanings, novel creations, and the like (Liu & Liu, 2014). Besides, some languages derive some of their vocabulary from ideophones, which is the focus of this paper. Ideophones are distinctive words that evoke vivid sensory scenes in an imitative fashion and are abundant in languages such as Bantu, Basque, and Japanese (Akita, 2021; Dingemanse, 2019). Another language that employs ideophones as part of its vocabulary is Ewe (Ameka, 2001).

Ideophones are a unique group of words that form a sizeable part of the vocabulary of some languages. Their uniqueness has drawn linguistic attention from as old as Westermann (1930) to as new as Imoh (2021) and Francine (2021). One outstanding uniqueness of ideophones is that they cannot be translated, the reason being that they are language bound (Mokitini, 1996). In the light of that, translations of ideophones are contestable because such translations are just attempts to capture their meaning in another language as best as one could.

The purpose of this study is to investigate on-the-spot context-created ideophones as used in insults among some Aflao-Ewe fisherfolk of the Volta Region of Ghana. The Aflao fisherfolk are noted for employing novel ideophones in their insults among themselves during work or recreations. While there has been some work on mainstream Ewe ideophones such as Dingemanse (2018), Dingemanse et al. (2016) and Ameka (2001), there is no known work on on-the-spot context-created Ewe ideophones such as the ones employed among the Aflao fisherfolk. The present study, therefore, investigates whether these context-created ideophones bear resemblance to the mainstream ones as regards their form and grammatical functions. The study also discusses the structure of the Ewe insults that employ the ideophones in question.

2 Research Questions

This paper provides answers to the following questions:

1. What are the forms of the context-created ideophones in Ewe insults among the Aflao fisherfolk?
2. What are the grammatical functions of these ideophones?
3. What is the structure of the Ewe insults that employ the ideophones?

3 Literature review

This section presents a discussion of some relevant literature in the thematic areas of insults and ideophones, the goal of which is to contextualise the present paper. The following section discusses studies on insults whereupon the next presents a discussion on ideophones.

3.1 Insults

Insults are a unique type of language use to which everyone must have been at a receiving or giving end before. They are prototypical means to express impoliteness in social interactions (Pavesi et al., 2019). There is an increasing body of literature on this unique use of language. For example, Dogbey et al. (2021) conducted a study on the use of insults among the Tongu, Anlo and Uedome dialects of the Ewe language. They argue that insults are looked upon among the Ewe as a sign of linguistic competence and cultural consciousness. However, the employment of insults to confirm one's cultural consciousness and linguistic competence is governed by context. It follows that there are insults that suit specific contexts and there are insults that do not. If insults can reveal one's linguistic competence as well as one's cultural consciousness as pointed out by Dogbey et al. (2021), it shows that attention must be given to the study of insults as their study could reveal more about a people's culture.

Moreover, it shows that like music and other ways of a people's culture, insults can serve as a lens into the culture of the world. On that preamble, one of the ways to know an aspect of English, Ewe, French, and for that matter the culture of any people, is to study their insults. Regarding an aspect of French culture, for example, Bertucci and Boyer (2013) argue that verbal jousting and insults are a mode of communication and cultural practice among immigrants from French speaking countries. One may have a culture clash to assume that these immigrants are either quarrelling or fighting among themselves, only to learn as pointed out by

Dogbey et al. (2021) about insults among the Ewe, and by extension, any language, that context is key to understanding this practice.

Another finding of Dogbey et al. (2021) regarding the employment of insults among the Ewe is that the insults employ literary devices such as metaphor, hyperbole, simile, and synecdoche. It shows that even insults employ artistry in language use. If the context of the insults is to create fun, the artistic use of language would, therefore, create humour. On the other hand, if the context is to attack, a piercing artistry of language use can achieve the purpose of hurting.

It must be noted that the context of the insults among the fisherfolk of Aflao under study is that of fun and to create humour and camaraderie among fellows. While the insults lead to heated arguments sometimes, the context is largely for fun and friendship. In this context, the general Ewe culture of the young showing respect to an older person is completely suspended. If one is new to the practice, one could be shocked by the way younger ones insult older ones. However, the laughter that follows these verbal artforms unequivocally explains a context of fun.

The culture of insults among the Ewe is not a new thing at all. About three decades ago, Avorgbedor (1994) discussed one culture of insults among the Ewe which gave people ‘license to insult’ others. That culture was called *halo*. According to Avorgbedor (1994:84), halo was a “musical-dramatic performance among the Anlo-Ewe from 1912 until its official proscription in 1960”. Halo performances were usually done among representatives of villages or individuals who spoke or sang insults at one another. Avorgbedor (1994) reported that some of the things that provoked halo were taking someone’s wife, derogatory remarks on another person’s music, personal insults, and interpersonal hostilities. These encounters show that one main reason of halo was to employ insults to correct societal ills such as taking someone’s wife, which is culturally unacceptable. The use of insults to correct societal ills during these periods

was not strange at all because there were even festivals that allowed chiefs to be insulted (Yankah, 1985). Paradoxically interestingly, one of the ills halo attacked was the use of insults against someone. It is clear that the use of insults as a verbal attack against someone per se is against the Anlo-Ewe culture. The only paradox in the case of halo was that insults were employed to correct insults. At a second thought, the employment of halo insults to correct insults was to teach the one perpetrating the insults the stings of his or her own insults. However, these organised insult party of halo degenerated into violence insofar as halo was outlawed in Ghana in 1960.

One thing stands out from the history of halo – it is impossible to completely kill the way of life of a people. While halo may be outlawed and looked upon as dead and gone, it might have been reborn in some way for the ever-present use of insults as a way of life among the Ewe of Ghana as studied by Dogbey et al. (2021). The very focus of this paper, insults among some fishermen of Aflao, could be halo reborn in another form. The insults of the present paper usually take place during work such as pulling the net from sea, dragging the fishing boat out of sea or repairing fishing net and sharing the catch of the day. These insults usually draw laughter from everyone and hardly do they degenerate into physical violence. Halo was banned for its violence. Halo's history may be behind why insults of the present study do not degenerate into physical violence.

Insults have also been studied along gender lines. One of such is Korobov (2017). Korobov (2017) investigated the playful and gendered use of insults and criticisms in romantic couples' everyday banter among twenty young adults. His findings reveal three patterns: first, the majority of insults among the couples investigated are gendered; second, the insults employ irony, laughter, and topic shifts to make the insults playful; and finally, these insults play a significant role in the affiliation of each partner to the other. Korobov (2017) has shown that

while insults may be face threatening, they can play positive roles in social bonding. Besides, they can serve as identity markers.

Several studies such as Scruton (2017), Darweesh and Abdullah (2016) have corroborated Korobov (2017) that insults are gendered among other characteristics in their use. Scruton (2017) shows that women are more likely to be insulted about physical unattractiveness or sexual promiscuity while men fall victim to insults attributed to homosexuality or sexual inadequacy. Darweesh and Abdullah (2016) argue that Donald President Trump's employment of insults, for example, was more directed towards females than males. Felmlee et al. (2020) have revealed that social media is gutted with a plethora of gendered insults such as 'bitch', 'cunt', 'slut' or 'whore'. These words expose feminine stereotypes that are very common on social media such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. It is noted by observation that the target group of this paper, the fisherfolk of Amenuveve Fishing Company in Aflao, Ghana, are largely males. This is because the fishing work is a very strenuous one and females end up as buyers of the fishermen's catch rather than engage in the work itself. The insults under investigation take place among the males only, females do not participate in the practice. If a female contributes to these insult games, she is looked upon as uncultured. While some of the insults employed are gendered, the focus of this study is the ideophones in the insults. These are thoroughly discussed under findings of the study. Suffice is now to say that one major factor of focus in the study of insults is the gender variable.

Insults taken *prima facie* can be misconstrued as completely negative and can have only negative consequences. At a closer look, however, insults can have unnatural positive effects in some contexts (Amenorvi, 2020). For example, Lobov (1972) and Levine (1978) close to five decades ago studied a ritualised form of insults among Black people in America called 'snapping' where insults are directed towards one's mother or one's person. One of the functions of this 'snapping' is that it creates social distance or proximity (Swhwegler, 2007),

revealing that while superficially negative, insults have been used for positive effects in various contexts. One of such ways that insults are employed to have positive effects is the one under investigation in this paper. We have seen that insults can serve as cultural lenses in order to comprehend the way of life of a people. We also noted that insults employ artistic language and that they can be gendered. While the focus of the present study is context-created ideophones, the insults of the fisherfolk of Aflao project all these characteristics as espoused in the literature.

3.2 Ideophones

Ideophones are generally defined as words that project an idea in sound (Dingemanse, 2012). While the focus has been more on the sound (onomatopoeia) part, ideophones embrace sensory perceptions such as movement, shape, colour, action etc. Some of the world's languages that employ ideophones are Ewe, Akan, Ga, Japanese, Korean, Xhosa and Zula. Since this paper's main focus is the ideophones in the insults among the Aflao-Ewe fisherfolk, this section reviews some literature on Ewe ideophones and those of other languages.

Scholars such as Amuzu (2016) and Ameka (2001) have confirmed that ideophones are a unique feature of the Ewe language. Their stance is a confirmation of Westermann's (1930) study of the Ewe language close to a century ago that the Ewe language is extremely rich in translating an impression into sound. The study of Ewe ideophones is, therefore, not new. The present study acknowledges the efforts put into investigating Ewe ideophones and only seeks to carry the search into new discoveries about the use of ideophones in Ewe.

Ameka (2001) investigated ideophones and the nature of the adjective word class in Ewe. Ameka (2001: 32) argues that "there is no grammatical word class of ideophones as such in Ewe. Thus, there are nominal, adjectival, intensifier, verbal, adverbial as well as an interjection ideophone words". It follows that the ideophones in Ewe are not a main word class on their own but belong to the various word classes according to context. Some ideophones

could even perform various grammatical functions and could be said to have a broad semantic field just as some regular words have.

The examples of Ewe ideophones given by Ameka (2001) are well-known ideophones among Ewe speakers and can be understood even out of context. Some of these examples are as follows:

gbudugbudu ‘tumult’

minyamina ‘stealthily’

kpɔdzɔɔ ‘fat, thick’

ɲanaɲana ‘sweet’

tsaklii ‘rough’

nyadrɪi ‘huge’

The foregoing ideophones are just a few of the many examples of ideophones presented by Ameka (2001). As said earlier, all these ideophones are well-known among Ewe speakers. However, the ideophones under investigation in this paper are on-the-spot context-created ones that even their users fail to identify out of context. This study may corroborate Westermann’s (1930) words, close to a century ago that, Ewe is rich in translating ideas into sounds. That statement may still be valid in this capacity that Ewe ideophones go beyond already-existing ones that are part of Ewe vocabulary to embrace on-the-spot context-created ones. Ameka (2001) has also shown that Ewe ideophones belong to different word classes and are not a word class of their own. This paper also seeks to ascertain whether Ameka’s (2001) assertion also holds for the context-created ideophones identified in this study.

Ideophones permeate other languages too. Imoh (2021) studied the structure of Basa personal names. His findings show that among other things, Basa personal names employ ideophones which undergo some derivational processes. Basa ideophonic personal names function like adjectives because they are generally descriptive of things, places, texture and

manner. Imoh (2021) corroborates Ameka (2001) that ideophones can function as different word classes. As regards Basa personal names, the ideophones function more like adjectives. Imoh (2021) provides some examples of Basa ideophonic personal names as follows: Gbonyo, Gbem and Gwosoin. Imoh (2021) argues that the ideophonic personal name Gbonyo is an exclamatory expression used to name a child born immediately after something great or tragic happens in the family or community. An ideophone like Gbonyo can, therefore, preserve a part of the history of a community. Imoh (2021) continues that the ideophonic personal names such as Gbem and Gwosoin are used to express God's sovereignty as the final judge of all things. From just these ideophonic names, we note the place of history and religion as some cultural functions of ideophones. While the focus of this study is not ideophonic personal names in Ewe, the functions of preserving history and showing one's religion as espoused in Imoh's (2021) study affects one aspect of this paper, which is to unearth the grammatical functions of the ideophones employed in the Ewe insults among the fisherfolk of Aflao.

Like Ewe, Igbo also employs ideophones. Ikegwuonu (2019) studied the syntax of manner adverbials in Igbo. She found that ideophones can be employed to express manner adverbials in Igbo. Some examples of ideophonic adverbials in Igbo are *fiamfiam* 'hastily', *gegelegem* 'stiffness' and *gagaragam* 'tautness'. Some of the ideophones in the Ewe insults under consideration function as adverbials as discussed under findings. One thing worth noting is that most of the examples provided by Ikegwuonu (2019) employ reduplication as a word-formation process of Igbo ideophones. The same is true of many Ewe ideophones (Ameka, 2001). One reason could be that both Ewe and Igbo belong to the same Kwa family of languages.

Japanese is another language full of ideophones. Ratnayake (2015) analysed onomatopoeia related to the word 'laugh' in Japanese. He acknowledges that many ideophones in Japanese cover a wide range of meanings beyond sounds. Ratnayake (2015) argues that

every ideophone related to laugh contains a unique meaning. He gave examples of ideophones related to laughter such as *kerakera* ‘shrill laughter’, *herahera* ‘foolish laugh’, *niyaniya* ‘friendly grin’, *kusukusu* ‘giggle’ and *nikoniko gao* ‘grinning face’. It is interesting that in Japanese, laughter is categorised by ideophones that describe it. If someone laughs *nikoniko*, for example, it means that is a friendly laugh; when one laughs *kusukusu*, that is a giggle. The mastery of these ideophones by a non-Japanese speaker could enable him or her understand the nuances of the use of ideophones in relation to Japanese laughter and also have a deeper comprehension of the Japanese language and culture.

A survey of key studies on ideophones such as Ameka (2001), Childs (1994) and Dingemanse (2018) have revealed such thrusts as phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, typological, arbitrary and iconic nature of ideophones. Notwithstanding the great insight these have given to the knowledge on ideophones, none of these studies have mentioned or discussed the capacity of context to create on-the-spot novel ideophones as well as provide meaning for them. This is the new direction the present paper seeks to give the study of ideophones.

3.3 Summary

This section has shown that while looked upon largely as face threats, insults can serve as the lenses into a people’s culture. Besides, insults employ artistic language as they turn to be descriptive. Such artistry reveals the employment of literary language to convey the threats insults carry. This section has also discussed the roles of ideophones in Ewe and some other languages. We have established that ideophones in Ewe do not belong to one particular word class, neither are they a word class on their own. Ewe ideophones can, however, function as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs , and interjections. We have also seen that ideophones can even be the means through which a language can preserve its cultural history and religion such

as in the case of the Basa language ideophonic personal names. In all, ideophones possess interesting gems worth exploring.

4 Methodology

This study was conducted among the fisherfolk of Aflao Viepe Futa along the coast in the Volta Region of Ghana. A purposive sample of one of the fishing companies, Amenuveve Fishing Company, was adopted for the study, based on an established relationship between the researcher and members of the company during an earlier research. Moreover, there was the availability of data on ideophones among this specific group. The Amenuveve Fishing Company had 15 offshore fishermen, ranging from ages 24 to 61 years. While females are not registered members of the company, they are usually the buyers of the fishermen's catch. The researcher spent eight weeks of November and December 2020 studying the insults of these fisherfolk. He noticed the excessive use of insults for fun among the fisherfolk during work such as mending their fishing nets, servicing their outboard motors, relaxing after a day's hard work and casual talks after their business meetings. These insults among other things contain many on-the-spot created ideophones. After obtaining consent from the fisherfolk, the researcher recorded sessions of these insult-play times with a mobile phone. The recordings were transcribed and the ideophones and the contexts within which they appear were isolated and analysed. Moreover, focus group discussions were held as regards the collected ideophones with the fisherfolk and other Ewe speakers of Aflao as well as some scholars of Ewe who confirm that the ideophones are not part of mainstream known ideophones of the Ewe language such as the ones identified by Ameka (2001). Some of the scholars consulted regarding the ideophones are lecturers of Ewe at the University of Education, Winneba. These novel ideophones were analysed as regards their form, grammatical functions, and the structure of the insults in which they appear.

5 Discussions

This section presents a discussion of the findings of the present study. This is done by responding to the research questions one after the other. The first research question seeks to unearth the form of the context-created ideophones in the Ewe insults; the second seeks to find out the grammatical functions of these ideophones while the third question's thrust is to reveal the structure of the insults in which the ideophones appear.

5.1 Ideophones in Aflao-Ewe insults

This section presents some of the on-the-spot context-created ideophones in the Ewe insults among the fisherfolk of Aflao. These ideophones are not found in the pool of mainstream Ewe ideophones understood in isolation by Ewe speakers such as the ones identified by Ameka (2001) and discussed in this paper. To ascertain the uniqueness of these ideophones as not being part of mainstream Ewe ideophones, the researcher showed the collected ideophones in isolation even to the fisherfolk who use them. They agreed the ideophones sound Ewe but could not understand them in isolation. Even the individuals who used specific ones could sometimes not remember they had used them nor what the ideophones meant until they are put in the context in which they appear. These fisherfolk could, however, understand the mainstream ideophones in isolation as discussed. The same process of verification was carried out among other speakers of Ewe and some scholars – university lecturers of Ewe – who agreed that the fisherfolk ideophones are contextually created and can only, therefore, be understood in context.

Presented on Table 1 below are some of the context-created ideophones and their approximate translations:

Table 1: Some context-created ideophones and their approximate meanings.

Context-created ideophone	Approximate meaning
1. vigbaã	dark and hideous
2. kotopa	grotesque in form
3. futsuku	sitting down relaxed and unconcerned
4. gagbaga	flat, broad and heavy
5. glogbogbo	big and bulky
6. blukutu	sitting down relaxed and unconcerned
7. mɔɡlimɔɡli	sturdy but clumsy way of walking
8. botoglo	big, round and bulky
9. gbagbagbo	idiot, fool
10. hlãhlãhlaã	sound of munching something crispy or hard
11. belembelem	flexible and soft
12. kakabibiibi	sound made by burning nylon material
13. gbogom	sound made by a big bell, big in size
14. tuituitui	sound of a baby's fart
15. nyanyatsɔɔ	watery and nasty
16. tsaafui	watery and nasty
17. gozoglo	bend over
18. tsɔkɔtsɔkɔ	sexual sound

The list above presents some of the context-created ideophones in question. This list is not an exhaustive one but provides a glimpse into the dynamic ability of the fisherfolk to create ideophones at will in their use of insults for fun. We will discuss some of them in context as we answer the second and third research questions. In response to the first research question as to the form of these context-created ideophones, one thing stands out clearly – these ideophones

have employed the word-formation process of reduplication or triplication, which is very usual of mainstream Ewe ideophones. The on-the-spot context-created reduplication manifests in two ways – reduplication of syllables or groups of syllables and the reduplication of one particular vowel sound. Examples of ideophones that employ reduplicated syllables or groups of syllables are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| a. tuituitui | b. bezobezo |
| hlāhlāhlā | məɡliməɡli |
| kakabibiibi | belembelem |

Examples in (a) are triplication of single syllables, while examples in (b) are reduplication of two syllables. For the other ideophones that do not seem to employ reduplication, there is at least reduplication or triplication of some vowel sounds. Some of these are as follows:

- | | |
|------------|---------|
| c. futsuku | gozoglo |
| blukutu | botoglo |
| kotopa | gbogom |
| gagbaga | |

For ‘futsuku’ and ‘blukutu’, we note the repetitive use of the vowel /u/; for ‘gbagagba’, we note the recurring of the vowel /a/, while for ‘kotopa’, gozoglo, ‘gbogom’ and ‘botoglo’, we note the repetitive use of the vowel /o/. The foregoing illustrations show that the context-created ideophones in the Ewe insults demonstrate the use of reduplication or triplication one way or the other; either in syllables or groups of syllables or the reduplication/triplication of particular vowel sounds. In all, the answer to the first research question is that the on-the-spot context-created ideophones in Ewe insults among the fisherfolk of Aflao resemble mainstream Ewe ideophones in form, in that reduplication or triplication is a common feature between them.

5.2 Grammatical functions of the ideophones

Data has revealed five main ways the ideophones in question are employed grammatically – as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and interjections. This supports Ameka's (2001) assertion that Ewe ideophones do not belong to a single grammatical category but can function as various word classes depending on the context. Let us discuss with examples each of the five grammatical functions of the ideophones used in the insults among the fisherfolk of Aflao.

5.2.1 Ideophones as nouns

Discussed below are some examples of the ideophones used as nouns.

4.

- i. E-do **kakabibiibi** be ye-do awu.
3SG-wear IDEO say 3SG-wear shirt
'He is wearing kakabibiibi in the name of a shirt.'
- ii. È-doe abe **gbagbagbo** ene.
2SG-lazy as IDEO as
'You are as lazy as gbagbagbo.'
- iii. **Belembelem** ya be aleke?
IDEO DEM say what
'What is this belembelem saying?'

In Example 4, the ideophones employed are *kakabibiibi*, *gbagbagbo* and *belembelem*. In Example 4i, *kakabibiibi* functions as an object to the Ewe verb *do* 'wear', and, therefore, is in paradigmatic relationship with any noun or noun phrase. It can be replaced in context with nouns like *kuku* 'hat' or *afɔkpa* 'footwear', revealing its unquestionable use as a noun in the example. Explaining what is meant by the ideophone 'kakabibiibi', the speaker who used it said it is the sound made by inferior materials used for clothes such as nylon or polyester when they catch fire. In the light of that, the speaker is insulting a colleague of wearing a shirt made of an inferior material. This reveals the ingenuity behind the on-the-spot creations of ideophones among the fisherfolk of Aflao.

In Example 4ii, someone's laziness is compared to that of the ideophone *gbagbagbo*. The laziness of è 'you' is linked by the Ewe comparative phrase *abe...ene* 'as...as' to that of

gbagbagbo. It follows that in such a comparative use of language, the two compared items must belong to the same grammatical category. *È* ‘you’ is a pronoun; *gbagbagbo* must either be a pronoun or a noun since *è* is in paradigmatic relations with any pronoun or noun, making *gbagbagbo* obviously function as a noun in this context. Regarding the meaning of *gbagbagbo*, the one insulted asked *Nukae nye gbagbagboa?* ‘What is the *gbagbagbo*?’ to which the attacker said, *Manya gbaa?* ‘How can I tell today?’. The performance was followed by laughter, which means that the *gbagbagbo* is an instant creation to which only context can provide some meaning. In effect, if the speaker himself does not know what *gbagbagbo* is, then the laziness of the victim of the insult in question is incomparable.

Example 4iii is addressed to the same person referred to as *gbagbagbo*. This time he is not compared to anything but referred to as *belembelem*. In the example, *belembelem* functions as the subject of the construction; it is also the head of the noun phrase *belembelem ya* ‘this *belembelem*’. Only other nouns or noun phrases can substitute *belembelem*. It, therefore, functions as a noun. As to the meaning of *belembelem*, its user says the sound perfectly describes the laziness of the victim in question and that he is too slow, too *belembelem* to succeed at any work.

5.2.2. Ideophones as verbs

Some of the ideophones collected also function as verbs. Let us discuss the following examples:

5.

- i. Nye-me-**tsɔkɔtsɔkɔ**-na dɛvi-wo abe wò ene o.
1SG-NEG-IDEO-HAB child-PL as 2SG as NEG
‘I don’t have sex with children as you do.’
- ii. E-**gozoglo** dɛ vidzĩ ma dzi abe avako-e lé koklovi ene
3SG-IDEO PREP baby DEM POST as hawk-FOC catch chick as
‘He has bent over that child like a hawk that has caught a chick.’

In Example 5i, the ideophone *tsɔkɔtsɔkɔ* functions as a verb. The subject of the construction is the pronoun *nye* ‘I’, followed by the negative marker *me* ‘not’ which is written with a verb as one word in Ewe orthography. One other thing that shows that *tsɔkɔtsɔkɔ* functions as a verb is

that the Ewe habitual marker *-na* is added to it. Just as the morpheme *-ing* is only added to verbal elements in English, so is *-na* only added to verbs in Ewe. *Tsɔkɔtsɔkɔ* is employed as a verb in this case. As to its meaning, the speaker says he is referring to the sound of sex act. This is no doubt the case of an on-the-spot creation based on the way an individual chooses to convey a sound in a word the best way he can.

The ideophone used as a verb in Example 5ii is *gozoglo*. It follows the subject of the construction, which is the Ewe pronoun *e* (he/she/it) and written with a verb as one word the way it is done in Ewe orthography. *Gozoglo* is followed immediately by the postposition ‘*de*’, revealing its role as the main verb of the construction. According to the speaker of this insult, the best way he could capture the posture of the one he was insulting as having sex with a minor is by the ideophone *gozoglo*. So far, Westermann’s (1930) assertion that the Ewe language has a great potential of employing ideophones in various contexts is corroborated by this study.

5.2.3 Ideophones as Adjectives

Some of the ideophones function as adjectives. Below are some examples:

6.

- i. Agbeko **kotopa** ya paa, tsiiaaa!
Agbeko IDEO DEM INT INTERJ
‘As for this kotopa Agbeko, come on!’
- ii. Emo **vigbaã** abe tsi-e dɔ ene.
Face IDEO as rain-FOC arrange as
‘His face is vigbaã like clouds gathered for rain.’
- iii. Ame-a katã le **gbagagba glogbogbo** abe tsi le gagbã me ene.
Person-DEF be.at IDEO IDEO as water be.at bowl POST as
‘The whole person is gbagagba glogbogbo like water in a bowl.’
- iv. Ava le **gbogom** abe Katoliko tsɔtsi ga ene.
Penis COP IDEO as Catholic church bell as
‘His penis is gbogom like a Catholic church bell.’
- v. Ye me nu le **nyanyatsɔɔ** abe korela mi ene.
3SG POSS be.at IDEO as cholera faeces as
‘His mouth is nyanyatsɔɔ like cholera faeces.’

The ideophones that have functioned as adjectives in Examples 6i to 6v are *kotopa*, *vigbaã*, *gbagagba glogbogbo*, *gbogom* and *nyanyatsɔɔ*. *Kotopa* postmodifies the name Agbeko; *vigbaã* postmodifies *emo* ‘face’; *gbagagba glogbogbo* functions as an adjectival complement to the subject *ame-a katã* ‘the whole person’; *gbogom* also functions as an adjectival complement to the subject *ava* ‘penis’, while *nyanyatsɔɔ* complements the subject *nu* ‘mouth’. Speakers of these adjectival ideophones claim they intend to capture in sound the physical form of the one they are insulting. Even though these ideophones are novel and on-the-spot creations, they are understood by one and all as they usually draw laughter from both the ones insulting and those insulted. The fourth way ideophones are employed in the insults in question are that they are used as adverbs. The following section discusses some of these.

5.2.4 Ideophones as adverbs

The following examples illustrate the use of ideophones as adverbs in the Ewe insults among the Aflao fisherfolk:

7.

- i. Kpɔ nu-a zɔ-m wò-le **mɔglimɔgli** ɖa.
See thing-DEF walk-PROG 3SG-AUX IDEO PRT
‘See how he is walking *mɔglimɔgli*.’
- ii. E-te-te-m **bezobezo** abe da ene.
3SG-RED-crawl-PROG IDEO as snake as
‘He is dragging *bezobezo* like a snake.’

The adverbial ideophones in Examples 7i to 7ii are *mɔglimɔgli* and *bezobezo*. While these are not part of mainstream Ewe ideophones, they employ a common word-formation process of reduplication or triplication in Ewe, also identified by Ameka (2001) as a very common feature of Ewe ideophones. It means that these creations rely heavily on already-existing rules of Ewe grammar. In Example 7, *mɔglimɔgli* modifies the verb *zɔm* ‘walking’ and *bezobezo* modifies the verb *tetem* ‘dragging’.

5.2.5 Ideophones as interjections

Another function of the ideophones in the insults is that of interjections. The following examples illustrate this conclusion:

8.

- i. **Akplatsatsakpla**, e-du mi be ye-du salada!
 IDEO 3SG-eat faeces say LOG-eat salad
 ‘Akplatsatsakpla, he has eaten faeces in the name of salad.’
- ii. **Gadabugadaba**, alẽto akuakua!
 IDEO fool real
 ‘Gadabugadaba, this is a true fool!’
- iii. Tagbøkuku-a ka-e ya, **atsalatsala**!
 nonsense-DEF what-FOC DEM IDEO
 ‘What nonsense is this, atsalatsala!’

The ideophones functioning as interjections in Example 8 are *akplatsatsakpla*, *gadabugadaba* and *atsalatsala*. These interjections express surprise and give the insults more force, according to the respondents. They do not mean anything in particular and they are not popular like mainstream Ewe ideophones of surprise such as *tsoo* and *oo*. These ideophonic interjections also employ some form of reduplication or triplication just like the ones discussed earlier.

So far, we have discussed five major ways the Ewe fisherfolk of Aflao employ ideophones in their insults, namely, as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections. Let us now turn our attention to the last research question regarding the structure of the Ewe insults that contain the ideophones.

5.3 Structure of the insults

One main structure stands out throughout data in whatever way the ideophones function, whether as nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs. Let us present the structure in the formula thus:

V= ideo comp. T

where V stands for the victim or the one at whom an insult is directed. The equals = sign represents the link drawn between the victim and the ideo (ideophone), which in turn is comp. (compared) to T (whatever thing or person to whom the ideophone is compared). As noted by

Ameka (2005:360), one way Ewe expresses “similarity in comparison is by use of a similitive or semblative construction with the standard of the comparison circumscribed by the form *abe X ene* ‘like/as ...as’. The structure of the Ewe insults follows the same pattern. Let us look at some examples discussed earlier to illustrate this phenomenon.

9.

- i. È-dɔɛ **abe** gbagbagbo **ene**.
2SG-lazy as IDEO as
‘You are as lazy as gbagbagbo.’
- ii. E-gozoglo dɛ vidzii ma dzi **abe** avako-e lé koklovi **ene**.
3SG-IDEO PREP baby DEM POST as hawk-FOC catch chick as
‘He has bent over that baby like a hawk that has caught a chick.’
- iii. Ava le gbogom **abe** Katoliko tsɔtsi ga **ene**.
Penis be.at IDEO as Catholic church bell as
‘His penis is gbogom like a Catholic church bell.’
- iv. E-nu-a zɔm tuituitui **abe** vidzĩ-e nye ŋɔ **ene**.
3SG-thing-DEF walk-PROG IDEO as baby-FOC fart OBJ as
‘See how he walks tuituitui like a baby’s fart!’

In Example 9i, a victim’s laziness is compared to the ideophonic *gbagbagbo* with the comparative Ewe items *abe...ene* (as...as), which run throughout all examples in 9. In 9ii, the ideophonic verb *gozoglo* is compared to the way a hawk catches a chick. In 9iii, the adjective *gbogom* depicts someone’s penis being compared to a church bell, while in 9iv, a victim’s gait is compared to a baby’s fart. As to why speakers employ comparative language in the insults that employ ideophones, the answer is obvious – the comparison is drawn to give meaning to the ideophones. The comparisons are more or less similes, showing that context is key in the creation and unlocking the meaning of these ideophones. All contexts in which the ideophones appear reveal that comparison is drawn between the ideophones and items readily known by the speakers and victims of the insults. Without these comparative contexts, the ideophones will be meaningless or vague.

6 Conclusion and implication

This study has revealed that Aflao-Ewe fisherfolk employ novel on-the-spot context-created and context-based ideophones in their recreational insults among peers. These ideophones function as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections, confirming that Ewe ideophones do not belong to any specific word class but can function as any according to context. It also came to the fore that the insults in question use comparative language as a way of providing meaning to the ideophones. This study implies that both insults and ideophones still contain linguistic phenomena worth investigating and discovering, and ideophones, in particular, should be given renewed attention as regards linguistic investigation. Moreover, the horizon of the knowledge of ideophones on Ewe in particular and on ideophonic languages, in general, has been broadened. First, that context is capable of creating novel ideophones, making the number of ideophones inexhaustible. Second, the findings of this study may not be a sole characteristic of the Ewe language as all languages employ insults and a few others have ideophones like Ewe. These languages can also be investigated to see whether they contain context-created ideophones as does Ewe.

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Glossing Key

1PL – first person plural pronoun

1SG – first person singular pronoun

2PL – second person plural

2SG – second person singular pronoun

3PL – third person plural pronoun

3SG – third person singular pronoun

AUX – auxiliary

COMP – comparison

COP – copula

DEF – definite article

DEM – demonstrative pronoun

FOC – focus

HAB – habitual marker

IDEO – ideophone

INTERJ – interjection

LOC – locative

NEG – negative

OBJ - object

PL – plural

POST – postposition

PROG – progressive marker

SG – singular

MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SOME ASANTE HABITATION NAMESⁱ

Nicholas Obeng Agyekum

This paper is concerned with the morphological analysis of Asante habitation names (AHN's) or toponyms. The study has become necessary because some Asante habitation names are losing their diachronic meanings due to the process of the anglicisation of Akan orthography. However, we know that habitation names are not just arbitrary labels but sociocultural tags that have linguistic information as well as sociocultural functions and meanings in the Akan culture. This paper looks at the linguistic components of Asante habitation names from a morphological perspective. The study uses a descriptive qualitative design to gather data. The data used for this study were elicited from both primary and secondary sources. About 450 habitation names were gathered. Samples analysed, and coded under their various morphological forms. Results show that some of the morphological processes embedded in Asante habitation names were affixation (derivational and inflectional), compounding, and abbreviation. The paper concludes that among the various morphological processes, compounding is the keen morphological process employed in deriving Asante habitation names. Therefore, this paper contributes widely to the study of Akan morphophonology and onomasiology.

Keywords: Asante, Habitation names, Morphology, Toponym.

1.0 Introduction

A name denotes a word or group of words used to identify humans and things (concrete and abstract) (Akrofi 2011, Agyekum 2010, Shopen & Schachter 2007). Names help us to make distinctions among creatures or properties. This is because names are not just arbitrary labels but linguistic and sociocultural tags, that carry some linguistics and sociocultural functions and meanings (Agyekum 2006). They store important linguistic information in Akan morphophonology and onomasiology.

The study of place names is termed toponymy (Owu-Ewie 2014). According to Owu-Ewie (2014), toponymic research contributes greatly to the understanding of the history of a people. It reveals people's identity, history, and social and political relations. Toponymy has been studied cross-linguistically and cross-culturally by scholars such as Flom (1924) who studied Norwegian names, Roden (1974) who studied Ugandan names, and Zwinoiara

(1984) who studied Swazi names. Others are Tent and Blair (2011) who studied Australian names, and Obeng (2000) and Owu-Ewie (2014) who studied Akan names, among others.

As Batoma (2006) posited, the morphology and syntax of names help inform the meanings of the names to a great extent. Thus, aside from the selection of place names by the inhabitants for their communities, there are a lot of morphological, phonological and syntactic processes embedded in their derivations. Asante town names have not received much theoretical attention, especially in the field of morphology. Studies which touch on toponymy in Akan are those by Obeng (2000) and Owu-Ewie (2014). Obeng (2000) discusses vowel harmony and tone in Akan toponyms, while Owu-Ewie (2014) looks at the morphosyntactic analysis of some Fante habitation names. A careful observation of the minimal literature on Akan toponymy points to the fact that there are a lot of morphological processes embedded in the derivation of these toponyms in Asante which have not yet received any scholarly attention. Therefore, this study seeks to fill that gap.

The current study, thus, looks into the morphological processes embedded in the formation of some Asante habitation names. The study shows that though some of the Asante habitation names have been anglicised and are very difficult to identify the actual Akan word(s) from which they were formed, a careful study of the etymology of these words will aid in the identification of the morphological structure(s). The study reveals that morphological processes such as affixation, compounding, and abbreviation among others are employed in the naming process. Morphological process like compounding is the main morphological tool employed in forming Asante habitation names.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows, section 2 discusses the methodology of the study, section 3 presents and analyses the structure and various morphological processes of Asante habitation names and section 4 concludes the whole discussion.

2.0 Methodology

This study is a purely descriptive qualitative research design. The data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. On the primary source, *native residents* of some of the towns and villages whose town names are included in the study were interviewed. The interviews were used as a mode of soliciting actual lexical components of the habitation names. Also, taxi stations that displayed names of some of these towns and villages on their vehicles or advertising boards were visited where some of the habitation names were collated.

On the secondary source, published articles, books, journals, and some internet links which were related to the topic were referred to. About 450 Asante habitation names were collected and sampled. However, 84 names were categorised, coded, glossed, and analysed. The habitation names were analysed and coded under their morphological category.

The data for the study is mainly from the Asante dialect. In the geographical sense, habitation names used in the study were delimited mainly to the Ashanti region of Ghana,

where the native Asantes live. The region is situated between four other regions; Eastern on the east, Bono and Ahafo on the North, Western on the west and Central region at the south. Since the dialects spoken in these other areas are mutually intelligible with the Asante, names used in the data may reflect other names in the border regions. In this case, none of them are the focus of this paper unless otherwise stated.

3.0 Morphological Structures of the Asante Habitation Names

In this section, I examine the morphological structure of the Asante habitation names. It is worth pointing out that, some segmental and tonal morphemes (derivational affixes) are attached to stems to change the category in which they are, or just modify the meanings (inflectional affixes) of those lexical items to form the habitation names. The morphological processes discussed in this paper include affixation (derivational and inflectional), compounding, and abbreviation.

3.1 Derived Habitation Names

Derived Habitation Names as discussed in this section denote habitation names that are formed by the attachment of an affix (prefix, suffix or both) to a base to derive the habitation name distinct from the underlying constituents. Table 1 and 2 below shows that, the habitation names are derived from three lexical categories: verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Data gathered showed that some of the Asante habitation names are made up of free and bound morpheme(s) as illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1 – Derived Habitation Names

Habitation names	Morphemes	English Gloss	Free Translation
a. Atìmàtìm	à-tìm-à-tìm	Pref. + base + pref. + reduplicant	‘It has stuck’
b. Fúfúó	fúfú-ó	white + Suffix	White colour
c. Nkáwée	̀̀n-káw-ée	Pref. + debt + Suf.	‘Little debt’
d. Ofén	ò-fén	3 rd sing. + proper noun	‘Name of a river’
e. Apàá	à-pá-á	Pref. + good + suf.	‘It has faded’
f. Dààkó	dànè- + òkó	Depend + war	‘Depend on war’
h. Nínín	nì-m-tíní	Know + cartilage	Great people

The habitation names as seen in Table 1 are derived from various morphological sources- nominalized reduplicated verb in example (a), class-maintaining derivational construction in example (b, c), nominalized truncated serial verb construction in example (f), and class-changing derivational construction in example (d,e,h). The morpheme {-o} in (b) is normally used as a nominal suffix in [±round] vowel harmony in Asante only. It is worth emphasizing here that, Some respondents gave historical meanings of some town names

like Nkawee, Atimatim, Mprim and emphasised that they are nouns composed of free morphemes whose internal morphological structures cannot be broken down into further morphemes to derive meaningful forms. This implies that the names are non-derivable and therefore have covert affixal markings.

But it is obvious from the table 1, that the Asante habitation names are not arbitrarily formed, but rather carry some linguistic functions which help to account for their internal structures. According to the information I gathered from some respondents who were natives of the communities referred to, the names moreover, carry some sociocultural meanings and functions. For instance, a habitation name like Nkawee (name of a river), means, human beings are bound to own someone and for that matter, if you are owning, it is not a crime. So, if you are owning, you do not need to do yourself bad. It is normal to own. Atimatim is the name of a brook that the community is established around and Mprim is named after the mineral that was mined in the area which is assumed to not grow but always increase.

Moreover, there are other derived Asante habitation names whose inflected and derivational forms are made up of stem(s) and affixes. While the stem carries the core meaning of the word, the affixes are added for inflectional, derivational or augmentative purposes as illustrated in table 2 below:¹

Table 2 – Derived Habitation Names

Item(s)	Morphemes	Gloss	Free Translation
a. Àhyiàém	a-hyià-εε+ mú	pref.-PRE-meet-Sufx. +in'	'meeting point'
b. Ahwèrèwá	à-hwèrè-wá	'pref.-PRE.-loose-sufx'	'small sugacane'
c. Asùwá	à-sù-wá	'Pref.-PRE-cry-Sufx.	'small river'
d. Oyèrá	ò-yèrá	'Pref. – PRE-miss'	'missing/lost'
e. Ahùáá	à-hùà-á	'Pref.-PRE-smell-Sufx.	'a glutton'
f. Àdwáfó	à-dwá-fó	Pref.-market-Sufx'	'marketers/traders'
g. Àntòá	à-ñ-tòá	'Pref-NEG-PRE-glue'	'it does not glued'
h. Etíá	è-tiá	'Pref.-short'	'has shortened'
i. Mprim	m-prim	'NEG-PRE-grow'	'does not grow'

In the data above, all the habitation names in the right are derived forms. As discussed in Adomako (2012), nominalization is one of the derivational processes in Akan. The habitation names in (a-d) are all verb forms which were nominalized through prefixation and or suffixation. The habitation name in (a) *Ahyiaem*, for instance, is derived from the verb phrase (VP) *hyia mu*. The verb *hyia* 'meet' is then given a circumfixal morpheme {a-e(ε)} and then the final vowel of the locative noun *mu* is dropped. The circumfixal morpheme changes the VP to a noun phrase (NP) <Ahyiaε mu>. The derived form **a-hyia-**

¹ Tone has been marked to show easy pronunciation of the habitation names.

e(ɛ) cojoins with the locative noun *mu*. The deletion of the advanced back high vowel of the locative noun *mu* is a very common phonetic realisation in Akan (see Odoom & Adomako 2022; Dolphyne 2006; Abakah 2004). It can be seen that apart from the nominal functions of the affixes, some of them are performing a different morphological role. For instance, in examples (b,c), the nominal suffix {-wa} functions as a diminutive (cf. Appah & Amfo 2011). Moreover, in example (f), the suffix {-fo} plays an agentive role and in examples (g, i) too, the morpheme {n-} and {m-} play an inflectional role as a negative marker. These show that Asante habitation names are structurally organized with full linguistic properties. The findings in this section are congruent with most of the findings in earlier studies on Akan morphology like Yeboah et al, (2021), Caesar & Agyekum (2019), Adomako (2018), Appah (2003). Among others.

3.2 Compound Habitation Names

One of the common morphological processes identified in the data gathered is compounding. As in many languages in the world, compounding is one of the productive word formation processes in Akan. In compounding, two or more bases or lexical items are put together to form a new word. This phenomenon has received thorough scholarly attention in Akan literature (cf. Abakah, 2004, 2006; Dolphyne, 2006; Marfo, 2004; Obeng, 2009; Appah, 2013, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017a, 2017b; Agyekum 2017). According to Appah (2013), one clear approach to classifying compounds is to use the “constituents form class, which yields N-N, N-A, N-V, and so on, or the compound’s output category, which yields verbal, go to V, adjectival, go to A, and so on. The presence and position of a head element, according to Appah (2013), distinguishes between compounds that are hyponyms of their heads and those that are not, generating endocentric vs exocentric compounds, respectively. As many studies like Hayes, 2009; Lieber, 2009; Appah, 2013; Agyekum, 2017 have also established, compound nominal may either be a solid compound (combinative), open compound (isolative), or hyphenated compound (joined by a hyphen). This section focuses mainly on the syntactic categories of the constituents put together to form the Asante habitation names.

3.2.1 Noun + Noun [N₁+N₂] Compound Habitation Names

Some of the Asante habitation names are solid compounds made up of two noun stems and are written together as one word. Examples of these names are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Noun + Noun Compound Habitation Names

<u>Habitation Name</u>	<u>Morphological Structure Gloss</u>			<u>Translation</u>
	N ₁		N ₂	
a. Adúmàh	Àdú	+	òmání	Adu’s+nation
b. Adùkró	Àdú	+	kùró	Adu’s + Town

c. Afràntwó	Àfrané + ètwónó	Afram's + Bridge	Afram's bridge
d. Adùbéá	Àdú + bèàèé	Adu's + place	Adu's place
e. Ahènkro	Àhéné + kùró	Chief/Royals + Town	Royals' town
f. Sikamáán	Siká + òmáán	Money + nation	Money's nation
g. Adúbòfóó	Àdú + òbòfóó	Adu + Hunter	Adu who's a hunter'

Albeit the habitation names consist of nouns concatenated into one word, however, some of them perform different grammatical roles. Nouns containing personal names (a-d) except the one in example (g) which function as possessive. They [nouns] show ownership. Here, the N₂ acts as the head of the compound. However, habitation names containing common nouns for example (e-f) and (g) function as possessive adjectives. It is quite informative that some of the structures have undergone vowel deletion (a,c,f,g) and derivational (e) processes. Morphologically, *a-hene* is a plural form of *ɔ-here* 'a chief'. Thus, the prefix {a-} is a nominal bound morpheme that functions as a plural marker of a singular nominalizer {ɔ-}.

3.2.2 Noun + Verb [N+V] Compound Habitation Names

The available data in Table 4 shows that some of the Asante habitation names are compounds made up of a noun and a verb, occurring in that order. As shown in data 4, the verbs used in this composition are either in perfect (PERF) or the future (FUT) aspect. This gives a glimpse of the happenings at the time of the formation of these towns or what the founders hoped for. Happenings such as famine, wars, or a search for tranquillity may cause a settler to move and build a new settlement and this will trigger the selection of a name.

Table 4 - Noun + Verb Compound² Habitation Names

Habitation Name	Morphological Structure	Gloss	Translation
a. Kùmàwú	kùm + à-wú	Name of a tree + PERF-die	The little one has died
b. Àkómàdàh	àkómá + à-dáné	Heart + PERF-depend	Heart dependant
c. Bògyàwé	bogya + à-wé	Blood + PERF-shortage	Blood shortage
d. Gyèdùàkó	gyèdú + à-kó	Gyedu + PERF-fight	Gyedu has fought
e. Amòàfó	àmóá + à-fòrò	Amoa + PERF-climb	Amoa has climbed
f. Anòmàànnýé	ànòmàá + à-ñ-gyé	Bird + PERF-NEG-take	Bird has not taken it
g. Nyàmébékyéré	nyàmé + bè-kyéré	God + FUT-Provide	God will provide
h. Adéémrá	àdèé + m-brá	May wealth + OPT-come	May wealth come

²This is the reference for noun-verb compounds in Akan Appah, Duah and Kambon (2017)
The important reference for Verb+Verb compounds in Akan is Appah (2017)

The examples in data 4 show that some of the Asante habitation names are composed of a noun and a verb. The constituents in these constructions have grammatical relations as well as semantic relations. In examples [b,c,e], the perfective morpheme is deleted during the compounding processes. The reduction of the vowels is a common phonological phenomenon in compound constructions in Akan (see Dolphyne 2006, Marfo 2004, and Appah 2003). Phonologically, in examples (f, h), the negative nasal morpheme {n-} and the imperative nasal morpheme {m-} use their nasal feature to assimilate the non-nasal adjacent consonants <gy> and to become nasalised. Consonant nasalization affects compound constructions, negative constructions, pluralization, imperative constructions, reduplication, and among others in Akan, particularly Twi (Asante and Akuapem) (see Odoom & Adomako 2022). The prefix {bɛ-} in example (g) functions as an inflectional future time morpheme providing hope to the inhabitants that God is their provider and sustainer.

Additionally, when the words are joined together, it is very easy to determine the deleted vowel as in àkómá + à-dáné → àkómádàn. Thus, it is worth pointing out that the first syllable of the second stem which carries a low tone deletes at the phonetic level (see Abakah 2004 for further discussions).

3.2.3 Verb + Verb Compound Habitation Names³

Here, two or more verbs are combined to form a habitation name as exemplified in Table 5 below.

Table 5 : Verb + Verb Compound Habitation Names

Habitation Name	Morphological Structure	Gloss	Translation
a. Kónyá	kó + nyá	fight + PRE-get	‘fight and get’
b. Brenya	brè + nyá	struggle + PRE-get	‘suffer and get’
c. Bisànyá	bisà + nyá	ask + PRE-get	‘ask and get’
d. Kòbédá	kó + bé- + dá	go + come + sleep.	‘Go and come and sleep’
e. Atòòdié	à-tó + à-dí	buy-PERF + eat-PERF	‘buy and eat’

It is quite informative that the habitation names above are derived from serial verb construction. In examples (a, b, and c), the derived habitation names involve two independent verb stems. However, in (d) and (e) though we have verb stems, yet, there are bound morphemes attached to either the second stem (d) or both the stems as in (e). In example (d) for instance, the prefix morpheme functions as an inflectional future time marker and that of example (e) functions as an inflectional perfective morpheme respectively. Moreover, in example (e), the final vowel of the first stem and the perfective morpheme of the second stem coalesce to form vowel harmonization through hiatus

resolution. This shows that verbs of the same aspect or different aspects can co-occur to form a habitational name in Asante as discussed above.

3.2.4 Noun + Verb Compound Habitation Names

In Asante, compound habitational names can be formed by combining a noun and a verb as illustrated in (6) below.

Table 6 : Noun + Verb Compound Habitation Names

<u>Habitation Name</u>	<u>Morphological Structure</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Translation</u>
a. Bànká	Bàn + ká	Fence + PRE-say	‘Left at the back of a fence’
b. Asúbóá	Asú + bòà	River + PRE-help	‘Rivers help’
c. Abóátù	Abóá + tú	Animal + PRE-fly	‘Animal flies’
d. Kòhyiá	Kó + hyiá	War + PRE-meet	‘Battle field’
e. Dùàsá	Dùà + sá	Tree + PRE-finish	‘Tree finishes’

A noun and a verb cojoin to form habitational names in Asante. The verbs show the action of the noun in present. In example (b), the noun <asu> has a plural prefix morpheme {a-} which depicts the number of the noun. In example (c) too, the noun <aboa> has an inherent singular prefix morpheme <a-> which also shows the number of the noun.

3.2.5 Verb + Noun Compound Habitation Names

Examples of verb+ noun habitation names are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 - Verb + Noun Compound Habitation Names

<u>Habitation Name</u>	<u>Morphological Structure</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Translation</u>
a. Bòámán	⁴ bòà + òmán	PRE-help + nation	‘help nation’
b. Kyèkyèwéré	kyè-kyèré + wéré	RED-PRE-bind + soul	‘comfort soul’
c. Nyààdé	nyà + àdé	PRE-get + thing	‘get something’
d. Sòámé	sòà + mè	PRE-carry+ me	‘carry me ‘
e. Kyèrènsá	kyèrè + ònsá	PRE-show + wine	‘show wine/alcohol’

⁴ From an informant, the word denotes the verb “help” as the history behind the formation of the town stipulates.

The verb stems identified in the data are all in the present form whereas the nouns are all common nouns. The verbs play a major semantic role in the habitation names discussed in [7]. It emphasizes the meaning of the common name. In example [b], the stem verb *kyere* is reduplicated as *kyekyere*. It can be seen that the syllable *re-* is deleted in the reduplicant, yet, the meaning is maintained. The verbs in the compound construction give us actions information of the noun stems.

3.2.6 Noun+ Adjective Compound Habitation Names

This class of habitation names has two free forms where the first is a noun and the second is an adjective. Here, the adjective refers to an attributive of the referent of the noun. It reveals the size, location or other features of the noun/town.

Table 8 - Noun + Adjective Compound Habitation Names

<u>Habitation Name</u>	<u>Morphological Structure</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Translation</u>		
a. Bàrèkésé	Bàrè + kèsée	‘river + big big river’
b. Akròpón	À- kùró + pón	‘Prefix-town + big big town’
c. Màmpon	òmán + pón	‘state + big big state’
d. Bòsòmkyékyé	Bòsómé + kyèkyé	‘moon + comfort’ ‘name of a star’

Appah (2013) and Saah (2004) argue that, in Akan compounding where adjectives form part of the constituents, the adjective is realized as the right constituent in the compound as illustrated in Table 8. In example (b), the prefix {a-} functions as a nominal plural marker. This nominal plural morpheme is quite different from the normal nominal plural {n-} which we usually use to mark the word *kuro* as in *nkuro* ‘towns’. It is informative to know that all habitation names with *kuro* and *pón* joined together select {a-} as their nominal plural prefix morpheme, hence, such compound is lexicalized conditioned.

3.2.7 Noun+ Postposition Compound Habitation Names

In this set of data on habitation names, the constituents of the compound word are analysed as a noun and a postposition. It is identified in the data that the nouns are geomorphic nouns that reflect a geographical location. Some of the natural things that serve as the basis for the naming include; rivers, rocks, mountains and vegetation. It is evidenced that usually, where the town or village is situated about the geographical location, it is represented by the use of the postposition which is the second constituent. Hence, postposition functions as a locative in habitation names as illustrated in Table (8) below:

Table 9 - Noun + Postposition Compound Habitation Names

Habitation Name	Morphological Structure	Gloss	Translation
a. Añkàásé	Añkàá + àsé	Orange + under	‘Under the orange tree’
b. Bépóásé	Bépó + àsé	Mountain + under	‘Under the mountain’
c. Òbóásé	òbó + àsé	Rock + under	‘Under the rock’
d. Òfénsó	Òféń + só	Name of river + on	‘On the Ofen river’
e. Bépósó	Bépó + só	Mountain + on	‘On the mountain’
f. Àbóósó	Abóó + só	Rocks + on	‘On the rocks’
g. Àmàkóm	Amàkó + mú	Pepper + in	‘In the pepper area’
h. Dótóm	Dótó + mú	Bush + in	‘In the bush’
i. Mmém	Mmé + mú	Palm-nut + in	‘In the palm-nut area’
j. Bóáním	Èbóó + àníń	Rock + front	‘Front of a rock’
k. Bóóhó	Bóó + hó	Rock + around	‘Around a rock’
l. Pòàno	Èpó + àno	Bush + tip/ front	‘Closed to a forest’
m. Asúóntám	Asúó + ntám	Rivers + Between	‘In between rivers’

It is discernible that postposition shows locative in habitation names in Akan. All the habitation names are solid compounds with a noun and a postposition constituent. The postpositions are locatives such as *ase* (under), *eso* (on), *emu* (in), *eho* (around), *anim* (front), *ano* (tip/ front), and *ntam* (between). The postpositions are syntactically noun modifiers. They relate to the nouns (Osam et al 2011).

3.2.7 Compounds within compounds or lexicalized clause constituents

It is not in all cases that the compound habitation names have two constituents. Some of the Asante habitation names identified have more than two constituents. Some of these compounds are binary branching and others are lexicalized clauses. This means that there are two immediate constituents before the other constituent is joined. Moreover, this process of compounds within compounds has compound constituents of compounds. The names of this calibre have the first constituent being the name of a person/object or a verb. The compounds whose first constituent is a noun mostly have another noun or an adjective as its second constituent. In this case, the third constituent is automatically a postposition. In all cases, it is seen that compounds of this nature have at least one of its constituents being a noun as shown in data 10 below:

Table 10 Compound Habitation Names with more than two Constituents

Habitation Name	Morphological Structure	Gloss	Translation
a. Dònkókróm	Dònkó + kùró + mú	PN +town + in	‘Donkor’s town’
b. Kòfikróm	Kòfí + èkùró + mú	PN +town + in	‘Kofi’s town’
c. Kràkróm	Òkrà + èkùró + mú	Cat + town + in	‘Cat’s town’
d. Pétédùásé tree’	Peté + dùá + àsé	Vulture + tree + under	‘Under the vulture’s tree’

e. Hiàmà̀̀nkyéné	È-hià + má + ñkyéné	It-PRE-require + salt	‘It requires salt’
f. Nyàmédùásé	Nyàmé + dùá + àsé	God + tree + under	‘Under the God’s tree’
g. Bò̀̀rò̀̀fó̀̀yéd̀̀rú	Bò̀̀rò̀̀fó + yé + dù̀̀rú	English + is + heavy	‘English is difficult’
h. Fà̀̀nkyénéb̀̀fá	Fá + ñkyéné + b̀̀rá	Take + salt + come	‘Bring a salt’
i. Krò̀̀fó̀̀m	Kùró + fò̀̀fò̀ró + mú	Town + new + in	‘New town’

As noted earlier, all the names have at least one noun constituent in the compound word. It is also seen in the study that, all the solid compound habitation names that have more than two constituents are mostly full clauses or complete sentences as seen in examples (h, i). The one in example (f) too is a binary branching compound [[Nyame+dua] + ase]. This will give us N+N (or N+ locative noun) compound (see example (d) too). The habitation names have undergone vocalic and syllabic deletion processes at the output level as identified in (a-h) and (i) respectively.

3.2.8 Open Compound Habitation Names

Some of the Asante habitation names are compounds that are written as separate words. All the open compounds identified in the habitation names have noun + noun constituents as exemplified in Table 11 below:

Table 11: Open Compound Habitation Names

Habitation Name	Morphological Structure	Gloss	Translation
a. Atá Akùráá	Atá Akùráá	PN + Village	‘Ata’s village’
b. Ñkáwíé Kúmáá	Ñ+káw-ée Kúmáá	Pref.+debt+Sufx	‘Small debt’s village’
c. Ñkáwíé Pánín	Ñ+káw-ée Pánín	Pref.+debt +Sufx.+ elderly	‘Great debt’
d. Tánó Òdúmásé	Tánó Òdúm-ásé	PN +Teak tree-Under	‘Under the Tano Odum tree’
e. Kwàbèná Ñkwàntá	Kwàbèná Ñkwàntá	PN +road + junction	‘Kwabena junction’
f. M̀̀ansó Adùbéá	M̀̀ansó Adù-béá	PLN+PN-place	‘Manso Adu’s place’

The first constituents in the compound names in Table 11 serve as appositives (a noun qualifying another noun). It is seen in the data that the second nouns in the compounds are the real town names whereas the first constituents give further information about the second ones. Owu-Ewie (2014) identified for Fante habitation names that the first nouns in this compound depict the traditional area or jurisdiction in which the community is found. It is seen in the Asante forms that, the first names do not only indicate the traditional area or jurisdiction in which the community is found; they may also give reference to the founder or first settler of the town as in (a and d) or as a geomorphic noun as in (b, c and e). In this sense, one can omit the first constituent when mentioning or using that town name. It is worthy of note that, the constituents in examples (a-f) are morphologically complex. This is in the sense that, the morphological make-up of the constituents as seen in the data (b,c) is derivational (b-c) forms and others are compounds within compounds. The inflectional morphemes function as nominalizers and plural markers whilst the derivational form changes the verb to a noun (b-c).

3.4 Abbreviated Habitation Names

The section shows that some of the Asante habitation names are abbreviated. The study reveals that, mostly, the youth and taxi drivers use the abbreviated version of the town for economy of efforts, and easy accessibility of the town, however, the older folks maintain the use of the original form. Some of these town names are presented in Table 12 with their abbreviations;

Table 12: Abbreviated Habitation Names

<u>Habitation Name</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	
a. Kòkòtèàsúá	KKT	‘Warthog + field	‘In the field of warthog’
b. Kyèkyèwéré	KY	‘Comfort + soul	‘Comforter’
c. Jèdúákó	JK	‘Nimtree + war	‘Place full of nimtree’
d. Bòròfóyèdúú	BD	‘English-is-hard	‘English is difficult’
e. Abònkósù	ABK	‘Rocks + on	Place full of rocks’

We can see from the data that, the first segment in the town name is automatically present in the habitation name (abbreviated form) and other consonants in the noun are randomly selected. Though the selection of the other segments as abbreviations beside the first segment, for now, remains inexplicable, it is identified in the data that vowels are not normally featured except where they are in the first segment. The choice of the consonant sound to represent the habitation names is conditioned by the stress syllables. The researcher accounts that the youth and the drivers in the vicinity mainly use the abbreviated forms but the older folks maintain the use of the long form.

4.0 Summary

This paper has discussed some morphological processes embedded in Asante habitation names. It revealed that Asante habitation names are formed through affixation (derivational and inflectional), compounding, and abbreviation. Among these morphological processes, compounding formation was the main morphological process identified in Asante habitation names. The structure of compound formation identified in this study includes noun+noun (N+N), noun+verb (N+V), verb+verb (V+V), verb+noun (V+N), noun+adjective (N+Adj.), noun+postposition (N+PP), and compounds within compounds or lexicalized clauses. The compound habitation names were discussed under solid and open compounds. The derived habitation names are mainly formed through derivational affixes and partly inflectional affixes. The derivational affixes are either class changing or class maintaining and the inflectional affixes are mainly nominalizers. It is worth pointing out that Asante habitation names are formed structurally through compounding and derivation with compounding being the main. Other morphological processes discussed are peripheral to Asante habitation names. Finally, most of the Asante habitation names discussed are names of trees, rivers, and objects and these revealed the diachronic meanings of the names.

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Appendix 1:

CORPUS OF SOME ASANTE HABITATION NAMES

Abaase	Abasi	Abesewa	Aboabo
Aboabogya	Aboaboso	Abodom,	Abofrim,
Aboma,	Abonu	Abori,	Abotanso
Abosamso	Abɔfoɔ	Abotan	Abrofirim,
Abuakwa	Abuakwaa	Aboantem,	Abrakaso
Akyease	Akyinakrom	Adankwamu,	Adanse Praso
Adanwomase	Adeɛmmra	Ahwerewam	Adomfe,
Adonso,	Adugyanso,	Aduman	Adumanu
Adwafo	Aduyaw	Afamanso,	Aframso
Afrante	Afrantwo	Agogo	Agona
Ahenkro	Ahinsan	Ahodwo	Ahwerewa
Ahwiaa	Ahwiren,	Ahyireso	Akurofoso
Akurofrom	Akrokere	Akrokyere	Akropɔn
Akrowi	Akuakrom	Akumadan	Akutuase
Akwansrem	Akyerekyekrom	Amankyia	Amenso
Amentia	Amoako	Amoaman	Amoawi
Amormoso	Amponya	Ampunyase	Aniamoa
Ankaase	Ankam	Antoa	Antoakrom
Anunuso	Anwiafutu	Anwiankwanta	Anwiaso
Anyinamso	Anyinasu	Anyinasuso	Anyinofi
Apagya	Apapaso	Apatratom	Apiadu
Asaam	Asakraka	Asaman	Anyanso
Asamankama	Asankari	Asarekrom	Asempanaye
Asisiriwa	Asiwa	Asokore	Asokore Mampɔn
Asonomaso	Asuboi	Asubua	Asubuaso

Atonsu	Atonsuagya	Ata Akuraa	Atakro
Aworoso	Babaso	Balana	Banka
Bankame	Banko	Banso	Bantoma
Bari	Bari Kese	Bedomase	Begoro
Begoroase	Bekwai	Bemi	Benim
Bepoase	Beposo	Berem	Besease
Betenease	Biemso	Bindom	Bimma
Bipoa	Bisiase	Boahenkwan	Boamang
Boanim	Boankra	Bodwesango	Bogyawe
Bomfa	Bompata	Boni	Bonsaaso
Bonteso	Bontomruso	Bonwire	Bosafo
Bosomkyekye	Bowohomodien	Brahabeome	Breman
Brodekwanho	Brofoyedru	Bronikrom	Bunaso
Bunyum	Daaso	Daban	Dampon
Danso	Darko	Datano	Densubon
Denyase	Didaso	Dindindusi	Domasi
Dome	Domeabra	Domi Keniango	Dompoase
Dotiem	Drabon	Drobonso	Dukusen
Dumienu	Dwinyankwanta	Dwinyama	Dwiasi
Dwoanim	Dwaso	Dwaben	Dwuahaw
Dwuansa	Ebira	Ebiram	Eduadin
Eduaniyede	Edubiase	Edumasa	Edwenase
Efiduase	Ehwia	Egyian	Edwiso
Esaase	Esaso	Esiana	Esumegya
Esuonwin	Etia	Fankyenebra	Fawoade
Fawoman	Fenanso	Feyiasi	Fiankoma
Foase	Fomena	Freboye	Freso

Fufuo	Fumisua	Fumso	Hwidiem
Hansoyewode	Heman	Heman Booho	Hia
Hiakwasi	Hiawoanwu	Hiawu Besease	Hun
Hwidiem	Hwireso	Gyakyee	Gyakobu
Gyadiako	Gyamase	Gyimiso	Kakraba
Kankanfriasi	Kasaam	Kasei	Katie
Kenseri	Kenyase	Kobreso	Kodie
Kofiase	Kodwotrako	Kokoben	Kokodie
Kokofu	Kokote	Kokotro	Komeso
Kona	Koniyaw	Konongo	Konongo-Odumase
Kotokuom	Krofa	Kubease	Kubekrom
Kumase	Kumawu	Kumpese	Kunso
Kuntenase	Kwadaso	Kwaman	Kwamo
Kwapeni	Kwaso	Kyebi	Kyekyebon
Kyekyewere	Kyenkyenase	Kyereyaaso	Kyeyiase
Kyeremfaso	Maase	Maban	Mampɔn
Manesuso	Manfo	Manhyia	Mankranso
Manso Adubea	Manso Nkwanta	Manukrom	Mayera
Mem	Mensonso	Memenase	Meyenwaikosimeyie
Mfensi	Mile 14	Miminaso	Mmerɛdane
Moseaso	Mpantuase	Mpatuam	Mpesaso
Mpesetia	Mpobi	Naama	Namon
Nerebehi	New Koforidua	Nimreso	Nkaneku
Nkawie Kumaa	Nkawie Panin	Nkenkansu	Nkwanta
Nkwantakese	Nkwanten	Nsiakrom	Nsonyameye
Nsutam	Ntobroso	Ntonso	Nubuom
Nukwasa	Nwineso No.1	Nyameadom	Nyameani

Nyamebekyere	Nyankyerenease	Nyinahin	Obo
Obogu	Obuase	Odaho	Odumase
Ofe	Ofinso	Ofoase	Onyimso
Oseikrom	Owabi	Owuokrom	Oyoko
Pakoso	Pankronu	Pasaro	Patakro
Patase	Patriensa	Patrikrom	Pekyerekye
Pekyi	Pemenasi	Penten	Peteduase
Piase	Pipiiso	Poanu	Pokukrom
Pomposo	Pra River	Praaso	Saabum
Saabuso	Sabonline	Sabronum	Sampreso
Samso	Sasebonso	Sawia	Sedi
Sehwikura	Seikrom	Sekyedumase	Senfi
Seniagya	Senkye Asante	Sepasi	Sikaman
Sireso	Soko	Sokoben	Sraneso
Soami	Sukuumu	Suntreso	Surukrom
Swedru	Taabuom	Takorase	Takwaim
Tanodumase	Tikyakrom	TebesoNo.1	Tebeso No. 2
Tepa	Tetrem	Toase	Tontokrom
Trede	Twedie	Twepease	Wamase
Watreso	Wawase	Wiamoase	Wiawso
Winiso	Woraso	Yabi	Yireso
Yoribon	Yuabra		

ⁱ This paper is an excerpt from the authors Mphil dissertation that was submitted to the Department of Akan-Nzema education, University of Education, Winneba in 2017. Though most of the discussions and analysis have been updated, all the data is from the thesis.

I wish to express my sincerest appreciations to the Editor and the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their useful comments.

BILINGUAL PRACTICES IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE PEDAGOGIC RELEVANCE OF FRENCH-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING IN GHANA

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Abstract

Language contact is increasingly becoming a common occurrence worldwide, resulting in phenomena such as code-switching, Ghana being no exception. Although much research have been explored on code-switching in formal and informal settings in the country, the subject is least explored in higher education institutions. Therefore, this paper reports on a qualitative study of bilingual practices in French and Francophone Studies classrooms, under the Department of Language and Communication Sciences in a Ghanaian public university. The study employs recordings of classrooms discourse, interviews, and classroom observations. Drawing on Grosjean's Language Mode Continuum and Poplack's code-switching model, the study investigates the types of code-switching and the pedagogic relevance of French-English code-switching in French language classrooms. The data sets for the study consist of classroom recordings of five (5) lecturers with an average total of 60 students per lecturer. We found that all three types of code-switching (intra-sentential, inter-sentential and emblematic) were employed during classroom teaching of French courses. However, variances exist in the types of code-switching employed in the 1st year, 2nd year and 4th year classes. We found that the French lecturers codeswitched to achieve pedagogic functions such as explaining concepts, vocabulary acquisition, correction of students, and content comprehension while students also codeswitched to express themselves clearly and fill gaps in their vocabulary. The study concludes that code-switching enhances students' understanding of concepts in both languages

and encourages the active participation of students in the classroom. We recommend that a study be carried out on how code-switching contributes towards students' success or failure in learning French as a second language. The study contributes to research on bilingual practices, particularly in higher education.

Keywords: *Code-switching, Bilinguals, English language, French language, Multilingual,*

Résumé

L'avènement de la mondialisation a rendu le contact linguistique un phénomène courant dans le monde entier, entraînant des phénomènes tels que l'alternance codique, dont le Ghana n'est pas une exception. Bien qu'une pléthore de recherches ait été explorée sur l'alternance codique dans des contextes formels et informels, le sujet est le moins exploité au niveau des institutions d'enseignement supérieur. Cet article rapporte donc une étude qualitative des pratiques bilingues dans les classes d'Études Françaises et Francophones qui relèvent du Département des Sciences du Langage et de la Communication dans une université publique ghanéenne. Les données de la recherche sont des enregistrements de discours en classe, des entretiens et des observations en classe. En s'appuyant sur le Continuum du Mode de Langue de Grosjean et le modèle l'alternance codique de Poplack, l'étude vise à examiner les types d'alternance codique et la pertinence pédagogique de l'alternance codique français-anglais dans les classes de langue française. Les ensembles de données pour l'étude se composent d'enregistrements de cours de cinq (5) enseignants avec un total moyen de 60 étudiants par enseignant. Nous avons constaté que les trois types d'alternance codique (intra-phrastique, inter-phrastique et emblématique) étaient utilisés pendant l'enseignement des cours de français. Cependant, des variations existent dans les types d'alternance codique employés dans les classes de 1ère année, 2ème année et 4ème année. Nous avons constaté que les enseignants de

français utilisent l’alternance codique pour accomplir des fonctions pédagogiques telles que l’explication de concepts, l’acquisition de vocabulaire, la correction des étudiants et la compréhension du contenu, tandis que les étudiants alternent également les codes pour s’exprimer clairement et combler les lacunes de leur vocabulaire. L’étude conclut que l’alternance codique améliore la compréhension des concepts par les étudiants dans les deux langues et encourage la participation active des étudiants en classe. Nous recommandons qu’une étude soit menée sur la manière dont l’alternance codique contribue au succès ou à l’échec des étudiants dans l’apprentissage de la langue française. L’étude étend les recherches sur les pratiques bilingues, notamment dans l’enseignement supérieur.

Mots-clés : Alternance codique, Bilingues, Langue anglaise, Langue française, Multilingue

1. Introduction

Ghana, a British colony within the West African sub-region that attained self-government on 6th March 1957, is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country. Language educators and sociologists in Ghana are extensively exposed to more than two languages, which are either indigenous or foreign. Quarcoo, Amuzu, and Owusu (2014) assert that Ghana is a multilingual nation, therefore, people frequently switch between several languages in interactions. People communicate with one another using two or more languages. In most speech contexts or communities, such as churches, businesses, institutions, etc., people use more than one code to communicate with those around them. In institutions such as universities, it is not uncommon for educators such as tutors to use more than one code in teaching language programmes such as French, Spanish, Chinese, English, and Twi in classrooms, lecture halls, and other places (cf. Abban, Mensah & ResCue, 2023; Shalini, Lubna & Nithiyaroobi, 2019; Suganda, Leoneta & Zuraida, 2018; Jingxia, 2010; Nzwanga, 2000). Also, undergraduates in French classrooms may not comprehend fully lectures that are taught predominantly in the target language, French. Hence, some tutors and lecturers employ both the L1 and the target language in the classroom to facilitate comprehension. In educational system, using language for teaching and learning activities is crucial for effective communication (Mukti, 2016). The interlocutors involved in communication are key factors to consider before employing some codes in conversations (Yevudey, 2017, Nuworsu, 2015).

A code refers to is any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication (Wardhaugh, 2010). Wardhaugh asserts that the term is a more neutral term than the other related terms such as dialect, language, style, pidgin, and creole, which usually attract some emotional attachments. In a language contact situation, code choices take place. Code-switching and code-mixing have become subjects of research across disciplines such as sociolinguistics, language contact, education, and communication studies. Some scholars state that code-switching mostly occurs in informal situations (e.g., Quarcoo & Amuzu, 2016; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Forson, 1988;1979; Auer, 1984; Gumperz, 1972). Other studies (e.g., Abban, Mensah & ResCue, 2023; Tefeh, 2022; Temadonku, 2018; Atiemo 2015; Yevudey, 2013; Brew-Daniels, 2011; Amekor, 2009; Setati et al., 2002; Arthur, 1996; Asilevi, 1990), however, are of the view that it occurs in formal situations as well and is noticeable in the discourse, oration, utterances of educators such as teachers and students. Quarcoo and Amuzu (2016) look at it from a different angle by exploring how code-switching is used for academic purposes outside the classroom. Their findings revealed that code-switching between English and Akan facilitates understanding of topics students were taught in the classroom and maintains solidarity within their community of practice.

In Anglophone countries, such as Ghana, code-switching in peoples' daily conversations and classrooms has been investigated since the 1970s. Forson (1979) postulates that code-switching (CS) was not a code choice in Ghana until the early 1950s when English was introduced as a medium of instruction in elementary schools. Flamenbaum (2006), Yevudey (2009), Vanderpuije (2010) and Brobbey (2015) have conducted research on the use of code-switching in Ghanaian media. Amekor (2009), Ezuh (2009), Adjei (2010), Brew-Daniels (2011), Yevudey (2012), Atiemo (2015), Temadonku (2018), and Tefeh (2022) studied code-switching use at the basic and college level. However, there are rare studies on French-English code-switching at the university level of education in Ghana.

This study seeks to fill the gap in research by adopting Grosjean's (1998) Language Mode Continuum to offer insights into the pedagogic relevance of French-English code-switching by French lecturers using French and Francophone Studies classrooms in a public university in Ghana as a case study. The study also adopted Poplack's code-switching model in identifying the types of code-switching adopted in the classrooms. This study contributes to the existing literature on code-switching in Ghana, particularly in the classroom by exploring the pedagogic functions of code-switching between French and English. The remaining sections of the paper discuss the

review of related literature and theoretical frameworks, methodology, data analysis and results, and conclusions.

2. Literature Review

This section provides information on language in education and the theoretical framework adopted for the study.

2.1 Language in Education

Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast, became the first Sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence from European colonization. Ghana as a multilingual and multi-ethnic country adopted English as its official language after independence making English the language for all official correspondences. The country has about 79 indigenous languages and the indigenous languages fall within the Niger-Kordofanian group (Simons and Fenning, 2017; Yevudey, 2017). Nine out of the 79 indigenous languages are government-sponsored, and these languages are used as the medium of instruction at the lower primary, grades 1-3 with a transition to being used as subjects of study from upper primary grades 4 up to tertiary levels (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2023). These languages include Akan (which has three dialects Akuapem Twi, Asante Twi and Fante), Ewe, Dagaare, Dagbani, Adangme, Ga, Gonja, Kasem, and Nzema. These indigenous languages are approved by government to be used in parliament, media, and schools. In addition to these indigenous languages being used in Ghana's educational system, English occupies the highest and most prestigious position in the country. According to Ameyaw-Akumfi (2002), the language policy in Ghana has changed from the use of the local dialect in the lower primary to that of English right from crèche. As a result, it is prevalent to have children whose L1 is English because they are exposed to the language right from childhood. In urban areas, it is not uncommon to hear children speaking English before entering into formal education. English has been officially recognized and adopted as the medium of instruction in Ghana's educational system. English is consistently and predominantly used in television, radio broadcasts, daily newspapers, and magazines as well. The prestige and status of English in the country, Ghana is well summarized by a Ghanaian journalist,

‘who claims that English enjoys great prestige in the country because the people of Ghana have seen it to be the language of power and security. Those who are

competent in the language have the power to exercise authority, it is a key to one's advancement in society. It enhances one's chances of getting a good job. A person who wants to feel secure learn English as it is one of the requirements for employment in many areas' (Saah, 1986:370).

French, the other dominant foreign language in Ghana, is the focus of this study in addition to English. The country also has several foreign languages taught at the university level including French, Chinese, Spanish, Russian, German, and Swahili. The teaching and learning of French began as early as 1879, even though Ghana's official language is English (Amonoo, 1988; Bangnia, 2020). The studies report that it began in the Central Region at Mfantipim and Adisadel College in Cape Coast when the colonial school authorities deemed it necessary to introduce French as a second foreign language, and the teaching of French was later introduced in other schools, colleges and universities across the country. Teaching and learning of the French language in Ghana have been influenced by the geographical location of the country. Ghana shares borders with three Francophone countries namely Burkina Faso, which lies north; Togo, in the east, and Cote d'Ivoire in the west. Therefore, it is expedient to teach and learn French in the country.

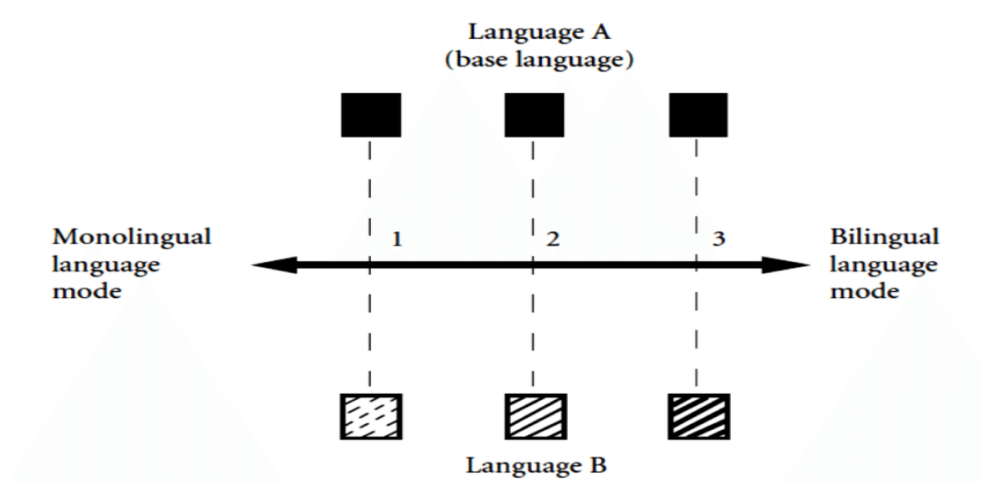
A lot of efforts have been put in place by the French government to encourage and ensure that French is beneficial and relevant to Ghanaians. According to the President of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency Nana A. D. A. Addo at La Francophonie Summit in 2017, "Notre objectif est de vivre un jour dans un Ghana bilingue, C' est à dire l'anglais et le français ainsi que nos propres langues autochtones", translated as 'Our goal is to live, one day, in a bilingual Ghana, that is English and French, together with our indigenous languages'. In support of this, the foreign affairs minister, Shirley Ayorker Botchwey, posits that the promotion of the French language is a major education priority (Aseidu, 2019).

Consequently, the French language has been accepted as an elective and compulsory subject in Ghana's educational system for both Basic and Senior High school students. It is even a major programme in universities in Ghana such as Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology; University of Cape Coast; University of Ghana, Legon and other tertiary institutions.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study explores the functions of French-English code-switching during French classroom discussions. With this in mind, this study adopts Grosjean's Language Mode Continuum as its theoretical and analytical framework. Below is a visual representation of the language mode continuum.

Figure 1: Grosjean's Language Mode Continuum



(Grosjean 1998: p. 136)

The position of bilinguals on the continuum is represented by the discontinuous vertical lines and the level of language activation by the degree of darkness of the squares. Here, the black is active and the white is inactive. According to Grosjean (2013, 2001, 1998), Language Mode Continuum provides social and linguistic parameters for exploring bilingual and multilingual language use. This framework opines that the use of languages is based on certain linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, speakers can either adopt monolingual or bilingual codes when communicating. Language mode is the state of activation of the bilinguals' languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time. The state of activation of two languages is said to be in a continuum during interactions. On this continuum, a bilingual may be in a monolingual mode, intermediate mode, and bilingual mode. Monolingual mode is when a speaker finds him or herself in a speech situation that requires the use of one language. Here, the speakers are monolingual in just one language. If the speaker is bilingual and finds him or herself in a monolingual mode, such a speaker must interact with only one language that he/she knows. Here, one language is active and the other is deactivated.

At position 2, the speaker is in an intermediate mode. Language A is the most active language, the language of communication, but language B is also partly activated. This kind of mode arises when a bilingual is speaking to another bilingual who does not wish to use the other language (language B) or when a bilingual is interacting with a person who has limited knowledge of the other language. Here, the linguistic setting or the participants permit limited use of two languages and also there is an expected code for the interaction with limited use of other shared languages.

In position 3, the speaker is at the bilingual end of the continuum. Both languages are active, but language B is slightly less active than language A as it is not currently the language of communication. Here, the bilinguals are competent speakers of the languages. Also, the bilingual speaker feels comfortable mixing languages. They first adopt a base language to use together (language A) but the other language referred to as guest language is available in case it is needed for a word, phrase, or sentence.

Grosjean (1998) describes factors that may condition the language mode of speakers. These factors are the participants, the situation, the form and content of the message, and the function of the language. The factors are well explained and contextualized in the study, even though the primary focus is on the function of the language act in reference to the theoretical framework.

3. Methodology

Bhattacharjee (2012) posits that a research design is a comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project, and it is a blueprint for empirical research aimed at answering specific research questions. This study is situated within the qualitative research design with data consisting of classroom recordings of five (5) lecturers with an average total of 60 students per lecturer in the first, second, and fourth years. A simple random sampling strategy was used for the selection of the participants (lecturers) for the study. This was done to ensure that each lecturer had an equal chance of being selected. Also, the French lecturers were selected based on the fact that they were French lecturers who had acquired a minimum of ten years of teaching. The 3rd year students were not available for the study because they left Ghana to Benin or France during the data collection periods in 2022. It is crucial to note that the absence of third-year students did not adversely affect the sufficiency and credibility of the data.

The selection of these participants from French and Francophone Studies under the Department of Language and Communication Sciences is the defining boundary of the study. This was because it provides the data and data sources needed to achieve the objectives of the study. French and Francophone Studies classrooms provide data for exploring French-English code-switching in the classroom and in ascertaining the pedagogic functions of such code choices in the classroom context. The main data collection instruments used were recordings of classroom interactions, interviews and classrooms observations. We employed semi-structured interviews (audio-recorded and transcribed) with French lecturers on the perspectives and practice of French-English code-switching in the French language classrooms. The interviews were conducted in English and were transcribed by the team. We observed 10 lessons and each lecture was approximately 2 hours. The research team translated the selection of the audio-recorded lectures.

Participation in the research was voluntary across all year groups: 1st year, 2nd year and 4th year. Permission letter was submitted to the Head of Department of Language and Communication Sciences, and lecturers who were to be involved in the study. An approval letter was given after a few questions for clarification from the participants (lecturers and students). Ethical procedures were followed including obtaining informed consent, the right to withdraw, and anonymity. The data collected were kept on a password-protected computer for confidentiality. For ethical considerations and anonymity, **LT**, **ST** and **TL** are used for the lecturers, students and translation, respectively. We ensured confidentiality and anonymity in handling the data.

4. Result and Discussion

This section presents a detailed analysis and presentation of findings from the study. It discusses the types of code-switching employed by French lecturers and the functions of French-English code-switching during classroom discussions. The abbreviations LT and TL are used to represent lecturer and translation, respectively.

4.1 Types of Code-Switching (CS) Employed by Participants during French and Francophone Classroom Interaction.

A. Intra-sentential CS

Poplack (1980) defines intra-sentential CS as a switch type that occurs within a single sentence. Intra-sentential code-switching is said to be a ‘more intimate type’ because the code-switched segments and other words around must conform to the underlying syntactic rules that govern the

two languages involved. Below are examples of intra-sentential CS observed during teaching and learning.

Example 1

LT: You have to go and Google and look at **la correspondance**.

TL: (You have to go and Google and look at **letter writing**).

Example 2

LT: I'm not interested in **le contenu**.

TL: (I am not interested in **the content**)

Example 3

LT: Who doesn't understand **incendie**?

TL: (Who doesn't understand **fire outbreak**?)

Example 4

LT: Everybody can write fire outbreak **dans la cité**.

TL: (Everybody can write fire outbreak **in the hall**.)

Example 5

LT: You can say **j'ai entendu un bruit fort**.

TL: (You can say **I heard a loud noise**.)

Example 6

LT: **J'ai vu des sapeur pompiers** standing there holding fire extinguisher.

TL: (**I saw firefighters** standing there holding fire extinguishers.)

B. Emblematic or Tag CS

Emblematic or tag CS involves inserting a tag or short phrase from one language into an utterance in another language. This switch type is characterised by the insertion of interjections, tags, idiomatic expressions, and individual noun switches from a guest language into a base language. These switches are also known as emblematic or extra-sentential CS (Poplack, 1980).

Example 8

LT: **Non!**, no you did it.

TL: (**No!**, no you did it.)

Example 9

LT: **Yes**, je suis sorti pour de la maison pour vérifier.

TL: (**Yes**, I went out of the house to check.)

Example 10

LT: Oh!, cité, c'est comme résidence. **OK**

TL: (Oh! hall, it is like a residence. **OK**.)

Example 11

LT: **Now**, alors je ne vois que des personnes dans leurs uniformes.

TL: (**Now**, then I only see people in their uniforms.)

Example 12

LT: **D'accord**, that is good.

TL: (**OK**, that is good.)

The participant (lecturer) in the classroom used these interjections: **now**, **ok**, **d'accord**, **yes**, **bon**, **oh!**, and **non!**. These interjections add emotional emphasis and agreement within sentences, irrespective of their position, either at the beginning, middle, or end. They serve to express emotions, agreement, or disagreement without altering the fundamental meaning of the sentence.

C. Inter-sentential CS

This type of switch occurs between sentences and clause boundaries. The alternation takes the form of two independent sentences where a speaker uses the second language to reiterate his message or to give a response to his addressee's statement (Gumperz, 1982, p.59). The speaker must follow the rules of both languages that they use. Examples 13 and 14 are excerpts from the data.

Example 13

LT: Today, we are going to look at something interesting. **Voyons peut être ... on nous allons voir comment rédiger... décrire un événement.**

TL: Today, we are going to look at something interesting. **Maybe let's see ... we will see how to write... describe an event.**

Example 14

LT: **Qu'est-ce qui ne va pas?** What is wrong?

TL: **What is wrong?** What is wrong?

Example 15

LT: **Je fête mon anniversaire de mariage chaque 2 Janvier en famille.** That is how you introduce this topic.

TL: **I celebrate my wedding anniversary every 2nd of January with my family.** That is how you introduce this topic.

Table 1: Code-switching phenomenon in some of the classes observed.

CLASS	Intra-sentential	Tag switches	Inter-sentential	Total
1 ST	41	28	47	116
2 ND	37	25	42	104
4 TH	8	23	4	35

Table 1 presents the level of switches that happened during the teaching and learning process in some of the observed classes such as French Language Structure I & II (FREF 155;156); Listening Comprehension and Oral Production I & II (FREF 251;252), Advanced French Linguistics I & II

(FREF 455;456) and so on. The lower frequency of code-switching observed in the 4th year classes may be attributed to the advanced language proficiency and increased immersion of students who have completed extensive studies abroad in French-speaking countries like France or Benin. Having spent significant time in an immersive French-speaking environment, these students (4th year) have developed a stronger command of the language and are more adept at expressing themselves solely in French without relying on code-switching as frequently as students in earlier years who may still be developing their language skills. The lecturer, therefore, hardly code switch during classroom interactions with the 4th years.

4.2 The pedagogic relevance of code choices in the classrooms

This section primarily aims to explore the various functions that code choices are used to achieve in French and Francophone classrooms. We analyzed the functions based on the participants, the situation, the form, and contents of the message, and the functions of the language act as put forward by Grosjean's (2013, 2001, 1998) Language Mode Continuum.

4.2.1. The participants

The participants within interactive events play a significant role in determining code choices to use in their activities. Within a monolingual situation, participants would be using a single language common to them and in a bilingual situation, speakers will likely alternate when communicating with each other. During the analysis of the data, we noticed two main types of participant-related code choices during classroom discussions. These are lecturer-initiated and student-initiated.

French and Francophone Classroom

The participants are multilingual speakers. All of them speak French, English, and other indigenous Ghanaian languages. Some students speak languages such as Akan (Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi or Fante), Dagbani, Ewe, Dagaare, and Ga. The participants consist of five (5) lecturers with an average total of 60 students per lecturer.

In one of the classes observed, the topic of the lesson was '**la démonstration**'. The students watched a video that was played in the classroom on 'demonstration' and were asked to relate the events to what had happened in KNUST, some years ago. During the teaching and learning session, the lecturer started the lesson in French and paused it at a point using English to ask questions. The lecturer's decision to switch languages was intentional, as she noticed that the students were

having difficulty understanding her communication. The lecturer used inter-sentential CS. Here, the lecturer switched between sentences to solicit responses from students. The lecturer with the pseudonym FREN A initiated an inter-sentential switch by saying ‘**Vous êtes d’accord? So students do demonstrations because of what?**’ The lecturer called one of the students with the pseudonym ST2 saying ‘**have you seen some in KNUST before? and what was it about?**’. The ST2 was then able to contribute in class by answering in English.

Similarly, the lecturer asked another student with the pseudonym ST3 a question in French whether ST3 had experienced any demonstration in life. The FREN A said ‘**monsieur, as-tu vécu cette expérience dans ta vie?**’ The ST3 replied in English to answer the question. The ST3 initiated a switch from French to English by saying ‘**in KNUST, that was when they wanted to change the halls from all males to male and female**’. This caused the FREN A also to switch from replying in French to English. The FREN A answered ‘**And what happened?**’ This supports Gumperz’s (1982, p.59) statement that speakers code-switched inter-sententially to respond to their addressees’ statements. Based on these switches, the researchers noted that the switch pattern in the French and Francophone classrooms was initiated by the students and these switches from French and English and vice versa were conditioned by the bilingual practice of the pupils. The activation of both French and English codes in the classroom showed that participants were on the bilingual end of the continuum.

Excerpt 4.1: Student-initiated switch

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	as-tu vécu cette expérience dans ta vie?	have you had this experience in your life?
ST2	In KNUST that was when they wanted to change the halls from all-male to male and female	In KNUST that was when they wanted to change the halls from all-male to male and female
LT1	And what happened?	And what happened?
ST2	They destroyed the administration.	They destroyed the administration.

A. Lecturer- initiated

Within the same classroom interaction, there were instances of teacher-initiated CS. The lecturer was talking about the demonstration after asking the students to give comments on the video they had watched concerning it. The lecturer asked them to give their views on what happened during the demonstration in KNUST. The lecturer asked them to state in French how to say ‘**they destroyed properties and also what are properties in French**’.

Extract 4.1.2: Lecturer-initiated CS

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT2	Ce que nous allons faire aujourd'hui c'est que nous allons voir les incendies dans la cité. Est-ce qu'on a vu ça? Have we looked at it? Incendie dans la cité, ok. C'est un évènement qui c'est produite un jour. Vous allez d'écrire ce qui c'est produit. Est-ce que vous comprenez le titre? Who doesn't understand incendie?	What we are going to do today is we are going to look at the fire outbreak in the city. Have we seen that? Have we looked at it? Fire outbreak in the hostel, ok. It is an event that happened one day. You are going to describe what happened. Do you understand the title? Who doesn't understand fire outbreak?
ST4	Fire	Fire

4.2.2. Situation

The situation of activity determines the type of codes to be used in communication. Therefore, the setting can determine the code choices among bilingual and multilingual speakers. These refer to the physical location of the interaction, the presence of a monolingual, the degree of formality and intimacy among the speakers, etc. (Grosjean, 2008). With that in mind, bilinguals and multilingual speakers switch between codes because of the situation they find themselves. The physical location is the French and Francophone classrooms.

French and Francophone Classroom

In the French and Francophone classroom discussions, the course to be studied determines the code choice to use. During French ‘Listening Comprehension and Oral Production’, a monolingual code choice is the expected medium of communication. The low linguistic background of the students conditioned the lecturer to result in bilingual mode, French-English. The lecturer and

students were both conversant in French and English and other Ghanaian languages such as Akan (Twi, Fante), etc. We observed three stages at which lecturers taught their students. Sometimes, they start in monolingual code, move to bilingual and end in either both or one of them. During Listening Comprehension and Oral Production period, three stages of the lesson can be identified: the start of the lesson, the transition stage from French to English session and the end. At the preliminary stage of the lesson, the students were made to watch a French video in class. The expected medium of instruction during this lesson is French. This is not what transpired during the delivery of the lesson. The table below presents a conversation exchange between the lecturer and the students. The topic of the lesson was ‘La manifestation’, which is translated into English as ‘demonstration’. The lecturer started the lectures in French for over 30 minutes. At a point in time, the lecturer asked the students to give other synonyms for the topic under discussion in French. In the course of the students giving synonyms, the lecturer switched the lesson to bilingual French-English. The participant code-switching in the class indicated that French and English are activated. The lecturer and students share the same linguistic repertoires, which helped in the delivery of the lesson. Since the expected code choice for the lecturer to use was monolingual French but the lecturer used French and partly English in teaching and learning in French and Francophone, then it can be ascertained that both participants were in intermediate mode.

Excerpt 4.3: CS at the beginning of FREF 251 ‘Listening Comprehension and Oral Production’

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	Qu’est ce que vous avez constater de la vidéo? Sans le son, qu’est ce que vous avez constater.... Oui, est ce que vous avez pu prenote quelque chose? Ok alors je vais jouer la vidéo sans le son, observer très bien et après vous allez me dire ce que vous avez constater. Video playing... Est ce que quelqu’un est mort? Dans la vidéo,	What did you see from the video? Without the sound, what did you notice.... Yes, were you able to catch something? Ok then I will play the video without the sound, observe very well and then you will tell me what you have noticed. Video playing... Is someone dead? In the video, someone is dead, what is his name? Basiru, Yes, what caused his death? Basiru is

	quelqu'un est mort. il s'appelle comment? Basiru, Oui, qu'est ce que a causé sa mort? Basiru est mort, qu'est ce que a causé sa mort? ... Something happened from the (crisé) - démonstration. I want another word instead of ... , We are looking for more vocabularies	dead, what caused his death? ...Something happened from the (crisis) - demonstration. I want another word instead of ... , We are looking for more vocabularies
ST	Démonstration, la violence, la manifestation	Demonstration, violence, demonstration

In addition, the extract below presents conversation exchanges during French and Francophone classroom discussions. The lecturer at this point shifted to monolingual French in the classroom with students also responding in French. The lecturer queried them about the cause and casualties of a demonstration at KNUST. During this phase, both the lecturer and the students engaged in monolingual communication, predominantly in French. The use of English at the start of the lectures can be viewed as a marked code choice, diverging from the expected language norm in the classroom. Subsequently, the adoption of monolingual French becomes the unmarked code choice due to its prevalence in classroom discussions. This shift suggests that students have the opportunity to enhance their French listening and speaking skills. Embracing French as the primary language fosters a habit of sustained French communication among peers, both within and outside the classroom, contributing significantly to their language proficiency development.

Excerpt 4.4: Exclusive use of French at the middle of the lesson

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	Alors, quelles sont les causes de ces développements? Par exemple, ce qui c'est passé à KNUST, ils ont bloqué les routes, ils ont marché vers l'administration, ils ont détruit les choses même les voitures des professeurs. Alors, quelles sont les causes de ce développement ?	So what are the incidences that led to this chaos? For example what happened at KNUST, they blocked the roads, they marched towards the administration, they destroyed things even the teachers' cars. So what are the incidences that led to this chaos?
ST7	C'est quand l'autorité fait des actions que les élèves ne sont pas d'accord.	It is when the authority does things that the students don't agree with.
LT1	Mais si moi, c'est moi, je suis l'autorité. Je dis non, cette cité c'est pour les garçons mais j'aimerais ajouter aussi les filles, ça n'a rien avec toi l'étudiant.	But if I, it's me, I'm the head. I say no, this hall is for boys but I would also like to add girls, it has nothing to do with you, the student.
ST8	C'est pas bon, c'est une tradition.	It is not good, it is a tradition.
LT1	Tradition de quoi ?	What tradition?
ST8	On continue avec la tradition. On détruit pas la tradition.	Let's continue with the tradition. We don't destroy tradition.
LT1	Ok, on continue, lisez s'il vous plait	Ok, let's continue, please read
ST8	Students reading in French	Students reading in French

LT1	Qu'est-ce qui se passé... Tout le monde va nous donner quelque chose, une phrase, on va commencer où ? Quand il y a une manifestation par exemple à KNUST, qu'est-ce qui ce passe ? Oui... Prenons l'affaire de Katanga Hall et puis même Unity Hall....	What's going on... Everyone is going to give us something, a sentence, where are we going to start? When there is a demonstration for example at KNUST, what happens? YYes... Let's take the case of Katanga Hall and even Unity Hall...
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Excerpt 4.5 depicts a conversation between the lecturer and students at the end of the lesson. The lecturer shifted to English to recount her experience as a former student of KNUST, affiliated with Africa Hall. She described how the girls used to cheer the boys during 'Proce', a clipped term by Ghanaians for 'procession'. As the lesson neared its end, English became the predominant language. Based on this, the lecturer and the students were in monolingual mode as there was less activation of French.

Excerpt 4.5: Exclusive use of English

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	Have you seen some before? I lived in Africa Hall for three years. In our time, in fact school is no more nice. School is not interesting at all. When Katanga Hall would be coming with their (inaudible speech....) I'm a big woman, when they are doing 'proce' we will meet them and we will just stand in front of our floors and then we will be cheering them on. And they would be doing their stuff. It's nice, in fact it's interesting but no lady will do it.	Have you seen some before? I live in Africa Hall for three years. In our time in fact school is no more nice. School is not interesting at all. When Katanga Hall would be coming with their....now I'm a big woman, when they are doing 'proce' we will meet them and we will just stand in front of our floors and then we will be cheering them on. And they would be doing their stuff. It's nice, in fact it's interesting but no lady will do it.

ST9	But UCC, the ladies do some, Oguaa Hall.	But UCC, the ladies do some, Oguaa Hall.
LT1	I know we had a group of ladies that were so interested in the ‘ jama ’ and things. They would join them and all that but they would not go nu , never.	I know we had a group of ladies that were so interested in the ‘procession’ and things. They would join them and all that but they would not go naked , never.

However, the participants then reverted back to French. At this point, the lecturer instructed the students to read a text written in French on the whiteboard and respond, using the incident at KNUST as an example. Following a discussion on her experience, the medium of communication remained in French throughout. The lecturer encouraged the students to discuss the effects of demonstrations and the measures taken by the school to maintain order.

Excerpt 4.6: The use of French at the end of the lesson.

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	Les policiers tirent des coups de semonce pour faire quoi ? Pour disperser effrayer la foule. Quand il y a des manifestations étudiante et puis on invite les policiers. Ils essaient d'amener le calme. En faisant quoi? En tirant des couples de semonce, c'est quoi le coup de semonce?	The police are firing warning shots to do what? To disperse and frighten the crowd. When, there are student demonstrations and then we invite the police. They try to bring calm. Doing what? Pulling warning shots, what's the warning shot?
ST10	Tear gas, pepper spray	Tear gas, pepper spray
LT1	On tire les coups de semonce, les policiers tirent même des balles en caoutchouc et des balles réelles dans la foule. Alors on cherche des mots pour semonce, balles en caoutchouc, balle réelle et puis la policier lance des grenades, gaz lacrymogène.	Warning shots are fired, the police even fire rubber bullets and real bullets into the crowd. So, we are looking for words for warning shots, rubber bullets, real bullets, and then the police throw grenades, tear gas.

In French and Francophone classrooms, instruction primarily occurs in French. However, English is introduced during ‘Translation Periods’, which cover courses such as FREF 153, FREF 154, FREF 253, FREF 254, FREF 453, and FREF 454. Despite this, observations during classroom sessions revealed that all participants used both French and English during teaching. Lecturers resort to the concurrent use of these languages due to the students’ limited linguistic background in French. Most of the students are from Ghana and few are from any of the Francophone countries in West Africa. Even though French is the expected mode of communication in the classroom, the participants switch to English when the need arises. Pedagogically, this dual use of French and English facilitates comprehension of concepts in class.

4.2.3 THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE MESSAGE

The form and content of the message are other factors that determine the kind of code choices to use in classrooms. The conditions under this section are the language (s) used topic, the type of vocabulary needed, and the amount of mixed language.

French and Francophone Classroom

In all the classrooms observed, every discussion was carried both in French and English. The topics that were taught included la correspondance, la démonstration, le conditionnel présent, demande poli, phonétique and phonologie, le marathon, c’est bon pour la santé, comment décrire un évènement, and others. Except for the ‘Translation Period’ where both languages are used concurrently, the rest of the courses were taught differently; either there was dominant use of French-English or English dominant-French less dominant or vice versa. During the discussion on how to describe an event, the lecturers and the students adopted both French and English. There were instances of inter-sentential, tag, or emblematic and intra-sentential code-switching during his delivery. The topic under discussion may condition code-switching as well as the vocabulary needed. However, in all the French and Francophone classrooms observed, the low level of the students’ competence caused the use of mixed languages. During a French grammar session, the lecturer employed a blend of French and English in teaching. The lecturer initially presented the lesson in English, referring to the previous discussion on ‘la correspondance’ or ‘letter writing’. Throughout the session, the lecturer alternated between English and French, particularly when discussing various topics. Noticing some students’ silence when questioned in French, the lecturer incorporated both languages to ensure comprehension, especially when describing events like a fire outbreak. While some Francophone students responded promptly, the lecturer recognized the

need to support those less proficient in French by using both languages. This pedagogical approach, including asking students to translate French expressions into English, aims to enhance their vocabulary. Teaching in both French and English benefits both Francophone and Anglophone students, indicating a bilingual mode of instruction. This concurrent use of languages serves as an unmarked code, which facilitated understanding in the classroom.

Excerpt 4.7: CS for the acquisition of vocabularies

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT2	Est-ce que vous comprenez le titre? Who doesn't understand incendie ?	Do you understand the title? Who doesn't understand fire outbreak ?
ST11	Fire outbreak	Fire outbreak
LT2	How do you call fire service in French?	How do you call fire service in French?
ST11	Sapeur pompiers	Firefighters

4.2.4 Functions of the Language Act: Pedagogic Relevance of Code Choices in French and Francophone Classrooms

In French and Francophone classrooms, the participants who were involved in classroom interactions used inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching to achieve academic, management, and socializing functions. The various pedagogic functions of code-switching are explored through a qualitative analysis of the classroom data.

A. Vocabulary acquisition.

In one of the classes observed, the lecturer asked students to give synonyms to some of the French words and their English equivalents. The teaching period was 'Listening Comprehension and Oral Production' FREF 251. The topic of the lesson was '**la manifestation**'. The students were told at the preliminary stage of the lesson to watch a video about the demonstration that happened in Dakar, Senegal. Having watched the video, they were asked to relate it to the unforgettable demonstration that happened in KNUST. During the discussion, there were instances of vocabulary acquisition by translating words from French to English and vice versa. The lecturer

asked the students to look for more vocabulary that can be used in place of '**la démonstration**'. The students replied with **la violence** and **la manifestation et la protestation**. In the course of teaching and making a comparison with what happened in the video to what had happened in KNUST, the lecturer asked them to give the French expression for '**they shout**'. A student with the pseudonym ST6 provided the French expression '**Ils font de cri**' and another ST7 said '**ils crient**'. At the end of the lesson, the lecturer asked the students what they had learned throughout the lesson. Another student with ST8 replied with vocabulary such as 'brimer', malmener, tabasser, blessure. Students were asked to give English version of these words and this helps those who are not familiar with these expressions to learn them.

Excerpt 4.3: Vocabulary acquisition

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT1	Something happened from crise . I want another word instead of la démonstration	Something happened from the crisis . I want another word instead of demonstration .
ST13	Another word, la violence, la manifestation, la protestation	Another word, violence, démonstration, protestation
LT1	How do you say 'they shout' en français .	How do you say they shout " in French
ST13	'they shout' ils crient .	'they shout' they shout
LT1	They destroyed properties. How do they say it en français .	They destroyed properties. How do they say it in French
ST13	Ils détruit les	They destroy the ...
LT1	What are properties in French, brimer, malmener, tabasser, blessure in English	What are properties in French?
ST13	Propriété , bully, mishandle, beat up, injury	Property, bully, mishandle, beat up, injury

B. Switching as corrective feedback strategy

During the 'FREF 251 - Listening Comprehension and Oral Production' lesson, the lecturer adeptly switched languages to correct students' pronunciation of French words. The topic of discussion centred around 'le marathon, c'est bon pour la santé'. Despite the adoption of bilingual practices during this teaching and learning period, the incidence of code-switching to English was minimal. Initially, students were tasked with watching a video in class and answering a series of questions based on printed documents provided. The video portrayed the story of Harriet

Thompson, an elderly woman who, despite battling cancer, remarkably won a marathon. As the discussion progressed, the lecturer transitioned to using monolingual English to correct students' pronunciation errors, notably when they mispronounced /PORTent/. The lecturer intervened by providing the French phonetic transcription as /pɔʁt/ to guide them. The lecturer told the students not to forget that with conjugated verbs, it is incorrect to stress the last syllable. The lecturer warned the students not to repeat such a mistake because such mistakes are unacceptable at their second year and could cost them points during oral exams. Overall, in this classroom discussion, English was the marked code since it is not the primary code used in teaching topics under Listening Comprehension and Oral Production.

Excerpt 4.3: Use of English during FREF 251 teaching and learning period for correction

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
ST9	Les participants portent un numéro sur leur dossard.	The participants wear a number on their bib.
LT3	If you are a French student and you say / por tent /, I'll pinch you. It's these (inaudible speech....) people that we can pardon them but we can't. You're in the second year already and you know that when you're conjugating a verb we don't pronounce the e-n - t alors portent .	If you are a French student and you say wear I'll pinch you. It's these people... that can pardon them, but we can't.... you, you're in the second year already and you know that when you're conjugating a verb, we don't pronounce the e-n-t then (wear)
ST10	Les participants portent un numéro sur leur dossard	The participants wear a number on their bib.
	Continue	Continue

C. Switching for explanation

Switching to explain concepts to students was another pedagogic function of code choices in French and Francophone classrooms. The topic under discussion was '**le marathon, c'est bon pour la santé**'. One of the sub-topics was the use of '**comparatif et superlatif**'. In the course of the lesson, the lecturer used intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching to explain concepts. The lecturer used intra-sentential to give an example. She said '**Kukua was the gagnante l'année passée and then this person has come to briser le record alors elle est qui?**' After the question, the lecturer asked the students to provide answers. A student with the pseudonym ST9 answered with the word 'champion' even though the spelling for the English word champion is the same as

the French word champion, they pronounced it in English. In the course of explaining to the students the use of comparative and superlative, the lecturer used French and English concurrently. Theoretically, code-switch is considered an unmarked choice. According to Myers-Scotton (1993, p.117), speakers engage in a continuous pattern. Here, the speakers use two or more languages within the conversation. The lecturer explained to the students that in the formation of comparative, words such as ‘**plus que**’ ‘**moins que**’, and ‘**aussi que**’ are used. The lecturer explained to them that with comparative adjectives, it must agree in gender and number with the noun. The lecturer initially used monolingual French to introduce the sub-topic and whatever they had to know in French. After, the lecturer switched to using monolingual English to explain the same expression in French to the students. The lecturer then moved on to explain the degree of irregular comparison in French. At this point, both languages were activated.

The pedagogic relevance of using both languages was to increase understanding of the lessons under discussion and not a sign of lack of competence in French on the part of the lecturer. The lecturer during the discussion realised that using monolingual French throughout the teaching does not increase understanding and, therefore, the need to use English at some point to help facilitate students’ understanding and participation. Additionally, not all students are proficient in French, which sometimes necessitates the use of English. Also, French is a minor for some of the students. Similarly, the lecturer asked the students a few questions in French at one point throughout the discussion. The lecturer instructed the class to play the audio once more. Later, one of the students with the pseudonym ST10 was called to respond to the question. The student gave an incorrect response. The lecturer then asked the students for the English word for ‘**survécu**’ before switching to English. The lecturer noticed that the students did not understand what she said. At this point, the situation propelled her to switch to English to explain concepts to the students. Unequivocally, the use of English at that point shows the importance of English in aiding understanding and explaining concepts to students.

Extract 4.4: Switching for explanation

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT 1	Kukua was the gagnante l'année passée and then this person has come to briser le record alors elle est qui?	Kukua was the winner last year and then this person has come to break the record so who is she?
ST12	Champion	Champion

LT 1	Champion? So what are the kind of words used to describe these things? Ce sont des adjectifs et maintenant nous voulons regarder les adjectifs comparatif et superlatifs. Qu'est-ce que l'adjectif comparatif? L'adjectif comparatif, c'est quoi?	Champion? So what are the kind of words used to describe these things? These are adjectives and now we want to look at comparative and superlative adjectives. What is the comparative adjective? What is the comparative adjective?
ST13	Inaudible speech	Inaudible speech
LT1	Alors, pour l'adjectif comparatif, on utilise quel mots ... Ok en anglais si vous pouvez...	So, for the comparative adjective, we use which words... ok we in English if you can...
ST13	More	More
LT 1	More than. Kukua est plus grande que moi. Alors on utilise le mot 'plus que', 'moins que'.... Et quand on utilise meilleur et mieux ? When do we use meilleur and then mieux.	More than. Kukua is taller than me. So we use the word "more than" less than.... And when do we use better and better? When do we use better and then better.
ST13	Inaudible speech	Inaudible speech
LT 1	Alors, Harriet Thompson est meilleur que son fils, on peut aussi dire, Kukua est aussi rapide que Mavis. Ou bien Kukua est plus belle que Chloé, non tout le monde ici est belle ou beau.... Alors l'adjectif avec le comparatif, l'adjectif aussi d'accord normalement en genre et aussi en nombre avec le nom le qui se rapporte, au quelle qui se rapporte. (Repeat the explanation). If I say kukua is taller than Mavis, the taller should agree with the gender and number of the subject Kukua. And I said with the comparative, nous avons plus que moins que, aussi que, au temps que so we will do some examples here but I just wanted us to wait so let's look at the superlatif. Ça aussi exprimé le plus haut degré " the highest degree" d'une qualité ou d'une défaut, so the highest degree of equality or defect so that is what we have. La meilleure dans la classe. Kukua est la meilleure dans la classe. Lawrence est le meilleur ou bien nous sommes les meilleures	So, Harriet Thompson is better than her son, we can also say, Kukua is as fast as Mavis. Either Kukua is more beautiful than Chloé, not everyone here is beautiful or handsome.... So the adjective with the comparative, the adjective also normally agrees in gender and also in number with the noun which it relates. (Repeat the explanation). If I say kukua is taller than Mavis, the taller should agree with the gender and number of the subject Kukua. And I said with the comparative, we have more than less than, also that, at the time so we will do some examples here but I just wanted us to wait so let's look at the superlative. It also expresses the highest degree of a quality or defect, so the highest degree of equality or defect so that is what we have. The best in the class. Kukua is the best in the class. Lawrence is the best or we are the best class. If we have better and better, that is for the superlative. And here too, it agrees to the gender

	classes. Si we have meilleur et mieux , that is for the superlatif . And here too, it agrees to the gender and the number of the noun or the subject	and the number of the noun or the subject
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D. Switching to teach pronunciation during a French lesson

These are some of the construction students were asked to read individually.

Papa boit dans les pins. Papa peint dans les bois

Dans les bois, papa boit et peint

J'examine cet axiome de Xénophon sur les exigences, les excès et l'expiation

Les chaussettes de l'archiduchesse sont – elles sèches ou archiseches?

During the teaching and learning process, the lecturer code switches to help the students with pronunciation. This took place during '**Practicing French**'- FREF 151. During the lesson, a student with the pseudonym ST11 pronounced a word wrongly. The student mispronounced the words 'je rentre' / ʒə ʁɑ̃tʁ/ as 'je rentrer' /ʒə ʁɑ̃tʁe/. The lecturer used English to correct the student by reminding her that /e/ is silent because there is no accent (ˈ) on it. Moreover, the (r) should be removed because the verb has been conjugated. The lecturer expressed disappointment and reminded the class to remember their basic French. Both the lecturer and students were in bilingual mode during the lesson.

Moreover, audio was played for the students to listen and answer some questions from a printed document given. During this stage, the participants employed both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. The students struggled with pronouncing the French name 'Frédérique' which has the French transcription as / fʁedɛʁik/ which the lecturer helped them with, along with pronunciation of other words related to countries, names, and places. Getting to the latter part of the lesson, the lecturer introduced a technique during the reading period. He called it '**la technique du stylo**'. The students were asked to put a pen in between their upper lip and lower lip and read a passage. At first, the students read the passage without any instruments in their mouths. The students were then asked to compare the two techniques. The insertion of the pen in their mouth continued till the end of the lesson. The technique introduced was purposely to help them in pronunciation and reading. The researchers during the interview session asked for the reason for applying '**la technique du stylo**' and this was the reply from the lecturer '.

Biologically, the articulation of language is supported by our human organs such as the tongue, the lips, the mouth, and other organs to produce some sounds. The majority of our students are not used to pronouncing some words. Putting the pens in their mouth would make them focus on what we are doing. As a lecturer, you will hear strange and unfamiliar sounds because the students are not exposed to these pronunciations. I was using that approach so that they can pronounce the words I asked them, and this technique helps a lot.

Extract 4.5: Teaching pronunciation.

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT4	Now, apart from reading aloud, there is what we call ' la technique du stylo '. Take your pen and if you have pencil take it and put it in between your teeth like this (lecturer showing them) and then you will mention this sentence for me	Now, apart from reading aloud, there is what we call ' the pen technique '. Take your pen and if you have pencil take it and put it in between your teeth like this (lecturer showing them) and then you will mention this sentence for me
ST7	Laughing	Laughing
LT4	Okay now, Je veux parler bien français.	Okay now, I want to speak good French.
ST10	Je veux parler bien français	I want to speak French well
LT4	Je ne veux pas faire des fautes.	I don't want to make mistakes.
STs	Je ne veux pas faire des fautes.	I don't want to make mistakes.
LT4	I've selected a few sentences...ummm for this exercise. ok let me write a sentence. Ok this is a sentence ok, put the pen back in between your teeth. Read the first one. J'examine cet axiome de xénophon sur les exigences, les excès et l'expiation.	I've selected a few sentences...ummm for this exercise. ok let me write a sentence. Ok this is a sentence ok, put the pen back in between your teeth. Read the first one. I examine this axiom of xenophon on demands, excesses and atonement.
STs	Eeeeh laughter	Eeeeh laughter
LT4	Slowly, j'examine cet axiome de xénophon eerm this word xénophon(xéno - phon)	Slowly, I examine this axiom of xenophon eerm this word xenophon(xeno - phon)
STs	Xéno phon	Xéno phon
LT 4	Ahhh... Cet axiome de xénophon sur les exigences, les excès et l'expiation. Repeat it.	Ahhh... this axiom on the demands, excesses and atonement. Repeat it.
STs	J'examine cet axiome de xénophon sur les exigences, les excès et l'expiation.	I examine this axiom of xenophon on demands, excesses and atonement
LT 4	Ok... Now remove it and say it.	Ok... Now remove it and say it.

STs	J'examine cet axiome de xénophon sur les exigences, les excès et l'expiation.	I examine this axiom of xenophon on demands, excesses and atonement
LT 4	Ok, now one by one	Ok, now one by one
STs	Eeeei	Eeeeei

E. Switching to acknowledge and call on students.

In all the classes observed, the lecturers code-switched to call students to either answer a question or read a passage. The lecturers used an emblematic switch, which is in the form of a tag to signal to students that it was their turn to speak, often calling on them by their first or surname. This practice was aimed at encouraging all students, especially the quiet and diffident type to cultivate the habit of speaking French. In cases where lecturers were unfamiliar with a student's name, they would use a generic term such as 'yes' type. Alternatively, others would identify students by the attire they put on, such as '**lady in red**', '**lady in blue**' and also positions held either in class or in the association called FRENZA.

Extract 4.6: Switching to acknowledge students

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT 5	À la fin c'est quoi? Les coups de semonce? (student name yes). Il faut nous expliquer les coups de semonce ? Les balles en caoutchouc et puis les balles réelles, la différence entre les deux? Les balles réelles, les balles en caoutchouc.	In the end what's it? Warning shots? (student name) Yes , you have to explain the warning shot to us? Rubber bullets and then real bullets, the difference between the two? Real bullets, rubber bullets.
ST13	Les balles en caoutchouc ne tus pas mais les balles réelles	Rubber bullets don't kill but real bullets do.
LT 5	Ça ne tue pas les gens , mais on a vu que au Ghana il y avait incident au stade, à Baba Yara.	It doesn't kill people, but we saw that in Ghana there was an incident at the stadium, in Baba Yara.

LT 5	And what happened?	And what happened?
ST12	They destroyed the administration	They destroyed the administration
LT 5	(mentioned a student name) tu as quelque chose ajouter? Alors que font les manifestants?	Mention a student's name . Do you have something to add? So what are the protesters doing?
ST15	(a student's name) what happened?	(a student's name) what happened?
LT 5	Les manifestants, qu'est-ce qu'ils font?	Protesters, what are they doing?
ST16	Madame the end product	Madame the end product

LT 5	No, Les étudiants qui sont en train de démontrer, faire la manifestation. What do they do?	No, the students who are demonstrating, doing the demonstration, what do they do?
ST17	They shout	They shout
LT 5	Who can help, I've forgotten her name (mention a student's name). How do you say "they shout" en français?	Who can help I have forgotten her name? Mention a student's name . How do you say they shout in French?

F. Switching to introduce a lesson

In another class observed, the lecturer was teaching ‘Phonétique and Phonologie’. The lecturer introduced the lesson using both French and English by adopting inter-sentential and tag code-switching. At the beginning of the lesson, both the lecturer and students were in intermediate mode. The expected code was monolingual French but the lecturer adopted both languages in delivering the lesson even though English was partially used. The use of English was to give examples to give insight into what they are yet to learn. However, in the middle part of the lesson, both participants switched to monolingual French throughout. The students were comfortable with the monolingual French and there was cooperation in the classroom. During this period, monolingual French was enormously activated. The reason was that the students were adept and proficient with speaking and listening to French. This class was made up of final-year students who have returned from the one-year abroad trip from France and Benin. Toward the end of the lesson, the participants switched to bilingual mode.

Extract 4.7 Switching to introduce a topic

SPEAKERS	SPEECH	TRANSLATION
LT 6	La transcription phonétique on met quoi? Le cochet okay. Nous avons vu. Quand on fait la transcription phonologie, on fait les deux <slash>. C'est le <forward slash> okay!. Good so it is the sound that brings the difference in meaning. You take two words or phonetic sentences, the meaning varies for example nominal pairs. If you take English fit and pit. Il y a une différence entre eux, fit and pit. With shot then you can also have	Phonetic transcription what do we put? The tick is okay. We saw. When we do the phonology transcription, we do the two <slash>. It's the <forward slash> okay! Good so it is the sound that bring the difference in meaning. You take two words or phonetic sentences, the meaning varies for example nominal pairs. If you take English fit and pit. There is a difference between them, fit and pit. With shot then you can also have kot. They are all phonemes. Are you okay?

	kot. They are all phonemes. Are you okay?	
STs	Kot	Kot
LT 6	Yes, you can have kot...	Yes , you can have kot...
STs	Oui, monsieur	Yes sir.

5. Conclusion

This paper examined the types of code-switching strategies employed in classrooms and their pedagogic functions in French and Francophone classrooms. Detailed analyses of the classroom data revealed that both participants, thus, lecturers and students, employ all of Poplack's (1980) three types of code-switching namely intra-sentential, tag or emblematic switch, and inter-sentential code-switching. An analysis of the classes observed also revealed that the code-switching phenomenon mostly takes place in first-year and second-year classes than the final-year classes as by the time the students are in their final year are hugely exposed to the French language and have returned from their year abroad programme in Benin or France.

An inductive qualitative analysis revealed that code-switching in the classrooms is used to achieve pedagogic goals such as explanation of concepts, correction of students, introduction of French lessons, vocabulary acquisition, acknowledgement and calling of pupils, as well as teaching pronunciation during French lessons and to facilitate understanding. All lecturers in the study code-switched to perform academic-related functions to meet the linguistic needs of their respective students. In addition to the pedagogic functions stipulated, the primary aim of the lecturers, according to the interview session, was to aid students' understanding of concepts and to ensure that the students understand whatever is discussed in the classroom (cf.. Abban, Mensah & ResCue, 2023). The students also codeswitch to express themselves clearly and fill gaps in their vocabulary

Moreover, since most of the students have been hugely exposed to the official language of Ghana, English than the foreign language, French, CS is, therefore, an important tool in language acquisition and content comprehension. The amount of code-switching, the type of vocabulary needed, the topic, and the languages used, play a role when describing the language behaviour of bilinguals and multilinguals. In French and Francophone classrooms, the medium of classroom instruction is French. The use of English comes along during the 'Translation Period' which are **FREF 153, FREF 154, FREF 253, FREF 254, FREF 453 and FREF 454**. However, during the classroom observations, all the participants chosen for the study used both French and English

during teaching. The use of code-switching by lecturers in French and Francophone classrooms in Anglophone countries may not be associated with inadequate competence and proficiency on the part of the lecturers, but such code choices are employed to meet the linguistic needs of their students.

Finally, it is worthy of note for foreign language tutors to realize that code-switching is not a sign of linguistic deficiency but a code that can be used effectively in the acquisition of a target language. Notwithstanding, there is a need for French tutors to be informed about the effects of the pervasive use of code-switching in the learning process. The findings of this study have similar results to other studies conducted in educational settings by scholars (cf. Abban et al., 2023; Tefeh, 2020; Atiemo, 2015; Yevudey, 2013; Brew-Daniels, 2011; Amekor, 2009; Ezuh, 2009; Arthur, 2001; Nzwanga, 2000). The findings revealed that CS plays significant roles in teaching and learning French as a second language in Ghana, and it is used to achieve pedagogic goals in the classroom. It is, therefore, recommended that a study be carried out on how code-switching contribute to students' success or failure in learning the French language.

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OF FRENCH-ENGLISH CODESWITCHING IN A GHANAIAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITY**

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