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Dagbani English

The Influence of Dagbani on the Use of English in Ghana

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STATUTORY DECLARATION

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July 8, 2021. Bayreuth

Memunatu Sheini

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Israel Suuk Somtua, Isabella Suuk Yennugan, Isidore Suuk Tamabe, Fatawu Hidaaya, Dawuni Ibrahim, and Fatawu Shu-aib Baba for staying without a Mummy for four years as I pursued this course in Germany.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the influence of the Dagbani language on the Dagomba's use of English in Ghana. Dagbani, one of the Mabia (Gur) languages spoken in Northern Ghana, and English exhibit some differences grammatically and phonologically. Scholars have discussed Dagbani grammar and phonology. However, its influence on English has not received scholarly attention. In this study, I investigate how the Dagbani perfective, imperfective, and phonological features influence Dagomba's use of English. The study uses the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English (Schneider 2007) and the Grammatical Replication Theory (Heina and Kuteva 2006) to explore the influence of Dagbani phonological features as well as the perfective and imperfective aspects on the use of English by native speakers of this language. Data were collected from 89 basic (30), secondary (30) and tertiary (29) level students in Tamale and Yendi. The data were gathered through sentence translation, picture description, and simple text reading tasks. Simple sentence translation and picture description tasks were used to gather data on the possible grammatical influence while the text reading task was for data on phonological features. Descriptive statistical methods were used to analyse the data. The Praat software was employed to describe the phonological features. The analysis is presented in graphs. The findings show that Dagbani English DagbE is heavily influenced by Dagbani L1 features, which distinguish it from Ghanaian English (GhE) and British English (BrE).

Key Words: Dagbani English, Mabia (Gur), Influence, Grammar, Phonology, and British and Ghanaian Englishes

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TRMRK	Transitive marker
PFV	Perfective
IMPFV	Imperfective
PFT	Present perfect
PST	Past tense
N	Noun
PROG	Progressive
HAB	Habitual
FOC	Focus marker
3SG	Third person singular
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
2PL	Second person plural
3PL	Third person plural
1PL	First person plural
1ST.OBJ	First person pronoun object
3SG.INAM	Third person singular (Inanimate)
SLOC	Stative locative verb
SOLOC	Source locative verb
ST/CON	State of condition
ADV.PROG.	Adverbial function as progressive marker
AVD.PS	Adverbial functioning as past marker
ADV.FUT.	Adverbial functioning as future marker
TAdv.	Time adverbial
PAdv.	Adverb of place
V	Verb
PAdv	Place adverbial
TAdv	Time adverbial

TDP	Time depth particle (di, sa, daa)
DF	Definite article
GLOC	Goal locative
EMP	Emphatic maker
DEM	Determiner
PCEs	Post-Colonial Englishes
SHS	Senior High School
JHS	Junior High School
Rt	Root
Af	Affix
Suf	Suffix
Wrd	Word
SPT	Simple past tense
SMP	Simple marked past
SPP	Simple present perfect
SProg	Simple progressive aspect
SHP	Simple habitual present
TL	Target language

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CHAPTER ONE

1. General Introduction

1.1 Overview

Through immigration, trade and colonialism English was (deliberately) introduced to different parts of the world including some nations that now have English as a native language. According to Brutt-Griffler (2002), English did not precisely originate from Britain. It was transported there by Anglo-Saxon immigrants to the island. However, it was from England that English started spreading to other native English-speaking countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Ireland, then to non-native English-speaking countries in Asia and Africa (see also Brutt-Grifler 2002:2). The introduction of English in Africa occurred through colonisation and Christian missions. The Berlin conference, also known as the Congo Conference in the years 1884-1885 facilitated it. The objective of the conference was to make a deliberate attempt to regularise colonialism in Africa. The arrival of the British in Africa marked the beginning of English in African countries such as, Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda, among many others. The spread of English as an additional language to the above-mentioned countries was not instigated by one factor. According to Fishman, Cooper and Rosenbau (1977), the spread of English was similar to the introduction and maintenance of Greek, Arabic and Spanish in other countries that speak these languages as second languages. The spread and maintenance of English was facilitated by military conquest, the duration of military conquest in countries it was introduced to, linguistic diversity in Africa, religion, and material benefits, among others.

In most African countries that were colonised, for instance, the introduction of English to the indigenes of these countries became necessary since the colonisers (Native speakers of English), 'traders' needed to interact with the colonised (indigenous people). English gradually became a medium of interaction even among the indigenous people. Today, English has become an important language in former British colonies and other parts of the world with numerous varieties. Missionary works were not excluded in the colonisers' ploy to make English deeply rooted in Africa. The linguistic diversity of Africa enhanced the colonisers' plans, which later led to the emergence of more varieties of English. These varieties of English are mainly Non-native varieties of English. Thus, they arise from areas where English is spoken as a second language. These include national varieties of English like Nigerian, Kenyan,

Ghanaian, and Cameroon Englishes, among others. These different national varieties have aroused research interests across the globe. For instance, many scholars have explored the varieties of English spoken in Africa. Ghanaian English has been studied by scholars like Sey (1973), Ahulu, (1994), Asante, (1995; 1996), Gyasi (1991), Adjaye (2005); Cameroon English by Simo Bobda (1994; 2008), Anchimbe (2006); and Nigerian English by Bamiro (1994), Adegbija (1998), Gut (2008). Furthermore, national varieties also comprise smaller varieties often referred to as micro varieties. Micro varieties include varieties based on social class, politics, age, sex, and ethnic varieties of English. Given this, there is a shift of focus and interest of research to include the study of the micro varieties of English. An area of English varieties on focus today is the ethnic varieties of English, including Dagbani English, (henceforth, DagbE), which is the focus of this study. Ethnic varieties are “varieties of English that mark speakers as members of an ethnic group who originally use another language or a distinctive variety” (Clyne 2000:86). This author explains the two prominent types of ethnolects. One peculiar to a specific group, and the other multiethnolect (spoken by many minority groups). Hence, ethnic varieties are influenced varieties of English. Thus, the indigenous languages determine which forms linguistic features of English (including phonological morphological, and grammatical forms) should take. Given that, many English varieties continue to develop today; they result from the influence of the indigenous languages that are in contact with the superstrate language, English.

In this case, ethnic varieties of English are intranational varieties with distinctive linguistic features in phonology, grammar, morphology, and other branches. Thus, African nations being multi-ethnic have many varieties of English. This notion explains that the national varieties of English like Cameroon English, Ghanaian English, Kenyan English, and Nigerian English, comprise ethnically marked Englishes. For this reason, “the predominant view that English is a European language is steadily being eroded and seems likely to disappear” (Kachru 1982:18). This is because English is being modelled to the structure of those languages’ phonology, grammar, morphology, and syntax. The difference between the indigenous languages and the English language makes possible the ethnic varieties of English since there is an influence resulting from the differences. Despite the difference between the indigenous languages and English, studies like (Dolphyne 1988; Adjaye 2005) show evidence of the varied pronunciations of English words in Ghana, and the description of ethnic varieties’ remains in the periphery in some parts of Ghana. Therefore, this study is devoted to determining the influence of the Dagbani phonological and grammatical features on the use of English.

1.2 Linguistic Affiliation of Dagbani

Dagbani¹ belongs to the Mabilia group of languages, also referred to as Gur languages. Mabilia languages are part of the Niger-Congo phylum. Bodomo (2020) notes that this classification of the term Mabilia is now used for all the “Gur” or “Voltaïque” languages (see Bodomo 2020:10). These languages are spoken in many countries in the West African sub-region, including Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Northern Benin, Northwest Nigeria, Mali among others (see Bodomo 1994; 2020). Bodomo explains that Ma ‘mother’, *bia* ‘child’, which together is Mabilia, in literary terms, siblings. These lexical compositions, *ma* and *bia*, (Mabilia) appropriately represent this group of languages as a family than Gur. Per Bodomo’s (2020) submission, the Mabilia group of languages together expresses the idea that these languages are ‘offsprings’ of the same parents.

Dagbani is spoken by the Dagomba people in the Northern part of Ghana. Dagombas are typically known and referred to as Dagbamba (plural) and its singular form is Dagbana. Given this, I prefer to use Dagomba for the plural form of Dagbana instead of Dagombas in this study. Although Dagbani has four dialects², there are two that are most important particularly to this study. They are Tó mó/Tòmòsí lí (the Western dialect) and Nàyàhí lí/Nàyàyí lí (the Eastern dialect). Tó mó is spoken in Tamale and its surroundings, while Nàyàhí lí is spoken in Yendi and its surrounding villages. The existence of these dialects eventually informed the choice of the two areas for this study since the difference between Nàyàhí lí and Tòmòsí lí is phonological. As a speaker of the Western dialect (Tòmòsí lí), I use tone marking that is based on Tòmòsí lí to mark tones in the entire dissertation. Consider the diagram of the linguistic genetic affiliation of Dagbani in Figure 1.1 below.

¹ Dagbani is closely related to Dagaare, Grune, Kusaal, and Talni. Grimes’ (1996) observation suggests over 50% similarities between Dagbani, Talansi, and Kusaal. This indicates that these languages share some phonological and grammatical similarities that make them similar.

² Mampruli and Nanunli are considered as independent languages by their speakers, but they are linguistically dialects of the same language since these three languages (Dagbani, Nanunli and Mampruli) only differ at the level of phonology and are unique to particular groups of people in specific areas.

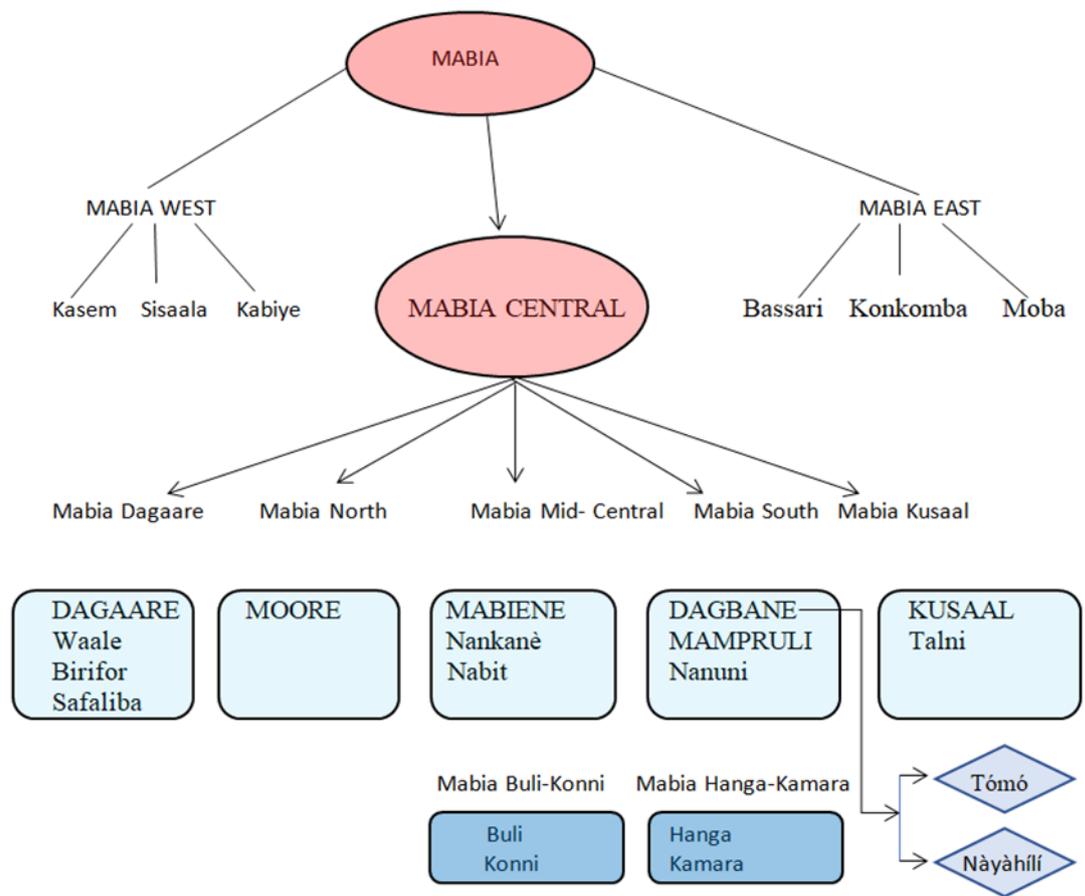


Figure 1.1 Genetic Affiliation of Dagbani (Source: Bodomo 2020:11, emphasis added)

Dagbani is taught as a subject from the basic level to the tertiary level and sometimes used as medium of instruction at the lower primary in Ghana, specifically in Dagbon, where Dagbani is spoken. In view of this, many studies have been carried out on its morphology, grammar, and phonology. From close observation of the works of scholars like Dakubu (1997), Olawsky (1999), Hudu (2010; 2014a; 2014b; 2016), Issah (2013; 2015), Bodomo (2001; 2018), Mohammed (2006), and Yahaya (2012), one notices that scholars have done in-depth research on the grammar and phonology, including tense expressions of the language. All these studies reveal some features of the grammar and phonology of Dagbani that are different from English, which could influence the use of English, leading to a non-native variety of English emerging among Dagbani speakers.

1.3 Typological Characteristics of Dagbani

This section presents an overview of the general typological features of Dagbani. The Dagbani clause shows basic structure of SVO word order (cf Olawsky 1999). Deviations from the basic word order are possible in context, as in ASV, OSV. In noun phrases, adjectives and determiners could occur after the noun, for example,

1. Báá lá òim bíá lá
Dog DEM bite.PFV child DEM
The dog has bitten the child. / The dog bit the child.

Oblique arguments and satellites are marked by adpositions. In Dagbani, adpositions include postpositions or prepositions. The example *dúú púúní* ‘inside the room’ bears the postposition *púúní*, whereas *nì bóbri* ‘with adornment’ bears the preposition *nì*.

According to Olawsky (1999), tense is marked between future and non-future. This phenomenon is expressed through the preverbal particles *dì*, *sà* and *dáá*, which also mark the degree of remoteness. Tense is expressed with the Dagbani main verbs and the time-depth markers in the language (see Olawsky 1999; Bodomo 2001; 2018; Botne 2012). A detailed illustration of how the preverbal particles operate is presented in chapter two of this study. Mood is lexically marked and not marked morphologically. Aspect is presented as perfective and imperfective. It accords every Dagbani verb with two forms through suffixation. Time (tense) expressions are done with perfective and imperfective forms of the verb, preverbal particles, and emphatic markers.

The perfective aspect of every verb represents all past situation (simple past and present perfect). This phenomenon explains that no distinction is made between simple past and present perfect when translated into English. In this case, the same verb form expresses both subcategories in the language. Thus, the concepts of simple past and present perfect exist in the deep meaning in Dagbani, but there is no verb form for such distinction in the surface meaning, hence, the perfective aspect in the language, as demonstrated in sentence 2 below.

2. Bε duyì li.
3PL cook.PFV it
They have cooked it. Or, they cooked it.

The imperfective aspect explains uncompleted situations (progressive and present tense or habitual present). This explanation again suggests that the same verbal form expresses the two subcategories of grammar. Take German, for example, *Sie arbeitet* - which can be

translated in English as she works, or she is working. However, the distinction between habitual and present progressive does not exist as a grammatical category in German. Of course, one can make the distinction employing adverbials that is, *Sie arbeitet von Montags bis Freitags* (habitual) 'She works from Monday to Friday' and *Sie arbeitet gerade in der Küche* (present progressive) 'She is working in the kitchen now; still, the verbal form will always be the same, the same applies to Dagbani. This point suggests that the distinction of the subcategories exist in the deep meaning; if not, adverbials would not occur to make this distinction. Moreover, Olawsky (1999) posits that the verb's unmarked form is understood as past in Dagbani. However, verb forms with -yá, the author indicates as present perfect.

In Dagbani, gender is not marked in constructions, but there is synchronically an animate and inanimate distinction of pronouns. Serial verb constructions are a common feature of Dagbani sentences. On the phonological level, vowel harmony is based on the feature of advanced tongue root. Olawsky (1999), lists the prominent vowel phonemes of Dagbani as i, u, ə e, o, and a. Except for [a], the rest of these vowel sounds have allophones. Hudu (2010; 2016) identifies ten short vowels, including i, i, u, u, e, ε, o, o, a, and ą (see Hudu 2010; 2016:63). Diphthongisation is also a possibility in Dagbani; they are, however, few. They include ia, ua, aai, eei, ooi, uui. The vowel system includes long vowels, a:, e:, i:, o: and u:. The consonant sounds of Dagbani comprise:

Plosives: p, b, t, d, g, k

Fricatives: f, v, s, z, ʃ

Nasals: m, n, ŋ, ŋ

Lateral: l

Affricates: tʃ, dz

Labiovelars: kp, gb, ŋm

Glides: j, v.

(See Olawsky 1999:18).

Vowel harmony is another describing feature that impacts Dagomba's pronunciation of words. Dagbani is characterised by [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowel sound assimilation. "Vowel harmony is an assimilatory process which involves both adjacent and non-contiguous vowel

segment” (Bodomo, 1997:20). Vowel height remains an important assimilatory feature in speakers’ pronunciation of words in the language. [+ATR] vowels include i, e, u, o, and a, while ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, and ʊ are [-ATR] vowels in Dagbani. Depending on the position of harmony trigger, a [+ATR] vowel could change to [-ATR] and vice versa (see also Hudu 2010; 2013; 2016: 63). An in-depth description of vowel harmony is presented in chapter two.

The most common syllable structures in Dagbani are, CV, CVC, and CVV. They are respectively exemplified in the examples dá ‘buy’, kpám ‘oil’, and káái ‘to visit’. Other examples include V, CVN, CVCV, CVNCVN, whose details are provided in chapter two. Dagbani is a tonal language; therefore, tone plays an important role in the semantic differentiation of some words.

Now, having looked at the typology of the language and what the language entails, we will say that scholarly works on Dagbani grammar concentrate on the perfective and imperfective verb forms and their expressions. The sound system of Dagbani also exhibits some difference from that of English Studies. However, studies on phonology of Dagbani have largely focused on describing the sound system, consonant cluster, and vowel harmony. Currently, linguistic researchers express interest in ethnic varieties of English investigation. Also, the mother tongue remains the primary source of the feature that describes ethnic varieties of English. Therefore, this current study was motivated by the difference in using the imperfective and perfective aspects of Dagbani and the English tense. Also, part of the motivation is based on the difference between Dagbani and English phonological features that could affect speakers’ use of English. Hence, this study investigates the influence of some Dagbani phonological features and the perfective and imperfective aspects on the use of English. This is because the effects of the difference between Dagbani phonological and grammatical features as elements of ethnic varieties in speakers’ use of English are enormous and unavoidable. Despite studies on pronunciation based on some L1s in Ghana, which are based on the difference between those indigenous languages and English, there is yet to be a study based on the Dagbani language. The questions raised are: What aspects of Dagbani grammar influence Dagomba’s use of English? And how do the phonological features of the Dagbani language influence Dagomba’s spoken English?

1.4 Aims of the Study

This study investigates the influence of Dagbani on the use of English. Specifically, I investigated: First, how the Dagbani perfective aspect influences Dagomba's expressions of the English simple past tense. Second, how the Dagbani imperfective aspect (the progressive and habitual) influences Dagomba's use of the English present tense. Third, how the phonological features of Dagbani influence spoken English of Dagomba. As stated above, the influence of Dagbani on English has not been explored in the field of linguistics. Considering the functions of English in Ghana, we need to describe and explain the influence of the language on English to add it to the existing literature of the impact of the mother tongue on English use. The study can also facilitate the endonormative material inclusion in the educational system since the influence is visible and results in a variety of English peculiar to Dagomba as a group of people who speak the same language. This study may serve as a fundamental research material for studying the variation of English use in the Mabia languages group in the Ghanaian context.

We worked with 89 respondents from the basic to tertiary levels of education as the main sources of the data elicited. School setting was used because it is one of the most important environments where English is mostly spoken. Educational levels were employed to determine whether the influence reduces as speakers transit to higher levels of education. In other words, the whole purpose of considering educated informants in higher up the ladder movement is to show that efforts are made to minimize ethnic features in English. Also, it indicates that the presence of L1's features in English at all educational levels shows that English is NOT an African language and cannot remain 'The Queen's language' as an 'alien' on another soil. This cannot be, even when efforts are made to help it maintain its status in foreign lands.

To support the explanation and the description of the Dagbani phonological features that are investigated in this study, we use the dynamic model of postcolonial English by Schneider (2003; 2007), which is built on two ideas. One, the five progressive evolutionary stages (the foundation, exonormative, nativisation, endonormative, and differentiation stages), and their linguistic features, and two, the participant groups, the STL (settlers' group) 'strand' and IDG (indigenous group) 'strand'. These two strands are related to the ENL (English as a Native Language) and ESL (English as a Second Language) concepts. ENL represents the STL strand, while ESL represents the IDG strands. Since nativisation of English forms the basis of

categories of English that develop under countries that use English as a second language, this study situates nativisation as the centre under which DagbE evolves because acculturation, linguistic changes and creativity all occur and become manifest at this stage (cf Schneider 2007:44). Hence, Schneider (2003; 2007) relates the explanation of the innovation processes (simplification, restructuring, exaptation) under nativisation to the development of the Post-Colonial Englishes. This explains the strategies the Dagomba people apply on the phonological features of English in English words pronunciations.

The influence of the grammatical features of Dagbani on English in this study is supported by Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication theory, based on the third type of Weinreich's (1953; 1974) grammatical transfer (functions or meaning of grammatical form). Grammatical replication supports the explanation of grammatical transfer involving forms, use, and function from the Model language (M) to a replica language (R). The transfer results in another language (Rx). In this type of grammatical transfer, speakers (bilinguals) observe the existence of a grammatical feature in the model language and transfer its usage into the replica language. In this study, M is Dagbani (Provider of the model features), and R is English (provider of the replicated features). This study presents a detailed analysis of the influence of the Dagbani phonological features. It also details the perfective and imperfective aspects use, which is replicated in the use of English tense.

Dagbani influences English in different ways. However, this study concentrates on its influences on grammatical and phonological features. Since all influences on grammar and phonology cannot be investigated in one research project, this study examined the influence of Dagbani on English as presented below.

1.5 Focus on Grammatical Features

According to Olawsky's (1999), discussion of the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects, the perfective aspect comprises all completed situations/events. The imperfective aspect comprises all situations that are not yet completed (see also Comrie, 1978). As explained above, this explanation suggests that the perfective aspect includes the subcategories, simple past and present perfect. In this case, the present tense and the progressive are the subcategories under the imperfective aspect. These confirm Comrie's (1978) and Bhat's (1999) classification of some languages under aspect and tense languages. Comrie's (1978) aspect and Comrie's (1985) theory of tense are used to explain the subcategories of the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects in this study.

The description of tense prominent languages and aspect prominent languages by Bhat (1999) and the discussion of tense, Comrie (1985), and Comrie's (1978) aspect explain the difference between tense expressions in Dagbani and English. For instance, the expressions of tense and aspect of English do not exclude morphological boundness and obligatoriness. In Dagbani, however, (Alhassan 1988; Olawsky 1999; Mohammed 2006; Yahaya 2012; Issah 2013; 2015) indicate in various instances of their studies that the same aspectual suffixes, -dá plus its variants (-tá, -rá, -ná) and -dì plus its variants (-tì, -rì, -nì), and the preverbal particle nà express the imperfective aspect in Dagbani. The aspectual -yá and the bare infinitive forms of the verb express the perfective aspect in Dagbani. For example, a sentence expressing continuing relevance of a past situation (present perfect) and a sentence that expresses a simple past situation in Dagbani as in sentence 3:

3. O kuliya.
 3SG go.PFV
 S/he has gone home. Or S/he went home.

is presented as continuing relevance of a past situation (present perfect) in 4a and as simple past in English as in 4b respectively:

4. a. He has gone home.
 b. He went home.

Similarly, a Dagbani sentence like sentence 5 below:

5. O duyira.
 3SG eat.IMPFTV
 S/he is cooking, Or S/he cooks.

which expresses a both simple present tense or a habitual present, and progressive situation are presented in English, as seen in 6 and 7 respectively below:

6. She cooks.
 7. She is cooking.

Since the expressions of tense in Dagbani is different from the expressions of tense in English, this phenomenon is likely to influence speakers' use of English tense.

1.6 Focus on Phonological Features

In this study, the phonological analysis uses Schneider's (2003; 2007) Dynamic Model. It explains nativisation strategies (A-continuity, B-innovation, and C-contact). Innovation is the strategy which involves simplification and restructuring, and exaptation of features that the phonotactics of one language may not allow or features that may not exist in the other language

of the two languages in contact, which leads to various realisations of the features. Dagbani phonological features (consonant sounds and vowel sounds) are different. For example, there are some vowels in English that do not exist in Dagbani and vice versa. For instance, English vowel phonemes like /ʌ, ɜ:, ɒ, ɔ:, æ, ɪə, ʊə, eə, əʊ, / and all triphthongs. Besides, the phonotactics of the two languages are different. There is a high tendency in English word pronunciation to restructure or simplify any of the sounds listed above and those investigated to existing or familiar feature in Dagbani. Also, the sequencing of sounds in an English word can be a source of worry to Dagbani speakers. This can be the basis for simplifying and restructuring English features to sound sequencing with which speakers are familiar. A phonological process like vowel harmony also impacts Dagomba' realisation of some phonological features of English. This study, thus, focuses on the description of some vowel phonemes in Dagomba's spoken English. The features investigated in this study included, /i:/, /ɜ:/, /ʌ/, /ə/, /ua/, /ɪ/ /ɔ:/, /e/, /pl/, /ai/, and /ei/. A detailed description and analysis of these features in Dagomba's pronunciation are given in chapter seven. Ghana is a multi-lingual country; therefore, other ethnic varieties of English are based on the various indigenous languages. Studying DagbE as an ethnic variety within GhE, we consider a discussion on Ghana's sociolinguistic background as discussed below.

1.7 Sociolinguistic Background of Ghana

This section discusses the linguistic background of Ghana. It gives a brief overview of colonialism, independence, and the introduction of English in Ghana. Although the colonial period in Gold Coast was relatively short, its impact on the nation is still felt in the lives of the people. Sederberg notes that the British were trading along the coast of West Africa for a long time before they finally colonised Ghana in 1901 after defeating the Ashanti who vehemently opposed the oppression of the British (cf. Sederberg 1971). Sedberg estimates the period of colonialism to be from 1901 to 1936. Huber (1999) also notes that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to explore the coast of Guinea and West Africa. However, they finally arrived in Ghana in 1471 and established themselves when they discovered gold in large quantities (see Huber, 1999:10).

The issue with governance and ruling was not different from the way other colonies were ruled in Africa. The real power to rule, create, and execute policies were in the hands of the then governor (cf Sederberg 1971:181). Although the indigenous people were represented by the provincial chiefs and other important people in governance, the British administration

oversaw the affairs of the colony. Gold mining and cocoa farming, including imports and exports, were manned by the then British firms. For a long time, the oppression continued until the oppressed saw it necessary to fight for freedom from their oppressors in 1957.

Before independence, English started to slowly spread to some parts of the nation and played an important role. The function of English before independence was in several folds, with the major ones being, first, to interact with the colonisers, especially during business, and second to spread the word of God. For example, English was first introduced to some indigenous people in the 16th century when the British arrived at the coast of the country and needed to communicate with the people (see Sederberg 1971; Adika 2012). The British trained some indigenous people to serve as interpreters to facilitate communication between them and their trading partners (see Agbedor 1996; Morris 1998; Adika 2012). With time, the British used forts and castles they confiscated from their European counterparts and rivals to make English teaching organised.

Some of the first educated citizens were sent to Britain to study, one of whom was Philip Quarcoe. Education in its early stages was not only the sole responsibility of the governor, but the first elites who returned from Britain; one of them is Quarcoe. Quarcoe and the then missionaries who also already had an interest in training and teaching English to get people to read the Bible (Adika 2012). While referring to Sackey (1997), Adika points out that schools, especially those in cape Coast survived because Philip Quarcoe did well by teaching reading and writing through Bible studies; and that the then educational policy, which only gave aid to schools that taught only English also helped in promoting English learning and use in the then Gold Coast (see Adika 2012:153). This statement suggests English in Ghana has been associated with Christianity since all schools were run by Christian missionaries (see Sackey 1997:5).

The 1820s policy disfavoured support to schools whose medium of instruction was the local languages (Morris 1998:12; Adika 2012). This could be one of the reasons why English is still used as language of instruction in the school system, though many attempts have been made to change it. There have been other reasons justifying the use of English as a language of instruction in schools. One of them is the high number of languages spoken in Ghana. One local language cannot be used as a medium of instruction in a diverse linguistic class. Therefore, English should be used as medium of instruction.

Moreover, schools were established to train people for jobs and to spread the gospel during colonial period. Agbedor (1996) notes that the main objective for promoting European languages over indigenous languages was to train cheap workforce for the administration of the colonies. This submission explains that nationwide literacy was not the aim of the colonial administration. English teaching was meant to satisfy only administrative needs (Morris 1998:13). The need for the colonisers' language, up to the present day, became more and more important because it has become a source of power politically, socially, academically, and financially. This means that to have a successful political career, one must have formal education. Being given the mandate to rule and lead others is a source of power. Usually, people are entrusted with leadership positions in their communities when they have a bit of education. However, it does not mean people without education do not lead, but people with good education or English-speaking background stand the chance to contest.

After independence, English has not only remained an essential part of the nation's development, but it is also part of the languages spoken in Ghana. Precisely, like other African nations, Ghana is a multi-ethnic nation where many indigenous languages are spoken. According to Dakubu (1996), Ghana has about 50 indigenous languages, with the major ones being Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagaare, and Dagbani. It has become necessary to only estimate the number of languages in Ghana, even in a scientific work of this nature. This is because "we do not even have a comprehensive list of the languages spoken in the various countries, let alone to know areas in which they are spoken and how many speakers there are for each language" (Bodomo 1996:35).

According to Dakubu (1996), only 11 languages are taught in schools, and few of them are used on the radio and television. Currently, there are more languages used on radio and TV stations. Bodomo proposes ten or more major language groups in Ghana from the two main language families, Gur, and Kwa (Bodomo 1996:35). This author presents the language groups and the various dialects or languages spoken within those groups as summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1.1 Language Groups and Dialects in Ghana

Language Groups	Dialects / Languages
Akan	Agona, Akuapem Twi, Akyem, Asante Twi, Brong, Fante, Kwahu and Wasa.

Mabia ³	Dagbani, Dagaare, Gurenne, Kusaal, Mampruli, Buli, Waale, Talni, Birifor, Nanuni, Nabit, Konni, and Hanga-Kamara
Gbe	Ewe, Fon, Aja and Mina
Ga-Dangbe	Ga and Dangbe. Dangbe, Ada, Shai and Krobo.
Gurma	Konkomba, Moba and Bassari
Guang	Gonja, Gichode, Nchumburu, Krachi, Nawuri, Nkonya, Cherepong, Awutu and Effutu.
Nzema	Nzema, Sehwi, Anyi (Aowin), Ahanta and Anufo (Chakosi)
Grusi	Kasem, Isaaleng, Chakali, Tampilma, Vagla and Mo.
Buem	Adele, Lelemi, Bowiri, Sekpele, Siwu, Santrokofi, Logba and Avatime
Nafaanra	Nkuraeng, Nafaanra and Ntrubo-Chala
Other African Languages	Chadic language, Hausa, and some Mande languages (Ligbi and Bisa)

Adapted from Bodomo (1996: 38)

All these languages play their roles as communicative tools for the speakers of the various indigenous languages. Also, they serve as means through which speakers' cultural values and identities are preserved and transmitted.

Although English is not originally a Ghanaian language, it has become an essential tool for communicative and administrative purposes in Ghana. As a communicative tool, it remains a common language of communication between educated people who do not speak the same language. Also, English is a language for interaction in cross-ethnic marriages, where spouses have formal education. According to Bodomo (1996), government-sponsored languages like Akan, Dagaare, Dagbani, Dangbe, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Kasem and Nzema currently challenge the position of English in the regions where they are spoken. English, including all its forms from pidgin to standard educated English, is still extensively used in the country. Thus, English does not only have the status of an official language for administration and the judiciary, but it is also the language of education in Ghana.

The Ghanaian Educational system, in general, has gone through many reforms, and to date, it is continually changing and reviewing levels of education. Initially, from the 1970s to latter parts of 1980s, levels of education ranged from primary, middle school, secondary, sixth form to university. The 1990s registered a shift from the old system of education to a new

³ Following Bodomo's classification of the Mabilia language group, this specification is now Mabilia centra (see Bodomo 2020: 11).

system, where Ghana had primary school, Junior Secondary School (JSS), Senior Secondary School (SSS), then to tertiary level (university) as educational levels. Currently, levels of education after primary level are Junior High Schools (JHS), Senior High Schools (SHS) and University. Of course, there are other tertiary institutions which include Polytechnics (now Technical Universities), Teacher Training Colleges (now University Colleges), and Nursing Training Colleges. While referring to World Bank (1996), Egbenya, Halm, and Egbenya (2016) account for the various reforms on secondary education. They maintain that aside from the old educational system, the three-year Senior Secondary School (SSS) system, which was part of the 1987, Evans-Anfom Education Reforms commenced 1995/1996 academic year; it was also the year the last batch of the old system completed. According to these scholars, the new patriotic party ruled from 2000 to 2009 and changed the three-year SSS system to four-year SHS system.

All courses at the various levels of education are taught in English. Thus, as a language of education, English is taught at all levels in the school system as a subject and is used as a medium of instruction from the basic to tertiary levels. English remains the first among the three core subjects in education (English, Mathematics, and Science). This phenomenon forms part of the intense contact between English and the indigenous languages in Ghana. It is the case that students' language of interaction in the home setting are their various indigenous languages that form an integral part of their schemata. The abrupt switch to the English language could positively or negatively impact students' use of English. The underlining fact is that the indigenous languages differ so much from English at all linguistic levels (Phonologically, morphologically, grammatically, and lexically). The distinction between English and the local language can lead to the indigenous languages influencing English differently, based on various languages' structures and forms.

1.8 Ethnolectal Variation in Englishes

According to Bokamba (1982:78), "no matter the level of education a Nigerian or Ghanaian attains, it is still not difficult for native speakers of English to identify their accent as African". That notwithstanding, it is still possible to identify varied accents that might be referred to as Liberian, Sierra Leonean, Ghanaian, Nigerian, Kenyan, or East African English (cf Bokamba 1982:78). This means that some linguistic features make Africans sound similar even though some features could also make them sound different internationally when they speak English. Similarly, moving towards the intranational level, people of the same nationality

tend to speak the same English variety. Yet, there are still perceived variants based on speakers' L1. Variation of English based on people's ethnicity is not only found in Africa, but it is also found in other parts of the world. For instance, Labov (1961:1966) found different realisations of different features, based on social lines, including ethnicity in New York City and Martha's Vineyard in South-Eastern Massachusetts. Within Africa, Igboanusi (2006) confirms a varied pronunciation of English words in Yoruba English, Igbo English, and Hausa English in Nigeria. Another study that shows evidence of ethnic features in speakers' pronunciation is Fonyuy's (2012) study on the ethnolects of Cameroon English, which is discussed in chapter three.

In the Ghanaian Context, Ghanaians speak the same English, with the same pronunciation, lexicon, and grammar. However, there are still ethnic features that differentiate citizens' accents based on their L1. For example, the pronunciation of some English words is peculiar to speakers of some ethnic groups. Dolphyne (1988), for instance, point out some RP features that are somehow innovated by the Akan people, Ga, Ewe, Kasena people's pronunciations. Adjaye (2005) notices that all the three ethnic groups she elicited data from realised the RP features with the GhE realisation of those features. Yet, some variations still exist based on ethnic lines. This proves that there are some pronunciations that are peculiar to some ethnic groups in Ghana. Some variations in the pronunciation of some English phonemes by ethnic groups in Ghana as Adjaye (2005) observes, is presented in Table 2.

Table 1.2 Pronunciation of English Words Based on Speakers' L1

Phonetic Variation						
Word	Phoneme	RP	GhE	Akan	Ga	Ewe
Bread	/r/	[bred]	[brɛ:d]	<i>[ble:d]</i>	[brɛ:d]	[brɛ:d]
Laugh	/l/	[la:f]	[la:f]	<i>[ra:f]</i>	[la:f]	[la:f]
bus	/ʌ/	[bʌs]	[ba:s]	[ba:s]	<i>[bɔs]</i>	[ba:s]
Let	/ɛ/	[let]	[lɛt]	[lɛt]	[lɛt]	<i>[let]- late</i>
Late	/ai/	[leit]	[let]	[let]	[let]	<i>[let]- late</i>

The point, therefore, is that, although the Dagomba people speak the same GhE, some differentiating features distinguish DagbE from GhE. Therefore, all these ethnic variations are intra-national varieties within the national variety, GhE, which is different from Nigerian, Kenyan, and British Englishes.

In the Ghanaian context, although the very first Ghanaian users of English were taught English by the British to serve as interpreters, that did not accord those Ghanaians the native RP accent of English. This is evident from how GhE was first termed. Boadi (1994) first

referred to English spoken in Ghana as mercantile English, because it was spoken in the field of trade by merchants. This suggests that the variety of English spoken around that time was different from the colonial masters' English. To date, GhE still varies from BrE or American English (AmE), phonologically, morphologically, grammatically, and lexically. However, there are two schools of thought concerning the existence of Ghanaian English. For instance, scholars who support the first school of thought (Sey 1973; Gyasi 1991; Ahulu 1994a) discovered some defining features of GhE; they prove that there is no GhE. Other (Norris and Dolphyne 1973; Dako 2001; Adjaye 2005; Adika 2012), especially Asante (1996), upon discovering the features of GhE, strongly support the idea of GhE existence.

Studies among the first school of thought is Sey's (1973) study on Ghanaian English, which is mainly a critique of it. Sey observes deviant usages of the phenomenon; the author's exploration includes deviant usage in grammatical features. These deviant uses include the use of uncountable nouns, articles and article equivalence, imperfective verb forms, among others. Sey observes, for example, that it is common to find an uncountable noun being used with plural markers or even with an indefinite article (Sey 1973:26-35). The author also discusses the distinction between perfective and imperfective as a that problem Ghanaian users of English face. Sey observes that there is the possibility that Ghanaians will use the past when there is a need for present tense use. With these and other deviant uses, Sey concludes that "the educated Ghanaian will not accept anything less than British English..." (Sey 1973:7). Gyasi (1991), upon investigations concludes that, "there is nothing like Ghanaian English. If we base our judgement on the occurrence of such forms as *equipments*, *we must voice out our views*, and *I am going and come*" (Gyasi 1991:4). What the author means is that GhE is not grammatically correct and should not be considered a variety of English. One of the scholars who do not also support the existence of Ghanaian English is Ahulu. This scholar remarks that such forms that are considered as Ghanaian English are syntactically and semantically not good enough; it involves relexification and grammaticalisation of English in Ghana, which depends on speakers' level of competence (see Ahulu 1994:26). This assertion suggests that there are different competent levels in English use, which should be considered when classifying English varieties and their use.

Among the second group of opinion in favour of the existence of GhE is Amonoo (1961), cited in Ahulu (1994). While acknowledging Amonoo (1961), Ahulu states that the variation observed in Ghanaian use of English may look at local linguistic habits and should

be codified (see also Norris and Dolphyne 1973). This suggests that Amonoo acknowledges the existence of GhE and proposes that it is codified. While supporting the possibility of GhE, Norris and Dolphyne (1973) posit that there are other varieties like regional varieties in the world that need to be recognised and linguistically described. While Asante (1996) basing her argument on nativisation as a key factor in second language users' use of English and the evidence of nativisation that characterised GhE, the author holds the view that Ghanaians speak a distinct variety of English. Therefore, Asante debunks the position of scholars who based their description of a variety by arguing that "a variety can be claimed not only on the basis of linguistic features but on ethnopolitical factors as well" (Asante 1996:129). Asante raises several issues of nativisation that characterises GhE. For example, the author mentions the substitution of /t/ and /d/ with /θ/ and /ð/ as a feature of GhE, which results from the negative transfer. Thus, the substitution of the alveolar sounds with the dental sounds, syllable-timed rhythm, and spelling pronunciation are common features of GhE (see Asante 1996:134). Another feature Asante mentions is Sey's (1973) features of GhE, which includes morphological features. It involves derivations like *enstool/distool* (*enthroned/dethroned*) related Ashanti and *enskin*, related to the Dagomba, and over-generalisation of plural markers to non-count nouns and inappropriate usage of the article 'the' and 'a', among others.

At the lexical level, some words are peculiar to GhE and can only be understood by Ghanaians or people conversant with GhE. They are *bush* (uncouth behaviour), *linguist* (a spokesperson for the chief), *fitter* restricted to a motor mechanic, or a person who does odd jobs on motor vehicles (see Asante 1996:138). The author, therefore, observes innovations in GhE to include acculturation in phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexico-semantic levels. These manifest through negative and positive transfers of the L1s (Asante 1996:131-132). From both schools of thought, the existence of GhE cannot be debunked. Both deviant and nativised features point out that they are all features that set Ghanaian English apart from other national varieties of English spoken in Africa and beyond. GhE is the macro level of a variety of English to which this study refers, and to make this study a success, the study relies on data collected in Yendi and Tamale (Sagnarigu inclusive) in Dagbon.

The data were collected over a period of two months in 2018. The interview techniques used were sentence translations, text reading and picture descriptions. Digital recording was employed to record responses. Voice recording of the simple text was later transferred to Praat software for the phonetic description of the features investigated to transform 89 respondents

interviewed. The aim of using sentence translation was to get the variation of respondents' expressions of tense in DagbE from the GhE and BrE tense expressions. Specifically, in chapter six, the use of picture description was to confirm and authenticate findings on the sentence translation exercise. Text reading was employed to get the variation among DagbE pronunciation of English words, GhE and RP. All respondents were native Dagbani speakers and students from the basic level of education to the tertiary level of education. I employed Labov's (1961) format of conducting an interview for the phonological features. For the picture description, Myhill's (1991:96) use of narratives for the variable bin's occurrence in creole was used. For sentence translation, Broeck's (1977) linguistic complexity was used to account for how the sentence translation exercise was done to gather data for the imperfective aspects in Dagbani. This study modernises this method by presenting sentences to respondents not to choose but rather telling which version of the sentences they think are appropriately fit to the category of tense in another language. Data were analysed using the descriptive statistic method (DSM) (Seling and Shohamy 1989) and Praat. Results were analysed based on respondents' educational levels. This was done to determine whether L1 features reduce at a higher level of education. A detailed discussion of the methodology is discussed in chapter four.

1.9 Overview of Chapters

This dissertation comprises eight chapters. Chapter one, *General Introduction*, presents the linguistic affiliation of Dagbani, typological characteristics of Dagbani, the aims of the study, which comprises the general and specific objectives of the study. Focus on grammatical features concerns a summary of Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspect. Focus on phonological features also concerns the summary of the Dagbani Phonological features. The chapter also presents the sociolinguistic background of Ghana, which gives brief information about the history of English in Ghana and the possible ethnolectal variation of English. Chapter two, which is entitled, *The Phonological and Grammatical Systems of Dagbani*, describes the Dagbani language. A brief overview of the sound system is discussed in the first section of the chapter. It presents the Dagbani consonant sounds, vowel sounds, and vowel harmony. The second part of the chapter presents a review of the verbal system, the basic sentence structure, and the nature of the Dagbani sentence. It also presents the Dagbani verb 'be', the preverbal particles (*dì, sà, dáá, and nà*), the lexical expressions / lexically composite expressions (time adverbials), post-verbal particle (*la, and mi*), aspectual suffixes (*yá, dá, and ò*, and the variants of *dá, and ò* (Olawsky 1999).

Chapter three, *The Spread of English: Contacts and Approaches*, presents the theory of tense and aspect. It comprises Comrie's (1985) conceptualisation of tense, under which the absolute tense, relative tense, present tense, past tense, and degree of remoteness are explained. Also, Comrie's (1978) conceptualisation of aspect is highlighted. Under aspect, the perfective and the imperfective aspects are discussed. In addition, chapter three briefly accounts for the difference between English and Dagbani, the history of the English language in Ghana, and Ghanaian English. The historical spread of English, the approaches to world Englishes, the three concentric circles are also presented. The dynamic model, homogeneity, and heterogeneity of world Englishes, and grammatical replication theory are also all discussed in chapter three.

Chapter four, *Research Methodology*, highlights the study's research design. It gives details on sampling and sample size, data collection techniques and tools, and data analysis.

Chapter five is the first empirical chapter of the study. It is entitled, *Influence of the Dagbani Perfective on the Dagomba's use of English Tense*. It provides an analysis of the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect, which includes the simple past tense, marked past, and present perfect on the Dagomba people's use of English.

Chapter six, *Influence of Dagbani Imperfective on Dagomba's use of English tense*, presents the analysis of the influence of Dagbani imperfective aspect on Dagomba's use of English tense. It provides the analysis of the progressive aspect sentences and the habitual present sentences.

Chapter seven, *Influence of the Dagbani Phonological Features on Dagomba's Spoken English*, presents the analysis of the influence of the Dagbani phonological features on Dagomba's English pronunciation. It presents the realisation of all the features (/i:/, /ɜ:/, /ʌ/, /ə/, /ua/, /ɪ/ /ɔ:/, /e/, /pl/, /ai/, and /ei/) that are investigated.

Chapter eight, *Findings Conclusions, and Recommendations*, summarises the findings of the grammatical features, findings on the phonological features, presents findings on the variation between DagbE, GhE and RP. Findings on the replication in DagbE presents the linguistic features that are transferred from Dagbani to English. DagbE, as an ethnolectal English, presents findings on evidence that make DagbE an ethnolectal English. The future of the ethnolectal English by the Dagomba; this presents findings on phonological and grammatical features that distinguish DagbE from GhE and BrE or RP. The chapter also

presents vowel reduction, raising, and lowering in DagbE, unique features of DagbE and GhE, the impact of phonetic environment on ethnolectal pronunciations, the retention of ethnolinguistic features in DagbE, the concluding implications of the study and recommendations from the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

2. The Phonological and Grammatical Systems of Dagbani

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this study investigates the influence of Dagbani on the use of English by the Dagomba. Also, in the preceding chapter, the phonological and grammatical systems were introduced as part of the aspects Dagbani scholars have worked on. This chapter, therefore, discusses in detail the literature on the grammatical and phonological features of Dagbani. General literature on grammar and phonology are considered. Subsequently, we move further to review specific literature that is related to this study on both phonology and grammar.

For example, on the grammar of Dagbani, Alhassan (1988) looks at Dagbani in wider communications, Olawsky (1999) on aspects of Dagbani grammar, which includes sentence structure, word classes, and the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects. Issah (2008) concerns information packaging in Dagbani, Bodomo (2001; 2018) on time-depth particles, Mohammed (2006) and Yahaha's (2012) books for teacher training colleges and Junior High Schools look at tense expressions, Issah (2015) looks at verbal alternations in Dagbani. Works from other Mabia (Gur languages) closely related to Dagbani are also included in the discussion, for instance, Bodomo (1997) on the structure of Dagaare, Saanchi (2003) on aspect in Dagaare, Dakubu (2000) on the particle *lá* in Gureɛ, Atintono (2005) on aspectual modifiers in Gureɛ, Atintono (2013) on the semantics and grammar of positional verbs in Gureɛ.

General work on Dagbani phonology is discussed in Olawsky (1996), aspects of Dagbani grammar in Olawsky (1999), and Hudu (2010) provides a discussion of Dagbani consonant inventory and vowel harmony. While Hudu (2014b) discusses what a phonological word in Dagbani is, Hudu (2014) [ATR] feature involves a distinct tongue root articulation, and Mminibo (2014) provides a discussion on Dagbani consonant clusters. Hudu (2016) also discusses phonetic inquiry into Dagbani vowel neutralisations. Also, part of the literature on phonology includes works on other Mabia languages, including Welmers (1973). This author looks at the sound systems related to the Dagbani sound system; Bodomo (1996), whose discussion relates to vowel harmony. In this chapter, the discussion comprises two sections, the grammatical system and the phonological system. However, for the purpose of this study, not all the above studies on Dagbani are discussed in the literature.

Specific works on grammar that are relevant to this study concern Dagbani morphosyntax and the particles, which concentrates on the perfective and imperfective expressions. These works include, Alhassan's (1988) study on the uses of the aspectual *yá* and the particle *lá*, and *mí*; Olawsky's (1999) investigation includes the perfective and imperfective verb forms, and the aspectual suffixes *dà*, *dì*, and *yá*; also, Olawsky (1999), Bodomo's (2001; 2018), look at the time-depth particles (*dì*, *sà*, *dáá*), and Issah (2008) particles *-lá* (2015) verbal alternations in Dagbani. Thus, the primary focus is the verbal system, mainly how the verbal system works. Also important in this chapter are (Saanchi 2003; Dakubu 2000; Atintono 2005; 2013) from other Mabilia languages.

2.2 The Phonological System of Dagbani

This section of the chapter discusses some literature on the Dagbani phonological system, with the primary focus on the consonants, vowels, and their distribution in Dagbani. The major foci are on the syllable structure, consonant clusters, vowel harmony, and the phonotactics of Dagbani.

2.2.1 The Dagbani Consonant System

The Dagbani consonant system comprises single consonant sounds and double articulation. Olawsky (1996; 1999) and Hudu (2010; 2014b) describe the consonant system of Dagbani as an elaborate one. While discussing the consonant sounds in Dagbani, Olawsky (1996; 1999) and Hudu (2010) observe that the Dagbani sound system contains 20 consonant sounds. The two scholars describe the same contrastive consonants in their respective works. However, since Olawsky (1996; 1999) does not include the possible allophones of the consonant in his discussion, we will focus on Hudu's (2010) description of the consonants in which he describes the consonants and their allophones.

Hudu (2010) observes that there are 32 consonant sounds from both the variants of the Eastern dialect (Nàyàhíli) and Western dialects (Tòmòsíli) of Dagbani (cf Hudu 2010:8). Hudu asserts that while 20 of the consonants are contrastive, the remaining 12 are variants of the contrastive consonants (see also Hudu 2014b:3). Hudu (2010) illustrates both the contrastive and surface consonants as seen below.

Table 2.1: Dagbani Consonants

P	t		k [tʃ]	kp [tp]	
					[ʔ]
b	d [ɾ]		g [dʒ]	gb [db]	
f	s [ʃ]		[x]		[h]
v	z [ʒ]				
l					
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ɲm [nm]	
		j		w [v]	

Taken from Hudu (2010:8).

The surface variants will be discussed under palatalisation and consonant mutation in the next section.

These consonant sounds are typical of Mabia languages and West African languages (Naden, 1973; Welmers, 1973). In this discussion on the consonant system, we shall first focus on some specific consonants which could influence the realisation of the features investigated in this study before the general debate on the distribution of all consonants. A consonant sound could change depending on which phonetic environment it occurs. For instance, “before voiceless consonants, /g/ is realised as the voiceless variant [x]” (Olawsky, 1999:264). Therefore, [ɣ] occurs as an allophone of /g/ and could change to [x] in Dagbani since the sound [x] replaces /g/ before voiceless sounds in Dagbani. That is why [ɣ] as a grapheme raises questions in Dagbani.

Additionally, Hudu maintains that the variant [x] is a result of coalescence (merging or blending) between the root-final coda /g/ and the onset suffix /s/ in the western dialect (Tomosili). For example, *tóysí* ‘talk’ being realised as *tóxí*, (cf Hudu 2010:12). Both authors clearly explain the relationship between the two sounds. From the two scholars’ description of the phenomenon, the western dialect replaces [ɣ] with [x] in spoken Dagbani. This section will be referred to in explaining the repercussion of the phonetic environment on speakers’ realisation of features.

It is also the case that in the same western dialect, “/b/ + /g/ sequences coalesce into [v] even across morpheme boundaries” (Hudu 2010:12). For instance, *kòbgá* ‘hundred’ and *kòvá*

<kowa> are always used interchangeably (cf Hudu 2010:12). This differentiation is deemed necessary since data for the study were obtained from speakers of the Eastern and Western dialects. Some of the consonants also undergo or result from some phonological processes. For instance, some of the surface variants result from spirantisation (this is a phonological process where a plosive becomes a fricative). According to Hudu (2010), the velar stops /g/ and /k/ are realised as the surface variants [dʒ] and [tʃ] before front vowels, respectively.⁴ For example, /k/ in "[kɛ́híi] to /tʃ/ in [tʃɛ́-hí] ‘rip in pieces, /g/ to "[dʒ] in /gɛ́-línsì/ [dʒɛ́-líns'í] ‘hatred (see Hudu 2010:13).

Also, Olawsky (1999) and Hudu (2010) discuss palatalisation, an important phonological process in the language. Olawsky (1999), for instance, discusses palatalisation relative to orthography, obligatory and optional palatalisation. He explains that “with some words, palatalisation of a consonant before /ɛ/ is obligatory (i.e., /j/ acts like a phoneme, transcribed as [j])”, (Olawsky 1999:272). For example, <biéyú> [bjɛyú] ‘bad,’ <piéyú> [pjɛyú] ‘basket’ etc. are obligatory, (cf Olawsky 1999:272); and for example, palatalisation in; <be>, <kpɛma and <bihili> is optional. For more examples on obligatory and optional palatalisation, see Olawsky (1999.ibid). This indicates that it is not all consonants that occur before front vowels that obligatorily undergo palatalisation. Palatalisation is referred to in explaining some of the features in chapter seven.

Similarly, Hudu (2010) explains palatalisation in connection with the consonant sounds and the front vowels. Hudu posits that all consonants, except the sound /w/, undergo palatalisation before front vowels; where /s/ becomes [ʃ], /z/ becomes [ʒ], /g/ becomes [dʒ] and so on, as seen in the works of Hudu (2010:12-13) with a given set of examples below.

- /s/- [ʃ] as in /sí-â/ to [ʃí-â] ‘bee’
- /z/- [ʒ] as in /zɛ́-ʔó/ to [ʒɛ́-ʔó] ‘storm’
- /g/- [dʒ] as in /gɛ́línsì/ to [dʒɛ́-línsì] ‘hatred’
- /k/ - [tʃ] as in /kɛ́-hí/ to [tʃɛ́-hí] ‘rip to pieces’
- /ŋ/- [ɲ] as in /ŋì-ní/ to [ɲì-ní] ‘you’.

⁴ The point, however, is that [dʒ] and [tʃ] are affricates and not fricatives. I think this phonological process applies to affricate as well.

Palatalization of this nature can influence the speakers' pronunciation of words that are not of Dagbani origin including the features investigated in this study, hence the need for its inclusion in this discussion. Hudu further discussed consonant mutation in the language. He discovers three other consonant alternations, including coronal articulations (articulation that involves the blade of the tongue). Referring to (Ladefoged 1968; Wilson and Bendor-Samuel, 1969; Hudu et al 2009), he posits that "the labial-velar consonants /kp, gb, ŋm/ become labial-coronal [tp, db, nm] before front vowels" (Hudu 2010:14). Again, Hudu (2010) indicates that consonants and vowels influence one another in the same phonetic environments.

Another phonological process is consonant alternation or mutation (the change of consonants in words due to the environment in which they occur). For example, Hudu (2010) discovers that all Dagbani consonants undergo labialisation (production of sounds that involve lip rounding) before the round vowels. The features investigated in this study have more to do with vowel sounds. However, since the phonetic environment in which a feature occurs could lead to its innovation, the effect is variation between DagbE and GhE / RP, which accounts for the discussion of the consonants sounds. For instance, labialisation will aid the explanation of the RP /ɔ:/ in *pour* /pɔ:(r)/ being realised as /u/ as in /puwɔ/, and /pl/ in *couple* /kʌpl/ as seen in the last syllable of /kɔpɔl/ in DagbE in chapter seven. Therefore, all these forms could contribute to the need to investigate the influence of the Dagbani language on English in this study and will be referred to in analysing the phonological features in the 7th chapter.

Olawsky (1999) demonstrates that all the afore mentioned consonant sounds are phonemes in Dagbani, except [h] and [r] and those in the 'square brackets' which appear as allophones of other phonemes. However, 'similar to [h], [r] might acquire phonemic status in the future' (Olawsky 1999:261). Olawsky also posits that [ʃ] is in complementary distribution with [s], but they are free variants only in loan words in Dagbani. He states that there are instances where [ʃ] and /s/ are interchangeable; this happens in loanwords like <*síchírì*> [ʃíchírì] 'sugar.' Another consonant sound that Olawsky discusses include [z] and [ʒ]. Olawsky compared the occurrence of these two sounds in the language with [s] and [ʃ]. These two pair of sounds are in complementary distribution with the other pair in Dagbani. Thus, each of these two pairs of sounds does not occur in the same phonetic environment with the other pair in the language. As allophones of /s/ and /z/ ([ʃ] and [ʒ]) do not occur in the same phonetic environment with /s/ and /z/. For instance, [ʃ] cannot replace /s/ in <*sɔ́ŋ*> [sɔ́ŋ] 'a mat', and [ʒ]

cannot replace /z/ in *zóhí* [zóhí] ‘flies’. Therefore, in Dagbani, there is no word like *zɔŋ* or *<shɔŋ>* [ʃɔŋ] (cf Olawsky 1999). The section helps explain the impact of the phonotactics of the language and phonetic environments on the realisation of the features investigated.

Apart from Olawsky’s (1999) observation, Hudu (2010) also looks at a different distribution of the sounds /g/, [ʔ], /s/, and [h] in the language. Hudu observes that the velar stop /g/ has a variant [ʔ], while the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ has the glottal fricative [h] as its emerging variant. Hudu (2010) explains that /s/ and [h] are involved in debuccalisation (a phonological process, where an oral sound changes its original place of articulation to a glottal sound). He reveals that /g/debuccalises to [ɣ] and /s/ to [h]. With /s/ debuccalising to [h], it occurs when there is no consonant between the vowel and the consonant that undergoes debuccalisation. For example, it is possible to have the sound /s/ in *biisi* to debuccalise [h] in *bíhí* but not /s/ in *dúúnsí* to * *dúúnhí* (see Hudu 2010:9-10).

2.2.2 Consonant Clusters in Dagbani

The discussion of consonant clusters in the Dagbani language is presented in this section. It explains the assertion of the existence of consonant clusters in the language, as Dagbani is noted as a language without consonant clusters.

While discussing the occurrence of consonant clusters in Dagbani, some scholars maintain that its occurrence in the language is a possibility. For instance, Abukari (1977) strongly argues that there are onset consonant clusters in the Dagbani language. The author claims that [pl] as in words *plígírá* ‘opening,’ in *plí* ‘roof a house,’ *plígí* ‘open’, and *zúplígú* ‘hat/cap’ is a cluster in all the words in which it occurs (Abukari 1977:3). Olawsky (1999) asserts that consonant clusters occur in word-initial position. However, he states that such words are borrowed from English. They are words with the initial phone [s] plus voiceless consonant sounds, as; /t, p, k/. He is, however, quick to add that most speakers, except some advanced English learners, always insert a weak (unstressed vowel) or short vowel. These are usually epenthetic vowels inserted between the co-occurring consonants. For example, *kìláásì* ‘class,’ *bòlókù* ‘block,’ *kòlókù* ‘clock’ etc. Besides, Olawsky makes an interesting revelation about the consonant clusters in the following lines:

A small number of nouns involves an internal cluster of lateral [l] plus a nasal consonant. These nouns have the structure [CVlnli]; they are syllabified CVLN.CV. Since syllable internal consonant clusters are very uncommon in Dagbani, some

speakers have problems in realising the consonant sequence; they try to avoid it by lengthening one of the consonants or by not separating the two sounds from each other. Another strategy to avoid the cluster is to insert an epenthetic vowel [ə], which would lead to a CV.CVN.CV syllable structure: [zə.lən.li] (Olawsky, 1999, 174).

Compared to Abukari (1977) and Olawsky (1999), Mminibo (2014) carries out a more intensive study on the phenomenon entitled, “The Reality of Consonant Clusters in Dagbanli Syllables”. Mminibo’s study investigates the presence of consonant clusters in the language. He selected some words which contained the supposed consonants clusters. The inferred consonants clusters investigated in Mminibo’s study include the following:

CC	Word	Gloss	CC	Word	Gloss
br as in	bri	‘to sow’	bl as in	bli	‘germinate’
pr as in	pri	‘to share’	pl as in	pli	‘cover’
fr as in	fri	‘to get stucked’	gl as in	gli	‘go around’
kr as in	krikri	‘firmly’	tl as in	tli	‘unkempt hair’
gr as in	grigri	‘active’	gbr as in	gbri	‘draw somebody/thing’

Adapted from Mminibo (2014:235)

Mminibo found out at the end of his study that there is always an epenthesis of a weak vowel between the two consonants as the Dagomba attempt to pronounce words that contain these supposed consonant clusters: *br, pr, fr, kr, gr, bl, pl, gl, tl, gbr*. Mminibo’s (2014) study, therefore, goes to confirm the long-existing notion that there are no consonant clusters in the Dagbani language.

It is also confirmed from the above discussion that there are no consonant clusters in Dagbani. For instance, Olawsky’s (1999) and Mminibo’s (2014) assertion shows that the phonotactics of the language does not allow two consonant sounds to follow each other in succession in a word as two separate phonemes. Although not all phenomena discussed in the literature may pose problems in speakers’ pronunciation, one cannot rule out that consonant clusters influence speakers’ realisation of some English words. For instance, this section is crucial in explaining the feature in *conflict* and *also* in the seventh chapter.

2.2.3 Sound Sequencing in Dagbani

Having discussed the consonants presented by the scholars mentioned above, it is necessary to discuss sound sequencing in the language. This section is discussed relative to Antintono's (2004:21) brief description of each of the Gurene (a closely related language to Dagbani) consonants and vowels with which they occur. The discussion in this section is considered important in this study because it provides information as to which sounds co-occur in Dagbani or the sound sequencing the Dagomba people can articulate. This is because a sound can be an existing sound in Dagbani, but it can pose a problem if it does not co-occur with another sound in the language, thereby influencing how the feature is realised in English. Words in this section include both original Dagbani words and loan words since we are interested in the sound sequences that the Dagomba people can articulate. Consider the discussion below.

The phoneme /p/ is a voiceless bilabial plosive or stop. It is a sound that can occur in syllable initial position with many vowels in the Dagbani except the front vowels /e/, /e:/. Some examples are seen in words like:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
pállí 'road'	bípóllì 'a boy/girl in his/her prime'	non-occurring
pón 'a stray'	páy'pálò 'newly married woman'	
póló~páló 'space'	dòpóllí 'a cross'	
púú 'farm'	pùpìèligá 'honesty'	
píeyú 'sheep'	pàγàpólí 'pregnancy'	
píígí 'choose',		

This section is referred to in the analysis of the feature in *people* in chapter seven of this study.

The phone /b/ as a voiced bilabial stop can also occur with almost all the vowels as illustrated below:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
bá 'father'	bíbílá 'a small child'	non-occurring
bóóí 'pour some liquid'	pàγàbòbó 'marriage process'	
báá 'dog'	kòbóllì 'water source'	
bóri 'make water unclear'		
bé 'live'	bíbíěyú 'ugly child'	
bùrí 'a type of plant',		
béé 'or'		
dòbàllì 'slim man'		
bì 'to be mature'		
bé 'they'		

bò ‘search for’

this section is referred to in the analysis of the feature in *table*.

/m/ is a bilabial voiced nasal that occurs with some vowels in the Dagbani language except /e/. Words in which the phoneme /m/ can occur as a preceding sound to vowels are:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
mà ‘mother’	nímmóhí ‘seriousness’	nám ‘create’
màá ‘the’	námbú ‘creation’	niém ‘to grind’
míá ‘a robe’	bíéhímbú ‘doubt’	bíém ‘wickedness’
méélì ‘a delicate issue’	nárímdì ‘cursing’	viélim ‘beauty’
mérígí ‘destroy with pressure’	dólímbú ‘stretching’	
mórí ‘weeds~to swell-up’		
mólí ‘a struggle’		
múhílí ‘kind of local drug’		
móógí ‘be ribbed’.		

Some of these words are used to help explain some features in chapter seven.

The sound /f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative that precedes all vowels. Some examples are as follows:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
Fá ‘snatch’	láyáfú ‘money’	non-occurring
Fààkó ‘relieve’	kànfúyílá ‘pride’	
fé ‘pinch’	fèyùfèyú ‘flue’	
fóŋ ‘a city’	fáláfálá ‘very light’	
fóóí ‘withdraw’	gááfára ‘sorry’	
fòlí ‘a queue’		
fùù ‘be pale’		
féé ‘become scares’		
fúyí ‘undress’		
fébí/fíébí ‘cane’		
fí ‘submerge’		

Even though some of these words do not occur in English, speakers’ frequent realisations of them can influence the way speakers pronounce some words. Reference is made to them in chapter seven of the analysis.

The phoneme /v/, a voiced labiodental fricative, is also permitted by the phonotactics of Dagbani to occur before almost all vowels. Below are some examples:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
várí ‘leaves’	nyèvúlí ‘life’	non-occurring
vèlím ‘ridges’	zèváraí ‘vegetables’	
véégí~viébí ‘peeling of skin’	sàviyú ‘a tool for black-smiths’	
vièlí ‘beauty’		
vólí ‘a hole’		
vóógí ‘pull’		
vúhí ‘breath/ rest’		
vòyú ‘a name of a town’		
vihìgú ‘investigation’		

The phoneme /t/, the voiceless alveolar stop, also occurs with a good number of the Dagbani vowels at both word initial and word middle positions as seen in some words below:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
tààlí ‘a grudge’	yútám ‘a type of soil’	non-occurring
té ‘sieve’	níntòrí ‘saliva’	
téégí ‘remember’	sòtím ‘sorcery’	
tèrí ‘nests’	yùtùllì ‘hot yam’	
tóóí ‘be able’		
tóm ‘bitterness’		
túmá ‘work’		
túúgí ‘mash’		
tari ‘the act of plastering a house’		

It is possible for English words to be aspirated in Dagomba’s pronunciation since aspiration is a common feature in some Dagbani word pronunciation. The sound /t/ and the vowel sounds it occurs within Dagbani are referred to in explaining the feature in *table* in chapter seven.

The phoneme /d/, a voiced alveolar stop, allows almost all vowels to succeed it. Some words are:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
dàrí ‘firewood’	nàmdà ‘sandals’	non-occurring
dàá ‘Market’	nìṅdi ‘doing’	
déégí ‘to collect’	kúmdá ‘sounding’	
dólúgù ‘followers’	díndáliṅ ‘a type of insect’	
dóó ‘a man’	bààndóyú ‘a lizard’	

dírígú ‘a spoon’
 díí ‘just’
 d̀̀yì ‘give birth’
 dúyú ‘a pot’
 dùú ‘a room’

The sound /d/ has a limited occurrence before the front vowels /ɛ/, as in d̀̀d̀d̀r̀í in the language. It should be noted that even though [r] is an allophone of /d/ in Daagbane, it is not at all instances [r] replace /d/ in words.

The phoneme /s/, a voiceless alveolar fricative as one of the sounds in Dagbani, does not occur before the front vowels, /ɛ/, /e/, /e:/, /i:/. It only occurs before the rest of the few vowels, specifically, the back vowels and the low open vowel /a/. For example, it can be seen before the following vowels that succeed it:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
sálímá ‘gold’	násará ‘victory’	non-occurring
símá ‘groundnuts’	àsíbírí ‘Saturday’	
sólí ‘path’	s̀̀ns̀̀úúní ‘the middle’	
sóó ‘a frog’		
sóyú ‘a broom’		
sùà ‘a knife/ a machete’		

I refer to /s/ and /z/ with the vowels they occur in the analysis of the features in *service* and *surprise* in chapter seven.

/z/, a voiced alveolar fricative, just like its counterpart /s/ does not occur with the front and long vowels; /ɛ/, /e/, /e:/, /i:/. However, it occurs before the rest of the vowels in both word initial and word medial as in:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
záhì ‘fish’	náyìzúyú ‘cow head’	non-occurring
záá ‘stand’	nàânzúá ‘pepper’	
zólí ‘mountain’	z̀̀nz̀̀úlì ‘maggot’	
z̀̀lìyá ‘family’	àlìzámá ‘a conversation’	
zúú ‘reagent’		
zóó ‘house fly’		
z̀̀ms̀̀ ‘darkness’		
náyìzúyú ‘cow head’		

zùnzùlì ‘maggot’

àlìzámá (a conversation) etc.

The sound /n/, a voiced alveolar nasal, occurs before all the vowels. The following words show its occurrence with the vowels:

Word initial

nám dá ‘sandals’
nàá ‘chief’
némá/níemá ‘things’
néé ‘a type of tree’
nírí bá ‘people’
nífímá ‘riches’
nólí ‘mouth’
nóó ‘a fowl’
núú ‘a hand’
núbílá ‘a finger’
nónjá ‘a scorpion’
nelí ‘grinding machine’

Intervocalic

dùnólí ‘an entrance’
zínélí ‘sitting place’
nínnéérá ‘a wise person’
píní ‘a gift’ man ‘I/me’
kògbána ‘sea waves’
gbána ‘skin’
sána ‘a stranger’
barína ‘danger’
yèltoǵmuni ‘a parable’

Word final

ɲun’ ‘she/he’
ban’ ‘they’
lan’ ‘owner’

The sound /n/ occurs in word final position as a result of deletion in rapid speech (cf Olawsky 1999). For instance, *ɲuna* to *ɲun’* and *bána* to *ban’* in rapid speech.

The alveolar lateral /l/ occurs with almost all the vowels. The following are the words in which it occurs.

Word initial

lámá ‘gums’
láá ‘earthenware bowl’
lém ‘an umbrella’
lèémú ‘an orange’
lìgá ‘a shirt/ blouse’
lílí ‘vanish’
ló ‘tie’
lòó ‘a type of frog’
lójú ‘clay pot’
lúwá ‘a type of game’

Intervocalic

kòlùgú ‘a bag’
lèlí ‘to lick’
bílíěyú ‘newly born child’
tìwúlá ‘tree banches’
gûnyílí ‘ant hill’
pélí ‘hunting expedition’
kùlàgàá ‘a kind of hoe’

Word final

hal’ ‘even’
lel’ ‘to lick’

These words are referred to in explaining the feature in *leaders* in the seventh chapter of this study.

The post-alveolar trill sound /r/ does not occur in an original Dagbani word-initial position. The Dagbani phonotactics allows its occurrence as an intervocalic sound and sometimes in word-final position due to final vowel deletion. Words beginning with /r/ are originally not Dagbani words; they are usually borrowed from other languages that are in contact with the Dagbani language. Olawsky (1999) states, however, that in such an occurrence, the sound /r/ at word initial position in Dagbani has just started gaining grounds in the Dagbani language through Arabic names. Confirming Olawsky's assertion, Inusah et al. (2019) state that Dagomba's pronunciation of names is gradually changing the initial sound /l/ to the Arabic sound /r/ in female names, as in Labi to Rabi (see Inusah et al., 2019:196).

The occurrence of the initial /r/ in names keeps increasing; however, shreds of this phenomenon still exist, as most of the Dagbani speakers still normally replace the phoneme /r/ with the alveolar lateral /l/ and the alveolar stop, /d/ in Arabic, Hausa, Christian or other ethnic names or words that are adapted into the language through borrowing. Some of such words or names are Rabi (Labi), Rukaya (Lukaya), Rubaba (Lubaba), Rahaman (Dahimani), Rafia (Lafia), Haruna (Aduna), Rebecca (Lubecca), Remi (Lemi), Richard (Lichard), Araba (Alaba) etc. [r] can occur with some vowels in a Dagbani word, as seen in the following words:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final⁵
Non-occurring (in original Dagbani word)	bíndírà 'food' bínkóbírí 'animals' kùrùgú 'a type of shorts' kòré 'appetite' doro 'disease' nînkúrúgú 'an elderly person' bíndírà 'food plural'	zòr' 'running' kùr' 'killing' kòr' 'farming' verb

As shown, /r/ occurs with; /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. It does not rather occur with; /ɛ/, /e:/ <ee>, /i:/ <ii>, /ɔ/, /u:/ <uu> in Dagbani. Thus, no original Dagbani word begins with the phoneme

⁵ /r/ occurs in final word positions only when such a word is in function or when the word is used in a phrase or clause. Also, words ending with [r] result from vowel deletion in words that express progressive or habitual present in Dagbani.

/r/. Speakers replace /r/ with sounds that are closer to it in terms of place of articulation; or sounds that belong to same natural class, as alveolar sounds with it, hence /l/ and /d/. It appears from the above examples that [r] occurs with [+ATR] than [-ATR] vowels.

/j/ is a palatal approximant, normally presented as <y> in Dagbani orthography. I prefer to use <y> instead of /j/ in this study since /j/ ([j]) can also occur in Dagbani orthography as <j> as in <jèrígú> ‘a fool’ <jára> ‘a type of dance’ <jèlínj> ‘pieces of dried yam’, <jémà> ‘worship/praises. <y> occurs in all word-initial and word-medial positions but not in word-final position; some examples are:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
yá ‘houses’, yém ‘sense’, yáá ‘strength’, yóm ‘fast’ yèlím ‘salt’, yóógí ‘open’ yéé ‘tone’, yùm ‘sore’ yílí ‘house’, yúúní ‘year’ yíínì ‘singing/sings’	gúnyílí ‘anthill’, yínyáá ‘madperson’ yèlòyíyólí ‘nonsense’ bíyérígá ‘hyperactive child’ bínyórígú ‘a lid or cover’ káyéllí ‘the act of winnowing millet’	non-occurring

Some of the words above are used to support reasons that could be responsible for the realisation of the variable *oil* as *ɔyal* in DagbE in chapter seven.

/ʃ/ is a voiceless post alveolar fricative, mostly written as <sh> in the orthography, occurring in both word-initial and word-medial positions, but not in word-final position. It occurs before few of the vowels in the Dagbani vowel system. Some examples are:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
ʃé ‘to roast’, ʃéé ‘waist’ ʃéé ‘waist’ ʃérígá ‘a needle’ ʃílí ‘preparation’ ʃáyúní ‘rainy season’	bínʃáyú ‘something’ ʃílínʃíyá ‘a shadow’ ʃínʃáyú ‘bathroom’ ʃímʃíim ‘a type of millipede.’	non-occurring

/ʒ/ voiced post-alveolar fricative does not occur before most of the vowels. For instance, it does not occur before the back vowels, /u/, /o/, /o:/, /ɔ/. Since sounds that exhibit the same behaviour in a phonological system are natural classes (see Gordon 2019:56); the vowels/u/, /o/, /o:/, /ɔ/ are in the same natural class that involves the back of the tongue. It does not occur

with the long mid vowel /a:/, not in a word-initial position nor word medial position. It, however, occurs with the vowels in the following words:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
zégú ‘storm’	sânzégú ‘rainstorm’	non-occurring
zèé ‘red’	zèzèrí ‘a type of soup’	
zém ‘a type of dance’	sânzí ‘a type of beans’	
zèrí ‘soup’	sìnzéé ‘a type of groundnuts’	
zèzím ‘ingredients for soup’		
zìí ‘blur/obscure’		
zím ‘blood’		

It is observed that the vowel sounds, /ε, i, e/ that occur with the sound /z/ are vowels that are produced with the same tongue position (front) in their production. As stated above, since sounds that exhibit the same behaviour in a phonological system are natural classes, the vowels /ε, i, e,/ are a natural class as front vowels. It could be said that the occurrence of these vowels with /z/ is dependent on the state of the lips in producing the consonant and the vowels sounds. Even though not exact lip spreading or lip position, the vowels and the sound /z/ both involve similar lips positioning. This makes it easier for this combination in sound sequencing. The natural class vowels support the explanation of the feature in *service* in chapter seven.

/k/, a voiceless velar stop, occurs with some vowels both in word-initial and word-medial positions, but it does not occur in word-final position. Some vowels it precedes are seen in the following words;

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
kàlí ‘traditions’	kórigí ‘slaughter’	
káró ‘door’	mokuru ‘a skirt’	non-occurring
káágí ‘visit’	kirikiri ‘firm’	
kòlùgú ‘a bag’	tikari ‘pounded baobab tree leaves’	
kóógí ‘an act of ending a building’		
kúm ‘hunger’		
kúúgí ‘dry’		

It does not occur before the front vowels; /e:/, /e/, /ε/, /ε:/ in word initial, medial or final positions.

The phoneme /g/ is a voiced velar stop that occurs before all vowels in syllable initial position and at word medial position, except the front mid low vowels [e], [e:], [ɛ], [ɛ:]. As stated above, [ɣ] is an allophone of /g/. Some examples of words in which it can occur in both word initial and medial position are seen below:

Word initial	intervocalic	word final
gállì ‘an egg’	zígòrá ‘a kind of sickness’	non-occurring
gáá ‘a type of tree’	nyìngòlí ‘neck’	
gòrim ‘traveling’	nógállì ‘fowl egg’	
gìlì ‘go around’		
gúúí ‘run’		
gólì ‘the moon’		
gùlì ‘kola nut’		
góógí ‘stop a fight or a car’		

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative does not occur with many vowels at word initial position. It occurs mostly in word medial position with many vowels. It occurs before vowels as exemplified in the following words:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
hállì ‘temper’	làhàbàlì ‘speech/ conversation’	buh’ ‘goats’
hálì ‘even’	líhí ‘watch’,	làh’ ‘again’
hánj ‘an angry exclamation	kòhùgú ‘trading’	náh’ ‘cow’
	bíhí ‘children’	báh’ ‘dogs’

It is observed that the vowels that can occur with [h] are [a, i, u]. [h] also occurs in word-final position, only when there is a final vowel deletion in the words in which it occurs. Deletion normally happens due to assimilation in rapid speech. The following are those that undergo deletion; láhí- làh’ ‘again’, náhù – náh’ ‘cow’, bahi- báh’ ‘to lose grip of something’, búhí-buh’ ‘goats’ etc. Reference is made to this section in the analysis of the features in *honour* and *hour* in chapter seven.

/tʃ/, a post-alveolar affricate normally written as <ch> in the orthography, also occurs before many vowels both in word initial and medial positions. Some examples are:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
chàmá! ‘a command to go’	chîníchní ‘cloth’	non-occurring
chérígá ‘a ladle’	ɲmànchéé broken piece of calabash’	

chím ‘fry’	zà̀y’chá̀yú ‘a piece of of a thing’
chù̀yú ‘a water bottle’	chómchóm ‘very high’
chéé́gí ‘tear’	sìnchìmdà ‘roasted groundnuts’
chèlá! ‘a command to stop.’	

The approximant sound /w/ does not occur before most of the front vowels and the long vowels, except /e/ in Dagbani. It occurs with other vowels, as seen in the following:

Word initial	Intervocalic	Word final
Wáá ‘dance’	Nà̀wúní ‘God’	non-occurring
wólígú ‘sweat’	nà̀wò̀yú ‘a type of yam’,	
wúm ‘hear’		
wà̀hú ‘a horse’		
áwéí ‘nine’.		

As mentioned in the earlier discussion, Hudu (2014b) observes that the [w] normally does not occur before the Dagbani front vowels. This cannot be denied since it is impossible to find a word that begins with; we, wɛ, wi in Dagbani.

The sound system of Dagbani expresses interesting features of the language. It is observed that consonant clusters are not found in the Dagbani language. The absence of consonant clusters affects Dagomba realisation of the features in *conflict*, *people*, *couple*, and *also*. Consonant clusters will, therefore, be referred to in the explanation of those features in chapter seven of this study. As discussed in this section, sound sequencing is another source of worry in Dagomba realisation of some RP features. This means that any sequencing of sounds that does not conform to the phonotactics of Dagbani could lead to mispronunciation, simplification and restructuring of RP features. In one way or the other, the above discussed phonological processes have some influence on speakers’ use of a language that seems to be different from Dagbani. Deletion, for example, is employed by Dagomba in the realisation of the features in *quality*, *conflict*, *also* in chapter seven. This section, therefore, contributes to the discussion and explanation of the features analysed in chapter seven specifically.

2.3 The Vowel System of Dagbani

The Dagbani vowel sounds are discussed in this section. The section also comprises some literature on vowel harmony and some phonological processes in the language. Discussing the Dagbani vowels, Alhassan (1988) identifies /i, e, ɛ, a, o, ɔ, u, e:, i:, o:, u:, a:/.

He adds one other vowel, which he terms the mute /i/. Alhassan states that the mute vowel is mostly used in spoken Dagbani but is somewhat neglected in written Dagbani by many speakers, especially those who have not formally studied Dagbani. He posits that the sound /i/ is always silent in the pronunciation of words that contain it (cf Alhassan, 1988:2). However, it is observed that Alhassan (1988) is referring to the other variants of the vowel /i/ (i, ɪ, ə). Besides, there is a reason for which speakers ignore the short /i/ in written Dagbani. For instance, according to the spelling rules, vowel rule number 1.1.5 to 1.1.7 state that where a weak vowel is supposed to occur, the vowel /i/ should instead be inserted (the Dagbani orthography, 1996). Such occurrences are usually found in phonetic environments that appear like consonant clusters, as in; [bndirigu- b́ndírígù] “food”, [kɔ̀bga- kò̀bìgá] “hundred”, [bidbga- bídíbigà] “a boy” etc. It is always the case that there is a weak vowel between the underlined consonants as shown in the above words, which is the short or silent /i/ to which Alhassan refers. This silent /i/ is the schwa sound, [ə] and its counterparts [ɪ or i], that are sometimes referred to as allophones of /i/ and /e/ in the Dagbani vowel system. Olawsky (1996) observes that some vowels that were initially described as Dagbani vowel sounds are [i, e, ε, a, o, ə, u]. He maintains that some of the vowels are allophones of the other vowels in the set. For instance, Olawsky observes that the mid vowel vowels /e/ and /o/, and the high vowels /i/ and /u/ have [ε] and [ə], and [ɪ] and [ʊ] as their allophones respectively. He also observes that [ə] is an allophone of /i/ and, at the same time, a phoneme /ə/ in the language. He, therefore, explains that the sound /ə/ has a special status in Dagbani. Similar to Alhassan’s (1988) assertion, Olawsky (1996) identifies six short vowels (ɪ, e, ə, a, o and u) and five long vowels (i:, e:, a:, o: and u:). Adding details, Olawsky states that /i/ and /ɪ/ occur as root vowels. Reference is made to explaining the feature in *leaders* and *kid* in chapter seven.

Elaborating on /ə/, /i/ and /e/, Olawsky (1999) in his study on Aspects of Dagbani Grammar, makes the same submission, referring to /ə/ as an allophone of /i/ and /e/. However, he made this remark when he assesses Casali’s (1997:19) assumption that the “schwa sound is not a phoneme hence auditory difficulties in distinguishing between [ə] and [ɪ], [ε] and [e], which lead to a misinterpretation of the facts” (cf Olawsky 1999:238).

The controversy deepens when Olawsky assesses Samuel and Wilson (1969), and notices that they seem to have a problem with which vowel sound they can group under which phoneme in the language. It is usually hard to tell which vowel sound between /i/ and /e/ is

realised. Referring to the work of Bendor-Samuel and Wilson (1969), Olawsky (1999:238) says that:

"It is often difficult, either on phonetic and distributional grounds, to determine which vowel sounds should be grouped under one phoneme" Bendor-Samuel and Wilson (1969: 59) Especially in the case of /i/ and /ə/, it is often hard to determine which phoneme is realised, since there is also some intermediate sound of the [ɪ]/[i]-type.

The above discussion goes to confirm that controversies surround the vowel inventory of Dagbani. This is because some researchers hold the view that some vowels have more allophones, (Olawsky 1999). Others are also of the opinion that some vowels are neglected, (Alhassan 1988:2). Hudu's (2016) study on *A Phonetic Inquiry into Dagbani Vowel Neutralisations* was carried out to unravel these controversies. Hudu discusses the vowel sounds in the language, noting that the vowels below are accepted by all past researchers to be part of the Dagbani vowels:

Short [+ART] Vowel	Short [-ATR] vowels	Long vowels
/i/ u	ɪ? ɪ? ʊ	/i:/ /u:/
e o	ɛ ə? ɔ	/e:/ /o:/
ɛ?	/a/	/a:/

(Hudu 2010; Hudu 2016:61).

Hudu (2016) observes that vowels with question marks in the above table are the controversial ones in the language that need to be adequately explained. He, therefore, explains that scholars like Wilson and Bendor-Samuel (1969), Abukari (1977), Dakubu (1997) Olawsky (1999) were unable to come to terms with one another regarding the height and frontness of the [-ART] variant of the vowels [i]; and as to whether [ɪ, i, or ə] are allophones of other vowels or not.

Hudu (2016) found out that first, "Dagbani has no high front [-ATR], which makes it different from languages with [ATR] vowel feature distinction" (Hudu 2016:87). Second, the only difference between mid-vowels in non-final positions and [a] is that there is a secondary articulation of the preceding onset. These secondary articulations are perceived differently.

When there is no distinct secondary articulation, the mid vowels completely neutralise with [a], (see Olawsky 1999).

Hudu (2016) also notes that without any acoustic and perceptual properties of other segments, the mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are best described as abstract phonemes. Hudu's findings also show ten short vowels in Dagbani. They are eight surface vowels, [i, ɪ, u, ʊ, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a, ɔ̃]; and six underlying /i, ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ, a/. The study concluded that "there is no context where the two vowels, [ɪ] and [ɔ̃] surface" (2016:63). His reason is that unlike all front vowels affected by the phonological process, palatalisation, the vowel [ɪ], for instance, does not undergo palatalisation in the onset of the Dagbani word (cf Hudu 2016:67). He maintains that all supposed variants of /i/ are realised in /i/, and that [ɔ̃] does not replace any vowel in the language. Explaining this, he refers to Casali (2003; 2008) explanation that the pairs in ATR specifications share the same height, as in i~ɪ, e~ɛ, o~ɔ, u~ʊ. Referring to Hudu (2013), Hudu (2016) disagrees with the vowels [ɪ] as a surface vowel in the language, since it does not yield to the phonological process where front vowels undergo palatalisation (see Hudu 2016:67). This, therefore, nullifies Olawsky's (1999: 238) notion that [ɪ] and [ɔ̃] occur as a distinctive phoneme in Dagbani. Hudu (2016) also observes that the underlying mid vowels, /ɛ, ɔ/ are abstract phonemes in the language (they appear as other phonemes). For example, they only "surface phonetically either as [+ATR] [e, o] or [-ATR] low vowel [a] with a secondary labial or palatal articulation on their onset" (Hudu 2016:63). Refuting other claims, Hudu notes that:

... [ɪ] has a restricted distribution is well supported. It does not occur in final position of unsuffixed lexical roots. In other final positions, it is either the nucleus of a suffix or an epenthetic vowel. However, there are challenges to Dakubu's claim that [ɪ] never occurs in any monosyllabic form, and that [ɪ] and [ɪ] merge into [e], (Hudu 2016:66).

Hudu's (2016) investigation on the vowel inventory has resolved the controversy in Wilson's (1969), Alhassan's (1988), Casali's (2003; 2008), and Olawsky's (1999) assertions on some vowels in the Dagbani vowel system. Reference is made to the above-discussed vowel inventory. Specifically, reference will be made to [ɪ] in the realisation of the feature in *kid*, *conflict*, and *leaders* in chapter seven. We will also make reference to /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ in DagbE realisation of the features *couple*, *table*, and *people* in the same chapter. /ɛ/, /a/, /e/, /u/, /o/ among others will aid in explaining the features in *service*, *coming*, *also*, and others in chapter seven.

2.3.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony plays a vital role in the pronunciation of words, not only in Dagbani but in many other African languages in which the phenomenon operates. Given this, and the aim of explaining Dagbani phonological features that influence speakers' spoken English, it is essential to discuss how vowel harmony operates in Dagbani. This discussion will enable us to have an idea about how vowels of the same class are distributed within the phonology of the language. It gives us a fair idea of how a root vowel or suffix vowels will harmonise, thereby leading to varied pronunciations of DagbE from GhE and RP realisation of the same feature.

“Vowel harmony is a kind of assimilatory process which involves both adjacent and non-contiguous vowel segments” (Bodomo 1997:20). Kropp-Dakubu (1997), Olawsky (1999), and Hudu's (2010; 2016) discussions of the phenomenon suggests that vowel harmony is a process of assimilation where vowel sounds of the same class become more like each other in a word. These explanations give the impression that the kind of assimilation involved in vowel harmony could include distance. For instance, the discussions of vowel harmony by these scholars, Olawsky (1999) and Hudu (2010), show that vowel harmony involves long-distance assimilation. Therefore, it is certain from their assertion that some assimilatory factors are considered in discussing vowel harmony. These are; the distance of assimilation, the direction of assimilation, and the domain in which the assimilation in vowel harmony occurs.

The distance of assimilation in vowel harmony concerns the closeness of the trigger of harmony to the target. Thus, the kind of assimilation in Dagbani vowel harmony involves long-distance that always contains a consonant between the trigger and the harmony target. In other words, vowel harmony in Dagbani is within words and not across word boundaries (cf Hudu 2010:165). Observing from Dakubu (1997), Olawsky (1999) and Hudu (2010) works on harmony show that distance of assimilation is an important feature of harmony. Nonetheless, the direction of assimilation is also crucial in Dagbani vowel harmony.

In this case, the direction has to do with whether the assimilation of vowel harmony is progressive or regressive. One observes that in the Dagbani language, there are both progressive and regressive assimilation. Hudu (2010:1) notes that the high front vowel /i/ triggers progressive assimilation of [+ATR], while the mid-vowels [e] and [o] trigger regressive assimilation.

The domain of harmony concerns the possible areas that harmony can occur in the language. The domain of harmony in Dagbani is the word; usually, the root of the word and the suffix (Dakubu 1997; Olawsky 1999; Hudu 2010;2016). In other words, the trigger of harmony is always the vowel of the root of a word or the vowel of the suffix (see Dakubu 1997; Olawsky 1999; Hudu 2010). While the trigger of root to suffix or right to left harmony is the high vowel [i], the trigger of the suffix to root vowel is the mid-low vowel [e or o], Hudu (2010). Root-to-Suffix and Suffix-to-Root harmony are shown below:

Root-to-suffix	Suffix-to-Root
Dírígú ‘a spoon’	kòré ‘desire’

The feature of the Dagbani vowel harmony is the ATR (Advanced Tongue Root). ATR refers to the features of a sound made by pushing the root of the tongue forward. ATR specifies a vowel as either plus or minus. The root of the tongue produces [+ATR] vowels (where the root of the tongue becomes tense), and [-ATR] vowels are produced when the tongue root is lax. Consider the examples of the lax and tense vowels that are [-ATR] and [+ATR] respectively below:

[-ATR]	[+ATR]
/i/	/i/
/ε/	/e/
/ɔ/	/o/
/ʊ/	/u/

(Olawsky, 1998: 28), see also Hudu (2010; 2016)

Olawsky (1996) claims there is no vowel harmony in the Dagbani language. After Olawsky (1996), Dakubu (1997) followed; she became the first scholar to discover the possibility of vowel harmony in the language. Olawsky (1999), however, in a later study, realised the possibility of vowel harmony in the language and discussed it. Hudu (2010; 2016) then carried out a thorough investigation of the phenomenon.

Dakubu (1997) discusses vowel harmony, particularly the distribution of the triggers and targets in the syllable types. The author did not pay much attention to the syllable domains such as root-to-suffix or suffix-to-root harmony triggers. For instance, she explains how [-

[ATR] and [+ATR] vowels harmonise in CV, CVCCV and CVCVCV. Dakubu observes that several themes (the various syllables) fall under different harmony patterns depending on the suffix. The phenomenon in Dagbani is not different from that of Dagaare, Gurune, and Moore languages (cf Dakubu, 1997:85). Dakubu interestingly states that [a] is a [-ATR], but can occur in both [-ATR] and [+ATR] categories in the language (cf Dakubu 1997:84). Bodom (1997) also discusses the same occurrence in Dagaare. Instances of the impact of vowel harmony have been captured in chapter seven. For example, root-to-suffix harmony helps explain the features in RP *quality*, *people*, and *couple* that are investigated in chapter seven.

Olawsky (1999) observes that the roots and suffixes of words play a vital role in vowel harmony in Dagbani. It is the case that ‘the vowel of a suffix is generally realised according to the feature value for [ATR] in the root’ Olawsky (1999:249). He presents the following as the various vowels contained in the roots of words and the set of vowels in the suffix that follow them.

[ATR] vowel Harmony

ROOT	SUFFIX	ROOT	SUFFIX
[-ATR]	[-ATR]	[+ATR]	[+ATR]
[a]	[a]	[i]	[i]
[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[u]	[u]
[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[o]	[o]
[ʊ]	[ʊ]	([e])	[a]
[i/ə]	[i]	([e])	

Olawsky (1999:248-249)

Olawsky (1999) explains that if the [-ATR] vowels occur in disyllable root of words, vowels of the same set level will occur in the coda syllable and that the [-ATR] feature is found in both the root and coda position (see also Dakubu 1997; Hudu 2010). It is also the case that the [+ATR] vowels [i, u, o] imply a vowel of the same set in the coda. In addition, [a] is generally admitted as the coda of the phonological word in both [+/-ATR] contexts. [e] as a single [+ATR] vowel is rare in the nucleus but occurs as a long vowel [e:]. For [a], the contrast [+/-ATR] is neutralised. It has an exceptional status since it is very frequent in suffixes. It

occurs in all number classes as a suffix by itself or part of it (singular suffixes), Olawsky (1999:249).

[-ATR] and [+ATR] vowels are both triggers of harmony, and at the same time, can be targets of harmony in the language, especially with root-to-suffix harmony, as seen in Olawsky's (1999) assertion above. Discussing the process of harmony, Olawsky (1999) and Dakubu (1997) only talk about root-to-suffix harmony and illustrate the distribution of [+/-ATR] vowels in disyllabic words (CVCV) together in the following examples:

A

Feature	Root vowel	Suffix vowel	Example	Gloss
[-ATR]	[a]	[ɪ]	<gbali>	[gbalɪ] 'leg-SG'
	[ɛ]	[ɪ]	<biəri>	[bjɛrɪ] 'day-PL'
	[ɔ]	[ʊ]	<gɔrigu>	[gɔrgʊ] 'sickle'

The suffixes in A, the first set of words have changed in the second set of examples as they are target by harmony. Consider that for [+ATR]

B

[+ATR]	[i]	[u]	<dirigu>	[dirigu] (spoon-SG)
	[i]	[a]	<bia>	[bia] (child-SG)
	[i]	[o]	<chibo>	[tʃibo] (soap-SG)
	[o]	[o]	<polo>	[polo] (side-SG)

Vowel harmony in simplex nouns Olawsky (1999:249).

In Olawsky's illustration of the root-to-suffix harmony above, the [-ATR] vowel in the root attracts the same group or set of vowels. On the other hand, [+ATR] vowel in the root of the syllable attracts the same class of vowels in the suffix. Therefore, the suffix:

- ri becomes rɪ
- li becomes lɪ
- gu becomes gʊ

The set of examples in A, which are [-ATR] vowels, attract [-ATR], while the set of vowels with [+ATR], triggers and attracts the same [+ATR] vowels in the suffix. Examples A and B are used to explain the vowel harmony employed by speakers in the realisation of the features in *table* and *quality*, respectively in chapter seven of this study.

Olawsky (1999) also discusses vowel length in vowel harmony. He observes that when a root of a word contains a long vowel, and suffix of the same word contains a [+ATR] vowel /i/, harmony is not possible, but when root vowel is /ε/ or a short vowel with /i/ in the suffix, vowel harmony is possible. He exemplifies it as shown in the examples below:

[ATR]	length and harmony
<kpééni>	[kpé:ni] ‘important’
<néli >	[néli] ‘millstone’
<gòòní’>	[gò:ní] ‘a wall’
<gólí>	[gólí] ‘moon’

Olawsky (1999:250)

In addition to root-to-suffix harmony, Hudu (2010) goes a step further to discuss the root-targeted-harmony (suffix-root harmony), which is not elaborately discussed by Dakubu (1997) and Olawsky (1999). Nonetheless, Hudu (2010) shares the same view with Olawsky in his explanation of the root-to-suffix harmony that in the root-to-suffix harmony, the trigger is either [-ATR] or [+ATR] vowels, and the targets are vowels of the same sets. The trigger for suffix-to-root harmony, as Hudu illustrates, is the low mid-vowels (e and o), and their targets are mid-low [+ATR] vowels (cf Hudu, 2010; 2016). Below is an illustration of the suffix-to-root harmony with [+ATR] mid vowels (e and o):

[-ATR] ‘roots’	suffix-to-root harmony (rt = root, af = affix wrd = word)
[dór] rt tí]af ‘diseases’	[dór] ó] af ‘a disease’
[tʃòr]rt tî] af ‘blows’	[tʃòr] ê] af ‘a blow’
[bé]rt hí] af ‘shins’	[bé] é] af ‘a shin’

Hudu (2010:164).

As seen, the suffixes [e and o] in the second set of examples trigger [e and o] in the roots, which were [ɔ and ε] in the first set of examples. We will refer to suffix-to-root harmony to explain the realisation of the feature in the variable *also* in Dagomba’s use of the epenthetic vowel, /i/ and the /o/ in the root syllable of the variable in DagbE.

Moreover, Hudu observes that in the Dagbani [ATR] harmony system, [+ATR] dominates the [-ATR] value of [ATR]. The author adds that a syllable root with a high-front vowel triggers [+ATR] harmony with other vowels in the harmonic domain. The final mid

vowel in a domain also triggers advancement to preceding vowels, which is also [+ATR], as shown above. He, therefore, notes that in Dagbani, Harmony is controlled by [+ATR] vowel height feature allowed by only slightly different vowels. For example:

- a. [dór] ó] the suffix vowel, o triggers [+ATR] o in the root.
- b. [diri] gu] the root vowel, i triggers [+ATR] u in the suffix
- c. [ko] re] the suffix vowel, e triggers [+ATR] o in the root

Hudu (2010:184)

The word in ‘a’ in its plural form is [dór] tí], the one in ‘b’ in its plural form is [dírítí], ‘c’ is [kórísí], which through harmony are realised as shown in the above words.

Although vowel harmony is a feature in Dagbani pronunciations, in some instances, it is impossible. Hudu (2010) discusses situations where vowel harmony is impossible. He discovers that if vowels belong to two different roots, harmony is impossible between them, Hudu (2010:184). He further notes that “the pattern of harmony in Dagbani shows that when an opaque consonant lies between a [+ATR] root vowel trigger and an eligible vowel target, the spread of [+ATR] is blocked, and harmony between the trigger and target fails” (Hudu 2010:185). The opaque consonants typically stand between a root /i/ trigger of [+ATR] and a suffix vowel target and/or between a mid-vowel trigger and a root vowel target. Examples of opaque consonants are, l, s, r, (cf Hudu 2010:185). Harmony block usually concerns root-to-suffix harmony in the language, not suffix-to-root (cf Hudu 2010:185). Consider some examples with the opaque consonants:

- l- pili *pili start
 - r- jirigi *jirigi get startled
 - s- jinsi *jinsi houses
- (Hudu, 2010:192)

As indicated in the above examples, harmony is blocked by *l*, *r* and *s* respectively from the root vowel, *i* to the suffix vowels in the three words. This means the suffixes begin with entirely determined consonants (*l*, *r*, and *s*), which simply do not permit the assimilation process. Harmony block explains one of the realisations of the variable *people* where /i/ in the root vowel cannot trigger harmony in the suffix syllable. Hence, the suffix vowel is realised as

/o/ and not /u/. Hudu (2010) also observes that there is no harmony between different lexical root (different word root), for instance:

(rt =root, wd =word, suf = suffix)

[[bɪ]rt.] wd. [[bɛ]rt.-ʔo´]suf.]wd.

*bɪ bɛ-ʔú *bɪ bɛʔó.

Child ugly child ugly

(cf Hudu, 2010:165 emphasis added).

This illustration suggests that there is no harmony from bi (a word/ root) to bɛ in the word bɛʔo´. There is no harmony across word boundaries in the language. Hudu (2010) also discusses the height-conditioned-trigger of harmony in the language. This explains the condition under which harmony occurs. He explains that the relationship between the trigger and the target is essential, as the condition of the trigger is dependent on height. Thus, “the trigger and target must both be specified for [+high] or [-high]” (Hudu 2010:178).

Considering the discussion on vowel harmony in Dagbani, the question one asks is, what influence does vowel harmony exert on Dagomba’s pronunciation of English words? The effects of vowel harmony on Dagomba’s realisation of RP features in words is used to support the analyses of the RP feature, /p/ in *couple, people*, and others in chapter seven.

2.3.2 Phonotactic Restrictions on Some Sounds

This section discusses some occurrences that the phonotactics of Dagbani do not permit. It is observed that as some consonants occur in all phonetic environments, there are other phonetic environments in the language that some sounds do not occur in. For example, Olawsky (1999) reveals that the velar consonants ([k, g, ŋ]) in a CV syllable do not occur before the vowels [e] and [i]. However, it is possible for the phonemes /k, g, ŋ/ to occur before the front vowels in words with CVCV, CVCVN and CV.NCV word structures, as in:

CVCVN

CVCV

CV.NCV

Kɪlɪm ‘to be round’

gɪlɪ ‘to go around’

ŋɪnlɪ ‘without clothes’ or ‘uncovered’

But not in CV syllable structure. Even though Hudu (2010:77) observes that the vowels [i] and [o] occur in three positions, including CVC roots in words with which they occur, there is no word in which [i] succeeds /k/ CVC.

Besides, in CV structure, Hudu (2014) also discovers that [i, o] do not occur in CV words. While Olawsky (1999) identifies consonants and vowels, which do not co-occur in a CV structure, Hudu (2014) discusses vowels that do not occur with any consonant in CV structure.

Olawsky (1999) also posits that a labiovelar, /ŋm/, seldom occurs before the back vowels /o/ and /u/ in Dagbani. Moreover, several of the consonants in the consonants system do not occur before the schwa vowel. About the sound /ŋm/, Olawsky (1999) also posits that it rarely occurs before the back vowels /o/ and /u/ in Dagbani. Moreover, many of the consonants in the consonants system do not occur before the schwa vowel. Conclusively, this could have its effects on speakers' pronunciation of some English words that will set them apart from other users of English. Specifically, reference is made to this section as the RP feature /ɪ/ in the variable *kid* is explained in chapter seven.

2.3.3 Some Co-occurring Vowels and Diphthongs in Dagbani

In the section above, we realised that the phonotactics of Dagbani disfavour some consonants and some vowels from co-occurring in some words. Triphthongs do not occur in Dagbani, and even though diphthongisation is possible in Dagbani, it is also the case that some co-occurring sounds may appear like diphthongs still, their occurrence is due to some phonological processes. The discussion in this section, therefore, concentrates on diphthongs in Dagbani. Some phonological processes also allow some occurrence that appears like a diphthong in the language. For instance, according to the Orthography Committee, 1996 spelling rules, the vowel /ɛ/ or /iɛ/ occurs immediately after the consonants:

sh	as in	shélí	‘something’	‘shiéyú	‘rainy season’
gb	as in	gbèyú/gbièyú	‘forehead’,		
kp	as in	kpé	‘enter’,		
ŋm	as in	ŋmé	‘knock’,		
t	as in	téhi	‘think’,		
l	as in	bíléyù/bíliéyù	‘a newly born child’,		
n	as in	nyébigá	‘a crocodile’,		
	as in	viéli	‘beauty’,		

b as in bíèrí ‘ugly’

See (rule number 1.3 to 3.1.3. of Orthography Report 1996).

This rule may stem from the fact that all Dagbani front vowels undergo the phonological process, palatalization, see (Olawsky, 1999 and Hudu, 2010). “...sounds are said to be palatalized if the point of articulation moves forward the palatal region in some circumstance” (Ladefoged 2006:229).

Therefore, as shown in the above examples, /ɛ/ has undergone palatalization to /iɛ/. /iɛ/ is consequently not a pure diphthong, but it exists as a result of palatalization. Also, according to the committee’s report, /ia/ occurs after *b* as in *bíá* ‘a child’, *sh* as in *shíá* ‘a bee or spirit’, and *t* as in *tíá* ‘a tree’. Also, /ua/ co-occurs with *b*, *t*, and *s* as in the following examples, respectively. *búá* ‘a goat’, *tuá* ‘baobab tree’ and *s* as in *sùá* ‘a knife or a machete’.

In view of the above structures, therefore, vowels *ua*, and *ia* are pure diphthongs in Dagbani. In this case, /ia/ and /ua/, are glides and considered as diphthongs in Dagbani. There are other diphthongs like; *ooi*, *eei*, *aai*, and *uui* in the language. There are no recorded triphthongs in the language. This, therefore, confirms that there are a limited number of diphthongs and no triphthongs in Dagbani. The absence of triphthongs and the limited number of diphthongs in Dagbani support the explanation of the restructuring that Dagbani speakers employ in the realisation of the features in *power*, *hour*, and *oil* in chapter seven.

2.4 The Syntactic and Verbal Systems of Dagbani

The basic syntax of Dagbani and the Dagbani verb forms are discussed in this section. These phenomena are crucial for understanding how the grammatical categories, tense, and aspect are expressed in the Dagbani language. However, owing to how broad the grammatical system is, the discussion is limited to the part of grammar that is of concern to this study. The primary focus is on the Dagbani language's basic syntax, the nature of the Dagbani sentence, the verb ‘be’, the Dagbani verb forms, pre-verbal, aspectual suffixes, and post-verbal particles.

2.4.1 The Syntactic System of Dagbani

Dagbani is an SVO language, and its sentence structure does share similarities with the structure of many languages, but not English. For instance, in Dagbani, the subject usually comes first in an utterance, followed by the verb, then the object or any other element that

forms part of the sentence. Even in interrogatives or yes or no questions, the verb hardly assumes an initial position. Consider these illustrations:

8. Ò chànyà?
 3SG go.PFV
 Is s/he gone?
9. Bè kànáà?
 3PL come.PRFT
 Have they come?
10. Bè nì kànáá?
 3PL FUT Come.PFV
 Will they come?

It is observed that no matter how the *yes* or *no* question is put, hardly will the Dagbani verb come first in sentence construction; it is always the subject first. Tone (distinguishing pitch levels within a word) is an important phenomenon in Dagbani since it helps make semantic distinctions of words. Intonation (distinguishing pitch levels within a phrase, clause, or sentence). In interrogatives, questions with the usual SVO and SV structures have falling intonations, while questions that start with interrogatives, *yà*, ‘where’ *bò* ‘what’, *wúlá* ‘why’, *ɲùní/ɲùn* ‘who/whose/ whom/’, and *dìní/dìn* ‘which’, normally have rising intonations. Sentences expressing indicative mood usually end in rising intonation.

The nature of the Dagbani sentence structure is part of the features that sets the language apart from other languages, especially English. It is observed that the nature of the SVO structure of Dagbani plays a significant role in learners’ understanding of the grammar of the language. For instance, “the S-V-O word order of the Dagbani syntax facilitates the distinction between the two major lexical categories, noun and verb” (Olawsky 1999: 22). As illustrated above, a sentence in the language starts typically with a subject followed by the verb, then the object or other elements like adverbials, for example:

11. Tí kàrìn-dì lá shìkùrú.
 1PL read.IMPV FOC School.
 We attend school. /We are attending school.

In the above sentence, the first linguistic element is a pronoun occupying the first position. The second is the verb, followed by a focus marker and an adverbial. It is usually the case that the subject takes an initial position in a sentence. The verb can take the second, last,

and or other positions but not the first position in a sentence. The only time the Dagbani verb is fronted is when it is in a gerundial use or when it is nominalised. Some examples are:

12. Chán-dí kà ó jè.
 Go.IMPFV FOC 3SG not want
 It is going he s/he does not want.

13. Dúyíbú kà tí náán bórà.
 Cook.IMPFV FOC 1PL ASP want. IMPFV
 It is cooking we would like.

However, it should still be maintained that a verb in the gerundial use ceases to be a verb, as it does not function as a verb in the sentence in which it occurs. In this case, the fact remains that no Dagbani verb occupies the initial position in a sentence.

Also, other elements, including focus markers, emphatic markers, discourse markers, and adverbials, can occupy the second position. This explanation shows that in Dagbani, one of the arch functional features of the verb is that it does not occur in the initial position in a sentence.

Table 2.2 The Nature of the Dagbani Sentence

Subject	Time depth marker	Tense	PFV/IPFV verb base	Discourse particle	Other elements
Ō	Dì	yèn	Cháŋ	mì	Object, adverbial
1SG	TDP0	FUT	go.IPFV	EMPH	
'S/he was about to go.'					

The first part of the sentence, as indicated in Table 2.3, is the subject which is typically occupied by pronouns *tí* 'we,' *bè* 'they,' *ñ* 'I,' *ó* 's/he,' *dí* 'it,' and nominals. The second element in the sentence is aspectual that sometimes marks remoteness distinctions. The third slot is occupied by tense, which a future marker can occupy. The fourth element is reserved for the aspect verb base, usually occupied by the Dagbani perfective and imperfective verb usually a Dagbani 'lexical' verb. The fifth slot of the sentence is a slot for the discourse particles *mì*, focus *lá*, emphatic markers *mí* or *lá*. The sixth, or sometimes the last slot, is for other elements like the object and the adverbial. When there is a determiner in a sentence, it could take the last slot as well.

This means there are instances when the object moves from its original position to occupy the first slot of the sentence. In this case, the focus marker, *ka*, is introduced between the patient

and the agent before the verb. The structure, therefore, becomes OSV. There are also instances where an adverbial can occupy a sentence-initial position. In such constructions, the focus marker is introduced, followed by the subject, and then comes the verb at the final position of the sentence. In that case, the structure ASV is also possible. In a situation where the object or adverbial of a sentence is brought to the initial position as explained, the determiner can occupy the second or last position of the sentence. The following examples illustrate the OSV and the ASV structures respectively in the language:

14. Bía ká ó bú máà.
 Child FOC 3SG.SUB beat.PFV DEF
 It is a child he beat.

15. Sòhàlá ká ó sá kànà
 Yesterday FOC 3SG TDM Come.PFV
 S/he came yesterday.

In sentence (14), the patient (object) occupies the initial position while the agent (subject) comes after the focus particle, *ká*, then comes at the last position, the verb. In number (15), the adverbial comes before the rest in the sentence. It is observed in Dagbani that these two forms of sentences (14) and (15) are generally limited in use, even though they are not wrong to be used. Moreover, Olawsky (1999) assertion confirms the above illustration on the Dagbani sentence when he posits that noun, apart from their typical morphological structure, can be subjects and always occupy the initial part of sentences. In this construction, the movement of an object to the initial position will result in the word order O-S-V (see Olawsky 1999:22). It is the case that when a sentence deviates from the typical SVO structure, a focus marker is introduced (see also Issah 2013). The verb ‘be’ is next on the discussion.

2.4.2 The Verb ‘Bé’ in the Dagbani Language

As an open word class, verbs in Dagbani are numerous and cannot be completely discussed in this study. Therefore, a basic explanation of the two most occurring and common verbs, *nyé*, and *bé*, are considered essential. As Olawsky (1999) indicates, *nyé* is like an English copular verb, ‘is’ and ‘are,’ which express the states of being. Discussing these verbs, one would notice that the copular Dagbani verb *bé* functions as a locative verb. *Bé* is like one of the locative verbs Nam (2012) describes in his study of Syntax-semantics mapping of locative arguments. Nam discusses the locative verb types to include goal locatives, stative locatives, and directional locatives. Nam (2012) observes that as some languages use verbal suffixes to

express spatial properties of locatives, others use unique verb forms and serial verb construction to express these uses. See Nam (2012:473-480).

Dagbani is one of those languages that use special verbs to express the spatial properties of locatives. In Dagbani, the verb *bé* functions as a stative locative as it denotes a point where something happened without location change. The following are sentences illustrating the above copular (*nyé*) and locative (*bé*) verbs:

16. *Ń nyé lá páyà.*
 1SG be FOC woman
 I am a woman.

17. *À nyé lá ò bià.*
 2SG be FOC 1SG.POSS child
 You are my child.

18. *Ń bé lá Germany*
 1SG be.SLOC FOC Germany
 I live in Germany/ I am in Germany/ I stay in Germany.

In sentences 16 and 17, the verb *nyé* is copular, which indicates state of being of the subjects in sentences as it identifies the subjects of the sentences. Therefore, it tells what the subjects are. In sentence 18, the verb *bé* expresses a spatial property of location that is stative. Thus, it indicates the location of the speaker. In this case, the verb *yi* expresses the source location of an argument in Dagbani. Consider the following examples:

19. *Ò yì-lá dàá ná.*
 3SG SOLOC-FOC market DP
 He came from market.

20. *Tí yì-là Màlshèyú ná.*
 1PL SOLOC-FOC Malshegu DP
 We come from Malshegu.

Another use of the Dagbani verb *bé* is like that of the verb *be*. It can be used to describe the state or condition of a person or something (cf Olawsky 1999). In Dagbani, the appropriate verb to use when we ask about the condition of a person is the verb ‘be’. Consider the following illustrations:

21. *Ò bè vényála.*
 3SG ST/CON good

S/he is doing well good.

22. Dì bí bé vényálá.

It NEG ST/CON good

It is doing well.

The Dagbani verb *bé*, as seen in the above sentences, also indicates a state or condition of the subjects in the sentences. It, therefore, confirms that the Dagbani verb *bé* is not only a stative locative verb, but it also indicates the state and/or condition of being of something or a person, as illustrated in the above sentences.

2.4.3 Dagbani Verb Forms

The two Dagbani verb forms that are related to the perfective and imperfective aspects are discussed in this section. This section, therefore, concerns the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspect. It is stated in the introductory chapter that the discussion of the Dagbani verb forms is vital because the influence that occurs is due to the lack of distinction between the grammatical categories and subcategories. As demonstrated in the analysis of chapters five and six, the difference rests on these verb forms, which express the perfective and imperfective aspects of Dagbani. Given that verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns belong to different word classes, they have various morphological realisations. This phenomenon is a prominent distinguishing feature among the word classes. To this notion, Olawsky (1999) confirms that verbs, in general, have morphologically different structures from nouns. He highlights that the Dagbani verb has two forms. They are the perfective and imperfective verb forms. He also maintains that the imperfective verb forms share the same features as the English progressive but can also express habitual meanings. In Comrie's (1978) explanation, the imperfective aspect has to do with the internal temporal structure of a situation and that the imperfectiveness includes habitual and progressive meanings. As explained in Comrie's illustration of aspect in the fourth chapter, the grammar of many languages shows that the imperfective is divided into two parts, namely, habituality and continuousness. In languages with the imperfective aspect or verbal form, a situation expresses both habitual and progressive meaning (cf Comrie 1978:24-28). This is the case in the Dagbani language. In Dagbani, no distinction is made between the progressive and the habitual present.

The other verb form, which expresses the perfective aspect, however, expresses a completed action. Therefore, the perfective aspect comprises the simple past and the perfect (present perfect). The perfective is described as a completed situation and not a complete situation, because it emphasises the situation being completed and terminated at a certain point in time (cf Comrie 1987:18). Given Comrie's explanation of the perfective, Dagbani has a perfective aspect expressed with the perfective verb form. As Olawsky indicates, the present perfect and the simple past are referred to as the perfective (a completed situation). Therefore, the imperfective aspect expresses a situation that is in progress, a situation at the time of speaking, or a situation that holds as a habit. Thus, the imperfective is realised in the present / habitual present and the progressive situations in Dagbani. Thus, the perfective and imperfective aspects are presented in the perfective and imperfective verb forms. The verb forms are realised through the aspectual suffixes and the bare infinitive form of the verb.

Therefore, the subcategories past, perfect, on the one hand, and habitual and progressive, on the other, have a morphological inflection usually referred to as aspectual suffixes. The imperfective and perfective aspects explain the grammatical categories and subcategories in chapters five and six of this study.

In Dagaare, one of the Mabia languages closely related to Dagbani, Dakubu (1989), Bodomu (1997) and Saanchi (2003) observe that the Dagaare verb has two forms. These two forms are the perfective and the imperfective. Instead, the two verb forms seem to be a bit differently expressed from that of the Dagbani language. That is, both the perfective and the imperfective have further divisions of two forms each. In Dagaare, there is a distinction between past/perfect and present/progressive (cf Dakubu 1989) and (Saanchi 2003). Dakubu (1989), for instance, refers to the perfective verb forms as perfective 'A' and perfective 'B', then the imperfective as imperfective 'A' and imperfective 'B'. However, it is not only Dagbani and Dagaare that have these two verb forms. Most of the Mabia languages show a distinction between a perfective and an imperfective verb base.

The subcategories under these grammatical categories (past tense, present perfect, progressive aspect, and the habitual present) can be expressed through the pre-verbal particles, post-verbal particles, and the lexical expressions and lexically composite expressions. The pre-verbal particle is next to be discussed.

2.4.4 Dagbani Pre-Verbal Particles

This part of the chapter discusses the preverbal particles. The preverbal particles occur before verbs in utterances to express imperfective and perfective aspects in Dagbani. The preverbal particles discussed in this section are the time-depth particles; *sá* (an aspectual for yesterday or tomorrow), *dí* (an aspectual for a few minutes or hours ago, basically concerning today), *dáá* (more than day ago); they are used to express tense in the Dagbani. These particles (*dí, sá, dáá*) fall under one of the ways of expressing tense in human language termed as the degree of remoteness in Comrie (1985), remoteness distinctions in Botne (2012), and metrical tense in Bodomo (2001; 2018). This phenomenon suggests that in Dagbani, some of the preverbal particles sometimes express tense and remoteness distinctions. The remoteness distinctions give accurate time specifications between syntactic expressions. The remoteness distinctions have been investigated in some of the Mabia (Gur) languages, namely, Dagaare and Dagbani. Bodomo's (2001) work on the Temporal Systems in Dagaare and Dagbani discovers time-depth particles that mark the degree of remoteness in expressing tense in Dagaare and Dagbani.

The Mabia languages such as Dagaare and Dagbani have additional tense-making systems, which are the time-depth '(Bodomo 2001). These additional time marking systems are part of the preverbal particles. The author posits that tense in the Dagaare, Dagbani, Frafra, Kusaal, Mampruli languages is expressed using a system of preverbal particles, normally occurring with the lexical verb(s) in sentences. He identifies these particles in Dagbani as; *daa* 'more than one day ago, *sà* 'one day away', *dì* 'today'. Also, *yì* 'habitual', *nà* 'still/yet', *yáá* 'once again/ as usual', *díí* 'suddenly/just', *kù* 'future negative', *láh* 'again' (Bodomo 2001: 45). This scholar maintains that these particles are used to express polarity, aspect, and mood in Mabia. Among the verbal particles he identifies are particles that show tense and time-depth, remoteness, and metrical tense. These particles mark remoteness distinctions and tense in Dagbani. This section is referred to in the explanation of the influence of the perfective aspect, especially the marked past on English tense.

While discussing the time-depth particles, Bodomo (2001) observes that in addition to expressing time with the verbal systems, Dagaare and Dagbani, most related languages in the Mabia (Gur) language group, have a system of expressing time in both past and future tenses.

He observes that though both Dagaare and Dagbani have the extended use of the verbal systems to express time, Dagbani instead seems to have a more complicated way of using these verbal systems in locating time than Dagaare. This is because not only do the time-depth particles express time in the past but also these preverbal particles occur with other verb forms to express the degree of remoteness in the future. The author explains that the degree of remoteness, known as the tense metric system, resembles that of Comrie’s observation on the Latinate expressions of the degree of remoteness as in hodiernal, hesternal, and pre-hesternal preverbal particles (cf Bodomo 2001:48; Bodomo 2018; Comrie 1985). Consider the time-depth particles of Dagaare and Dagbani in Table 4 below.

Table 2.3 The Time-depth Particles of Dagaare and Dagbani

Time Depth	Dagaare	Dagbane
Hodiernal	dà	di
Hesternal	zàá	sa
Pre-hesternal	dáá	daa

Source: Bodomo (2001:47)

As indicated in Table 4, Bodomo (2001) identifies the time-depth particles in Dagaare as; *da*, *za*, *daa*, and in Dagbani as; *di*, *sà*, and *dáá*. All are used in metric tense or degree of remoteness that express past tense in these two languages. Bodomo posits that the Latinate hordiernal counterpart in Dagaare, *da*, shows past tense and gives a time specification in the past, specifically in the same day. Comrie (1985) observes a similar occurrence in the Bameleka Dchang language. For detailed information on metric tense in Dagaare, (see Bodomo 2001).

With regard to the metric tense in Dagbani, Bodomo uses the time-depth markers; *di*, *sa*, and *daa*. He explains that the *di* in Dagbani is used to express past situations within the day. However, unlike its Dagaare counterpart, it can also be used to express the future time and today, (see also Botne 2012). The following examples illustrate the use of the *di* particle in both the past and future times:

23. N̄ dí chàŋ shikúru zúnjó.
 1SG TDP go.PFV school today

I went to school today.

24. *Ń* *dín* *chán* *shikúru zúnó*.
1SG FUT.TDP go.IMPV school today
I will just go to school today.

(Bodomo 2001:13)

The particle *dí* in the future is an exception as it does not just mark future time in the day. It expresses situations in the near future that may even go beyond today. This particle may not mark remoteness in the future.

The next particle he discusses is the hesternal particle *sà*. Also, the particle *sà* expresses the past before today and not before yesterday. It is a past situation that holds on only yesterday. It can also be used to express the future time for only a day after today. That is the future time that holds on only tomorrow. For example:

25. *Ń* *sà* *chán shikúru*.
1SG PS.TDP go.PFV school
I went to school yesterday.

26. *Ń* *sán* *chán* *shikúru*.
1SG FUT.TDP go.IMPV school
I will go to school tomorrow.

(Bodomo, 2001:13 emphasis added)

The last metric tense particle in Dagbani is the *dáá* particle. Bodomo explains *dáá* (pre-hesternal) as a metric tense marker that marks past after yesterday and beyond, and as well marks future after tomorrow and beyond. The following are some examples:

27. *Ń dáá* *chán shikúru*.
1SG PS.TDP go.PFV school
I went to school two or more days ago.

28. *Ń dáán* *chán* *shikúru*.
1SG FUT.TDP go.PFV school.
I will go to school in two or more days.

(Bodomo 2001:13)

As demonstrated, *dì* refers to the past within the day and not before today in the Dagbani. *Dí* is, therefore, equivalent to the Dagaare *da*. Bodomo observes that the Dagbani time-depth markers instead perform more functions than that of Dagaare. For instance, the hodiernal particle *dì* expresses past time within today and future time (not necessarily within the day). Thus, the vowel in *dí* lengthens rapid speech to *díín*, which is *dì+ nì* when expressing future time with *dì*. The time-depth particle, the hesternal *sá*, is also used to express the future time that does not go beyond tomorrow. In marking the future time, it also becomes *sân*, which is *sá+ní*. The pre-hesternal *dáá* also expresses the past after yesterday and has a future version that starts after tomorrow and beyond. It is realised in the future illustration as *dáàn*, that is, *dáá+ nì*. *Ní* is a future marker, so when used with the time-depth particles, they tend to mark the specific times in the future and not the past. This, therefore, explains why *díín*, *sân*, and *dáàn* express the future in Bodomo's explanation. It should also be borne out that *díín*, *sân*, and *dáàn* are used in rapid speech, which is mostly realised in written Dagbani as *dí nì*, *sá nì*, and *dáá nì*, respectively. Without argument, it is established that when these are added to an utterance, that utterance illustrates remote tense in Dagbani without ambiguity. Thus, speakers can accurately mark past and future tenses with the time-depth markers, as seen in the sentences above. Although the above preverbal particles mark tense in the Dagbani, they are not strictly obligatory as the English morphological time markers. There are other ways of expressing time; nonetheless, this section is referred to in chapter five to explain the influence of the Dagbani perfective form on English use. Below is a discussion on a set of aspectual modifiers that also mark time in Dagbani.

2.4.5 Dagbani Aspectual Modifiers

Another work that discusses preverbal particles regarding tense expression in one of the Mabilia languages is Atintono (2005). Atintono's work aims to examine the aspectual modifiers in the Gurene language. He maintains that the aspectual modifiers indicate whether the situations denoted by the verbs are completed, ongoing, or involve internal complications. The discussion of aspectual modifiers as part of expressing time in Gurene is considered important in this study. Dagbani and Gurene belong to one language group with over 50% intelligibility. This means they share some linguistic similarities in both grammar and phonology. Therefore, it is indicated that most of the preverbal particles used to express time

or aspect in these two languages are similar. In this case, each set of these preverbal particles in one language has a counterpart in the other language. Therefore, the preverbal particles are worth discussing as each preverbal particle or aspectual plays an essential role in expressing time to which reference is made in chapters five and six of this study. It is, therefore, not out of place to look at verbal particles in Gureñ even though the investigation concerns Dagbani.

Some preverbal particles Atintono discusses are the aspectual modifiers *pugum* and *pilum* of Gureñ. He observes that the Gureñ preverbal particle, *pugum*, indicates a completed action where the agent in the sentence does not intentionally perform an act to hurt. This particle, *pugum*, has a counterpart known as *pilum*. He makes clear that *pilum* is also a modifier used to mark a completed action. *Pilum* is, however, used to express a situation that happens before its stipulated time. The author interprets both as completed situations. They only differ a bit semantically. That means the sentences could be interpreted, for example, as either perfect or past. Thus, these particles can be used to mark time either in the present perfect or in the simple past. In this case, the perfective aspect. For examples of this usage, (see Atintono 2005:4-5).

Another particle Atintono discusses is the Gureñ pre-verbal particle *yeem*. This, he says is realised as *weem* in Bongo where another dialect of Gureñ is spoken. According to him, it is used in statements where the speaker attaches no seriousness to what is said. One example is:

29. A yeem soke fu yele
 S/he ASP ask 2SG case
 ‘S/he only asked about you’
 (Atintono 2005:109).

In addition, the aspectual modifier *tábéle* is part of Atintono’s (2005) investigation on the aspectual modifiers. According to him, this aspectual can be used in events about the past (a completed action) in Gureñ. He refers to this aspectual as an affirmative aspectual that expresses a historic past meaning.

Moreover, *nàn* and *kelum* are part of the enumerated aspectual by Atintono. He explains that they express a continuing existence of conditions and activities, respectively in Gureñ. The use of *nàn* with a low tone involves situations or events that are basic conditions, and the particle *kelum* involves situations that are activities. That means *nàn* and *kelum* are aspectual

that involve the imperfective use in the language. However, as *nàn* involves a condition regarding activities or events, *kelum* consists of the action itself. Others are the particles *ná*, *nán*, and *yà'àm*.

The above preverbal particles Atintono discusses also exist in Dagbani and are expressed almost the same way as they are expressed in Gurenɛ. For instance, the counterpart of the Gurenɛ preverbal particles, *pugum* and *pilum*, is the preverbal particle *pún* in Dagbani. In Dagbani, the particle *pún* also denotes a situation that happens before its stipulated time. Additionally, it can denote a completed situation in Dagbani. Therefore, Dagbani *pún* combines the two functions of the Gurenɛ aspectual *pugum* and *pilum*.

Alhassan (1988) also discusses preverbal particle *pún* in Dagbani. He states that *pún* expresses completed action. Thus, his illustration also shows that *pún* and the bare infinitive verb form expresses a completed action. One other important feature Alhassan identifies about *pún* is that when it occurs with the time-depth *dí*, it expresses the past perfect in Dagbani. In this case, it forms part of the expression of *plu* perfect in Dagbani. This means that the aspectual *pún* can express accurate time specifications when expressing tense in Dagbani; or remoteness distinction since it expresses distance past.

Although Alhassan's (1988) explanation of this particle is slightly different from that of Atintino's illustration of *pugum* in Gurenɛ, there are still more similarities between *pún*, and *pugum* and *pun* use. For instance, they both help express a completed action. Atintono's *pilum* in his illustrations indicates perfective sentences and not necessarily past perfect. Also, Atintono's explanation does not include distant past. However, distance past forms part of Alhassan's (1988) explanation of the feature. Some examples of the use of *pún* expressing the present perfect situation in Dagbani are:

30. [́] pún chàŋ.
 1SG ASP go.PFV
 I have already gone.

31. Bè pún gbíhí.
 3PL ASP leep.PFV
 They have already slept.

32. [́] pún dùxì.
 1SG ASP cook.PFV

My mother has already cooked.
(Alhassan, 1988:28)

The preverbal article *pilum* in Gurene is also illustrated in Alhassan's exemplification of *pun* in the Dagbani, thus expressing a situation happening before its stipulated time. However, to describe a remote past, consider the sentence below:

33. Ò dì pún dì ká nàà̀yì pà̀à̀gì.
3SG TDP ASP eat.PFV FOC finish arrive.PFV
He had finish eating before he arrived.
(Alhassan 1988).

This means that when the time-depth markers are combined with the aspectual *pun*, a temporal distance in the past is created in Dagbani. This is because, if the combination of *di* (hodiernal), a past marker within the day, and *pún* express distant past in the day, then the particle *pún* plus the other past markers, hesternal and the pre-hesternal that express pluperfect in Dagbani, will express temporal distance within those periods (yesterday and a day before yesterday), respectively. Consider some examples are:

34. Ó sá tì yḕn káná kà n pún chà̀n.
3SG TDM before FUT come.PFV FOC 1SG ASP go.PFV
Before he came (yesterday), I had left.
35. Ó dáá tì yḕn káná kà n pún chà̀n.
3SG TDM before FUT come.PFV FOC 1SG ASP go.PFV
Before s/he came two or more days ago, I had left.

The use of *pún* in sentences 30-35 shows that the activities or situations happened before their stipulated time. Thus, the speaker did not expect the completion of the situation at that time. However, 33 to 35 have additional meaning; they express the degree of remoteness.

From the two scholars, the verbal particles, *pún*, *pugum*, and *pilum*, as the same verbal particles in these two Mabilia languages, express time in the perfective (a completed action). Even in Dagbani, it can also occur with different verbs to express habitual and progressive meanings. It, however, still involved a preconceived intention or decision before the actual time of the situation. Therefore, the particle is involved in situations that express the two grammatical categories (perfective and imperfective aspects), depending on the verbs with which they occur. We refer to this aspectual in the analysis of the perfective and the

imperfective in chapters five and six. Moreover, the preverbal particles *yeem* and *weem* have their counterpart in Dagbani. The aspectual '*kúli*'/*kúl* is their counterpart.

In a rapid speech, the last vowel sound is deleted; in this case, it is realised as *kúl*. These verbal particles also indicate that the speaker just makes a statement without any seriousness attached. In Dagbani, it can be part of a past, habitual/progressive, and even in the future time, depending on which verb it occurs. Some examples of its uses in Dagbani are:

36. *Ń kúlí bóhì-rì mì.*
 1SG ASP ask.IMPFV EMP
 I am only/ just asking.

37. *Ń kúlí bóhì mí.*
 1SG ASP ask.PFV EMP
 I only asked.

The above sentences indicate that this particle can help express time depending on the verb form, either in the past or present. Also, Gurene aspectual *tábéle* has a counterpart in Dagbani known as *shírí*. It performs the same function *tábéle* performs in Gurene. Thus, it is also an affirmative aspectual. This particle *shírí* as an affirmative verbal particle can express the past, the present, and the future times in Dagbani. Examples of *shírí* in the past tense are seen in the following sentences:

38. *Páyá màà shírí dòyì bíá*
 Woman DEF ASP give.birth.IMPFV child
 The woman indeed gave birth to a child.

Translated from Gurene (Atintono 2005).

Shírí, as a verbal particle in Dagbani, is more complex as it can be used in the future and the habitual present. *Shírí*, therefore, is used in situations involving the past tense and situations involving other tenses. It is the case that the above sentence expresses a past situation in the language, but the aspectual, *shírí* is just performing an affirmative function. This means that the aspectual *shírí* does not primarily mark tense, instead, it affirms the verbal action in a sentence. This explanation suggests that it can still be part of the habitual or progressive situation and a completed situation in the language. Moreover, depending on the main verb, the above sentence can express past, present, habitual, etc.

Another aspectual marker in Dagbani that has its equivalence in Gurene is *ná*. Its aspectual counterparts are *nàn* and *kelum* in Gurene. Like the Gurene aspectual, the Dagbani aspectual *ná* also expresses the continuity of a situation, whether it is an activity or a condition. This aspectual combines the two functions associated with situations related to conditions, and activities connected to the aspectual *nàn* and *kelum* in Gurene.

Examples:

39. Ò sà nà òrì mí.
 3SG TDM ASP Eat.IMPF EMP
 He was still eating yesterday.

40. Dì nà màhà.
 3SG. INAM ASP wet
 It is still wet.

The aspectual *nà* in the above two sentences expresses the continuity of a situation that depicts activity in sentence (39) and a condition in sentence (40).

This aspectual modifier *nà* still performs an additional function in Dagbani. It performs the same function that the Gurene aspectual *nà* performs. Thus, it occurs with Dagbani verbs to express a progressive/habitual meaning. This section is specially referred to in explaining the influences of the imperfective aspect on Dagomba's use of English tense and aspect. Consider the following sentence:

41. Ò nà kòhìrì shínkááfá.
 3SG HAB sell.IMPFV rice
 She still sells rice/She is still selling.

Nà can also be used to mark the immediate past in the Dagbani language. Thus, it marks a past situation that expresses the present relevance of a past situation. An example is:

42. Ò nà yìyìsì mí
 3SG ASP get-up.PFV DCP
 He has just got up.

This sentence expresses an immediate past tense; it expresses a situation with the present relevance of a past situation. With the above illustrations, the aspectual *nà* performs multiple functions concerning expressing time in Dagbani. The particle *nì* explained in the Gurene language is also used in Dagbani as a future time marker.

Another particle is the Gurene particle *ya'am*; its counterpart in the Dagbani language is the verbal particles *yààn* or *yáá*. *Yààn* is used in future expressions, while *yáá* is used in non-future expressions. In this case, *yáán* = *yáá* + *yèñ* or *nì* (future markers).

Speakers, therefore, use *Yààn* in a rapid speech. This preverbal particle in Dagbani also expresses a situation where the agent in the sentence involves him/herself in a habitual negative act or even a positive act. The following sentence illustrates the above explanation:

43. Dóó lá yáá bù ò páyà.
 Man DEF ASP beat.PFV 3SG.POSS woman
 The man as usual, has beaten his wife.

The above sentence expresses a situation that is a negative habit.

Atintono's aspectual in Gurene also exist in Dagbani. The aspectual modifiers occur anterior to verbs in sentences. They are modifiers that help bring out the intended expressions and meaning in sentences in these two languages. In most of the illustrations, there are indications that the distinction between past and the present perfect and progressive/habitual with these preverbal particles are sometimes almost impossible, especially in the Dagbani. Therefore, most of the sentences are still open to two grammatical sub-categories. Thus, a sentence expressing either both past and perfect or present and progressive. This may have an influence on speakers' use of another language that has distinctions among the grammatical sub-categories. The discussion in this section serves as a reference to chapters five and six to explain the influence of the imperfective and perfective forms on the English Dagomba's speak.

2.4.6 Lexical Expressions and Lexically Composite Expression

Apart from the time depth particles and the aspectual modifiers, another way in which time is expressed in Dagbani is through the lexical expressions and lexically composite expression. They are normally time adverbials used to express tense in Dagbani. The lexically composite expressions include *gólí dìn gàrìlá* (last month), *àsìbá ñó* (this morning), *Bákòì dìn kànná* (next week), *dálí lá nì* (two days ago), *dààntáí lá* (three days ago) among others; and lexical expressions; *bìeyúní* (tomorrow), *Púmpóñò* (now), *zúñó* (today), *dálí* (two days-time), *dààntáí* (three days-time). Some of these time adverbials also sometimes mark remoteness distinctions in Dagbani.

Through the adverbials, sometimes, an accurate time specification is expressed in Dagbani. Hollingsworth (1991) observes the same feature in the Mofu-Gudur language, a language spoken in Cameroon. The author observes that the verb phrase in the Mofu-Gudur language does not morphologically mark tense. The language resorts to using the time adverbials to express future, past, progressive, and habitual meanings (cf Hollingsworth 1991:10).

The lack of distinction among the grammatical subcategories, specifically between past and perfect, the habitual and progressive in Dagbani, is because the unmarked verb phrase has no tense on its own. Hollingsworth (1991) also observes and indicates a similar occurrence in Mofu- Gudur. Comrie (1985) observes the use of lexically (simple and complex expressions) or time adverbials as tense markers in tenseless languages. In Dagbani, a grammatical subcategory that is not marked with the time adverbials, or time-depth particles, can be open to more than one grammatical category (past, present, or future specification) in the language. Hence, the time adverbials are used to mostly express past and present tenses independently within the various grammatical subcategories. The following are some examples of the time adverbials (lexically composite and lexical expressions) and how they express time within the various subcategories of tense:

44. Ò chàni lá dàá bièrúkàm.
 3SG go.IMPFV FOC market every day.ADV.HAB
 S/he goes to market every day.

45. Ò chàni dàá zúnó.
 3SG go.IMPFV market today.ADV.FUT
 S/he goes to market today.

46. Sòhàlá mää kà ó dòyí.
 ADV. DEF FOC 3SG.SUBJ give birth.PFV
 S/he gave birth yesterday.

47. Púmpónò, ò dì-rá
 ADV.PROG 3SG eat.IMPFV
 Now, s/he is eating.

48. Ò silin-di lá maa náá sáhákàm.
 3SG praise.IMPFV FOC DEF chief ADV.HAB
 S/he praises the chief every day.

49. Ò zò-yá dállá nì.
3SG run-away.PFV ADV
S/he ran away two days ago.

50. O go-ya daantali la.
3SG travel.PFV ADV.PS FOC.
S/he travelled three days ago.

As illustrated, the above sentences contain different time adverbials that help express time across all the grammatical subcategories of tense and aspect without ambiguity. For example, adverbials in sentences (44) and (48) express the habitual meaning, but number (45) expresses the future time, while (46), (49), and (50), on the other hand, express the simple past tense. It is only (47) which expresses both progressive and habitual meanings.

Examining the sentences, one would realise that apart from (47), none of the sentences opens itself to two grammatical subcategories; one sentence expresses both past and perfect or progressive and the habitual present. Therefore, it is obvious that using the time adverbials and time-depth markers, one can differentiate among the sub-categories of tense when time is expressed in Dagbani. Because rigidity is not given preference, the time adverbials express remoteness distinctions because they mark specific time in the time expressions (cf Comrie 1985). The lexically (composite and simple expressions) is referred to in explaining Dagomba's use of the perfective form relative to marked past in chapter five of this study.

2.4.7 Dagbani Aspectual Suffixes and Post-Verbal Particles

The aspectual suffixes and the post-verbal particles also play a role in time expressions in Dagbani. The aspectual suffixes and the post-verbal particles normally occur posteriorly on the Dagbani lexical verbs when we express time. The aspectual suffixes are normally morphemes (suffixes) that occur with the lexical verbs to give sentences specific interpretations. Practically, these aspectual suffixes change the verb forms to either mark a perfective or imperfective aspect in sentences. Additionally, the post-verbal particles are normally just discourse particles and focus markers. Sometimes, they occur as emphatic markers in the sentences. More so, the suffixes may or may not mark a particular subcategory

of tense in utterances. This group of aspectual suffixes identified as; *-dá* (*-rá, -ná, -tá*), *-dì*, (*-rì, -nì, -tì*), and *-yá*. *mí* and *-lá* are normally considered as postverbal particles,⁶ see also Olawsky (1999). The bare infinitive forms (zero verbal particle verbs) of the Dagbani verbs express Dagbani perfective and imperfective situations. These particles and the bare infinitive forms of the verbs do not express one subcategory: present/habitual or progressive, past, or present perfect. Therefore, this phenomenon forms the foundation of the influence because Dagomba cannot make this distinction as they speak English. We will look at how each particle or aspectual operates in the language, starting from the particle *mí* and *lá* and will refer to this part of the chapter in chapters five and six of this study.

2.4.8 The Post Verbal-Particles *mí* and *lá*

The particles *-mí* and *lá* are discussed in this section. The particle *-mí*, for instance has been investigated by some scholars, including Wilson (1972) and Alhassan (1988), Schwarz (2005), Olawsky (1999). In Alhassan's (1988) unpublished study on Dagbani for Wider Communication, he claims that when the suffixes; *-dìmí*, *-rìmí*, *-mí*, and *nìmí* occur with the main Dagbani verb forms. They express the progressive meaning. Therefore, he insists that: *bòhìndìmí* means 'learning', *chìmdìmí* means 'frying,' *dìrìmí* means 'eating,' *sùrìmí* means 'bathing,' *mòndìmí* means 'stirring' and *zèrí* 'standing,' in English. This assertion suggests that Alhassan limits Dagbani progressive meaning to the progressive aspect in English, where the progressive tense is limited in meaning and function. Thus, the progressive expresses exclusively the progressive meaning and nothing else. It also means that Alhassan's (1988) assertion does not include the habitual use as one of the expressions of the progressive meaning in Dagbani.

It should be noted that relating *mí* to just the progressive aspect is not always the case in Dagbani in view of what makes up Dagbani imperfectiveness. The imperfective comprises both the progressive and the habitual meaning in Dagbani, and *mi* usually functions as an

⁶ *mí* and *-lá* are particles because they have additional meanings as separate entities from the verb.

emphatic marker in sentences. Thus, depending on the context in which the particle *mí* occurs, it can be involved in a sentence that illustrates a habitual meaning in Dagbani. The particle *mí* is even part of a perfective construction in the language, as seen in the above scholars' illustrations. It can be added that Alhassan's (1988) explanation of the particle *mí* is influenced by the expression of the progressive in English. One feature that, however, runs through Alhassan's (1988) expression of the suffix *mí* is that it neither permits an object nor an adverbial to occur after it in any context it occurs. It also emphasises the situation in each expression.

Contrary to Alhassan (1988) claims are Olawsky (1999) and Schwarz (2005) discussions of *mí*. These scholars assert that this particle is an emphatic and focus marker in the Mabia group of languages. Schwarz (2005), for instance, observes that this post-verbal particle occurs in the Gur languages as an affirmative, emphatic, and focus marker. Referring to Wilson's (1972) unpublished work on the particle, Schwarz says it is used in statements as a sign of surprise and determination to do something. She also states that *mí* is used to correct or emphasize a point in an utterance.

Another vital feature of the particle *mí* Schwarz identifies is that it is found in the imperfective use that expresses a progressive action. The author, however, maintains that the *mí* particle is not a progressive marker in the language. Besides, Olawsky (1999) makes a similar observation about the particle. Olawsky states that *mí* is typically found in imperfective, intransitivity construction, and the word-final position in a sentence. However, it is not only an object that is not allowed to occur after *mí* in an utterance, *mí* occurs in sentence-final position and does not allow an object or adverbial to occur after it, see also (Olawsky 1999) and (Issah 2015). Some examples of its use are:

51. Ò dì-rì mí.
 3SG eat.IMPFV EMP.
 S/he is eating.

52. Ò tù má mì.
 3SG insult.PRFV 1st.OBJ EMP
 S/he insulted me.

The particle *mí* in the imperfective and perfective sentences, 51 and 52, respectively, emphasize the situations, *eating* and *insulting*. It neither necessarily expresses the imperfective

nor the perfective aspects in the sentences, but it cannot be left out in these perfective and imperfective constructions. It is indicated that after the particle *mí*, no object or adverbial occurs. Therefore, it is a completive particle in the Dagbani, and a sentence can be ungrammatical without it in this context.

In this case, agreeing with (Issah 2013; Olawsky 1999; Schwarz 2005; Wilson 1972), the particle does not necessarily mark the imperfective aspect but shows that *mí* functions as a completive particle in the language. Also, its use just emphasises or strongly affirms a point in an imperfective or a perfective construction. Consider the following sentences:

53. Ò dì mí.
 3SG eat.PFV EMP
 He ate / he has eaten.

54. N̄ yɛ̀n cháŋ mí.
 1SG FUT. Go.IMP EMP.
 I will go.

55. Ò shèrì mí.
 3SG sew.IMPFV EMP
 S/he sews/ S/he is sewing.

The particle *mí* is involved in a perfective, future, and imperfective use in the above sentences. This is a confirmation that it does not mark any specific tense. It also signifies the function of being a completive particle; it introduces another function of it in 53. That is, it emphasizes the situation, eaten. In 54, it is affirming or showing the determination of the speaker to perform an act. On the other hand, 55 expresses emphasis. It should be noted that distinguishing between emphatic *mí* and affirmative *mí* is contextual.

The particle *lá* as discussed by Olawsky (1999) and Dakubu (2000), it is another particle with varied uses in Dagbani. Olawsky (1999), for example, attributes the particle *lá* to the function of a focus marking and definiteness in Dagbani. Moreover, in Dakubu's notes on the particle *lá* in the North-Western Oti-Volta languages, *lá* has many functions in Guruni. Apparently, 'its meaning seems to be related to definiteness, and new information or focus' (Dakubu, 2000:4). Dakubu maintains that out of the different functions of the particle *lá* in

Guruni, tense marking is the only one that *lá* cannot perform. The particle *lá* in Dagbani is not entirely different in terms of its function from *lá* in Guruni. As such, there may be some differences, but they are not visible enough to overshadow the similarities of *lá* in the two languages.

However, some studies on *lá* only associate it with the progressive situation in Dagbani. For instance, Mohammed (2006) implies in his book for Teacher Training College's Students that *lá* is used to express past and continuous situations. Some examples he gives include:

56. Bè dàrì lá nèmə̀.
 3PL buy.IMPFV FOC things
 They are buying things.

57. Sule chàṅ lá ò bá yíṅà
 Sule go.PFV FOC 3SG.OBJ father's house
 Sule went to his father's house.

(Mohammed 2006:28).

He implies that the post-verbal particle *lá* in sentences (56) and (57) expresses the simple past and progressive situations, respectively. Contrary to (Mohammed 2006) assertion, the interpretation of sentence (56) and (57) shows that the particle *lá* is a focus marker, or it may present a piece of new information in the sentences as explained by Olawsky (1999), Dakubu (2000). Issah's (2013) description of the particle *lá* reveals that its function goes beyond that of a focus marker. Issah demonstrates that it is a presentational focus marker, or it presents a piece of new information in a sentence.

In the discussion of the particle *lá*, Olawsky (1999), Dakubu (2000), and Issah (2013) draw the same conclusion that *lá* is not a tense marker. This assertion suggests this particle is only part of the imperfective and the perfective aspect to perform the functions enumerated in the above discussion, but not to mark tense.

Based on the conclusion drawn from the discussion of Dakubu (2000) and Olawsky (1999), Issah (2013) on *lá*, Mohammed's (2006) illustrations on *lá* in the above sentences shows that *lá* is not a definite article, even though it could function as a definite article. Also, it does not significantly mark imperfective or perfective aspect. However, it does perform the functions of a focus marker, or it introduces a new information focus in the above sentences.

Although Mohammed (2006), Dakubu (2000), and Olawsky (1999) discuss the particle *lá*, Dakubu (2000), Olawsky (1999), and Issah's (2013) assertions are worth agreeing with because they give accurate and more precise use of the particle. The uses of the above particles are referred to in analysis chapters five and six of this study.

2.4.9 The Aspectual Suffixes *-dá*, *-dí*, and *-yá*

Before we consider discussing how the aspectual suffixes *-dá*, and *-dí* function in Dagbani, it is expedient one elaborates a little on their occurrence in the language. The aspectual suffixes, *-dá*, and *-dí* in Dagbani comprise other morphemes *-rá*, *-tá*, *-ná* *-rì*, *-nì*, and *-tì*. According to Olawsky (1999), this allomorphic variation results from the phonological structure of the root of the verb with which it occurs. This explanation suggests that depending on the type of verb, these five suffixes can occur in place of the particle *-dá* or *-dí*, given that *-dí* and *-dá* can be regarded as the other phonological underlying forms. The main reason being that [r] is an allophone of /d/ (Olawsky 1999: 102). He reaffirms that these verbal suffixes occur after some specific consonant sounds or suffixes that end some verbs to express an imperfective aspect in a sentence. Therefore, *-dí* sets the basis for *-rì*, *-tì*, and *-nì*, while *-dá* sets for *-rá*, *-tá*, and *-ná*. It should be noted that the *-nì* suffix usually occurs with verbs ending in the syllable *lí* or with the syllable root *l*. When this happens, there is a deletion of the whole syllable, *lí*, and lengthening of the last vowel before the deleted syllable. For example, *kálí* 'count' to *kààní* 'counting/counts,' *kólí* 'sweep' to *kòòní* 'sweeping/sweeps,' *dólí* 'follow' to *dòòní* 'following/follows.' Also, since *-ná* is used in similar construction, then neither an object nor an adverbial is required as in *kààná*, *kòòná*, *dòòná*, respectively. We conclude that *-ná* is a completive allomorphic variant and *-nì* is a particle of an obligatory object or adverbial, see also (Olawsky, 1999). He also makes clear that the suffix *-rì* occurs after the root syllable *b*, *ɣ*. The particle *-dí* occurs after the root syllable *m*, *ŋ*, and even *n* and then the suffix *-tì* after the root syllable /r/. Consider the following illustrations:

58. Nààwúní ń-nám-dí shèlikàm.

God DCP-create.IMPFV everything

God creates everything/ God is creating everything.

59. Ò bòbì-rí bóbígá.

3SG wea.IMPFTV scarf.

S/he is wearing/ S/he wears scarf.

60. Máchélè ń-kúrí-tì sùhì, pá nàkòhá
Blacksmith DCP-manufacture.IMPFV knife not butcher.
It is the black smith who manufactures knives, not the butcher.

The underlined parts of sentences 58 – 60 show the root suffixes with which the end suffixes; *-dì*, *-rì*, and *-tì* respectively occur. Below are some examples of the other functions of the other morphemes and their allomorphic variants for imperfective use.

61. Ò kòò-nì dúú máà.
3SG sweep.IMPFV room DEF
S/he is sweeping the room/ s/he sweeps the room.

62. Ò kòò-ná.
3SG sweep.IMPFV
S/he is sweeping. Or S/he Sweeps.

As seen, the sentence with *-nì* attached to the verb ends with an object. The sentence can also end with an adverbial. The verb ending with the particle *ná* ends neither with an object nor with an adverbial. Moreover, Olawsky (1999) explains that the perfective aspect is not marked by any morpheme. Still, the imperfective aspect is marked by the suffix *-dì* and its variants *-rì*, *-nì*, and *tì*, and the suffix *-dá* as a potential imperfective marker. This section sets to explain the imperfective use in chapter six of this study.

Mohammed (2006) claims that depending on the type of verb; the habitual present is marked with the addition of the suffixes *-rá* and *-dá*. Contrary to Mohammed's (2006) view is Issah's (2015) and Adam's (2013) illustrations of their respective studies with sentences pertaining to this phenomenon. These scholars demonstrate that the progressive and habitual aspects are marked with the same suffix *-dá* or *-dì*. The above views are enough for one to conclude that there is a division among these scholars about using these particles to express the imperfective aspect in the language since Mohammed's view is different from the other three scholars. That notwithstanding, agreeing with Issah (2015), Adam (2013), and Olawsky (1999), I establish that the following sentences express both habitual and progressive (imperfective) situations:

63. Dì kùm-dá.
 3SG sound.IMPFV
 It sounds/ it is sounding

64. Ò nìŋ-dì lí.
 3SG do.IMPFV 3SG.INAM
 S/he does it/ s/he is doing it.

There is no better way to interpret these sentences than interpreting them as both progressive and habitual. Dagbani is part of those languages that do not differentiate the progressive from habitual construction. The subcategories under the imperfective are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes. Comrie (1978) explains that habituality is considered a distinct case of imperfectiveness, where imperfectiveness includes habitual and progressive meanings. Comrie (1978), however, maintains that a situation can be habitual but will not include a progressive meaning. Against this backdrop, Comrie warns that defining the progressive aspect as a continuous situation lumps the whole of imperfectiveness in the progressive definition. In this case, the progressive meaning is defined as ‘imperfective that is not occasioned by habituality’ (Comrie 1978:33).

Moreover, there is another feature of the imperfective suffixes *-dì* and *-dá* worth noting. According to Olawsky (1999), the suffix *-dì*, for instance, can be followed by other particles *lá* and *mí* focus and emphatic markers, respectively. Thus, when the suffix *-lá* occurs after the particle *-dì*, it is obligatory for an adverbial or an object to come after it because the particle *lá* introduces a focus, which needs to be included in the sentence, the sentence to be grammatically correct. However, when any main verb occurs with both the *-dì* suffix and the suffix *mí*, the construction becomes intransitive. With the suffix *-dì* and *la* together, a sentence requires a focus, an object, or an adverbial. If this requirement is not met, a sentence becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following sentences:

65. Ò sà dì lá sàým.
 3SG TDP eat.PFV FOC food
 S/he ate food yesterday.

66. Ò sà dì-rì mí.
 3SG TDP eat.IMPFV EMP

S/he was eating yesterday.

67. Tì bìrì-tì mí.
1PL sow.IMPV EMP
We are sowing/ we sow.

68. Tí bìrì-tì lá símà.
1PL sow.IMPV FOC groundnut
We are sowing groundnuts.

The aspectual suffixes, *-dì*, and *-dá* perform the same function as their variants discussed above. However, contrary to *-dì*, *-dá* does not allow any morpheme, word, or any linguistic element to occur after it in a sentence. It does not even accept *lá* or *mí* to succeed it in a sentence. The following sentences illustrate the use of *-dá* and its allomorphic variants in sentences:

69. Tí gbìhì-rá.
1PL sleep.IMPV
We are sleeping/ We sleep.

70. Bè lám-dá.
3PL taste.IMPV
They are tasting/ They taste.

71. Ò bìrì-tá.
3SG sow.IMPV
S/he is sowing/ S/he sows.

As indicated in sentences 69, 70, and 71, no linguistic element, whether an adverbial or object, succeeds the aspectual ending in ‘a’. This makes *-dá* and its variants completive suffixes in the language. The above-discussed aspectual suffixes support the explanation of the influence related to the imperfective in Dagbani in chapter six of this study.

The aspectual suffix *-yá* is another suffix that is associated with the perfective aspect in Dagbani. In explaining tense and aspect, Alhassan (1988) puts the simple past in two parts: the simple past tense and the distance past. He claims the simple past tense is expressed by adding the suffix *-yá* to the verb. Some examples he gives are:

72. Tí dí-yà.
1PL eat.PFV
We ate.

73. Tí chán-yà.
1PL go.PFV
We went.

74. N dá-yà.
1SG buy.PFV
I bought.

75. Ò lù-yá.
3SG fall.PFV
He fell.

(cf. Alhassan 1988: 3-4).

Alhassan believes that when the aspectual *-yá* occurs with any verb in Dagbani, it expresses the simple past tense. These sentences are part of the sentences that were given to respondents to translate.

Opposed to Alhassan (1988) is Olawsky (1999), who indicates that the suffix *ja* <*-yá*> is a perfective suffix. This submission indicates that *-yá* expresses a completed situation in an utterance and does not distinguish between simple past and present perfect. Olawsky also observes that when no object follows the verb, the suffix *-yá* is attached to the lexical verb in a construction. He also maintains that ‘by using the suffix */-ja/*, the resultative character of an action seems to be emphasised’ (Olawsky, 1999: 32). Although the above sentences express present relevance to a past situation, they also indicate a simple past that depends on the context in which it occurs.

Other writers like Mohammed (2006) and Yahaya (2012), in their books for colleges and Junior High Schools, respectively, do entirely agree on the function of *-yá* being a present perfect marker. Mohammed (2006), for instance, defines the perfect as an action that has just passed (translated from Dagbani from Mohammed (2006). He claims that in Dagbani, the present perfect verbs take affixes *-yá* and *-ná* as well as *mí* and *lá*. Mohammed and Yahaya both hold the view that *-yá* occurs with verbs to express the present perfect. Yahaya (2012) adding details shows that the suffix *-yá* also occurs with the aspectual *pún* to express the present perfect.

In Mohammed's (2006) view, *dì-yá*, *gbìhì-yá*, *chàṅ-yá*, and all other verbs with the suffix *-ya* in sentences express specifically the present perfect as seen in the following sentences:

76. Ò dì-yá.
3SG eat.PFV
S/he has eaten.

77. Ò gbìhì-yá.
3SG sleep.PFV
He has slept.

78. Ò chàṅ-yá.
3SG go.PFV
He has gone.

The above sentences indicate that the suffix *-yá* is not accepted as an aspectual that expresses the perfect and the simple past by the three authors. The observation is that while Alhassan (1988) sees the above particle as a particle that expresses the simple past tense, Mohammed (2006) and Yahaya (2012) consider it to be expressing only present perfect. Therefore, the function of *-yá* is perceived differently by these writers. These scholars may have probably been influenced by how tense and aspect in English expressions behave and fail to realise that the suffix *-yá* is a completive particle that expresses a completed situation, including past and perfect in the language.

Opposed to Alhassan (1988), Mohammed (2006), and Yahaya (2012) I argue that, in the following sentences, *-yá* cannot only denote presence relevance of the past situations as expressed in:

79. Ò gò-yá ká kùnà.
3SG travel.PFV FOC come.PFV
S/he travelled/ has travelled and come.

80. Ò dòyì-yá ká dì yúúgí.
3SG give-birth.PFV FOC 3SG.INAM long time
It has been long since she gave birth/ she gave birth long ago.

The above discussion demonstrates that the suffix *-yá* does not specifically express the present perfect neither does it specifically express the simple past tense in the above sentences. The aspectual suffix only marks a completed situation, as Olawsky (1999) explains.

Another feature peculiar to *-yá*, no matter the context it occurs in a sentence, is that a sentence will be ungrammatical if an object succeeds a verb inflected with *-yá*. In this case, the aspectual suffix *-ya* is associated with intransitive and sentence-final position in the language. In Issah's (2015) discussion of conjoint and disjoint verb alternation in Dagbani, there is a close relationship between aspectual suffixes; *-yà, -dá -dì, -rì, -rá, -nì, -ná, -tì, -tá* and the presence or absence of certain arguments such as NP objects and adjuncts within the sentence structure (see Issah 2015:32). Discussing conjoint and disjoint verb forms in relation to the aspectual suffixes listed above, Issah illustrates that the conjoint verb forms take *-dì*, and its variants and disjoint verb forms take *-dá* and its allomorphic variants. Therefore, as explained above, *-dì* and its variants require an object or adjunct, while *-dá* and its variants do not require an object or adjunct. Comparatively, the use of *-yá*, and *-dì* and *-dá* with their variants discussed above resemble that of an Akan concept, where 'realisations are determined by whether the verb is followed by a direct object or an adverbial' (Osam 2003:5). The aspectual *-ya* is referred to in explaining the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect in chapter five.

2.4.10 Dagbani Bare Infinitives (Zero Verbal Particles)

The bare infinitive form of the verb is also a verb form used to express the Dagbani perfective situation. Naden (1988) assesses that Gur has 'two basic forms, perfective or neutral and imperfective' (Naden 1988:37). Naden refers to verbs without morphological marking (bare infinitive) as neutral. Naden posits that a neutral verb usually expresses the simple past. Naden illustrates the perfective and imperfective using examples in the Mampruli language.

Perfective or Neutral

81. Ù d̀̀g̀̀i sinkaafa
 She cook rice.
 'She cooked rice.'

Imperfective

82. Ù d̀̀g̀̀iri la sinkaafa
 She cooking rice
 'She is cooking rice.'

(Naden 1988:37).

Naden's illustration above suggests that the bare infinitive form of the lexical verb expresses the simple past tense. The lexical verb with the suffix *-rì* expresses only the

progressive meaning. The suffix *-rì* does not only express progressive but can also express the habitual present in the context of the bare infinitives. The bare infinitive form of the verb also expresses both the simple past and the present perfect in Dagbani, which should be indicated in the glossing. Moreover, as discussed above, if these forms are given a broader view, one will realise that the imperfective form has a special nonprogressive function. The nonprogressive form has an extended use that includes both the progressive and the habitual meaning (cf Comrie 1978).

Olawsky (1999) is another scholar who shares almost the same view as Naden (1988). Olawsky observes the bare infinitive form of the verbs is the simple past time marker in Dagbani. He indicates that the Dagbani verbs need no specific suffixes to mark a sentence past or present. He also says that, depending on the context, an unmarked verb (a verb the aspectual suffix) may express a past or present situation. He exemplifies this with the following sentences:

83. <ò nyù kóm.> [o ju kom] (He drank water.)
He drink water.

84. <ń dí nyúlí.> [n di ñuli] (I ate yam.)
I eat yam.

85. <ò nyùrí kóm (he drinks water)
He drink water

(Olawsky 1999:38).

In essence, the unmarked form of the verb is used to express a past situation, especially an adverbial or object is required. However, it should be noted that the illustrations above, as the sentence 83 and 84, can still express the present perfect as well. Depending on the context in which the statement is made, it expresses the present relevance of past situations in the sentences. Olawsky also illustrates that sentence 85 expresses a habitual meaning. That is true, but it can also express the progressive meaning in Dagbani since the progressive in Dagbani includes both the progressive and the habitual meanings.

Looking at Naden's and Olawsky's assertions, bare infinitives are divided according to subcategories the suffix *-rì* expresses in these languages with same grammatical categories. While Olawsky holds the view that it marks habitual, Naden maintains that *-rì* relates to a

progressive aspect. The two scholars have not considered the imperfective in its wider use, especially in languages that make no distinction between the progressive and the habitual use of aspect. See also (Comrie, 1978) for the illustrations on imperfective, progressive, and the habitual present.

Olawsky (1999) also observes that the verb usually is not morphologically marked when an object succeeds it in the Dagbani construction. In this case, Olawsky and Naden share the same view that the bare infinitive form of the verb expresses the simple past tense in these languages. Comrie's (1978) assessment still holds on this view as well. Thus, some languages do not also make a distinction between perfect and past. In this case, the bare infinitive, depending on the context of its occurrence, can express a perfect meaning. It is, instead, the case that the bare infinitive form of the verb can specifically mark the simple past tense when it is used in a narrative text. Consider the following examples:

*Kà ó gúúí chán tí bòlì ó ká ò káná
n-dúgí sáyím tì bá, kà làh' zò ò-làbì.
 Kà ó bòhí bà, yà kà yì chánà?*

Translation:

*And he ran and went and called him/her and he/she came
 and cooked food for them and ran back there.
 And he/she asked him/ her, 'where are you going?'*

The underlined verbs in the Dagbani text are the bare infinitive forms that express the simple past in the narrative text. Conclusively, Naden's (1988) and Olawsky's (1999) assertions are true; the unmarked form of the verb is used to express a past situation, especially an adverbial or object is required. Still, they mention that the same bare infinitive form of the verb could express both the simple past and the present perfect.

The observation made from the aspectual suffixes and the post-verbal particles is that all the aspectual suffixes express either the perfective or the imperfective situations in the sentences they occur. Therefore, they do not distinguish between the simple past and present perfect or progressive and present/habitual meanings. The only time the unmarked verbal forms (bare infinitives) mark the simple past tense is when it occurs in narratives, as illustrated above. Moreover, one feature that is common to most of the aspectual suffixes is that they determine whether any linguistic element (object or adverbial) occurs after them in the sentences they

occur or not. In this case, they function as intransitive markers or transitive markers, depending on the suffix or form of the verb.

The conclusions drawn from the description of the sound and the verbal systems of Dagbani reveal some features of the language that are remarkably significant to explain the influence of Dagbani on the use of another language like English. For instance, how does the restriction of the co-occurrence of some vowels with some consonants, the occurrence of vowel harmony in Dagbani, and the absence of consonant clusters affect speakers' pronunciation of English words? How does the verbal system—the expression of tense in Dagbani influence how the Dagomba people use tense in the English language?

These fundamental issues would be explicitly addressed in empirical chapters 5, 6, and 7, as they constitute this research's focal concerns. Hence, I refer to the consonants in explaining how the phonetic environment influences Dagomba's realisation of the features investigated. The vowel system, vowel harmony, and consonant clusters are referred to concerning the nativisation processes the Dagomba people employ in realising the features leading to the variation between DagbE, GhE, and RP. All aspectual suffixes and the verbal particles are also referred to in explaining the influence the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects exert on Dagomba's English use.

CHAPTER THREE

3. The Spread of English: Contacts and Approaches

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses some grammatical and phonological features of the English language. It has become necessary to include the discussion of the grammatical features in this chapter. These grammatical features explain how aspect and tense operate in English because the two subcategories of grammar remain part of the foci of this study. The chapter also describes Comrie's (1978) theory of aspect and Comrie's (1978) theory of tense. These two theories are discussed since they help in explaining the expressions of tense and aspect in Dagbani and English in this study. The difference between Dagbani and English is also presented in this chapter. The difference between the two languages brings out the possible foundation of the influence investigated in this study. The history of the English language in Ghana, the spread of English and English varieties is also discussed. The influence investigated in this study leads to a variety of English peculiar to the Dagomba as an ethnic group. Therefore, the features of varieties of English help explain and situate DagbE among varieties of English. The chapter also concerns the approaches to world Englishes and the dynamic model by Schneider (2003; 2007). The dynamic model explains the occurrence of the phonological features that are investigated in this study. The grammatical replication theory by Heine and Kuteva (2006), based on Weinreich (1953), which explains the type of grammatical transfer the Dagomba people employ in tense expressions is also presented.

The first part of the chapter discusses the English sound system, followed by the concept of tense and aspect of English. Comrie's theories of tense and aspect are addressed before the comparison of the two languages. The discussion focuses on the grammatical features of tense (the simple past tense and the simple present tense/ habitual present) and aspect (present perfect and the progressive). After the discussion on tense and aspect are the history of English in Ghana and Ghanaian English. The last sections concern the homogeneity and heterogeneity of World Englishes and the Grammatical Replication Theory.

3.2 The English Sound System

In this section, the sound system of the English language is discussed. As stated in the introduction, this section comprises the discussion of the consonant sounds of English and the vowel sounds. The primary focus is on the vowels and some selected consonant sounds /ŋ, m, n, j, w, p, t, k, l, and r/ because they form part of the focus of this study.

However, because this study has little to do with all consonant sounds, we only concentrate on some selected consonants in English, one of them being the consonant [ŋ]. It is observed that except for the velar sound /ŋ/, all the English consonants can occur with any vowel and almost in the three positions of the English word. For instance, Roach (2009) observes that /ŋ/ does not occur in the English syllable initial position. He also states that /ŋ/ is not considered a phoneme in English. It is always considered an allophone of the phoneme /n/. This means that English only has /m/ and /n/ as nasal phonemes in its sound system. In Dagbani, <ŋ> is a phoneme, and it can occur in any position in a word. However, it does not occur with some front vowels in Dagbani as discussed in chapter 2.

The approximants /j/ and /w/ are considered special sounds. Because ‘they are phonetically like vowels but phonologically like consonants’ (Roach 2009:50). The articulation of these consonants looks like /i/ and /u/, making them not completely classified as consonants. They acquire the name semi-vowels because they are naturally between vowels and consonants in their production and nature. They occur in all positions of a word or syllable.

The post-alveolar approximant [r] is also worth mentioning. In its articulation, the tongue goes close towards the alveolar area but does not completely contact the alveolar. Roach (2009) maintains that the approximant articulations are found in a different accent of English. The postalveolar approximant [r] occurs in all English word positions. It does not, however, occur in word-initial position in an original Dagbani word. This feature is not discussed further as it does not contribute to the explanation of any feature investigated.

Other consonants Roach (2009) discusses are the stops, /p/, /t/, and /k/. Roach observes that they become aspirated when they precede a vowel in the initial syllable position. One interesting feature Roach (2009) also identifies about the phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ is that when

they are immediately succeeded by the voiced continuants /l/, /r/, /j/, and /w/, these continuants undergo a process of becoming voiceless and become fricatives. In one way or another, non-native speakers of English may have difficulties regarding these sounds, which may lead to different pronunciations that could eventually be regarded as features of a new variety. The impact of this phenomenon on the pronunciation of words is seen in *pour* and *quality* in chapter seven. The English vowel is discussed in the following section.

3.2.1 The English Vowel System

Vowels and consonants are not easy to define. However, according to Roach (2009), vowels are speech sounds that are produced without the obstruction of the airstream. Compared to Dagbani, English has many vowel sounds. According to Roach (2009), English has four sets of vowel types; these include monophthongs (ɪ, e, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ), including long vowels (i:, ɜ:, ɑ:, ɔ:, u:), the diphthongs (ɪə, eə, ʊə, eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, əʊ, aʊ) and the triphthongs (eɪə, aɪə, ɔɪə, əʊə, aʊə), (see also Katamba 1989; Herbst 2010; Carr 2013). The diphthongs and triphthongs can further be classified into centring and closing vowel sounds. The closing diphthongs end with the close vowel /ɪ/ while the centring diphthongs end with the schwa vowel/ə/. All the triphthongs are centring vowels as they end in the schwa sound. In Dagbani, most of the English vowels do not exist and vice versa. Therefore, Dagomba have problems articulating those vowels that do not exist in Dagbani. Reference is thus made to the English: /ɜ:/, /ɔ:/, /ʌ/, /aʊə/, /aɪ/, /eɪ/ in the realisation of the features, respectively in *service*, *also*, *coming*, *hour*, *file*, and *table*, in chapter seven of this study.

The nature of the English short vowels is also worth noting. The short vowels are often relatively short because they have quite different lengths, depending on the phonetic environments in which they occur. Apart from the vowels (ɪ, e, ʊ), the remaining vowels (æ, ʌ, ɒ,) do not occur in Dagbani. As stated above, the absence of these vowels brings about some articulation problems in Dagomba's realisation of some features in some English words, as illustrated in Chapter seven. Although some of the vowels exist in Dagbani, the phonetic environments of occurring vowels also influence the realisation of some of the features because Dagbani's phonotactics does not allow some sequencing of sounds. For instance, the articulation of the feature in /kɪd/, as discussed in chapter six, stems from the influence or restriction from the surrounding consonant sounds. For the rest of the English vowel

description, see (Roach 2009; Katamba 1989; Herbst 2010; Carr 2013). The chart of the RP English monophthongs chart is seen below.

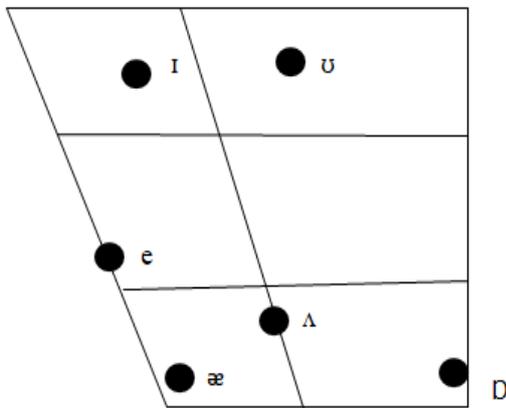


Figure 3.1 The RP Vowel Chart (Source: Roach 2009: 13)

A number of the vowels from all four sets of the vowel types occur in the syllable initial position and syllable-final position in English (Roach 2009; Herbst 2010; Carr 2013). In original Dagbani words, however, a vowel can occur in a word-final position but not in the word-initial position. In relation to this, reference will be made when discussing the feature in the words *honour* and *hour* in chapter seven. The next section discusses the concept of tense.

3.3 The Concept of Tense and Aspect

The concept of tense and aspects as categories of grammar is part of every human language's grammar. However, the way these grammatical categories are expressed in the various languages may differ due to the linguistic and dialectal differences among the languages. There is a straightforward morphological connection to the expression of the grammatical categories and subcategories in some languages. For instance, in expressing tense, some languages lack these morphological inflections that make the verbs unable to grammaticalise tense expressions. However, those languages still have meaningful ways of expressing tense differently from the English language. It is observed that languages in which tense is expressed through morphological inflections have their grammatical categories being morphologically bound, which is also obligatory when tense is expressed (cf Comrie 1985). English is a language that exhibits a strong bond between grammatical categories and obligatory morphological inflection when expressing tense. Therefore, in English, there are morphological inflections that help express tense and distinguish one grammatical

category/subcategory from the other. The morphological way of differentiating between the grammatical categories and the subcategories like past, perfect, present, and progressive is not an existent feature in the grammar of some languages, and this could be a source of influence as some people speak English.

Moreover, the definition of English tense and aspect may be completely different from how the phenomenon is explained in languages that do not share the same grammatical features as English. However, it is observed that English is a ‘global language,’ and its definition of tense has influenced the definition of tense in most language learning settings, especially in settings where English is used as a second language. The following scholars: Aarts (2001), Mark (2001), Acheampong (2005), and Ngula (2007), Quirk and Greenbaum (2012) conceptualise tense and aspect as seen below.

Acheampong (2005), for instance, defines tense as any unique form an English verb takes to indicate time. Hence, verbs take particular forms to indicate actions or situations of verbs in the past and take different forms to indicate the verbal actions in the present or the future. Ngula (2007) defines tense as the difference in the verb form to express or indicate the time of an action or a condition.

Quirk and Greenbaum (2012) explain that there is a relationship between the verbal form and the concept of time with tense. They define time as a universally non-linguistic concept with three divisions (present, past, and future) (see Quirk and Greenbaum 2012:52). Similarly, “tense is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event (or situation)” (Bhat 1999: 13). Acheampong 2005; Bhat 1999; Ngula 2007; Quirk and Greenbaum 2012) definitions of tense makes explicit reference to the change in the verb form regarding time. Their assertions signify that the change in the verb form is inseparable from the expression of tense in English. However, the above definitions only tie the definition of tense to the English language, a language in which tense is expressed through the change in the verb form. These scholars’ studies are on English tense; thus, they do not pay attention to the general definition of tense. One observation is that the definitions above and some other definitions do not consider those languages that express time differently from the English language.

Another definition of tense is by Olawsky (1999), who explains that tense refers to the temporal location of an event. Olawsky's definition does not exclude the expressions of time in Dagbani since his definition does not limit tense to verbal form. Although Olawsky (1999) has not provided a detailed illustration of tense as to how tense is defined to include tense in other languages, he discussed the aspectual suffixes of the perfective and the imperfective, which are referred to in chapters five and six of this study.

Moreover, Aart (2001) defines tense as a grammatical notion that refers to how a language encodes the semantic notion of time. The import from Aart's definition of tense seems not to be limited to verb forms. However, it is still not elaborate enough as a general definition of tense since Aart has not given a more detailed illustration that shows how all-embracing his definition can explain the tense of other languages. For instance, he illustrates his definition of tense with examples that still limit tense expression only to the change in verbal form, even though his definition of tense proves otherwise. Consider some examples from Aarts (2001:35-36):

- a. It devours them.
- b. It devoured it.
- c. They are devouring.

These sentences show that morphological inflection is part of the expression of the various subcategories of tense (past and present). The above definitions as seen in subsequent pages only cater for one section of tense marked with morphological inflection to the neglect of the other section of the definition that is not marked morphologically.

Nonetheless, as observed in all the definitions of tense, reference is made to time. This is a feature of tense in general in human languages. This phenomenon shows how important time is in the expression of tense in human language, including English. However, for tense to make meaning as a grammatical category in English, the verb form changes based on the time of the action, event, or situation. This change in verb form is essential in the expression of time in the English language. For example, one would notice that "in the present tense, English unlike some other languages in the world, really only have one ending for most verbs, and that is the third person singular '-s'... and 'in the past tense for most verbs, all the verb forms are the same, singular and plural'" (Aarts 2001:35). This suggests that number is also considered in English when tense is expressed. Again, this feature is not part of many languages including Dagbani, because number has no grammatical meaning in these languages.

A detailed explanation of the categories and subcategories that are part of this investigation will help clarify the main issues raised in this study using an appropriate concept. As indicated in the above definitions, the categories and subcategories are considered primary. Numerous works on grammar from which one would find different conceptualisations of tense have not captured the general definitions of these categories. This is due to the linguistic and dialectal differences that exist among languages in general. Therefore, the conceptualisations of tense by most scholars, including Aart (2001), Achampong (2005), Ngula (2007), Quirk and Greenbaum (2012) are not explanatory enough for the expression of tense and aspect in all human languages. This consequently necessitates the use of Comrie's (1985) theory of tense to the explanation of tense and the categories of tense in this study.

3.3.1 Comrie's Conceptualisation of Tense

Comrie's (1985) tense aims to provide an all-embracing definition for the concept of tense in languages in general. As indicated in the preface of his work, Comrie clarifies that tense expression may not be the same in all languages. He, therefore, comes out with a theory to explain tense in all languages. Diagrammatically, he accounts for the explanation of tense in human language on a straight line as seen below:

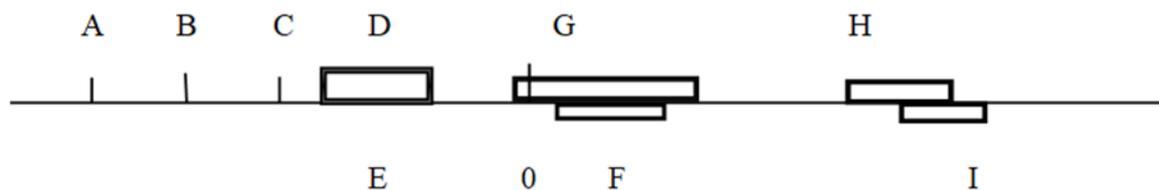


Figure 3.2 Timeline of the Explanation of Tense (Source: Comrie 1985:5)

Comrie (1985) explains that a situation (event, state, and process) is located from A-I on the line. Point 0 represents the present moment. He situates the past at the left of 0, whereas the future is represented at the right. Points A, B, and C represent punctual situations and stretch lines on D, G, H, E, F, and I on the timeline indicate situations that occupy a stretch of time. Therefore, the stretch on G occupies the present moment that suggests a situation that is continuous at the time of speaking. D indicates a progressive situation before the time of speaking (past continuous). H marks a continuous situation in the future, while F and I represent

situations in present perfect tense that is continuous at the time of speaking and present perfect situation in progress in the future, respectively.

According to Comrie, tense is the grammaticalisation of location in time. In three expressions, he explains time in human language. These are lexically composite expressions, lexical expressions, and grammatical categories. He observes that the first class of (lexically composite expressions) is unlimited for languages with linguistic means of measuring time intervals. The lexically composite expressions measure time accurately in linguistic expression of time. Such expressions include time specifications as; two minutes before, five minutes ago and in a minute.

In the second class (the lexical expressions) comprises simple lexical items used in languages to mark time. These include time adverbials such as: now, yesterday, tomorrow, etc. The third is grammatical categories; in English, the grammatical categories are past, present, future, and the pluperfect. They occur in the form of tense inflections.

The distinction between the lexical (composite and simple) expressions, on one hand, and the grammatical categories of tense illustrates the distinction between grammaticalization and lexicalisation on the other. Therefore, the term 'grammaticalisation is integrating into a grammatical system of languages while lexicalisation is integration into the lexicon of languages without any repercussion on the grammatical structure' (Comrie 1985:10).

For further understanding of location in time that are grammaticalization or lexicalised, two criteria are considered. They are morphological boundness and obligatoriness. In grammaticalization, it is a necessity for morphemes to be inflected on some verbs to express time. For instance, in English, it is an obligation for time marking morphemes; '-ed,' '-d,' '-s,' '-es' to be inflected on some verbs for them to express past and the present tenses. Thus, it is mandatory for the '-ed' or '-d' to be inflected on the regular verbs to mark past time. Besides, languages in which person and number do have repercussions on tense will require the morphemes; '-es' or '-s' for the present tense to be expressed. However, it is not an obligation for lexical expressions like time adverbials; now, today, yesterday, to be part of an utterance before they mark time. This means a sentence can still be considered grammatically correct without the inclusion of adverbials in statements. Having given a detailed definition of tense as grammaticalization of location in time with in-depth explanations, Comrie explained the

absolute and the relative tenses, paying attention to their relationship with the referent point on the timeline as indicated above.

3.3.2 Absolute Tense

Comrie says a true absolute tense is impossible since a situation is relative to many reference points. The author, however, maintains that, in principle, the present moment seems to be much closer as a reference point for many languages. Therefore, Comrie states that in an absolute tense, the reference point of a situation is the present moment (the deictic centre). The present, past, and future are absolute tenses since their reference point is the present moment. In Dagbani, the time-depth particles mark absolute tense since they give specific time situations that occur in the language.

With grammatical categories that are absolute to the present moment, the present tense cannot be overlooked. It is one of the grammatical categories through which other grammaticalization in the location in time is expressed. The present tense is considered essential and worth giving attention to, as it is one of the tenses investigated in this study. The present tense discussion will lead to a better understanding of this category in English and how different it is expressed in other languages, especially Dagbani. It helps explain how the English tense differs from that of the Dagbani language. Tense expressions with the time-depth particles are examples of absolute tense in Dagbani. The present tense locates a situation at the present moment on the timeline above while considering the present moment as a deictic centre. The present tense, therefore, is a situation that only concerns the present moment. The habitual present is explained as ‘a characteristic situation that holds at all times’ (Comrie 1985:39). This clarification depicts that there is a relationship between the present tense and the habitual present. Thus, a habitual situation includes the present moment, even if the situation does not happen at the time of speaking itself. Therefore, the present tense is sometimes also used for the habitual present (see Comrie 1985:39). The past tense is yet another absolute tense under the grammatical category that expresses the grammaticalization of location in time.

According to Comrie (1985:41), the past tense locates a situation prior to the present moment without telling whether the situation extends to the present moment or the future. For the future tense, it is defined ‘as locating a situation subsequent to the present moment’ (Comrie 1985:43). However, he establishes that, in most cases, the future tense does not present a fact.

Comrie observes that as the past and present tenses present facts, the future tense expresses a mood rather than tense, mainly when the modal verbs express the future tense. This means the present tense is connected to realis while the future is to irrealis mood. Comrie again states that the future tense can present a fact. This happens when the present tense is used to express the future tense. Therefore, using the present tense for the future is possible when the situation is bound to occur in the future.

Besides the grammatical categories, location in time in human language can be expressed through other means. However, due to dialectal differences among languages, there is no one particular way of expressing time (tense). Languages, therefore, device different means of locating time on the timeline. One of such means Comrie (1985) identifies is the degree of remoteness. The degree of remoteness as a means of locating time is crucial in most investigations that concern Dagbani grammar. This is because, in Dagbani, the degree of remoteness forms a core in expressing past and future times.

3.3.3 Relative Tense

Comrie's (1985) investigation of the relative tense shows that the reference point of a situation in relative tense is not the present moment. Relative tenses have a reference point different from the present moment. English, for instance, has relative tenses expressed in non-finite verb forms such as the present participles. Some examples are: *The man sewing under the tree left for Kumasi; the girl living here comes from Britain*. In the above sentences, the time expressed by the finite verbs is the reference points for the non-finite (the underlined verbs) verbs, which serve as the foundation of the sentences. Thus, the non-finite verb depends on the finite verb for its finiteness, hence its reference point.

3.3.4 Degree of Remoteness

In degree of remoteness, situations are located more accurately before or after the actual reference point (Comrie 1985). According to Comrie, in English, the perfect and the pluperfect can distinguish recent and remote situations, but this is not the primary function of these categories. It is possible to express the degree of remoteness using lexically composite expressions, lexical expressions, and grammatical categories.

With lexically composite expressions, it is possible to have expressions like; *He finished the work a minute ago; He will be here in two hours*. The underlined parts of the

sentences are the lexically composite expressions that give more accurate time specifications in the sentences. The degree of remoteness can also be expressed in lexical expressions as; *He left yesterday*; *I used it today*; the underlined part of the sentences are lexical expressions (the time adverbials) that mark specific times in the week.

Although it is not possible for some languages to express the degree of remoteness by grammatical means, many languages worldwide have that means of expressing the degree of remoteness. It is observed, for instance, that temporal distance is one of the grammatical meanings. Such interpretations are independent of other meanings. Here, Comrie maintains that the perfect refers to the recent past, whereas the past tense refers to the remote past. Compared to the perfect and past tense, the pluperfect relates to a situation that seems more distant in the past than recent past. The perfect can express the degree of remoteness grammatically when it occurs with adverbials like *just* and *recently* in English. According to Comrie's (1985) illustration, *only* and *recently* can be illustrated in the following sentences: *I have just seen John*; *I have recently made my way through*. However, it should be borne in mind that English only has limited expressions of the degree of remoteness, as in the above sentences. The perfect in Spanish can also have current relevance of past a situation and recent past meanings. For example, *today I have opened the window at six o'clock and have closed it at seven o'clock*, is translated from Italian (Comrie 1985:85).

Besides temporal distance, Comrie explains some parameters that lead to a better understanding of the degree of remoteness. They are a reference point, the distinction between temporal distance, and the number of distinctions. The reference point from which the degree of remoteness is measured should be specified. Languages that make distinctions in remoteness use the deictic centre, where a relative reference point is also possible. According to Comrie (1985), Bamileke Dchang, for instance, expresses the relative temporal distance. For example, the arrangement of auxiliaries in some languages indicates time reference. The proceeding auxiliary of the two auxiliaries allowed in the sentence establishes time reference relative to the present moment. The second locates a situation close to the reference point initiated by the first auxiliary (Comrie, 1985:86 emphasis added). *He was being beaten*; could be an example of Comrie's explanation. The first auxiliary verb *was* becomes the reference point for *being*. There also exist temporal distance that indicates a point relative to another point far into the future. An example of the future time, on the same day, is: *He will travel later tomorrow*.

Another parameter Comrie discusses is the number of distinctions. The number of distinctions is mainly about the number of temporal distance positions that mark remoteness in the future and the past. This explanation suggests that there should be a distinction in the temporal distance between the past and the future. For instance, some languages can have an equal number of distinctions for both the future and past while others differ in the number of distinctions for both sides (future/past). According to Comrie, Bamileke-Dgyemboon has up to four remoteness distinctions in both past and future tenses, while Bamileke Dchang has five distinctions at both sides (past and future). This means that an example like; *He wrote a book*; could be expressing four or five distinctions in the past. That of the future can also be expressed in the same number of times in the future, in the above languages where several distinctions are possible in remoteness. According to Comrie (1985), the distinctions must have a cut-off point for long ago and recently (today and before today). He exemplifies that in Burera language, there is an item for marking a situation that happens earlier on the day that cannot be used for any other time specification, as in; '*Ngupa-ngal*'- '*I ate within the last few days*' (Comrie 1985:88). Comrie calls them as follows: 1) the tense expressing what happened earlier that day is called "hodiernal," the tense expressing what happened yesterday is called "hesternal" and a day before yesterday pre-hesternal. These resemble the expression of time in the Dagbani Language. Where *dí*, *sá*, and *dáá* express tense. The only difference between these and that of the Dagbani language is that Dagbani's expression combines the expression of the future time and the past time. In this case, Dagbani tense markers express the degree of remoteness with the value of a grammatical meaning of the language.

Another important point about remoteness distinction is the *rigidity of the cut-off point*. Comrie (1985) highlights that rigidity of the cut-off point involves the precise establishment of a cut-off point such as divisions within days, and in another, a few days ago and more days ago. With rigidity, an element used for a situation in the past or future can only be used for that tense without the insertion of time adverbials. Some examples are in Bamileka Dgyemboon or Bamileke Dchang; the P1 (past one) is only used for situations with such time specifications. That means P1 cannot be used for p2 or p3 in the Bamileke Dgyemboon and the Bamileke Dchang languages. When rigidity is considered, the time adverbials; *today and tomorrow, the latter* becomes relative time adverbials and do not mark remoteness distinctions. However, there can be a subjective use, where recent past tense can be used with the time adverbials in some languages. In such uses, the intention is on the recent time reference, but the adverbial

makes it past (the objective meaning). These, therefore, prove that languages differ in terms of rigidity in temporal distance cut-off. However, it should be noted that the cut-off points are culturally specific and cannot easily be determined since all cultures of every nation have different perceptions about when the various time specifications of a situation begin and when it ends.

According to Comrie (1985), most languages that express remoteness distinctions through grammatical categories distinguish two kinds of distinctions, as in, *He left yesterday morning*, and *I went to school earlier today*. It is also used in the future, where a closer future tense starts from today, and the distant future covers any day after tomorrow. Comrie also assessed the binary position in the future to be less rigid than in the past.

In conclusion, Comrie's tense as seen in the above discussion gives an all-explanatory definition of tense that covers the general expression of time in human language, including that of Dagbani. For instance, the inclusion of the degree of remoteness as one of the means used to express location in time makes it possible for tense in Dagbani to be fully represented in grammaticalized location in time. Thus, the degree of remoteness is one of the major ways of expressing past tense without ambiguity in Dagbani. In Dagbani, there exist some remoteness distinctions in the past and in the future. Besides, the use of lexical expressions and lexically composite expressions as possible ways of locating time on the timeline explains how some languages express tense. This is important for the explanation of tense in this study. These grammatical categories are referred in the empirical chapters five and six of this study. The following is the discussion of the concept of aspect.

3.4 The Theory of Aspect

There are two broad ways of expressing a situation: grammatical categories, tense, and aspect. These grammatical categories are related to time; time is explained as a universally non-linguistic concept with three divisions; present, past, and future (See Quirk and Greenbaum 2012). Time, therefore, is a concept that relates a situation to a particular moment. Aspect, the other category of grammar is discussed in this section. Unlike tense, aspect is also an essential part of grammar that does not necessarily relate a situation to a reference point; instead, it presents a situation concerning something more profound than just time. Trudgill and Hannah (1994) define aspect as the marking on the verb or auxiliary indication, duration

or completion of the activity. This definition indicates that meanings of utterances regarding aspect are also connected to time and verb forms. Saanchi (2003) also tries to explain tense and Aspect by stating that “While tense deals with how a situation is located with aspect to the time of the speech, aspect relates to the internal temporal organisation of the situation” (Saanchi 2003:101).

Acheampong (2005) and Quirk and Greenbaum (2012) also maintain that aspect concerns how the verbal form is experienced; that is, whether the action of the verb is presented as simply taking place or presented as being in progress or as being completed at a point in time. Moreover, “aspect is concerned with the representation of the time contained in the event and tense with the representation of the time that contains the event” (Hewson 2012: 511). Among the above definitions, Acheampong (2005) and Quirk and Green Baum’s (2012) conceptualisation of aspect is limited to English. Therefore, it does not present the general meaning of aspect. These writers’ definitions only explained how aspect is typically expressed and illustrated in English.

Saanchi (2003) relates a situation differently to define aspect. Saanchi shares the same view with Comrie’s (1978) concept of aspect as illustrated in the next section. However, for detailed and more transparent illustrations of aspect in human language, we concentrated on Comrie’ (1978). We acknowledge that the above scholars’ definitions are considered vital as they show that these two grammatical categories (tense and aspect) are quite different from each other. However, they have not given an in-depth explanation and illustrations of the categories of aspect that explain the subcategories investigated in many languages, including this study. This calls for the use of Comrie’s (1978) theory of aspect to provide an in-depth description and illustration of aspect and all its subcategories in human language.

3.4.1 Comrie’s Conceptualisation of Aspect

Mainly, Comrie’s (1978) aspect aims at providing a general overview of verbal aspects in all languages. He introduces aspect as a portion of the overall linguistic theory. Therefore, his explanation of aspect does not concentrate on explaining aspect in any one specific language, but rather, it provides an explanation of aspect that illustrates aspect in all languages. Comrie defines aspects as the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of

a situation. Thus, unlike tense, aspect only relates a situation to the temporary constituency of the situation and not the reference point of the situation.

Comrie (1978) maintains that aspect is concerned with how situations are connected and presented as a whole in a statement. Given this, he tries to explain aspect using an example similar to, *the pastor was preaching when he entered*. The *pastor preaching* does not present the situation, but rather, it presents the *internal temporal constituency of the situation* presented. Thus, the situation *entered* is located within the period of the situation, *preaching*. Thus, the second part of the sentence with the deictic centre as a reference point is internalised in the first part that introduces the entire sentence (cf Comrie 1978:4).

Comrie further affirms that when an utterance is presented without its internal constituency (thus, without foundation as in the above sentence), it becomes events occurring in succession. Nothing binds them as a single whole. Consider the following example: *He took the book, went down the building, entered his car, and sped off*. Comrie describes these as events in succession and not necessarily a single whole because those events lack internal constituency to make them one statement. The following sentence, however, has an internal constituency that makes it a whole or one statement. *When I was waiting, he came down the building and took his car, and sped off*. *When I was waiting*, in the above sentence sets the foundation, joins, and makes the sentences one without divisions. The illustrations explain the definition of aspect as given by Comrie.

Differentiating tense and aspect, Comrie notes that as tense has the deictic centre (present moment) as a referent point of the situation, aspect relates to the situation's internal temporal constituency. "Situation-internal (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)" (Comrie 1978:5). Comrie notes in the following examples that; *John read the book*, and *John has read the book*; is past tense and perfect, respectively. However, he notes that the definition of aspect does not explain the above sentence referred to as perfect; *John has read the book*. Comrie indicates that the explanation of aspect is more of a semantic phenomenon than a definitional concept. Therefore, "the term aspect refers to the general semantic oppositions possible, now restricted to particular grammaticalized operations based on the semantic distinctions in the individual languages" (Comrie 1978:6). He adds that some languages distinguish between past and perfect while other languages do not. Just as in some languages,

tense is expressed grammatically. In other languages, tense cannot be grammatically expressed; aspect as a grammatical category can also be grammaticalized in some languages, while other languages cannot. According to Comrie, two of such languages in which aspect is grammaticalized are Russian and Spanish (see Comrie 1978) for illustrations.

Having explained aspect, Comrie also dealt exhaustively with the two broad forms of aspect, perfective and imperfective. Under these two subcategories of aspect, he explains the other values of aspect: the progressive, continuous, perfect, and imperfect. He also discusses the habitual present in this section. The two forms are considered the primary verbal forms of some languages when expressing tense and aspect in those languages. In this case, giving a comprehensible description of these two subcategories of aspect will go a long way to providing a better explanation of the verbal forms expressed in the influence of the Dagbani language on English.

Distinguishing between the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect, Comrie (1978) states that the perfective views a situation externally and as a single whole. It does not take into consideration the internal parts of the structure of the situation. However, the imperfective considers or views the situation internally, paying much attention to the internal structure of the situation. Using the sentence employed to explain aspect in the above illustration, *the pastor was preaching when he entered*; the assertion is that the perfective part of the above sentence is only concerned with the presentation of the sentence as a whole. As it appears, it does not consider the internal part of the sentence; it has the progressive as the beginning, which serves as a foundation and binds the sentence as a single whole. The imperfective is concerned with the opposite, the internal constituency of the situation presented.

While referring to tense, Comrie recounts that not all languages have grammaticalized time reference. For instance, languages with grammaticalized means of referring to time have tense, but languages with no grammaticalized time reference have no tense. They express time using lexicalisation, as in today, yesterday, now, etc. (cf Comrie 1978:6). The same applies to aspect as a grammatical category. He posits that aspect as a grammatical category can be expressed morphologically in some languages, as seen in the English progressive ‘-ing’ illustrations. Comrie (1978), however, states that the strategies for expressing aspectual

oppositions in languages solely depend on the grammar of those languages. One thing found very interesting is that “language-particular categories often combine aspect with some other categories, usually tense” (Comrie 1978:9). He uses Spanish as an example when he states that Spanish imperfect; ‘*Juan was reading*’; and *Juan used to read*’; combine both perfect and past meanings (tense and aspect). Which means, some languages may combine aspect and other categories, but depending on the grammar of that language, it will be expressed differently from how Spanish does it. We will refer to this section in the analysis of the influence of Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects in chapters five and six since this is similar to tense expressions in Dagbani.

Comrie also explains the semantic aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective in both grammaticalized and lexicalised forms in languages. As expressed in the definition of tense, Comrie states that some languages grammaticalized aspect that expresses aspect, while other languages do not. He maintains that German, for instance, has no grammatical aspectual marker. The past and perfect sentences are both captured as one German sentence semantically, as in *Ich bin gegangen, I have gone*; which also means; *I went*. However, Comrie clarifies that if a language does not have a form of the verb for expressing aspect, it does not mean it does not exist in the language. This means that different languages express same situation in aspect differently, just as tense is expressed differently in those languages. According to Comrie, such languages can show this meaning difference when aspect is expressed. He illustrates that; *He read the book*, and *He was reading the book*; are past and progressive respectively in English but can both be captured in German as; *He read the book*; though that usage, as in *He was reading the book*, exists in German explicitly. He also shows how such uses are expressed in Finnish as well, where the difference between past and perfect is dependent on how the case presented to bring out the meaning (cf Comrie 1978:8). However, these uses in German and Finnish can only be used with a limited number of verbs.

As part of Comrie’s explanation of past and perfect above, he clarifies that in usage, language-specific aspect is more complicated. Languages like Spanish combines aspect and other categories (progressive, past, and another category), as in; *he was eating*; expresses both past and perfect. Compared with English, the English progressive only expresses a progressive situation, though its semantic definition goes beyond that. He maintains that another language

that does this combination is Arabic (cf Comrie 1978: 9). This section will be referred to in analysis chapter six.

3.4. 2 The Perfective and the Imperfective

As stated above, Comrie's explanation that perfectivity indicates a view of a situation as a single whole, and imperfective paying essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. Comrie, further, provides illustrations to debunk the notion that the perfective is a situation that holds for a short time, and the imperfective holds for a long time. He explains that any of these two oppositions can be situations that involve a long or short duration of time. Some examples he provides are, *I reigned ten years* (perfective); *I reign for ten years/ I was reigning for ten years* (imperfective); (Comrie 1978:16). It shows in these sentences that both oppositions involve a situation that is held for the long term. There are also instances the perfective and the imperfective can express a situation that holds on a short time (cf Comrie 1978:16).

He also notes that the perfective does not only involve situations that are momentary or punctual, but it also involves situations that entail a stretch or long period. However, the perfective does not indicate an internal relationship to the situation expressed. A critical characteristic of the perfective is that it means a completed action in its entirety. He posits that perfectivity is described as a completed and not a complete situation because it emphasises the action being complete and terminated (cf Comrie 1978:18). Thus, the situation started sometime in the past, completed, and ended sometime in the past. This explanation suggests that emphasis is also on the termination of the situation and not just the completion.

However, Comrie makes it clear that the perfective may indicate a complete action at the beginning, middle, and end. Differentiating completed and complete actions, consider the following sentences: *We finished the work at 10 o'clock* (complete action); and *we had finished the work at 10 o'clock* (completed action) (see Comrie 1978:18). The above explanation indicates that a finished or completed action is just one of the perfective meanings or features, but not it's only defining characteristic. Therefore, the main difference between the perfective and the imperfective is that while the perfective indicates completed action, the imperfective suggests an activity that has not yet completed (progressive, present tense, and habitual situation).

While classifying the aspectual oppositions, Comrie observes that the imperfective can be subdivided into several categories in some languages. In some, however, the imperfective is regarded as a single category. The following is the Classification of the aspectual oppositions:

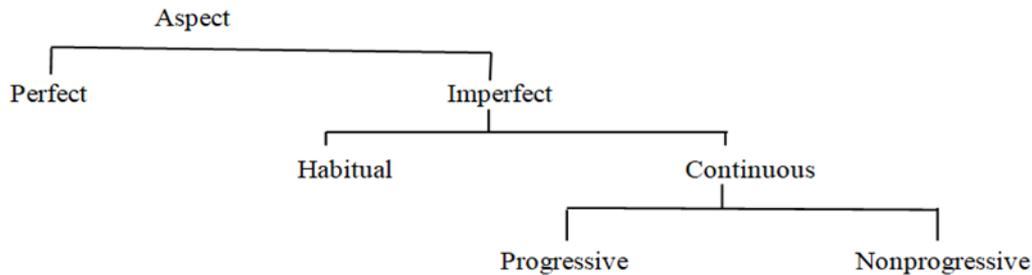


Figure 3.3 Classification of Aspectual Oppositions (Source: Comrie 1978:25).

As illustrated, the above diagram shows that the perfect aspect is entirely different from the imperfective. The imperfective tends to be multifaceted; it indicates that while some languages may not distinguish among the subcategories, some languages do. The imperfective also comprises the habitual and continuous, where the continuous is subdivided into nonprogressive and progressive. That means the progressive meaning is a subsection of the continuous meaning. The habitual is part of an uncompleted situation; this explains why in some languages, including Dagbani, the habitual is not differentiated from the other oppositions of aspect. Nonetheless, the diagram also shows that differentiating habitual from continuous is possible in some languages. Therefore, some languages will only have continuous performing both functions (continuous and habitual).

Comrie (1978) also discusses languages that express aspectual differentiation. He posits that English is one of the languages in which the values of aspect are differentiated. Thus, it is possible to distinguish between the habitual and the progressive meanings in the English language. Per Comrie's (1978) explanation, it is possible to distinguish between the progressive, the habitual situation, and even the past progressive situation in English; nonetheless, expressing the habitual meaning in the past has more options than the progressive does. He illustrates that; *John used to work here*; it has a habitual meaning, and *John worked here*; can also have habitual meaning. This explanation means that there can be more than one way of expressing the habitual meaning in the past in the English language. However, there is

only one way of expressing the progressive meaning in the English language, as in, *John was working here*.

Comrie also observes that Spanish, as a different language from English, has the only perfective and imperfective distinction in the past. That is in the simple past/imperfective. For example, in Spanish, there is a distinction in; *John arrived* (simple past); *John was arriving* (imperfective); *John used to arrive*. Comrie also explains that some languages have their simple past imbedded in the perfect. Therefore, there is no distinction between the simple past and the perfect. He observes, however, that there are different forms of the past tense among the different kinds of dialects in Welsh that has this perfect 'past.' For instance: *I was running is nonhabitual*, while; *I used to run*; is habitual, (cf Comrie 1978:25) for the rest of the examples see Comrie (1978: ibid).

Comrie posits that some languages have a general imperfective form which combines both habitual and progressive aspect. Thus, the imperfective can express the progressive and the habitual, which he terms as *continuous-habitual or durative-habitual*. Some of such languages are French, Russian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek (cf Comrie 1978:26). This section is specifically referred to in chapters five and six of this study.

Also, there is an indication that most languages have a distinction between the habitual and the progressive. Such languages can even make a distinction in the past regarding the habitual situation. There are, however, many languages in which such distinctions are not made. Dagbani is one such languages that are considered as an imperfective and perfective prominent language. This could influence speakers' use of the English language, a tense prominent language. Therefore, the section is referred to in the analysis of chapters five and six in this study.

While discussing languages with a category covering the whole imperfective, Comrie explains that some languages have extended imperfective categories. He observes that the grammar of many languages is structured so that the imperfective has one form that expresses both habituality and continuousness. Explaining the habitual meaning, Comrie posits that a mere repetition of a situation does not make a situation habitual since repeated situations or events can altogether be considered to as perfect (cf Comrie 1978:27). However, **habituality** describes a situation viewed as a characteristic feature extended for a whole period of a

particular time. For example, *He used to sit here*, and *He lives here*; do not necessarily involve a repeated action, but an extension of a situation over a period. Comrie ((1978) instead reveals that iterativity can be embedded in habituality, as in; *the teacher teaches in this school*. That means the iterated action of the teacher has become a habit. In this case, habituality is compatible “with various other semantic aspectual values, namely those appropriate to the kind of prolonged or iterated situations” (Comrie 1978:30). However, he maintains that it is possible for languages that distinguish between progressive and habitual meaning to combine them in a single construction, as in an English construction that contains: ‘*used to be playing*’ (see Comrie 1978:30).

In this case, Comrie defines continuousness as an imperfective situation that does not include habituality. This definition indicates that a situation is not viewed as a characteristic feature extended over a certain period is continuous. Differentiating the progressive and the nonprogressive meanings, he explains that the progressive is a situation that sets up another situation, while the nonprogressive does not. For instance, he shows in these two sentences that; *when I visit John, he will recite his latest poem* (nonprogressive); and, *when I visit John, he will be reciting his latest poem* (progressive). He observes that this distinction still exists when the progressive and the nonprogressive are included in the past habitual meaning. For example, *when I used to visit John, he used to recite...*; then, *when I used to visit John, he used to be reciting his latest poem* (see Comrie 1978:30). This shows that a habitual situation includes both repetitive events and a long-existing situation. It also shows that the progressive and the nonprogressive can be part of a habitual situation.

As part of his explanations, Comrie clarifies that habitual meaning can be used with other aspectual values when habitual use does not involve repetition. That means it is possible for different aspectual values that show individual occurrences to occur together in the perfective construction to express habituality in some languages. He again uses the Russian language, where the Russian adverbials (each time) can express this use. Thus, *each time it seems to me as if someone had opened the window and fresh wind rushed into the hospital ward*, is a habitual situation from a series of occurrences made single by the adverbial each time. It also helps in expressing the habitual meaning for the rest of the languages that have other expressions of the habituality (see Comrie 1978:31).

With regard to the progressive meaning, Comrie mentions one essential feature of the progressive. He states that in some languages, it is an obligation to distinguish between progressive and nonprogressive. In contrast, in other languages, the distinction is not possible since “the progressive form does not exclude the nonprogressive form” (Comrie 1978:33). Comrie’s (1978) assertion explains that in languages where this distinction is made, the nonprogressive and the progressive values (the progressive and the habitual meanings) do not replace each other. English falls under the group that makes this distinction, and contrary to English is Italian and Spanish, and in this study, Dagbani.

He also clarifies that habituality is considered a distinct case of imperfectiveness. This explanation shows that even though the habitual and progressive may not be differentiated, the habitual meaning may not essentially be a part of imperfectiveness. This is because a habitual meaning is imperfective, but not all imperfective meanings are habitual. This is because, as explained above, the imperfective can as well be progressive. He, however, observes that a situation can be habitual but may not be progressive. Therefore, defining the progressive aspect as a continuous situation lamps the whole of imperfectiveness in the progressive definition. In this case, progressive is defined as “imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality” (Comrie 1978:33). According to him, when each situation occurs individually, a progressive can be realised, but when it occurs as a whole, the habituality meaning is expressed. The following example illustrates this; *He used to be reading his book*. The sentence expresses a habitual meaning (the habitual of progressive), both habitual and progressive. Thus, *used to* expresses is habitual and *be reading* expresses progressive. Hence, *He used to read his book* (habitual); while; *He was reading his book* (progressive). Thus, combining both sentences lead to the realisation of the habitual meaning (cf Comrie 1978:33). English is one language that makes a distinction between the progressive and the imperfectiveness. I will refer to this in analysis chapter six.

Comparing languages with special progressive meaning and those without, Comrie maintains that those languages with special progressive form still exhibit an extended use of the nonprogressive than the normal progressive use, even if the habitual meaning is subtracted from the nonprogressive. That means languages with nonprogressive use have more extended use than those with progressive forms. Comrie (1978) discovers that verb form also plays a role in narrowing the progressive use in those languages. In English, for instance, some verbs

like the stative and perception verbs are not permitted to occur in progressive use. This is not the case in most languages with the special nonprogressive forms; see Comrie (1978:34) for more explanation on the special progressive form.

According to Comrie, there has been uncertainty concerning whether the **perfect** is part of aspect or not. The difference between the nonperfect and perfect, present relevance of a past situation (perfect) as against the fact that there are no traces of the present situation in the past (nonperfect) is the issue (cf Comrie 1978:52). He maintains that though the perfect is mostly considered as part of aspect, it is somehow different from the other values of aspect. It differs from others, in that it illustrates the connection between two points; 1. The state resulting from the prior situation, and 2. The time of the prior situation; thus, the perfect is involved in both the present and the past situations.

Comrie (1978) also observes that the perfect being, generally referred to as the present perfect, expresses the relationship between the present and past tense and expresses the relationship between an earlier situation in the future as perfect (see Comrie 1978:53).

Something worth noting about Comrie's explanation of the perfect is that English is one language that has a clear illustration and differentiation between the past and the perfect. In the English language, perfect cannot be used with a time specification that denotes a past situation. For instance, *I have got up at five o'clock this morning*; it is incompatible with the perfect in English. However, one can say; *I have seen him this morning*, if it is still in the morning.

The perfect therefore is the "continuing relevance of a previous situation" (Comrie 1978:56). The perfect (the present perfect), he says, has other realisations: past perfect (pluperfect), illustrating a past state and other earlier situation in the past, and the future perfect (where all said looks more in the past but refers to the future). However, the perfect may not absolutely be perfect in some languages but refers to both past and perfect. Explaining the different types of perfect, perfect of results, experiential perfect, perfect of the persistent situation, and perfect recent past, Comrie states that not all languages have all the meanings in perfect (cf Comrie 1978:56).

In conclusion, Comrie's (1978) aspect has provided a more precise, in-depth, and comprehensible explanation of the grammatical category aspect. As indicated, there are many illustrations Comrie made that reveal that the progressive meaning in some languages has, over time, been extended to cover the whole usage of the imperfective aspect. In contrast, some languages do not already distinguish between progressive and other uses like habitual. Similarly, he observes that some languages do not distinguish between past tense and perfect. Comrie's (1978) observation captures what exists in Dagbani grammar, as no distinction is made among all the subcategories of aspect in Dagbani. Therefore, Comrie's (1978) illustration of imperfective explains the aspect in Dagbani and other languages.

Moreover, in Comrie's view, word choice cannot explicitly express imperfective but rather lexical meaning, other aspectual oppositions, and contextual meaning. This assertion clarifies that morphological suffix and grammaticalized expressions of aspect are not the general or the only way aspect can be expressed. This, therefore, makes it possible for the aspect of Dagbani and other languages that have no morphological expression of aspect to be fully explained in Comrie's (1978) theory of aspect. Reference is made to Comrie's discussion of the imperfective in the analysis of the influence of the imperfective aspect in chapter six of this study.

Comrie also observes that the habitual meaning can easily be merged with the progressive meaning in some languages. This indicates that interlocutors of the same language can semantically express and differentiate the subcategories when they are engaged in a conversation, based on such languages' structure. This is captured in the expression of habitual and progressive, and past and perfect in the Dagbani language.

It is also clear that Comrie (1978) and Saanchi (2003) share the same view of tense and aspect. They view tense as being overt and simple, where aspect is covert and somehow complex to explain. For instance, it is not easy for many to tell the difference between the simple past tense and the present perfect since they involve past situations. It is also sometimes not easy for some languages to differentiate between a habitual situation and a progressive situation, especially in languages that do not differentiate between the progressive and the habitual meaning, as noted above. This is the case observed in the Dagbani language; hence,

in the analysis chapter five and six, reference is made to Comrie's (1978; 1985) in explaining the influence of the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects on English.

3.5 Difference between English and Dagbani

This section discusses differences between the English language and the Dagbani language at both the phonological and grammatical levels since the primary focus of this study is on the differences and not the similarities. This is because the difference between the two languages is the foundation of the influence investigated in this study. The difference between the consonant systems of both languages is discussed, followed by the difference between the vowel systems. Tense and aspect of both languages are discussed last.

3.5.1 Dagbani and English Consonants

With regard to the difference between the Dagbani and English consonants, we focus on the description of unique consonants. One of the differences is that the dental fricative, /ð/ and /θ/ in English are not part of the consonant sounds in the Dagbani language. Although these two sounds are not part of features of this study, it is worth mentioning because they form part of the outstanding differences between the two languages; they are, however, not further discussed since their features are not needed to support the explanation of the features investigated in this study. Another difference is that the Dagbani double articulated sounds mentioned in chapter two, [gb, kp, ŋm, and ɲ] are not part of the sound system of English. Also, the nasals in Dagbani, for instance, contain two extra phonemes than the English language [ɲ and ŋm]. Comparatively, Hudu (2014) identifies five contrastive nasals in Dagbani: m, ŋ, n, ŋm, ɲ. The difference between the nasals in Dagbani and English lies in the sound /ŋm/ and /ɲ/ in the Dagbani language. [ɲ] is not considered a phoneme in English, but as an allophone of the phoneme /g/, /n/; for more examples, see (Roach 2009:53). Although this difference may not pose a problem in how Dagomba pronounce English words, it is worth noting since it is registered as a difference between the two languages and forms part of the phonetic environments. The sound [ɣ] is another sound in Dagbani that does not form part of the English consonant sounds. The following section discusses the difference in the vowel systems of the two languages.

3.5.2 Dagbani and English Vowels

This section discusses the difference between the Dagbani vowel system and that of the English language. It is observed from the above discussion that there are some vowels in the English language that do not exist in Dagbani and vice versa. For instance, English has the diphthongs (iə, eə, uə, eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, əʊ, aʊ) and the triphthongs (eɪə, aɪə, ɔɪə, əʊə, aʊə) (cf Roach 2009). However, in the Dagbani language, triphthongs do not exist. Diphthongisation is possible in Dagbani but limited; consider the diphthongs of Dagbani.

Diphthong		Word	Gloss
/ia/	as in	bia	‘a child’,
/ua/	as in	bua	‘goat’,
/eei/	as in	leei	‘to become’,
/aai/	as in	naa	‘to finish’,
/uui/	as in	guui	‘to run’,
/ooi/	as in	vooi	‘to pull or to sip’,

The difference between the diphthongisation in Dagbani and English is clear, and its repercussions on Dagomba’s pronunciation of English words are not hidden. The effects of the difference between diphthongs in Dagbani and diphthongs in English are demonstrated in the analysis of the features in *file*, *table*, *quality*, among others in empirical chapter seven.

Another difference between the vowel system of Dagbani and English is the short vowels /æ/ and /ʌ/ that are part of the English vowel system but do not exist in the Dagbani vowel system. Even though Olawsky (1999) identifies /ə/ as a vowel phoneme in Dagbani, Hudu (2016) observes that the shwa sound is not one of Dagbani surface vowels. The non-existing vowels /ʌ/ and the vowel phoneme /ə/ are referred to in discussing Dagomba’s realisation of *coming*, *study*, and *surprise*, respectively, in chapter seven.

There are long vowels in both English and Dagbani; however, not all long vowels in the English language occur in Dagbani, and vice versa. For instance, the English long vowels, /ɜ:/ and /ɔ:/ are not part of the Dagbani vowel sounds, while the Dagbani long vowels; e: and a: are not also part of the English Vowels. The difference between the vowel systems in these two languages affects speakers’ pronunciation of some English words, which set Dagomba apart from other English speakers. For instance, in chapter seven, reference is made to the absence of /ɜ:/ and /ɔ:/ in Dagomba pronunciation of *service*, *pour*, and *also* which are part of

the variables containing the features investigated. Hence, these vowels are referred to in chapter seven.

Another difference between these two languages concerns the nature of the syllable. The nature of the syllable onset and the coda position of the English syllable is different from that of Dagbani. It is illustrated in the above discussion that all the consonant sounds except the velar nasal, /ŋ/ occur at syllable initial in the English language. However, consonant /ŋ/ occurs at a syllable or word-initial position in Dagbani; it, however, occurs at word/ syllable-final position in both languages. This is not discussed further, as it does not contribute to the analysis.

Also, the difference between the syllable structure of English and Dagbani is that apart from the short vowel /ʊ/, any of the vowels can occur at the initial position of the syllable in English. In contrast, it is rare for a vowel to occur at the initial position in a typical Dagbani word. This means a typical Dagbani word has no zero onsets since it is rare for vowels to occupy an initial position in a typical Dagbani word. The influence of the zero onset on Dagomba's pronunciation manifests in the analysis of the features in *hour*, *honour*, and *also* in empirical chapter seven.

Also, in English, the syllable-initial and the syllable-final can be occupied by a consonant cluster, which is impossible in Dagbani. Thus, there are no possible occurrences of consonant clusters in Dagbani. In some pronunciations where consonant clusters are supposed to occur in Dagbani, Dagomba either insert a weak epenthetic vowel or lengthen the second consonant of the two consonants to avoid the cluster (see Olawsky 1999; M-minibo 2014). The absence of consonant clusters will also be referred to when discussing the feature in the word *conflict* in chapter seven of this study.

In summary, except for the short [u] and the velar nasal [ŋ], all the English language consonants and vowels occur in the initial syllable position. In contrast, except /ŋ/, /m/, /h/, and /l/, only vowels mostly occur at the word-final position, and consonants occur in word-initial position in Dagbani. The only words in Dagbani in which a word begins with a vowel are *iin* 'yes' and the personal pronouns *a* 'you' and *o* 's/he and it.'

English phonotactics also permits up to four consonants as a cluster at the syllable-final, while consonant cluster occurrence is impossible in Dagbani. This phonological process shows that English allows two or more consonant sounds to immediately succeed one another without an epenthetic vowel insertion. Hence, there is a vast difference between the syllable structure of the English language and that of Dagbani. As stated above, all these differences have effects on Dagomba's use of the English language, of which reference is made to, in analysis chapter seven.

3.6 The Expression of Time in English and Dagbani

The main difference between tense in Dagbani and English is that tense in the English language is expressed morphologically. The morphological expression of tense and aspect in English makes it easy to differentiate between the sub-categories of tense and aspect. This means there is a difference between the subcategories/values of tense and aspect in English. This means that the progressive aspect can be differentiated from the habitual meaning. For example, in English, verbs are suffixed with the '-ing' suffix to express progressive meaning. The suffixes, '-es' and '-s', are inflected on the main verb of singular subjects of all English sentences to express the simple present tense and the habitual meaning. With plural nouns and pronouns, whose antecedents are plural nouns, the bare infinitive form of the verb is used to express the present tense and the habitual meaning. This means that number plays a role in determining which form of the verb is used to express the present/habitual meaning in English.

Concerning the regular verbs, it is a fact that the suffixes '-ed' and '-d' are obligatorily inflected on the principal verb to express a situation before the present moment or a situation at the time of speaking. Therefore, without these morphological inflections on the main verbs of the English sentences, those sentences will be ungrammatical when the past tense is expressed. The distinction between the present tense or habitual meaning and the progressive aspect does not exist in Dagbani since morphological inflection is not an essential feature in expressing the perfective and imperfective aspects. In the empirical chapters, five and six, reference is made to this section to explain the influence of the perfective and imperfective verb forms on English.

In English, it is possible to differentiate the simple past tense from the present perfect. For instance, the present perfect is usually expressed with the past participle form of the main

English verb plus the auxiliaries, ‘have’ and ‘has,’ depending on the subject of the sentence, see Acheampong (2005) and Quirk and Greenbaum (2012). This structure and the grammatical rule are not applicable in the Dagbani language, and the distinctions among the subcategories (past tense and present perfect) are not possible.

The different ways of expressing time in the Dagbani language are through the lexically (simple and composite) expressions, the preverbal, and the post-verbal particles discussed in chapter two. For instance, although the aspectual *-yá* is a particle used when expressing a past situation in Dagbani, it does not always have to be suffixed on the Dagbani verb. Depending on interlocutors and the context of a statement, other verb forms can express a past situation. Adding the aspectual *-yá* to verbs to express a past situation is always determined by whether an object or an adverbial occurs. Therefore, time is not a determining factor for *-yá* to be part of a past or completed situation. As illustrated in chapter two above, the aspectual suffixes mark perfective and imperfective situations but do not necessarily differentiate the present perfect from the simple past and do not distinguish the progressive meaning from the habitual present. However, some of the preverbal particles (*dì, sà, dáá*) and time adverbials (lexically composite expressions and lexical expressions), on the other hand, mostly express the various time specifications. For instance, to say a situation that happened yesterday should contain the time-depth particle *sá* or *sòhàlá* to be grammatically correct. For example:

86. **Ñ** **sá** **túm-yá**
 ISG TDP work.PFV
 I worked yesterday.

The particle *sá* is the tense marker in sentence 86. See chapter two for more illustrations on time expressions. In empirical chapter five, I refer to this in explaining the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect in using the English language.

Confirming from the import of Bhat (1999) and Comrie’s (1985) discussions that tense in tense prominent languages is grammaticalized, and tense in aspect prominent languages is lexicalized somehow applies. Therefore, in English as a tense prominent language, tense is grammaticalized. Although in Dagbani, tense is not entirely lexicalised, some of the time, adverbials can be used to mark tense. This assertion indicates that the lexical expressions, lexically composite expressions, and the time-depth are used to express tense in Dagbani. They are, however, not as obligatory as the English morphological inflections in tense expressions

since the time-depth particles are not mandatory when expressing past and future in the language. Given that, there are other means of expressing time in those languages. This difference can influence and set these speakers' English apart from other people's English. In empirical chapter five and six, we support the explanation of the effects of the Dagbani perfective and the imperfective aspects on the use of tense and aspect in English.

In conclusion, the above discussions on Dagbani's grammar and phonology, compared with that of the English language, is enough to conclude that there are some differences between the Dagbani language and the English language. This phenomenon is remarkably noteworthy for one to use to consider examining the influence of the Dagbani language on the use of the English language. For instance, the Dagbani sound system contains some features that do not exist in English and vice versa. The phonotactics of English permits some occurrences that cannot be applied in Dagbani. There are also some differences regarding the tense and aspect of both languages. In English, there is a clear-cut difference among the values within tense and aspect. Based on the contrastive analysis view, the similarities between two languages enhance learning, while the differences between languages impede learning. The arising question is what the repercussions of these differences between the two languages on the use of the English language are? These references, as stated above, are made in the empirical chapters five and six of this study to analyse the influence of the Dagbani perfective and the imperfective aspects on English. The next section discusses the spread of English around the world.

3.7 The Spread of English around the World

The spread of English was initiated through a deliberate movement of native English speakers to trade and later to colonise other speakers of different languages. Kachru (1997) posits that the spread of English started with two diasporas. The first was when the British deliberately moved in large numbers into areas that were initially not their territory. This movement began the spread of English in native English-speaking countries like America, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Kachru 1997:67).

The second diaspora was through colonisation in Africa, India, and other parts of the world the British colonised, which led to the second language varieties. The spread of English through colonisation began when British merchants arrived initially in areas they colonised.

The training of the indigenous people by the merchants for accessible communication during commercial activities marked the beginning of the implantation and spread of English (Schneider 2003; 2007). Because of the bilinguals and various languages' interference, there began to be variation in the English spoken by the indigenous people and the native speakers of English, leading to new varieties of English. Today, new varieties of English have developed in various parts of the world in recent years in countries where English functions as a second language rather than a foreign language' (Richards 1979). Within these second-language varieties of English are the West African, East African, and Southern African varieties of English. Narrowing down to the various national varieties, we can count the Nigerian, Kenyan, Gambian, and Ghanaian Englishes. Within these nations are the intranational varieties, with numerous varieties that have social identities. These socially marked varieties include the various varieties that are ethnically marked. In most of these nations, such varieties develop from the school setting because English is one of the subjects and instructional languages.

Language is a cognitive phenomenon; hence, learners come to the learning environment with the mother tongue features as established linguistic materials. In this case, speakers' existing knowledge encounters the target language as new inputs. These two pieces of information (existing and new) try to assimilate, and in the assimilation process, linguistic processes take place, leading to the rising of linguistic features based on the new knowledge but are in the model of the existing knowledge. This cognitive process is captured in Piaget's Schema Theory. Using this theory to explain learners' reading comprehension, Carrell (1984: 332) observes the theory to hold the ideology that any text, either spoken or written, does not carry meaning by itself. A text only provides directions for listeners or readers as to how they should retrieve or construct meaning from their own previously acquired knowledge. Such knowledge is called the reader's background knowledge, the previously acquired knowledge structures called schema.

In Ghana, for instance, English has been in contact with countless indigenous languages, especially in school settings where English is mostly spoken. English competes and gradually gains space in the linguistic spheres in the country. For instance, as a language of education and national language, English is in a conflict with the lingua francas (Twi, Ga, Dagbani, Ewe, Dagaare, among others) in the various regions in all social settings, as it is usually spoken and taught in the school setting. Therefore, students from all levels of education

mostly use English and indigenous languages. Hence, students use the indigenous languages as languages of communication and interaction in the home setting. Coming to the school setting with speakers' schema stuffed with the L1 features, one should expect English spoken in different tongues following the interference from the L1s of speakers due to the abrupt switch from L1 to English.

For this reason, Dagbani, as one of the indigenous languages, forms part of the schema of students from whom data for this study were obtained. This explanation suggests that new varieties are arising from Dagbani and other indigenous languages in Ghana. As mentioned above, evidence of ethnic varieties in Ghanaian English is mentioned in Dolphyne (1988) and some evidence from Adjaye (2005). It is the case that languages like; Sisaali, Kasem, Akan, Ijo, and Efik have /ɪ/ but use /i:/ in *live* and *fill* (see Dolphyne 1988:7). Moreover, one observes in Adjaye that although Akans, Ewes, and the Ga people realise all features she investigated with the Ghanaian realisation, these speakers' realisation of some features is not the same. For example, the Akans are unable to differentiate between /r/ and /l/ while the Ga people replace /ʌ/ with [o] in the pronunciation of *bus*; the Ewes make no difference between *late* and *let* as they speak English (see Adjaye 2005:277). These stand as evidence of some existing ethnolectal pronunciations in the Ghanaian linguistic context. Reference is made to some of these in chapter seven of this study. Apart from signs of ethnic varieties in Ghana, there are bits of evidence of ethnic varieties of English dotted all over the African continent. For example, Igboanusi (2006) reports that although Nigerians uniformly exhibit similar features in spoken English, they still speak differently based on ethnic lines (see Igboanusi, 2006:492). He explains the difference between Ibo English (IE) and Yoruba English (YE). While in IE, the feature in *nurse*, *church*, *shirt*, *learn*, among others, is realised as /ɛ/, it is realised as /a/ in YE (cf Igboanusi 2006:494). In the Kenyan setting, there is evidence of ethnic language features within the national variety of English. "Luos lack [ʃ], Kikuyus tend to insert nasals, and Bantu interference frequently causes a confusion of /r/ and /l/" (Schneider 2007:196).

Additionally, Anchimbe (2006) discusses identifiable features of Cameroon English, covering morphological, phonological, and syntactic features. These features identify Cameroonians as a group of people, given the variety of English they speak. Nonetheless, there are still counts of varieties marked with ethnic features from the numerous ethnic groups in Cameroon. For instance, Fonyuy (2012) looks at ethnic-based English spoken in Cameroon.

She discovers that the features in *bone*, *rain*, *able*, among other words, are realised as /u/, /ε/, /ε/, respectively, in WimE. The features in *yellow*, *next*, *Sunday* are realised as /ʒ/, /ɹ/, /ɔ/, respectively, in spoken Bantu English (BanE).

All these ethnic varieties discussed above perform various functions in these speech communities they are spoken. For instance, ‘Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English, etc., would not gradually be achieving legitimacy if they did not have distinct functional uses and requirements that could not be met by imported varieties of English’ (Richards 1979:6). Fonyuy (2012) also states that ethnic varieties of English perform second language functions. Therefore, they perform interactive, official, judiciary, and educational functions in various speech communities. Moreover, ethnic varieties do not stand as ‘islands,’ they are spawned from other English varieties and are thereby connected to them. For this reason, the discussion of the broader varieties of English and other varieties is essential in this study since reference will be made to them in the empirical chapters 5-7 as source varieties on which the topic under discussion is based, as a variety of English.

3.8 From the History of English in Ghana to Ghanaian English

We gave a brief introduction of the history of English in Ghana and GhE variety in Chapter one. This section of the chapter provides a little more detailed information on the history of English in Ghana and the emergence and features of Ghanaian English. This section also concerns a summary of the varieties across the globe. The first section presents the history of English in Ghana. In the second section, a brief discussion of Ghanaian English. The homogeneity and the heterogeneity of world Englishes is presented in the third section. The West African varieties of English are also discussed. Since West African Englishes are all second-language varieties of English and share similar features, some of the features can be referred to in explaining the features of DagbE. Moreover, the approaches to the world Englishes, the dynamic model, and the grammatical replication theory are discussed.

3.8.1 A Brief History of English in Ghana

As indicated in chapter one, English is spoken in Ghana as a second language. It is an official language, and it is used as a tool for interactive communication and language of instruction at all levels of education. This means that English has to contend with the indigenous languages to maintain its form and structure. The genesis of English in Ghana is

not different from that of Nigeria and the other West African nations. Although the Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in Ghana in the 1470s, the British took over Ghana when they arrived on the shores of Ghana as merchants. As indicated in the introductory chapter, communication was the phenomenon that created a gap between the indigenous people and the immigrants. To break this communication barrier, the British trained some of the indigenous people to facilitate a successful interaction between the two groups (Adika 2012).

Similarly, Morris (1998) posits those English lessons were first targeted groups of Ghanaians mainly to serve as interpreters to assist the British in their business activities. As a determined group of merchants, the British were to conquer, establish and expand their business. They later 'elbowed their European competitors out of business and acquired their forts and castles' (Adika 2012:152). While referring to Sackye (1997), Adika (2012) adds that confiscated forts served as schools to teach English to the indigenous people and consequently on a more structured basis in classroom settings. Philip, Quaque did a lot as a missionary (Priest) and an educator. According to (Sackey 1997), Philip Quaque contributed immensely to Cape Coast schools' sustenance by taking students through English lessons like reading and writing. The British did not solely teach English; the first people they trained did a lot in teaching English in the then Gold Coast. For instance, Morris (1998), Huber (1999), and Adika (2012) report that the missionaries also saw English as a vital tool in their missionary work. Therefore, English was used in several Wesleyan mission schools. Two educational ordinances were passed in 1822 and 1887, respectively. These were introduced into the English educational system in the form of financial support in grants and a system for schools established by the missions and private persons.

This educational ordinance and collaborative effort from the first trained English speakers and the missionary works helped spread English in Ghana. Also, the teaching of English was encouraged, while instruction in the indigenous languages was discouraged. Adika (2012) states that missionary schools and private schools taught in English were given British financial support. Schools that use the local language as a medium of instruction were not given support. This action was part of the calculated efforts to spread English. According to Morris (1998), the British also sent some Ghanaians abroad to study to spread English.

As a result of the British and the first elites of Ghana's efforts in the implantation of English in the 16th century, English continually spreads within the lengths and breadths of Ghana. The first Christian missionaries' relentless efforts in English teaching and their efforts to impact schools remain alive, given that mission, schools continue to be part of the best schools in Ghana. English and formal education, however, centred on the southern part of Ghana than the northern part. For instance, Thomas (1998) explains the backwardness of the northern sector in education. This scholar explains that the West African countries' coastal boundaries usually had direct and long-time contact with the colonisers. Apart from that, the northern part of Ghana had not much contribution to the exportable mineral resources. The only thing that created a connection between the north and the British remained the social change (the missionary work). This point explains that the northern sector did not catch the interest of the British. This explains why the northern sector of Ghana remains backward in formal education to date. Education was the sole responsibility of missionaries and the government (see Thomas, 1998:427). Thus, whichever sector did not fall within the education providers', interest zone had less education or no education at all. In this case, the introduction of English in Ghana led to the introduction of formal education in general.

3.8.2 Ghanaian English (GhE)

As indicated in the introductory chapter, several scholars have raised concerns about the criticisms of GhE, while others think GhE does not exist at all. However, a careful examination of the issues raised could be regarded as distinctive features of Ghanaian English. Therefore, this section discusses the English spoken in Ghana. GhE does not exclude the influence of the various indigenous languages. This assertion explains why a discussion of GhE is highly considered in this study. For example, some grammatical features and some pronunciations of words are exclusive to the English spoken in Ghana. One would say these features result from simplification, restructuring, and some innovative processes of Schneider (2003; 2007). The explanation of the features in the analysis chapters 5-7 refers to some of these innovative processes.

According to Adjaye (2005), English arrived in Ghana in the fifteenth century. This means that English has coexisted with the indigenous languages for a long time. Perhaps, it will coexist with the indigenous languages forever. The contact between English and the local languages has produced new language forms in English and vice versa. The new form and

structure, especially of English, have attracted many researchers (Sey 1973; Huber 1999; Dako 2003; Adjaye and Gyasi 1997). Some of these new forms and structures of Ghanaian English usually are regarded as mistakes and deviant uses. Sey (1973), for instance, carried out a study on Ghanaian English. This author discovered many identifying features of it. Sey identifies and discusses the deviant uses of these features, including some deviant grammatical uses in educated Ghanaian English. They have wrong grammatical markers, abnormal uses of count noncount nouns, the omission of articles in English, deviant use of the ‘-ing’ form of the verb (where ‘I am seeing him’ means ‘visiting him’) in GhE (see Sey 1973:35). Sey attributes most of the deviant uses in Ghanaian English to the mother tongue. Even though Sey has not captured how tense and aspect of the L1 affect or influence the English spoken in Ghana. Some features investigated in this study are attributed to the mother tongue.

Scholars like Gyasi (1990) also think English spoken in Ghana is rudimentary and not acceptable. Given this, Gyasi openly shows his dislike for English spoken in Ghana in his writing when he laments that English in Ghana is very ill.

The cancerous tumors are countless: wrong collocation, false concord, poor spelling due to unfamiliarity with the word or to mispronunciation, inability to handle the third person singular in particular the tenses generally, wrong omission or insertion of articles; misuse of prepositions, errors arising from mother-tongue interference; the paucity of vocabulary. Gyasi (1990:24).

Although Gyasi’s literally criticised GhE, the authors’ assertion suggests that the influence of the mother tongue on English is quite strong, and it is inevitable not only in the Ghanaian context but in all areas where the non-native varieties are spoken. The mispronunciation of words and tense expression attributed to the mother tongue by Gyasi will help support the point that Dagbani, as the mother tongue of the Dagomba people, provides the characteristics of GhE variety, including DagbE in this study.

Although pidgin in Ghana is marginalised and sometimes receives negative attitudes from Ghanaians, especially from educated Ghanaians, Huber (1999) carried out an extensive investigation on Ghanaian Pidgin English. Drawing inferences from Huber’s explanation of the phenomenon, one can say that Ghanaian pidgin developed from English, the indigenous languages of Ghana, and Nigerian Pidgin. GhaPE and GhE are spoken by two different groups of people. While GhE and usually spoken by educated Ghanaians, GhaPE is mostly spoken by people with little or no formal education at all. Features of GhaPE pronunciation are relevant

for the explanation of some features investigated in chapter seven. Among some issues Huber (1999) discusses is the diachronic description of West African Pidgin English and the synchronic-structural description of Ghanaian Pidgin English.

The latter is worth discussing for this study because some of the features can help explain some features in chapter seven. Discussing Ghanaian Pidgin English, henceforth, GhaPE, Huber observes that speakers' production or use of sounds in GhaPE largely depends on its existence in the individual speakers' L1. Therefore, the pronunciation of words in GhaPE is not uniform as speakers come from different ethnic groups and would produce sounds based on their various L1s. This point suggests that there are many ethnic varieties of English in the Ghanaian context giving the country's number of ethnic groups. Hence, the topic under discussion in this study. The GhaPE, therefore, has almost the same vowels (monophthongs) as the local languages. The monophthongs include, /i: e, a, ε, o, ɔ, u:/, and the diphthongs; /ai, au, ɔi, iε, εa, uɔ/ where the last two usually undergo reduction and monophthongisation to /ε/ and /ɔ/ respectively, see (Huber 1999:170). The process of monophthongisation is one of the features investigated in this study. Therefore, some features of GhaPE supports the explanation of some features of DagbE. When Huber talks about tense, among other features of the grammatical system in GhaPE, he posits a difference between the West African Pidgin English (WAPEs) and GhaPE. He notes that the GhaPE is different from the WAPE since it has no anterior marker of tense.

Huber also notes that in GhaPE, relative tense markers are typically time adverbials, and the simple past tense usually is expressed by the forms of the unmarked verbs. Huber also observes that the use of the time adverbials, *nau* 'now,' *fes* 'formerly,' and *bifo* 'before,' with unmarked verbs are used to mark non-past in GhaPE. It is demonstrated from the phonology and grammar of the GhaPE that the mother tongue always has a role to play in any variety of English, including the pidgin spoken, not only in the Ghanaian context but in West Africa and Africa as a whole. Some of these features are referred to in the analysis of the investigated features in chapters five to seven of this study.

Huber (1999) also discusses the sociolinguistic aspect of the GhaPE by considering peoples' attitudes towards it. Huber's discussion on the sociolinguistic aspect of the GhaPE notes pidgin is associated with uneducated people like watchmen, taxi drivers, driver mates,

and labourers. This aspect of the GhaPE is not discussed further since it does not relate much to the study. Nevertheless, Huber identifies the mother tongue influencing GhaPE and has indicated some innovative strategies, such as /ɜ/ in *first* being restructured as [ɛ] in GhaPE as in fɛs. The L1 influence here supports the restructuring of /ɛ/ with /ɜ:/ in *service* in DagbE in empirical chapter seven of this study.

In Dako's (2003) paper entitled "Ghanaianisms", a glossary containing lexical items found in GhE is provided. This aspect of nativisation has, over the years, been one of the identifying features of GhE, which makes it different from other West African varieties. Even though this study is beyond the lexical level of nativisation, this kind of literature is worth referring to as a nativised aspect of Ghanaian English. The same nativisation is continuously referred to in the analysis chapters of this study. Dako Identified dozens of the local words, especially nominals like *adinkra* (one of the symbols in Akan), *kontommere* (Akan name for cocoyam leaves), and *Abolo* (steamed fermented maize dough), among others. Some of such words are direct translations from the L1, as in; *mouth* (boastful, bragging, and arrogant), *mourning cloth* (dark clothes worn for funerals), and *moon die* (end of the month), and others may only be understood by Ghanaians, (Dako 2003). As stated above, this is one form of nativising (acculturating) the English language to the country's level of flexible usage. Although not exactly as discussed in Dako, simplification and restructuring as innovative strategies under nativisation are part of the issues to which reference is made in this study. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Adjaye (2005) is yet another scholar who looked at GhE. Adjaye identifies English vowels that are substituted with other vowels in GhE as follows, /i/ is realised as /i:/, /ə/ as either /e/ or /ɪ/, while /a/ corresponds to /æ/ and /ɑ:/, among others in GhE. Besides, referring to (Harman 1931; Wells 1982), Adjaye notes that Ghanaians make no distinction between /i/ and /ɪ/. The popularity of English, its many varieties, and dialects has become a complex phenomenon in the world. Scholars' interest in this phenomenon is to define, classify, and research in its numerous varieties. The quest to explain and draw lines between the New Englishes led many scholars, including (Kachru 1985; Jenkins 2009; Götz and Schilk 2011; Melchers and Shaw 2015) to classify world Englishes function in society. The next section concerns the discussion of the broader categories that are set to explain other varieties of English in the next section.

3.8.3 The ENL-ESL-EFL Categorisation of English

World Englishes have been termed differently before. These varieties have been labelled differently depending on the role of English at a given time in society. For instance, a dichotomy has been made between the following categorisation: ENL (English as a Native Language), which is a mother tongue to the speakers of the categorisation of the variety. ENL is mainly spoken in UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; ESL (English as a Second Language) is used as a second language in countries like India, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Cameroon Singapore, among others. EFL (English as a Foreign Language) refers to varieties of English spoken in China, Korea, Japan and many others (Jenkins 2009; Götz and Schilk 2011; Melchers and Shaw 2015).

Kachru (1997) distinguishes the same categorisation into three types, namely norm-providing (the inner circle /ENL category), norm-developing (the Outer Circle/ESL) categorisation and norm-dependent (the expanding circle/ EFL) categorisation. All these categorisations of the same phenomenon play different roles in describing world Englishes as a whole. For the purpose of this study, the first set of categorisation is further discussed.

Explaining the functional difference between ESL and EFL, Götz and Schilk (2011) note that English is used as a variety for both international and intranational purposes in the ESL-context, but only used for international purpose or in restricted institutionalised settings in the EFL context (see Götz and Schilk 2011:80). In Melchers and Shaw's (2015) to discuss world Englishes observe that ENL sets standards for ESL and EFL. Melchers and Shaw (2015) describe ESL as a categorisation of English that results from colonisation and spoken as a second language. They further note that ESL varieties differ radically from ENL, in that ESL is characteristic of local features. Indigenous languages influence the ESL varieties of English. Explaining EFL, Melchers and Shaw relate the explanation of EFL to the expanding circle of Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles. The inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. For a detailed read on the above categorisation of English, (see Götz and Schilk 2011; Melchers and Shaw 2015).

A more complicated way of looking at the world Englishes is discussed by Seargeant (2010). This author posits that the act of naming a variety depends on the context in which the variety is spoken. Given this, the author groups the varieties of English into six categories. One

of the groups is Varieties marked to function as a Second Language (ESL). Others are English as Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Native Language (ENL), English as an Additional Language (EAL), English as an International Language (EIL), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). They are all named as such based on their various functions in society. He maintains that EAL (English as an Additional Language) is considered a substitute for ESL, especially when the fundamental discrepancy between ESL and ENL is given. Moreover, EIL (English as an International Language) is a substitution for EFL, especially when EFL is distinguished from ESL (see Seargeant 2010:103).

The second category is the varieties marked according to the community. Seargeant clarifies that such varieties are grouped according to their political role and identity construction role in the community. Its sub-groups include Metropolitan standards ((ENL), a highly rated and prestigious group among the groups or varieties of English are British and American English. Regional/social dialects, Immigrant Englishes, Native/non-native varieties, and Global English. Global English is not limited to any variety but by globalisation as a universal language. This classification of varieties is referred to, as we situate DagbE as a variety of English in the Ghanaian context.

The third category, Seargeant (2010) discusses, is varieties marked in terms of their history. This category portrays the diachronic processes through which they evolved. Its subsets include Language-shift Englishes (varieties that develop from a total linguistic shift from indigenous languages to foreign languages, such as Australia and New Zealand English, among others). Colonial standards (standard varieties developed from colonisation but are part of ENL), Indigenised Englishes (varieties developed from colonisation, but usually are ESL). Indigenised varieties are referred to in chapters five to seven of this study. Also, among the six categories is the category of varieties marked according to their structure. Referring to Mufwene (1997), Seargeant describes the indigenised varieties as varieties that have been treated as 'illegitimate offspring' of English. They consist of Pidgin Englishes/creole Englishes and Hybrid Englishes. The fifth one is the varieties marked regarding the ecology of other varieties; it includes the inner, outer and expanding circle varieties; they are replicates of the ENL, ESL, and EFL differentiation, but have different variations), the world Englishes/ new Englishes. According to Seargeant, the World Englishes represents the multiplicity of English varieties globally, and the new Englishes refers to varieties like ESL, which developed from

the British colonies. And lastly, English as multiplex, which also includes the world Englishes, ranging from British, American Australian to Nigerian varieties. English language complex refers to the entire varieties of Englishes (cf Seargeant 2010:102-108). As reviewed, most of the above discussed Englishes are repeated in different categories depending on their categorisation. Also, all the categories presuppose that “language is linked to its social function, to the people who use it and their history, and to the nature of modern global society”; and thus, “each of these categories represents a particular perspective on the status of the language within human the society” (Seargeant 2010:109).

As varieties of English do not stand in isolation but are connected to wider categories in both function and the features they possess, discussing them to show their relatedness to this current study is expedient. The three broad categories of English, ENL, ESL, and EFL varieties as a model may or may not be differentiated at almost all linguistic levels. In one way, the differences between the varieties are trickling down from the national varieties to social and ethnic varieties, as investigated in this study. For instance, Jenkins (2009) notes that even though these three categories of English are not easily differentiated, they are still considered different and are the basis from which the most complicated types are explained. This means that each of the three broad types does not represent a single variety of English. Kachru’s (1985; 1988; 1990) discussion on the three concentric circles, as discussed in the next section, shows that ESL, the outer circle consists of different varieties marked by nativeness as their main defining feature. Therefore, but for South African English, English spoken in Africa is a typical example of the ESL (see also Fonyuy 2012). Since the influence of Dagbani on English is under ESL, describing ESL as a category of English spoken in Africa is essential. This is because it contributes in one way to the understanding, classification, and explanation of the features that lead to the influence of Dagbani on English. Other approaches that could explain world Englishes are discussed below. The above discussion suggests that world Englishes is a complex phenomenon, and its complexity calls for different ways of supporting investigations within this phenomenon. As discussed below, Bolton (2005; 2013) has grouped the approaches and proponents to simplify studies within the phenomenon for researchers.

3.9 Approaches to World Englishes

As mentioned above, the growing interest in studying World Englishes has led to many approaches and theories that support the explanation of the features that form English varieties’

defining characteristics. Some of the approaches to world Englishes and their proponents that Bolton (2003; 2005) has grouped and discussed are presented below. One of those approaches is English studies, approaches. The proponents of approaches to English studies are Quirk (1962; 1972; 1990), Burchfield (1985), Greenbaum (1985), Quirk and Widdowson (1985), McArthur (1992; 1998). These scholars propose approaches to describe varieties and the history of English from the 1960s to date.

Bolton (2005) highlights English corpus linguistics as part of the approaches. Corpus Linguistics is an approach, which seeks to provide accurate and detailed linguistic descriptions of world Englishes from the 1990s to date. Bolton identifies the proponents to be Greenbaum (1996) and Nelson (1996). Another approach is the sociology of language propounded by Fishman (1972), Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad (1977), and Fishman et al. (1996). The approach has existed since the 1960s and is meant to investigate linguistic issues related to maintenance, ethnolinguistics, and identity. Trudgill and Hannah (1982; 1994), and Cheshire (1991) invented a 'feature-based' approach in the 1980s to help describe varieties of English that arose through dialectology. Bolton has not left out Kachruvian studies which were popularly used in the 1980s and are still used to promote a pluricentric approach to world Englishes. It helps explain the 'sociolinguistic realities' and 'bilingual creativity' of the outer circle and the expanding circle. Proponents of this approach are Kachru (1982; 1983; 1986a.), Smith (1981; 1987), Lowenberg (1984), Gupta (1994), Pakir et al. (1994), Bautista (1997), Kirkpatrick (2002), Bolton (2003). Also, among the list of approaches Bolton (2005) enumerated is an approach for pidgin and creole studies known as language hybridisation. The proponents are Reinecke (1937), Todd (1984), Muhlhausler (1986), Romaine (1988), Holm (1988; 1989), Sebba (1997), Mufwene (2001). They seek to describe and analyse 'mixed' languages and the dynamics of linguistic hybridisation from the 1930s. Other theories include applied linguistics, lexicography, popularizers, critical linguistics, and linguistic futurology. Other approaches also support the investigation of world Englishes.

Depending on what is investigated, any of these approaches can support a study, including this current investigation. However, other theories more appropriately explain the linguistic features in this study than the above approaches. Apart from the world Englishes approaches, some models have been developed to support the description of the features of the

world Englishes. Among such models is Kachru's Model, the three concentric circles, and the dynamic models are discussed in the next section.

3.10 The Three Concentric Circles

In the 1980s, a World Englishes' scholar, Kachru, studied the spread of English and its function in society and categorised World Englishes into circles. He developed the three concentric circles model based on the functional use of English. The three concentric circles are used in the field of English studies to date. Thus, Kachru (1985) relates the ENL, ESL, and the EFL to the inner circle, English as a first language, and speakers' mother tongue. The outer circle represents English as an L2 and functions as an official, administrative, and the language of governance. The primary function here is that English has official status. The diagram of the concentric circles is presented below.

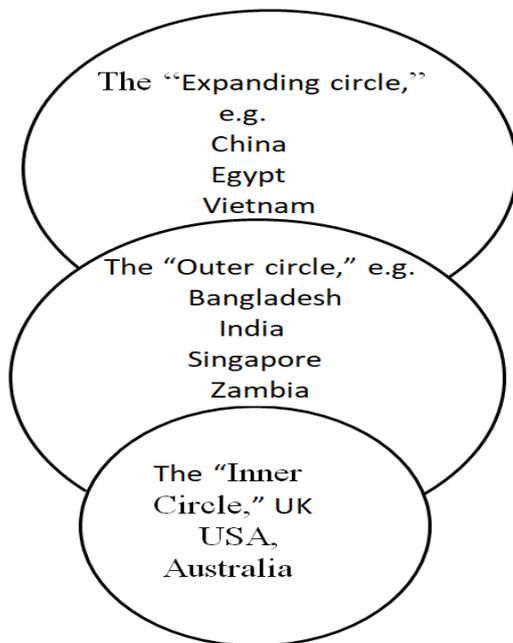


Figure 3.4 Kachru's Concentric Circles (Source: Kachru 1996:12)

Highlighting this model's usefulness, Kachru (1988) observes two issues that constitute the outcomes of contact between English and other languages. First is the English language's influence on the local languages (Englishisation), and second, the impact of the local languages on the English language (nativisation). Nativisation "occurs when English undergoes linguistic assimilation with features of the local language" (Ahn 2017:3). It is indicated from Kachru's

model that the outer circle, non-native varieties, or ESL has nativisation as its defining feature. This is because the outer circle distinguishes itself from the other two circles in that the Outer Circle is characterised by institutionalised, multilingual, and multicultural contexts of the non-native varieties of English. Therefore, nativisation is a crucial feature of the outer circle. Besides, Kachru (1990:13) notes that the strength of English lies in its multicultural specificity, which the language reveals in its formal and functional characteristics, as in, for example, West Africa, South Asia, and the Philippines. He adds that these characteristics have given English distinct cultural identities in these regions, and recognition of this fact is essential for any insightful research on the world varieties of English.

DagbE might be characterised by cultural and the L1's features. However, despite the usefulness and the popularity of the Kachru model, it has attracted criticisms. For instance, Sung-Yul and Wee (2009), when referring to other critics of the model, summarise the model's weaknesses as they provide solutions to them. They refer to the criticism of (Pennycook 2003; Bruthiaux 2003), who argue that the three concentric circles only presented English varieties at the national level, ignoring that along with the social class, ethnicity, and gender lines. Additionally, Sung-Yul and Wee (2009) mentioned that the national varieties' significant phonetic and phonological variation had not been considered. Instead, the model only produces a list of speakers of those varieties.

Additionally, these critics think the model has led to the exclusion of many non-native varieties that could have been part of the outer circle. Furthermore, the principle that the model presents describes national varieties; however, it does not highlight the description of the national varieties. For example, the nature of the classification has also led to the South African English being regarded as part of the inner circle. This leads to the neglect of that part of the South African English that falls under the institutionalised varieties (cf Sung-Yul and Wee 2009: 391). Despite all these criticisms, Sung-Yul and Wee argue that the three concentric circles represent the differences among the varieties based on their roles in the English-speaking world. Nonetheless, they share the same understanding and values, even though the inner circle is regarded as a higher standard of English than the outer and the expanding circles (cf Sung-Yul and Wee 2009). Moreover, these authors note that speakers will view varieties of English not only along with the axis of sameness and difference but also with respect to the (perceived) social values such as authority and authenticity, as 'good English' versus 'broken

English' (see Sung-Yul and Wee (2009:396). In such evaluations, it is again the national varieties that are frequently used as points of reference because they serve as a salient basis for identifying varieties of English and justifying hierarchies of global power relations.

This assertion is worth considering since the national varieties are the prevailing varieties that other varieties based on social levels are built on. Besides indicating the usefulness of Kachru's model in the speech community, Anchimbe (2006) states that the implication of the model is that English is far from facing dead ends (see Anchimbe 2006:23). This scholar further explains that English continues to soar high in terms of the number of users and the popularity it gains. For instance, he observes that in Cameroon, English is promoted alongside French in administration and formal settings in places where French was initially used as an official language. The main reason is to encourage the use of English. Thus, English is preferred in settings where the opportunity is given to study a foreign language. This policy enhances English as an official language which is the main feature of the outer circle of the three concentric circles.

Although the influence of Dagbani on the English language makes a clear manifestation of the nativised features as captured as a feature of the outer circle, the three concentric circles do not present the parameters at the micro-level that can support the influence investigated. Among the above-explained approaches, some approaches can support this study. Still, other models can better explain the features set as a foundation for the influence of this study. One such model is the dynamic model, which is discussed in the next section.

3.11 The Dynamic Model of Postcolonial English

Schneider (2003; 2007) developed the dynamic model to account for English varieties that arose from language contact situations through colonisation. Colonisation was initially used by Mufwene (2001b) concerning the evolution of creole to explain the ecology of language evolution. However, Schneider (2003; 2007) adopted it later and further developed it into this model. The dynamic model is founded on two notions. Firstly, the characteristic patterns of the five progressive evolutionary stages and their related linguistic features; secondly, the two interwoven participant groups of the Post-Colonial Englishes (PCEs) process. Schneider refers to these two groups as 'strands'; the 'strands' are the settlers' group (STL strand), and the indigenous community (IDG strand) see (Schneider 2007:32-33). He

refers to the STL 'strand' and IDG 'strand' as the colonisers and the colonised, respectively. Moreover, the STL 'strand' and IDG 'strand' are not different from the ENL and ESL concepts, respectively. Since the immigrants spoke English as a native language and the IDG, the indigenous people acquired English as a second language.

The two notions are fundamental in the PCEs process since the PCEs cannot be without the two together. While explaining the relationship between the strands, Schneider states that the STL group and the IDG population share the same land and the same language in the PCEs process. Even though these two groups show a bit of difference at the initial stage of their existence, the PCEs processes' records are combined efforts between these two strands. These linguistic features that are developed in the PCEs process are attributed to these two groups. The evolving linguistic features from these two groups, trending towards a new variety, permit the dynamic model to be divided into the above-mentioned five progressive evolutionary stages. These progressive stages and the two intertwined 'strands' are inseparable in the PCEs process.

The five progressive stages form the model's pivot as the evolving linguistic features manifest in them. For instance, looking at the foundation stage, English is transported from one territory (Britain) to another region (the colonised community) by the STL 'strand' to the IDG strand.' Through political and economic powers, English is forced on the IDG strand. This leads to developments like; Koineization, lexical borrowing, and pidginization (cf Schneider, 2007:35).

In the exonormative stabilisation phase (stage 2), the STL 'strand' becomes formally and politically stabilised, and English is established as an official language in the host country. At this stage, foreign norms are set as standards to which the local forms refer. As the cross-cultural language contact increases, it results in more linguistic changes in the lexical borrowing, syntactic, and morphological systems.

Nativisation (3rd stage) is considered the climax and most crucial stage of the PCEs process, as acculturation, linguistic changes, and creativity occur and manifest at this stage. Thus, there are more and intense linguistic effects where linguistic expressions are marked and become a new identity (cf Schneider 2007:44). The indigenous language heavily influences the phonology of English. Also, terms that sound meaningless in the source variety tend to be

evident at this stage. Morphology and syntax also undergo nativisation as the contact between these two languages become more intense. The nativised indigenous forms gain preference over the source language (ibid).

The endonormative stabilisation (stage 4) succeeds political independence. Here, the local linguistic norms are accepted in formal settings. The new variety is linguistically established, and local standards are accepted to coexist with the original variety. This stage is also marked with language shift and language death since more indigenous communities shift to English use. The local variety is codified and written in books.

Differentiating is the final stage of the 5 phases. At this stage, the new variety gains equilibrium. All uses that could generate questions concerning the status of the new identity as an independent variety are cleared, giving way to the new English, as a regional variety of English. However, intranational variety differentiation leads to smaller identity groups, as in; political, social class, age, and ethnic groups, each with their associate linguistic variants surfacing.

Many studies on PCEs can be conducted using this model. For instance, the nature of any linguistic feature investigated informs a researcher to underpin his or her research with any of the five progressive evolutionary stages. For example, Schneider (2007) uses the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd phases of the dynamic model to describe the variety of English spoken in Nigeria see (Schneider 2007:144). Using this model and these same phases, one can account for any developing variety in Ghana because Ghana and Nigeria fall under the same outer cycles of Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles. For instance, even though the STL group did not settle in Ghana, one cannot deny that the STL arrival in Ghana marked the introduction of English in the IDG community; and the development of English in the first place is similar to the first phase of the model. According to Adjaye (2005), the genesis of English in Ghana dates to the fourteenth century, when British trade merchants arrived on the country's coast and began trading with the indigenous people. Therefore, the beginning of English in Ghana was based on trade and colonialism.

Also, the type of colonisation and manner of colonisation in Ghana and Nigeria are not different. Trading in other commodities like gold finally resulted in slave trade and the imposition of political powers from the superstrate population. Moreover, the appropriateness

of this model for this study stems from the fact that the two intertwined strands relate to ENL and ESL. These stand for the inner and outer circles, respectively.

In the third phase of the model, nativisation is, in fact, the most important and the one that appropriately supports the investigation of the influence of Dagbani on the Dagomba use of English. This is because English is spoken by the Dagomba bilinguals who speak English as a second language. The English they speak is influenced by linguistic changes and creativity, based on Dagbani grammatical and phonological features.

Nativisation is a broader term for all borrowed and stabilised local forms or features, nuances, and connotations from the local languages into the foreign language. The term nativisation has been phrased differently by different scholars. For instance, Al-Amin Mazrui (1986), refers to it as indigenisation. In addition, Mufwene (2001b) relates to nativisation as indigenisation when he points to it as an identifying feature of the Nigerian, Indian, and the East African Englishes (see Mufwene, 2001b: 8). Kachru (1978b; 1986) is one of the first scholars to use the term nativisation. Kachru (1978b; 1986) uses nativisation to explain the features of the new Englishes in the Indian context. Schneider (2003; 2007) adopts the term nativisation, captured as the third stage of the dynamic model's five progressive stages. Nativisation is an essential feature in non-native Englishes, including ethnic varieties of English.

However, nativisation being an umbrella term, Schneider (2007) moves a step further to identify the parameters of nativisation that lead to the PCEs. These parameters can best explain the features that form the basis of Dagbani's influence on English, a phenomenon that is investigated in this study. The sources and processes that lead to nativisation in the PCEs processes are continuing, innovations, and contact. Among these three is the linguistic innovation under which we find the kind of innovation that can best support and explain the investigated linguistic features. They include simplification, restructuring, and exaptation. Based on Schneider's explanation of the processes, simplification may involve, first, simplifying the articulation of some sounds. An example of a similar nativisation process is observed in Fonyuy (2012) explanation of BanE /o/ replacing the RP /əʊ/, which does not exist in the L1. Speakers do this to make the pronunciation simple for themselves. The second

explanation of simplification involves regularity (applying rules to other forms without exemptions).

Restructuring is another term that forms part of innovation. According to Schneider, restructuring may include re-analysing, reducing features, or forms that lead to understanding and using processes differently (cf Schneider 2007:105). Scholars have used the restructuring to explain similar features, as this study investigates. For instance, Simo Bobda (2000) uses restructuring to describe the *nurse* vowel feature in the English pronunciation of Sub-Saharan Africa. He observed that second language users differently restructure the vowel /ɜ:/ to /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /e/, based on their country of origin. Similar features are described using restructuring in this study and would be referred to in chapter seven.

Continuity (a form or a type of usage inherited from native speakers) is also an explanation of the nativisation process. Fonyuy (2012), for example, also observes continuing as an innovative strategy in educated Nso English in the pronunciation of the word, nurse. She also observes a diphthong reduction in Cameroon English ethnolects. This parameter (continuity) is useful in explaining some features in this study since some occurrences are not attributed to the L1 and could be termed as inherited features. Exaptation is another innovative process referred to in the concluding chapter to highlight grammatical subcategorical function change. Exaptation involves linguistic items, which perform functions that they initially do not perform.

It is not all the sources or processes of nativisation that explain the features investigated in this study. For instance, grammaticalization and regularising and loss lack explanatory support to appropriately explain this study's linguistic features. Grammaticalisation, for example, involves a lexical category performing the function of a grammatical item (Schneider 2007); see also Heine and Kuteva (2006), Comrie (1985). Loss also involves refraining from the use of some mandatory linguistic features with some items. Thus, none of these explains the features of the influence investigated in this study.

Contact is also a parameter from which the transfer of linguistic items or functions from a source language to a recipient language occurs. A typical example of a study or approach regarding this kind of innovation is Heine and Kuteva (2006) grammatical replication. According to Schneider, the explanation of grammatical replication captured in Heine and

Kuteva clearly explains what happens in the PCEs process. Contact-induced influence appropriately supports the explanation of some features, especially the grammatical section of this study. Thus, restructuring, simplification, continuing, and contact (grammatical replication) explain the linguistic features in analysis chapters five to seven of this study.

Whether the fourth phase is applicable in the outer circle, Schneider's assertion on how that stage is applicable in the Nigerian context counts. Schneider states that traces of the 4th stage of the model are seen in Nigerian English since there are suggestions that the endonormative model should replace the exonormative model (see Schneider 2007:210). Drawing from Schneider's (2007) one could consider the 5th phase somehow inapplicable in the Ghanaian context. He shows that varieties within the outer circle have not reached the differentiating stage, as in: social class, age, and political identities are not prominent in the language community. However, there is a proliferation of varieties on the ethnic divide; hence, what is investigated in this study.

Moreover, it is noted that there are varieties of English in Ghana, as Criper (1971) and Sey (1973) both attest to the fact that there is a correlation between speakers' level of education and the type of English they speak. However, indicated in chapter one, Sey differs a bit, as his work criticised what is termed as GhE. Huber (1999) also mentions Ghanaians' attitudes towards pidgin and the fact that pidgin is spoken by group members to show solidarity or loyalty to which groups they belong. We will refer to these works in chapter seven to explain the investigated features.

There are pieces of evidence that create the impression that the differentiating phase of the dynamic model already exists, of which the topic under discussion is no exception. It is true that since one can identify a Ghanaian at the phonological level when s/he speaks, one can also easily identify the local language one speaks. Some features are prominent in the English they speak and can lead to the identification of the ethnicity of a speaker. For instance, as stated in the above discussion Dolphyne (1988) cites the Akans' inability to differentiate between /r/ and /l/, Ga people replacing /ʌ/ with [o] in bus and must, and Ewes pronouncing let and late indistinctively as let. These are all shreds of evidence that show that differentiation based on the ethnic divide, education, and social divide are in the English spoken in Ghana. Therefore, the 5th phase, to some extent, applies to this investigation.

This model is appropriate for explaining English varieties in the West African sub-region, as seen in the discussion below. We look at the homogeneity and heterogeneity of World Englishes within African and West African English, in the next section, giving the fact that the phenomenon investigated is under West African English.

3.12 Homogeneity and Heterogeneity of World Englishes

There are often several regional English varieties in Africa, namely, the East African, West African, and the Southern African varieties of English (cf Wolf 2010; Simo Bobda 2000). This section discusses homogeneity and heterogeneity within World Englishes. This section is considered essential because the varieties of English spoken in Africa have typically been described as varieties that are influenced by the indigenous languages. Some features discussed in this section are relevant to the explanation of the features that bring about the influence of Dagbani on English, leading to an ethnic variety of English.

History shows two broad categorisations of the English language, the Native Englishes and the non-native Englishes. Drawing from scholars (Spencer 1971; Tiffen 1974; Wells, 1982; Bayley and Gortlach 1984), Atechi (2006) states that some features from the indigenous languages characterise the non-native varieties. The non-native variety is further subdivided into English as a foreign language and English as a second language.

These two categorisations of the Englishes arose in 'strict' terms from exploitation and colonisation, respectively (cf Mufwene 2001; Schneider 2003; 2007). As shown in the above discussion, the world Englishes, ENL, EFL, and ESL are functionally grouped into the three concentric circles in Kachru's (1985) model (the inner circle, the expanding circle, and the outer circle, respectively). Per the aim of this study, EFL (the expanding circle) is not further discussed since it does not relate so much to this study as the ESL does. The ESL is closely related to the study, and best explains the English varieties in Africa and ethnic varieties of English. The varieties of English spoken in Africa, as mentioned above, have been said to include Southern African English (Zimbabwean, Zambian, and South African Englishes). The West African English, hence off, WAE (Cameroonian, Gambian, Ghanaian, Liberian, and Nigeran Englishes); and East African English, henceforth EAE (Kenyan, Ugandan, Tanzanian Englishes), (Simo Bobda 2000; Schneider 2003; 2007; Mufwene 2005). Besides Africans' spelling pronunciation of English words and their full pronunciation of words, other features

make the English spoken within the various nations of the continent similar, even though some differences can be perceived within those varieties. For instance, scholars like (Welmer 1973; Simo Bobda, 2000) have identified some vowels and consonants naturally common to African languages. These authors in their respective works state that African languages have vowels /i, e, a, ε, o, ɔ, u/ and the consonants, / p, f, w, m, t, d, s, r, n, k, g, h, y, ŋ, kp, gb/ (see Welmers 1973:52; Atechi 2006:8). The above-listed vowels and consonants and other factors could account for the homogeneity of the English spoken in the continent. Therefore, it will not be uncommon to find some of the features of English spoken elsewhere in the continent being present in the current study and can be used to explain some of the features that are the source of influence of Dagbani on English.

Varieties of English in Africa (West, Southern, East African Englishes) are intrinsically interwoven, and at the same time, sparingly apart. Because some phonological features, as shown above, and the grammatical features in the African languages are almost the same. However, despite the similarities among the consonants, vowels, and grammatical features in nearly all the regions/countries, “the substitution for non-occurring native English vowels is not the same throughout Africa” (Simo Bobda 2000:125). This explanation suggests that in these countries, those sounds of the English language that are not present in the African languages sound system are restructured differently, giving rise to different accents and pronunciations in other parts of the continent, countries, and even among the various ethnic groups.

There are other reasons for the heterogeneity of the varieties of English in Africa. Wolf (2010) gives reasons or sources for heterogeneity and the number of English varieties in Africa. Wolf explains that as English was introduced in Africa through colonialism, the British colonial masters, unlike that of the French colonist, in British colonist,

“[...] children did not receive education at all because of the unwillingness of the British to become financially involved. This educational policy had sociolinguistic consequences that persist until today” (Wolf 2010:198).

This point suggests the import that the British did not want to devote their time and resources to the teaching of English to the indigenous people. Apart from the colonisers’ lackadaisical attitude towards English teaching, Wolf (2010) points to colonial input, geographical proximity, attitude, and functional distribution of language and language varieties as some of

the factors that account for the differences in WAE and the EAE. Colonial input is not completely different from continuity, one of the parameters of nativisation outlined by (Schneider 2007). Wolf explains the colonial input with the vowel /ʌ/ in the word *trust*. He explains that the /ʌ/ in *trust* was still realised as /ɔ/ when the British arrived in West Africa in the 17th century but had changed to /ʌ/ when they arrived in East Africa in the 19th century.⁷ Therefore, the indigenous people copied the colonisers' pronunciation. Colonisers' pronunciation or continuity is referred to in explaining some features in this study since some of the features do not have their basis in the mother tongue but can only be attributed to copying.

Wolf explains that geographic location or proximity also accounts for similarities and differences in the varieties within the continent. There is quite a distance between East and West Africa, a contributory factor for the variation. Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania's proximity to one another is one reason for the similarity in the English citizens of these countries speak. Wolf also notes that the endonormative processes contribute to the homogenisation and differentiation of the WAE and EAE in Africa. This similarity stems from the pressure national norms for English teaching, and English use exerts on speakers; the endonormative processes make all speakers going by the national norm. The features that account for the heterogeneity in these varieties are part of the Ghanaian varieties of English features, which does not exclude DagbE. These features serve as a reference to some features that are investigated in this study.

On the functional distribution of languages, Wolf (2010) explains that Kiswahili's role as a national language in East African has also led to the homogeneity of EAE. He also notes that the use of Kiswahili as a national language has prevented the development of pidgin in East Africa, even though the existence of East African Pidgin (Sheng) cannot be denied. Wolf

⁷ I think there could be another reason, which accounts for the vowel /ʌ/ in *trust* being realised as /ɔ/ in West African English since it is realised as /a/ in Ghanaian English. This reason could be due to influence from the nature of speakers in the various nations L1s and not just the period of colonisation.

concludes that the varieties of English spoken in West Africa are more heterogeneous than the EAE; it may be because there is a less substrate influence on the superstrate language when an indigenous language is used as a national language (see Wolf 2010). Even though the EAE varieties have common linguistic features, and WAE is more heterogeneous, one factor that is a real unifier between the WAE and EAE varieties is Nativisation. Nativisation is identified as a common feature in all second-language varieties (see Kachru 1985; Schneider 2003; 2007; Simo Bobda, 2000; Wolf 2010). This reason for heterogeneity and some defining features that unites WAE and what is investigated in this study makes WAE worth discussing. In sum, “the heterogeneity of these diverse contexts makes English an icon of identity that reflects not only its users’ linguistic behaviour but also their cultural heritage” Anchimbe (2006:25).

3.13 Grammatical Replication

Based on what is investigated in this study, language contact and contact-induced situation play a role in explaining part of the data in this study. This means that there cannot be influence or transfer between two languages without them being in contact. There are, however, several theories used to explain transfer in contact-induced situations. One of the theories is convergence. In convergence, languages in contact gradually become more like each other (cf Aikhenvald 2002:1). This means that languages in contact copy each other, and with time, they tend to have the same structure and similar expressions. Without a critical observation, convergence may be taken for replication despite their existing difference. Given this, many scholars take convergence for grammatical replication (cf Heine and Kuteva 2006). For instance, ‘in many works, grammatical replication is treated as a manifestation of convergence’ (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 9). They maintain that Aikhenvald (2002) and Myers-Scotton (2002) both used convergence for phenomena that include replication. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), convergence is used to describe the source of changes at surface levels, especially concerning word order or morphological inflections in language contact. Under Myers-Scotton’s (2002) model, convergence is a process and outcome. As an outcome, ‘it is a linguistic configuration with all surface morphemes from one language, but part of its abstract lexical structure from another language. ‘As a process, convergence is explained as a mechanism in the progressive outcome of attrition, language shift, language death, and creole formation’ (Myers-Scotton 2002:101). Additionally, this author maintains that the model deals with both surface and abstract morphemes from two languages.

Convergence, per Myers-Scotton's explanation, does not conform to this study despite its relatedness to replication. The term convergence appears to be used for a kind of transfer in languages that make languages look more like each other in contact situations related to a phenomenon that borders on language change (see Heine and Kuteva 2006:11). Another theory that is related to language contact is grammaticalization.

Grammaticalisation can be said to be 'a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms, [...] (Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer, 1991; Hopfer and Traugott, 1993 cited in Heine and Kuteva (2006:14) see also Comrie (1985). This definition suggests that, in grammaticalization, lexical items tend to perform the functions of grammatical items in the sentence it occurs. This explanation suggests that the primary goal of grammaticalization 'is to describe how grammatical forms and constructions arise and develop through space and time, to explain why they are constructed the way they are' (Heine and Kuteva 2006:80).

Similarly, in Diewald and Wische (2002) introduction of grammaticalization, they remark that grammaticalization refers to the degree of grammatical function a linguistic item has on a scale between purely lexical and purely grammatical meaning" (Dievald and Wischer 2002). These scholars consider grammaticalization as a process whereby linguistic items gain grammatical function while reducing their lexical-descriptive functions. In short, the "speakers of a replica language draw on universal principles of grammaticalization to develop a category that is equivalent to the one they find in the model language can be illustrated with another example from oceanic languages" (Heine and Kuteva 2006:82). These authors maintain that one key factor of grammaticalization is decategorisations and erosion. Consider how they illustrate the prepositional phrase in Takia and to postposition in other Bel languages:

I lalo-na> i-lo-n> lon> lo (Ross, 1996:189.90, cited in Heine and Kuteva (2006:87)

'I lalo-na,' the original structure, with time, changes to 'i-lo-n,' and to 'lon' to its final eroded state, 'lon.' Grammaticalization goes beyond the scope of this study. The transfer done in this study is more of grammatical patterns than categorisation. In that, speakers do not create equivalent categories in both the model and the replica languages. However, speakers' use of the grammatical category (perfective and the imperfective aspect) is carried from the model language to the replica language. Therefore, grammaticalization does not give a satisfying

explanation to the grammatical transfer in this study. This will not be considered as an option for the study.

The grammatical replication theory is also used to explain transfer in a contact situation. The grammatical replication theory is modelled on one of Weinreich's (1953) grammatical transfers. The three grammatical transfers include the following strategies enumerated by Heine and Kuteva (2006):

- Transfer of morphemes from the model language to the receiving language
- Syntactic relations which have to do with word order
- Functions or meaning of grammatical form and grammatical functions

The third grammatical category of Weinreich, three grammatical transfer is used as basis for grammatical transfer, the kind of transfer on which Heine and Kuteva (2006) form grammatical replication. On the third grammatical transfer, Heine and Kuteva based their investigation of grammatical meaning. Under this type of transfer, Weinreich refers to the two languages involved as model and replica languages. The model language is the language from which the grammatical forms are transferred. The replica language is the language that is influenced. In this case, "if a bilingual identifies a morpheme or a grammatical category of language A within language B, s/he may apply the B form in grammatical functions which derives the system of A" (Weinreich 1974:39). With a view to shedding more light on grammatical replication, Heine and Kuteva (2006) note that in grammatical replication, replica (R) acquires a new structure or form (Rx) on the model of another language (M)'. They, however, quickly add that the new structure (Rx) is usually not entirely new. It is built on some structure (Ry), which already exists in the replica language. Replication (the process) then achieves (Rx) by transforming (Ry), (the target language) into Rx (the replica language) (cf Heine and Kuteva 2006:40-41). In this case, grammatical structures go through some transformed processes to a new form that is not entirely new to both languages. For instance, Heine and Kuteva use an example from the Arakwak language from Tariana of North-western Brazil, which is in close contact with Portuguese, an official language of Brazil, influenced by Portuguese. Their observation is that Arakwak speakers noticed that the interrogative pronoun can also be used as a relative clause marker in Portuguese. Arawak speakers, therefore, "grafted their own interrogative unto their own relative construction" (see Heine and Kuteva 2006:4). In this study, the existing tense and aspect of English are expressed in a way that is not entirely new to English, even though it shows a bit of difference because it is based on how the

categories are used in Dagbani. Hence (Ry) is English tense and aspect, (Rx) is DagbE, (M) is Dagbani. According to Heine and Kuteva, depending on the kind of replication involved, Rx may stand for some possible structures, and – accordingly – the process leading from Ry to Rx may take various forms.

However, they state that Ry comprises what they recommend being called minor use patterns, and the process $Ry > Rx$ can be described as leading from minor to major use patterns. This submission suggests that replication starts from nothing; instead, it requires appropriate discourse patterns in the replica language. In the study, there are minor used patterns and major used pattern which will demand reference to this section in chapters five and six. There is a need to explain the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect an imperfective on English. Consider the summary of the grammatical replication in the pictorial presentation in Figure 3.5 below:

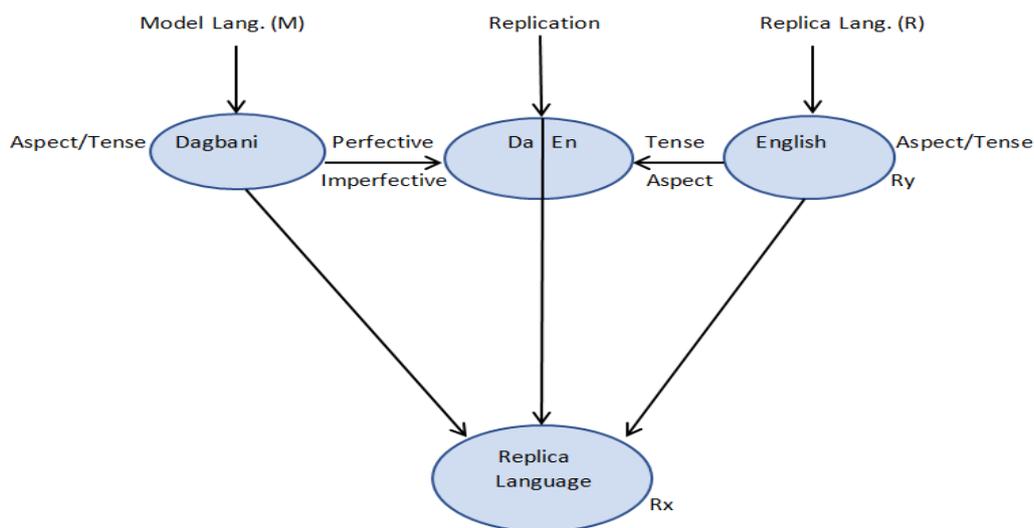


Figure 3. 5 Grammatical Replication Theory (Author’s Construct)

Although Dagbani has no verb form that expresses tense, there is the notion of tense existence in the deep meaning; therefore, the above figure is a sketch of tense expressions (aspect) of Dagbani and English in the replication process. In the replication process, speakers come with the Dagbani linguistic features (perfective and imperfective aspects) to the learning or English-speaking setting. As the first linguistic features, Dagbani features are more well established and ‘dictates’ the flow of English to its model. Consequently, the tense and aspect (Aspect) of the model language (Dagbani-M) and the tense and aspect of the replica language

(English-Ry) are involved in a process called replication. The replication process' by-product is the replica language (DagbE-Rx). M= the aspect of Dagbani in its original state. Ry is tense and aspect of English in their original form (how they are used in English). Rx= (DagbE), the new English spoken by the Dagomba people on the model of Dagbani.

Among the approaches and the theories discussed above, three theories are deemed appropriate to help explain the features that set the foundation of DagbE. First are the two theories, the Dynamic Model and the grammatical replication theory. The former helps explain the phonological features that make DagbE vary from GhE and RP. The latter explains the grammatical transfer the Dagomba employ in expressing English tense, leading to a differentiation between time (tense) expressions in BrE and DagbE. Then, Comrie's theory of tense and theory of aspect explain the expressions of tense and aspect of English and Dagbani in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

A research methodology is the backbone of any research work. It provides an essential and solid foundation on which the whole research work is structured. Thus, the strength and weaknesses of any research work mostly do not exclude its method and research process. Given this, it was expedient for this study to find answers to the research questions raised through a reliable method to produce data that could lead to factual findings. This chapter explains the solid grounding upon which the research questions, aims, and objectives of this study are realised. An introduction of this chapter was given in the introductory chapter. Thus, this chapter elaborates on the methodology in the introductory chapter of this study. It comprises an exhaustive explanation of the research approach: the research design, the process, and data collection, the scope of the study, sampling and sample size, methods for data analysis.

4.2 The Research Design

The success of a research work of this nature depends on an appropriate research design employed to make it realise its objectives. Therefore, this research is constructed on a healthy, right plan that facilitated the process leading to the confirmation of its hypothesis. The study used three instruments of survey interview techniques for data collection. The interview was in the form of sentence translation, text reading, and picture description. Sentence translation and picture description gathered data for the grammatical features, while text reading sourced data for the phonological features. Thus, sentence translation was meant to elicit data on the influence of the Dagbani imperfective and perfective aspects. The picture description was meant to source data that would authenticate the data collected from sentence translation for the influence of the imperfective on the variety of English the Dagomba people speak. The following section presents the description of the study area.

4.2.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in the Northern region of Ghana, specifically in schools within Tamale (including Sagnarigu district) and Yendi district. A summary of the areas the research was conducted is presented in Fig. 4.1 below.

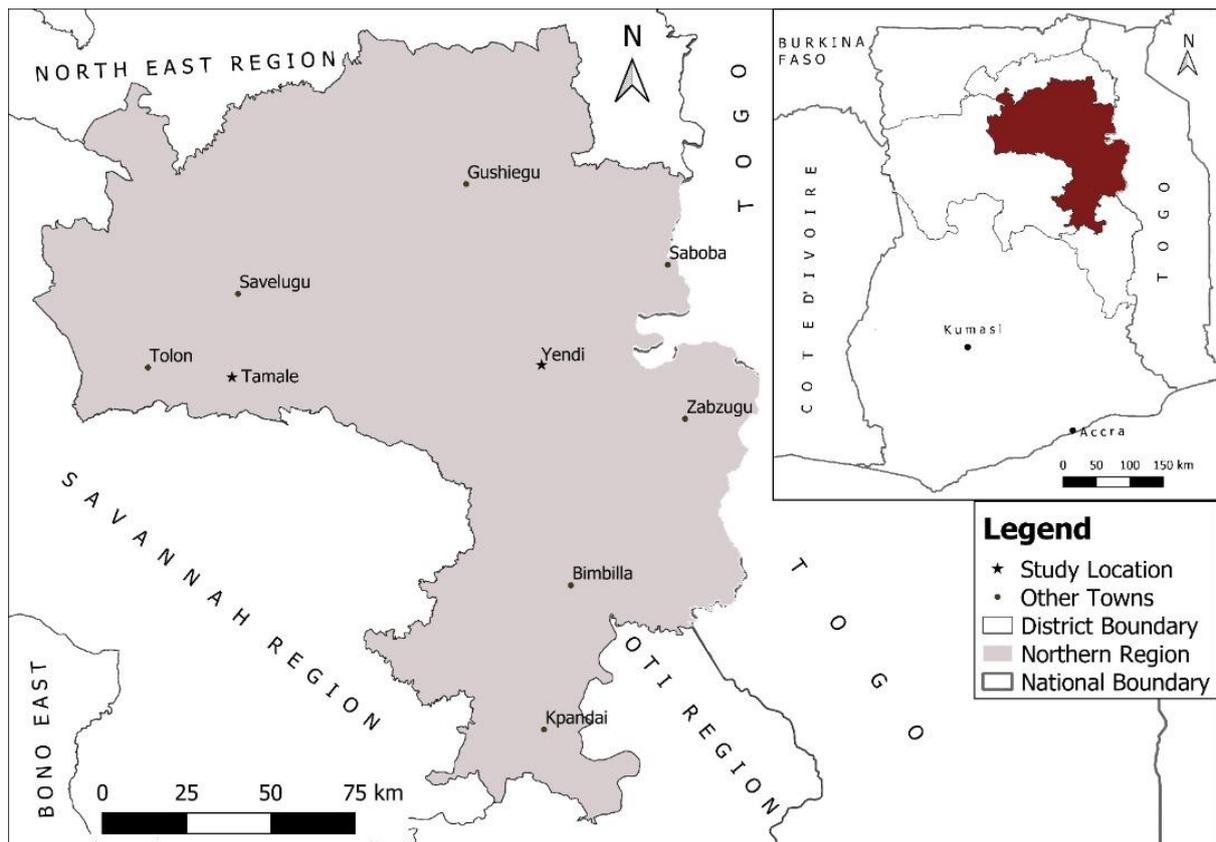


Figure 4.1 Study Area (Credit: Issahaka, Fuseini)

4.2.2 Sampling and Distribution of Respondents

To get reliable data for a study of this nature, a dependable representative sample that makes available relevant data is required. Therefore, getting a representative sample for this study was crucial, taking into accounts the linguistic complexity of Dagbon province. Over time, Dagbon has developed into a multi-ethnic community, resulting from factors like education, job opportunities, and intra-national migration, among others. Due to this, care was taken to select a sample and to gather data that were free from extraneous variables. We will give details as we proceed with the explanation of the stages in this chapter.

Based on Labov's (1972) method of getting a systematic sample for a study and his three suggested steps, which Sankoff (1974) successfully used to select a sample for his research, I selected the sample for this study. Referring to Sankoff (1974), Rashid (1981) states that three decisions are crucial for selecting respondents for studies of this nature. Thus, in selecting respondents for a study of this kind, one needs:

- a- to define the sampling universe.
 - b- to construct a stratification of the sample.
 - c- to fix the sample size.
- (cf Rashid 1981:58)

The study draws its motivation for selecting the number of respondents from social parameters that are most relevant and can lead to accurate data analysis. Following Labov's suggestion of modernising parameters to suit the type of study one does, the study modernised and set parameters for the whole population by limiting itself to a reasonable representation. The study, therefore, limits itself to natives of Dagbon, born and raised in Dagbon, specifically to the administrative and traditional areas of Dagbon, Tamale (including Sagnarigu district within the Tamale metropolis) and Yendi, respectively. Respondents could speak other languages, but they should be raised in the study area. The choice of these two areas was necessitated by the phonological difference between Nàyàhìlì (the Yendi dialect or Eastern dialect), Tòmòsílì (a dialect spoken in Tamale or the Western dialect).

To further construct the sample for this study, the following most essential parameters based on Labov's social variables of economic status were also used to construct the sample based on respondents' educational levels. This method was adopted because the study focuses on bilinguals who speak English and Dagbani, and since these bilinguals usually are educated people, this social grouping was deemed necessary. As the method can be modernised to fit any study that linguists undertake, I adopted the model to select the sample and constructed the above-mentioned levels of education, as other scholars did.

About the variable used in the respondents' description, this study employs the origin of respondents, age of respondents, the geographical location of respondents, sex, and the respondents' educational levels to describe respondents. However, apart from the academic levels and respondents' ages, which were the social parameters used for the analysis, the rest of the variables' inclusion does not add any value to this study's final finding. However, those variables must be included since they help in the general description of the respondents. It can also be important in the future, as one may want to analyse the data using any of the variables mentioned above.

In sampling the respondents for this study, the origin of the respondents was considered because cities in the target area where this study was conducted are more or less cosmopolitan.

As mentioned earlier, this is due to the availability of job opportunities, education, and intra country immigration; there is an influx of people from other parts of Ghana and different ethnic groups who have settled in the study area. Care must be taken to curb extraneous variables that may influence the results of the study negatively. Given this, the study considered using respondents who originated from Dagbon and were bilinguals or multilingual; but they should, specifically, speak English and Dagbani. People who speak Dagbani but are not originally Dagomba are not qualified candidates for the study.

The respondents' origin is crucial for the selection of the sample since Dagbon can be described as a speech community. By definition, a speech community is not seen as a community, which requires one common language (see Zwickl 2002:5). The study area is therefore made up of Dagbani and many minority languages. Another reason is that "it seems plausible to define a speech community as a group of speakers who share a set of social attitudes towards a language" (Labov 1972:293). The people in the study area may share the same attitude but may not speak the same language. Therefore, there is the need to consider the origin of respondents since there are others who may not be natives but are part of the speech community and can even speak the local language as fluent as natives. So, if someone (like a school child) is from another part of Ghana, even if s/he speaks Dagbani and English s/he is disqualified; because they may be influenced by the language from where they stay or live.

However, the selection was extended to people who were born from cross-ethnic marriages. For according to Labov (2001), cross-ethnic marriage does not imply the individuals' choice that relates to social structure. The author adds that couples are bound together by the frequency of contact and the intensity of interaction between ethnic groups in a community, which produces social bond beyond the control of the individual. Also, people's origin is essential since "the origin of the speaker decides which variant he or she uses more often than not" (Salam 1980, cited in Rashid 1981:64).

The respondents' age is also considered essential because the generational gap could influence respondents' responses to questions. Therefore, respondents' age was worth considering. Besides, age is also considered in the study because we need to know respondents' age and the particular age range in each of the educational levels since age is regarded as an essential control variable. Besides, age could influence respondents' realisation of a feature.

However, it is not easy to associate a specific age group with one educational level in the target area since students' ages in a class vary.

For gender sensitivity and equity, both males and females were given equal opportunity to participate in the study. The academic levels (basic, secondary, and tertiary) were considered significant. Respondents' levels of education showed the level of variation of the influence of phonological features and grammatical features. It also indicates whether there is a reduction of the effect as respondents climb the educational ladder. Perhaps, one's extended exposure to education may reduce the impact of the influence.

4.2.3 Sample

The selected sample was 89 subjects, 30 basic level students, 30 secondary level students, and 29 tertiary level students. In the Ghanaian context, basic schools comprise primary and Junior High Schools (JHS). The primary level was excluded because some pupils may still lack the basic communicative skills (speaking, reading, and writing well), especially in English, at that level in some parts of the study area. Senior High School (SHS) is the level after JHS education, and tertiary level is after SHS level. The tertiary level comprises Universities, University Colleges, Nursing Training Colleges, Health Assistant colleges, and Agric Colleges. One person from Yendi Health School was not interviewed due to unforeseen circumstances⁸. 45 students were selected from the three levels of education in each area, fifteen respondents from each level of education. However, 14 respondents were interviewed at the tertiary level in Yendi since one of the subjects could not participate, as mentioned above. These three levels of education were the parameters from which the people who represented the speech community were picked. These respondents exhibited the influences of Dagbani grammatical and phonological features in the use of the English language. Therefore, a sample further constructed based on respondents' educational level could supply credible data that could substantiate the study's findings.

⁸ I tried applying accidental sampling (a nonprobability sampling that involves selecting the readily available person rather than predetermined selection) to get another student as a replacement, but it was impossible; since the students had closed from lectures and getting them out of their hostels proved futile.

As indicated, the tertiary level registered 29 respondents, as it was not easy getting students from that level due to how busy the students are. The breakdown of the number of respondents and their various institutions is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Selected Schools for the Study

District	School	Educational Level	Female	Male	Total
Sagnarigu	Bagabaga Demonstration J.H.S	Basic	1	2	3
Tamale	Kalpohini Anglican JHS	Basic	1	2	3
Sagnarigu	Saint Pauls' JHS	Basic	2	1	3
Sagnarigu	Tiyumba JHS	Basic	1	2	3
Sagnarigu	Wurishe Community Albahada J.H.S	Basic	1	2	3
Tamale	Business Senior High School, Tamale	Senior High	1	2	3
Sagnarigu	Northern School of Business	Senior High	1	2	3
Tamale	Kalpohini Senior High	Senior High	2	1	3
Sagnarigu	Tamale Girl Senior High	Senior High	3	Nil	3
Sagnarigu	Tamale Senior High	Senior High	1	2	3
Sagnarigu	Bagabaga College of Education, Tamale	Tertiary	Nil	3	3
Tamale	Tamale Nursing Training college	Tertiary	1	2	3
Sagnarigu	Tamale Technical University (T'Poly)	Tertiary	2	1	3
Tamale	Tamale University College	Tertiary	Nil	3	3
Sagnarigu	University for Development Studies, Tamale	Tertiary	2	1	3
Yendi	7 'A's College of Science and Technology School	Basic	2	1	3
Yendi	Balogu J.H.S	Basic	2	1	3
Yendi	Islamic No. 2 J.H.S	Basic	1	2	3
Yendi	North-Eastern Christian J.H.S	Basic	1	2	3
Yendi	Rheima J.H.S	Basic	2	1	3
Yendi	Dagbon State SHS, Yendi	Senior High	2	5	7
Yendi	Yendi SHS	Senior High	3	5	8
Yendi	Saint Vincent College of Education	Tertiary	2	5	7
Yendi	Yendi School of Health Sciences	Tertiary	2	5	7
Grand Total			36	53	89

4.2.4 Methods for Selection

The sampling of subjects was based on both probability and non-probability sampling. With probability sampling, all objects and subjects have a chance of being selected. However, “non-probability sampling approaches are used when the researcher lacks a sampling frame for the population in question, or where a probabilistic approach is not judged to be necessary” (Baxter Hughes and Tight 2006:165). Respondents’ characteristics regarding the issue under investigation are relatively sensitive since it pertains to a particular group, educational levels, and ethnicity in cosmopolitan areas. Based on the above explanation, the selection of subjects was based on both probability and non-probability sampling. Firstly, the method of selecting schools was done through probability sampling. Under the probability sampling, the simple random sampling technique was employed to select the 24 schools. To ensure that each of the schools in the study area had an equal opportunity of being selected for the study without bias, I wrote the names of all schools in the two areas on pieces of paper and folded them. A different person was then made to randomly select the 24 schools by picking the pieces of paper that contained the names of the schools; the name of the school on any piece of paper picked was selected. Apart from the secondary and tertiary educational levels in Yendi, where 7 or 8 students were selected, three respondents were picked from each institution. One student each from the three forms (1, 2 and 3). This strategy was employed so that many schools in the study area could stand the chance of being selected.

Before the various forms and classes were selected from the chosen schools, I sought permission from the different education directors in the districts. Letters were written to seek permission from the educational directors to permit me by giving me introductory letters to the various headmasters of the selected basic and secondary schools. The names of the schools that were randomly selected were attached to the letters. The various education directors wrote letters granting permission for the respondents to be recruited to take part in the study. The letters for permission were then submitted to the headmasters of the chosen schools to grant me access to the classrooms for the final selection to be done. Letters were also written to the selected tertiary institutions for permission to conduct the interview in those institutions.

As stated above, the selection of subjects was based on both probability and non-probability sampling. Under non-probability sampling, purposive sampling was used to select

Dagomba students from the various classes in the schools. Then simple random sampling technique was employed under probability sampling to further select subjects from the basic, secondary, and tertiary levels for the study.

To select the sample from the Dagomba students, 'Yes' and 'No' were written on pieces of paper for the Dagomba students to pick. Since only one respondent was needed from each class or form, one 'Yes' and many 'Nos' were written on the pieces of the paper. The student who chose 'Yes' was the respondent for that form or class. These sampling techniques were employed to get reliable data for the study and to minimize bias. Much consideration was given to the sample size that had a high capability to produce reliable data on the grammar (perfective and imperfective aspects) and Dagbani phonological features that influence English in the speech community.

Both males and females stood the chance of being selected for the study. I chose to use the three competence levels, basic level, secondary level, and tertiary level, for the study because it was easier to monitor the continuous uses of the features that were investigated and the intensity of the influence. Another reason for using the educational levels was to determine whether the influence cuts across all educational levels. Therefore, we needed to determine if the effect reduces as speakers go higher in education. Moreover, I found these levels appropriate because English language users in Ghana range from learners to intellectuals. Therefore, using these levels left no 'stone unturned' for the study to get accurate data for successful research. There was, therefore, no better way of getting a representative sample than these three levels of education.

4.3 Data Collection Process

This section of the study explains the various processes through which the data were collected for the study. The data collection process is considered essential and must be handled well because the authenticity of the results and findings rely partly on the data collection process. It should be tactically managed to curb biases as far as the results of the study are concerned. Based on this reason, this study used data collection tools and procedures that could help source the right data suitable for the study. The data collection process involved face to face meeting with respondents and was done one at a time; the script was first given to the respondents to read through. Also, respondents were informed about the stages involved in the

process and the recording. Each respondent read and translated sentences that needed to be translated, described pictures, and read the short text at a sitting and was recorded. The next section discusses the data collection tools that were used.

4.3.1 Data Collection Tools

One key aspect of research of this nature is the method used in data collection and data analysis. Considering the nature of this study and the quest to obtain accurate data, we use multiple methods to source and analyse data. The study used different interview techniques to source data for the study, namely sentence translation, text reading, and picture description.

The study employed Labov's general method of conducting interviews for language variation. Specifically, the study used Labov's (1961) format of conducting an interview when he accounts for the variation or the distribution of centralised diphthongs in Martha's Vineyard. Considering the variation of the vowel quality of the features in DagbE realisation from GhE and RP, Labov's (1961) method of accounting for /ai/ and /au/ in Martha's Vineyard was deemed appropriate. Thus, the interview format was modelled this way, following the nature of the data required in this study. That is, the realisation of /ɒ/ as in quality as /o/ (ko for kwɒ), /i:/ realised as /ɪ/ as in leaders, /ɜ:/ for /e/ as in service, /ʌ/ is realised as /a:/, as in the variable coming and, as /e/, as in study, /ə/ as /ɔ/, as in surprise. Also, /ɪ/ as /i:/ as in kid, /ɔ:/ as /o/ as in also, /e/ as /ɛ/ as in bed, /pl/ as /pɒl/ or /pul/ as in people, /ɑi/ as /ɑ:/, as in file, /ei/ as /e:/, as in table, /ɔɪ/ as /ɔya/ as in oil, /ɔ:/ as /uwɔ/, as in pour, /ɪ/ as /ɛ/ and /i:/, as in conflict, /ɔ/ as /hɔ/, as in honour, which are different from GhE and RP. The resultant style was deliberately manipulated to source information from the subject. Thus, the text reading was structured so that respondents did not know what was tested. Given that Dagbon has registered several conflicts, the reading text was structured in such a way that it was providing information about peace. Therefore, respondents did not know that the write-up tested the realisation of some features in specific words in the text.

Sentence translation and picture description were used to source data for the grammatical features for this study. Myhill's (1991) typological text analysis was appropriate to source data for using picture description. Myhill (1991) used narratives to source the occurrence of this variable proposed in his study. Myhill explains the use of anteriority marker

bin in different Creole speaking environments as against Bickerton (1974; 1975; 1981;1983) studies that suggest that in typical Creole language there is pre-verbal morpheme which is used with anterior meaning. That is, ‘past-before-past for action verbs and past for stative verbs’ (Bickerton 1981 cited in Myhill 1991:96). As stated above, Myhill used narratives to source the occurrence of *bin* in his study. Based on Labov’s suggestion that “[w]e must determine which social structure corresponds to a given linguistic structure and how, in general manner, changes in social structure are translated into changes in linguistics” (Labov 1966:15). This study, therefore, modifies this method to source data. As stated above, I use picture description, which is considered as guided narrative from which respondents spontaneously construct their own sentences without clues. For the sentence translation, Broeck’s (1977) linguistic complexity, based on Benstein’s (1974) hypothesis, was used to account for how the sentence translation was done to gather data for the imperfective and perfective aspects Dagbani. With the help of Labov, Broeck extended Labov’s findings on phonological features to linguistic ‘variable’ in syntactic phenomena. He wrote two groups of sentences for coordination and subordination on one the hand and active and passive sentences on the other for respondents to choose which type of sentences in the type groups they often use in their daily conversations.

4.3.1.1 The Progressive Activity Picture ‘A’

Picture ‘A’ presents a picture of a woman holding a spatula and showing a stirring gesture in a pot set on fire. As stated above, respondents were asked to give a denotative description of the activity depicted in the picture. The picture denotes the progressive action; students were to describe the picture with the progressive meaning.



Figure 4.2 Progressive Picture 'A'

4.3.1.2 The Progressive Activity Picture 'B'

Picture 'B' presents a drawing of a man sitting on a chair, with a queue of people before him. The picture portrays a man receiving or giving out money or something. Respondents were asked to describe the picture based on their perception of the picture. The image expresses a situation that carries a progressive meaning. It is, therefore, to elicit respondents' perceptive or denotative description of the picture. Respondents were to denotatively tell whether the picture indicated a progressive meaning or a habitual meaning.



Figure 4.3 Progressive Picture 'B'

4.3.1.3 The Progressive Activity Picture ‘C’

The picture ‘C’ presents an image of a female teacher teaching in the classroom. Some students are in the background, where one student raises his hand to answer, ask a question, or say something. The picture has two possible denotative descriptions; both depict activities with progressive meaning. However, the point is that the number and type of activity represented by the image do not matter; what matters is whether the activity depicts a situation in progress or a situation that holds as a habit (habitual). Therefore, the picture can be described using the teacher standing before the students or the student who raised his hand to say something. Consider picture ‘C’ below.



Figure 4.4 Progressive Picture ‘C’

4.3.1.4 Habitual Activity Pictures ‘D’ and ‘E’

Picture ‘D’ presents a series of the same activity taking place from Monday to Friday. In the drawings, the same picture of a man is sitting on a chair, with a queue of people in front of him. The picture portrays an activity of receiving or giving out money. The denotative description of the picture depicts that the man works in a bank. These series of activities express habitual meaning, an interpretation that is solicited from the respondents. Thus, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, up to Friday holds as a habit; therefore, it depicts a habitual meaning. Each respondent described the series of activities in the picture in one sentence, indicating what the man does.

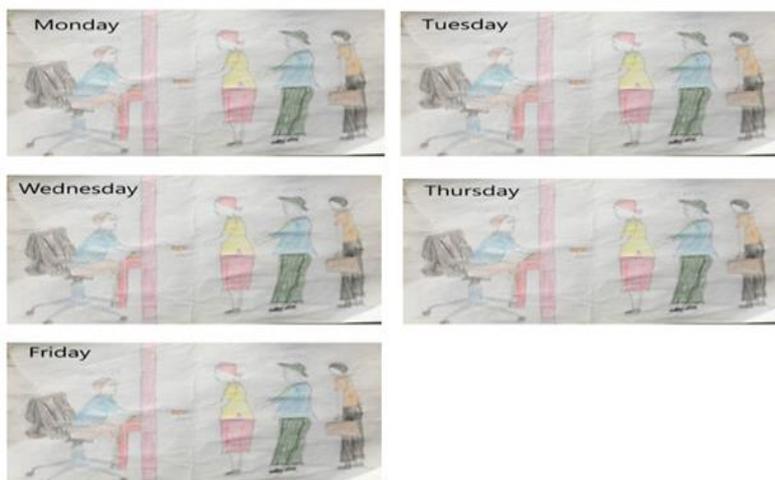


Figure 4.5 Habitual Activity Picture 'D'

Picture 'E' presents a series of activities of a teacher. The teacher is in the classroom with school children where one of the students raises his hand to say something. The activity is repeated from Monday to Friday. The series of activities can only depict a habitual present. The respondents construct their own sentences as they describe the sequence of activities in the picture. The habitual picture 'E' is presented below.

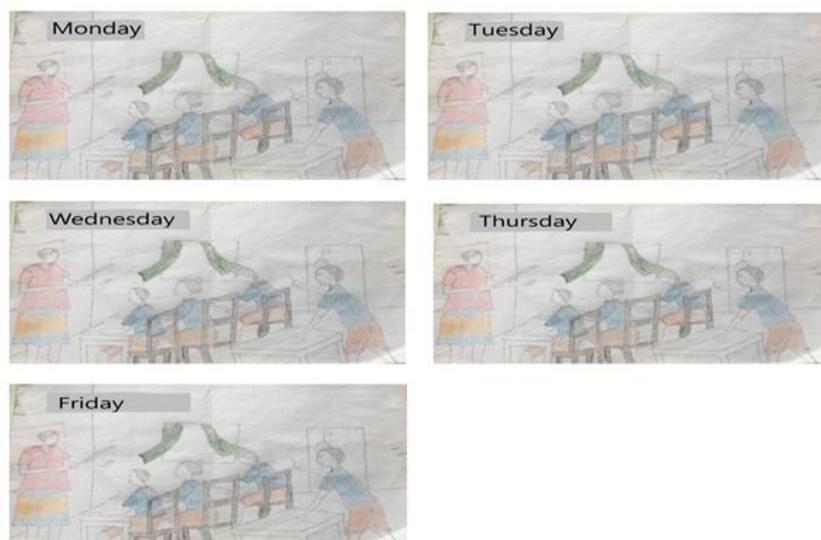


Figure 4.6 Habitual Activity Picture 'E'

Both the sentence translation and the text reading were done at a sitting. Before respondents in each school began the translation, I explained to them what they had to do.

Respondents were, however, interviewed individually. Interviewing respondents as individuals was done to prevent respondents from influencing one another during the interview process. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, respondents were given simple Dagbani sentences to translate them into English, after which they read the text. The recording was done with a Samsung S7 Android phone at 500 Hz. It took 6 to 9 minutes to translate, describe the pictures, and read the simple text. Next is the discussion on data analysis.

4.3.2 Simple Dagbani sentences

The Perfective Sentences

Simple Past

1. Dànáá kánà kpè.
Dànáá come.PFV here
'Dànáá came here.'
2. Ní chánj Tàmàlè.
1SG go.PFV Tamale
'I went to Tamale'
3. Ò kù wáhù máà.
3SG kill.PFV snake DEF
'He killed the snake'

Marked past

1. Dànáá dí káná kpè.
Dànáá TDP come.PFV here
'Dànáá came here a while ago.'
2. Sùlé sá chàṅlá ó bá yíṅá.
Sùlé TDP go.PFV 3SG father house
'Sùlé went to his father's house yesterday.'
3. Báwá dáá góyá.
Báwá TDP Travel.PFV
'Bawa travelled days ago.'

Present Perfect

1. Tí díyà..... / Tí dími.
1PL eat.PFV / 1PL eat.IMPFV-EMP
'We have eaten.'

2. B́hí màà dì là sà̀yím / B́hi màà dí sà̀yím.
Children DEF Come.PRF FOC food / Children DEF eat.PRF Food
'The children have eaten the food.'
3. Ò sà̀bì-yá.
3SG write.PRF
'S/he has written.'
4. ńúná n-nîŋ lì
3SG DCP-do.PFV 3SG.INANI
'He/she has done it'.

The Imperfective Sentences

Progressive

1. Ò pùhìrì náá mì.
3SG greet.IMPFV chief DCP
S/he is greeting the chief too.
2. Tì dírímì.
1PL eat.IMPFV.DCP
We are eating.
3. Ò dirá.
3SG eat.IMPFV
S/he is eating.

Habitual Sentences

1. Ò yùrì kóm
3SG. drink.IMPF. water
He drinks water.
2. M̀ bá dúhírílá lóórí ń-chàni shíkúru.
1SG.DEM father drive.IMPFV car DCP-go.IMPFV school
My father drives a car to school.
3. Sána b́rì ó wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFTV 3SG horse
Sana rides a horse.
4. Sána b́rìlá ó wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFV 3SG horse
Sana rides her horse.

4.4 Data Analysis

The study made use of the descriptive statistic method (DSM) to analyse the data. This method was employed because it helps give an appropriate interpretation of the data gathered for the study. According to Seliger and Shohamy (1989), the descriptive statistics method tries to capture a large set of observations, gives some idea about data sets, and uses mean, median, and mode in its interpretation. It is noted that a method of analysis does not come by chance. Using a qualitative or quantitative approach for a study depends mainly on the type of research questions answered and the sampling method used to select subjects for the study. While quantitative studies aim at a representative sample, qualitative studies take the individual as a starting point and thus do not aim at representativeness (see Zwickl 2002:33). Therefore, the method one employs in a study plays a vital role in determining how the results of the study will be analysed.

It is generally accepted that “the sampling method usually applied in quantitative social studies: random sampling, stratified random sampling, and judgment sampling” (Zwickl 2002:33). Because the above sampling methods were employed to select subjects through which the study’s data were gathered, the study deemed quantitative data analysis fundamental. Besides, quantitative research handles many respondents and several variables, and representativeness and generalization are allowed, which precisely is the case in this study.

The descriptive statistic method (DSM) uses a set of measures such as frequencies and correlations to describe different aspects of the data or describe relationships among variables and allow generalisations relating to the wider population (cf Selinger and Shohamy 1989:204; Zwickl 2002:32). Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was the fundamental method used to code and analyse all raw data on the grammatical and phonological features from respondents. All respondents’ responses were entered onto the SPSS software based on the subcategories of the sentences translated and respondents’ educational levels. The phonological features retrieved from the text were also entered into SPSS software according to respondents’ educational levels. This SPSS was used to transform raw data to metrical values for further analysis.

The percentages of the various responses were calculated by dividing the sum of subjects’ responses by the total number of respondents (89) and multiplying by 100. Therefore,

the tables contain respondents' educational levels, the number of respondents' responses for the translated sentences, and phonological features based on respondents' academic levels. The tables also contain the percentages of the responses. The graphs on sentence translations in chapters five and six were based on the average scores of each group of sentences. The average scores were obtained from the sum of the group of sentences divided by the number of sentences in the sentence group.

Before the raw data on the phonological features were entered onto the SPSS software for the analysis to be done, I listened to each respondent's reading of the text many times to capture the respondents' right realisation of the features. Each respondent's realisations of the features were written and counted before entering them into SPSS software.

Data on the phonological features were further analysed using Praat Software. Praat software was employed to provide acoustic phonetic properties that were used to support the required phonological analysis in the dissertation. The sound wave created for all sounds was with a frequency of 500hrz. See the physical description of the features in the spectrograms from Fig. 20 to 42 in chapter seven. The analysis of sentence translation, picture description, and phonological features was summarized and presented into graphs.

The methodological trajectories clarified the various methods involved in gathering data for both the grammatical features and the phonological features. The analysis is divided into three. Firstly, the grammatical features; their analysis is further split into two (chapters five and six). The fifth chapter presents the analysis of the perfective aspect, while the sixth chapter presents the analysis of the imperfective aspect. The seventh and last empirical chapter presents the analysis of the phonological features. The next chapter constitutes the first empirical chapter of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Influence of Dagbani Perfective Aspect on the Dagomba's Use of English Tense

5.1 Introduction

This empirical chapter concentrated on research objective number one of this study. It responds to the research objective, which seeks to clarify how the Dagbani perfective aspect influences Dagomba's use of the simple past tense and present perfect of English. Thus, this chapter deals with the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect on the use of English tense by the Dagomba. As stated in the introductory chapter, Dagbani has a perfective aspect, which comprises simple past and present perfect. Therefore, there are no verb forms that express past and present perfect as separate grammatical subcategories in the language. However, some scholars, (Alhassan 1988; Olawsky 1999 Mohammed 2006; Yahaya 2012) think some sentences express simple past, present tense, progressive or present perfect than other sentences. Such sentences were picked and presented to respondents based on these scholars' submission. This chapter, therefore, presents the analyses of the sentences on the simple past tense, present perfect, and the marked past that were given to respondents to translate from Dagbani to English. The translation exercise was administered to 89 students from the basic level to the tertiary levels of education in Yendi and Tamale. Each respondent was given a number. Hence, the numbering was from number 1 to 89. Respondents were asked to translate three simple past tense sentences, three simple marked past tenses, and four simple present perfect sentences in the translation exercise. The goal was to determine the impact of the Dagbani perfective aspect (completed situations, events, or actions) on Dagbani speakers' English. Respondents' translations of the simple sentences reveal how Dagbani perfective aspect influences Dagomba's use of the past tense, present perfect, and the marked past tense of the English language. Therefore, the chapter discusses how respondents use these subcategories of grammar (the simple past, present perfect), including the marked past (past tense with adverbials and the time-depth particles), based on how respondents translate the sentences.

This chapter indicates which subcategory of grammar is frequently used in place of which subcategory, when Dagomba speak English. The interpretations of the simple tense also demonstrate whether the Dagomba show the difference between past and perfect when using

these subcategories of grammar, or they use them as perfective use in Dagbani (that is, as both past and perfect, using them interchangeably without discrimination). The analysis shows that even though Dagomba could use the two subcategories in free variation, the present perfect is preferred even when the simple past tense use is required.

Reporting on the results, I use quantitative methods like charts, tables, and graphs. The results in this chapter are also analysed according to respondents' educational levels: the basic level, secondary level, and tertiary level. The interest here is to determine whether the speakers' level of education influences their use of these linguistic categories. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, results on how the Dagbani simple past influences the simple past tense of English is analysed; it comprises the analysis of the simple past tense sentences and the simple sentences on the marked past. In the second and last section of the chapter, data on the influence of the Dagbani present perfect is analysed.

The marked past used in this chapter does not refer to the morphologically marked past, but the past tense sentences that include the time-depth particles or adverbials. Respondents' translated sentences are not presented in this chapter; only statistics of respondents who produced each form is presented. However, some specific sentences from some respondents are presented for emphasis. The next section presents the analysis of the results of the simple past tense.

5.2 The Influence of the Dagbani Simple Past of the Perfective Aspect on the Dagomba's Use of the English Tense

This part of the data analysis presents the analysis of the simple past tense sentences that were given to respondents to translate. The simple past tense presents a situation, event, or action that has occurred without the continuity of present relevance of a past situation (perfect). In English, the simple past is distinctively and morphologically marked. This suggests that the simple past tense is distinct from the present perfect. The two grammatical subcategories are markedly different in the surface meaning. In Dagbani, the surface meaning distinction is not possible, as the two subcategories are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes in the perfective aspect.

As mentioned above, although there is no difference between the simple past tense and present perfect in Dagbani, some scholars have made such distinctions. For instance, Alhassan

(1988), Olawsky (1999), Mohammed (2006), and Yahaya (2012) have made some illustrations that categorised the sentences presented below under the subcategories of grammar, past tense, and present perfect. Besides, the sentences below can still elicit the same information required (that is, the past tense used in place of perfect and vice versa) whether they are grouped into simple past, marked past, or not. The analysis in this section indicates whether the simple past tense is considered and used as a simple past tense, as a present perfect, or it is considered as both simple past tense and the present perfect. This, therefore, gives a fair idea of how respondents use this subcategory in English, leading to DagbE. The following sentences were the Dagbani sentences that respondents were made to translate from Dagbani to English.

The Simple Past Tense

1. Dànáá káná kpè.
Danaa com.PFV here
'Dànáá came here'.

Sentence one was given to respondents to translate because Olawsky (1999:38) states that the verb in the Dagbani simple past sentence of the perfective aspect is not marked (with aspectual or verbal particle). Hence, káná 'come' is not morphologically or preverbally marked as past; káná can be used to express both past and future situations. It is considered a bare infinitive and a verb form that expresses movement or direction towards the speaker. That was why it was given to respondents as a simple past tense sentence. It should be noted that verbs could also be marked to express a past or completed situation.

2. Ń cháŋ Tàmàlè.
1SG go.PFV Tamale
'I went to Tamale'.

Sentences 2 and 3 were also given to respondents as simple past tense sentences, based on the same assertion Olawsky (1999:38) gives relative to the first sentence. Thus, the bare infinitive form of the Dagbani main verb *cháŋ* 'go' and *ku* 'kill' for sentences 2 and 3, respectively, per Olawsky's (1999) assertion, express the simple past tense. Hence, the main reason for giving them as part of the simple past tense sentences for respondents to translate into English.

3. Ò kù wáhù màà.
3SG. kill.PFV snake the.
'He killed the snake'.

Marked Past Tense.

4. Dànáá dí káná kpè.
Danaa TDP. Come. PFV here
'Dànáá came here a while ago'.

Bodomo (2001; 2018) refers to the preverbal particles as time-depth particles. Others who discuss the TDP in Dagbani are Olawsky (1999), Botne (2012). Botne refers to TDP as remoteness distinction markers. These scholars maintain that the time-depth *dì* in sentence 4 expresses the past tense for today (a remoteness distinction marker) in Dagbani.

5. Sule sá chàŋ lá ó bà yìŋà.
Sule TDP go.PFV FOC 3SG father house
'Sule went to his father yesterday'.

Similarly, sentences 5 and 6 were given to respondents to translate into English as part of the marked past sentences because (Olawsky 1999; Bodomo 2001; 2018; Botne 2012) as well relate the functions of *sà* and *dáá* in sentence five and six as past time marker for yesterday and two days or more days ago in Dagbani.

6. Báwá dáá góyá.
Bawa TD PFV
'Bawa travelled some days ago'.

For easy understanding, the sentences that were translated were regrouped as follows:

1. 'Past as past' means simple past tense translated into simple past tense
2. 'past as perfect' means simple past tense translated into present perfect
3. past as both past and perfect means simple past tense translated into both simple past and present perfect. The next section discusses sentence one of the simple past tense.

5.2.1 Results of Dagbani Simple Past Tense (SPT) Sentence One

Table 5.1 presents a distribution of the types of sentences produced by the respondents, based on the simple sentences given to them to translate.

SPT Sentence 1: *Dànáá káná kpè* → '*Dànáá came here*'.

Table 5.1 Responses on the Simple Past Tense Sentence One

Respondents' level of education	Past as perfect	%	Past as past	%	Past as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic level	20	22.5	9	10.1	1	1.1	30	33.7
Secondary level	17	19.1	12	13.5	1	1.1	30	33.7
Tertiary level	12	13.5	12	13.5	5	5.6	29	32.6
Total	49	55.1	33	37.1	7	7.9	89	100

The data presented in Table 5.1 indicate that the majority of the 89 respondents, 55.1% translated the sentence into the present perfect, followed by 37.1% of the respondents who translated the sentence into the simple past tense. These responses show that a sentence of this nature will be seen more in the present perfect than in the simple past.

With the displayed results in the above table, the basic level comes first in translating the sentence into the present perfect instead of the simple past tense. Though not significant, the next educational level is the secondary level, followed by the tertiary level. The basic level has the least respondents, who translated the sentence into the simple past tense. The tertiary and the secondary levels registered the same number of responses for the simple past tense. There is no apparent variation from one educational level to another in respondents' translation of this sentence. Therefore, respondents' interpretation of this sentence is not significant enough to declare one educational level as the more influenced education level. Some examples of the responses by some respondents are:

87. Examples of Translations of SPT Sentence 1:

- a. Respondent 16 (basic); *Dànáá has come here.*
- b. Respondent 29 (secondary); *Dànáá has come here.*
- c. Respondent 19 (basic); *Dànáá came here.*
- d. Respondent 21 (basic); *Dànáá has come here.*
- e. Respondent 13 (tertiary); *Dànáá came here.*
- f. Respondent 26 (secondary); *Dànáá came here.*
- g. Respondent 23 (tertiary); *Dànáá has come here.*
- h. Respondent 49 (tertiary); *Dànáá came here or Dànáá has come here.*

Although the sentence is variously translated by the respondents as demonstrated above, many of the respondents translated the sentence more into the present perfect than they

translated it into the simple past tense. This indicates that irrespective of the educational level, people who speak English as a second language in the study area will interpret a sentence similar to the above sentence the same way they interpreted this sentence. This sentence has traces of the mother tongue's use of a sentence of this nature. Thus, we can already see the replication or transfer of Dagbani way of using a sentence of this nature in this sentence one.

However, some exciting responses are worth noting, one of which is respondent number 49. He translated sentence one into both simple past tense and in the present perfect. This type of translation stems from the lack of distinction between the two categories. Many respondents, especially respondents from the tertiary level, did similar translations. This translation is a direct transfer from Dagbani, as verbs with the aspectual suffix *-ya* and the bare infinitive form of the verb express a completed situation (perfective), which stands for the present perfect and the simple past tense in Dagbani (See also Issah 2015).

Therefore, respondents who would do this kind of translation may be mindful of the lack of difference between these two subcategories and try to cater for it in their translations: hence, respondent number 49 response to the sentence. Respondents who translate the sentence to the present perfect might have just ignored the simple past tense. Those who translate it into the past may also overlook the present perfect since the difference between the past and perfect is not important in Dagbani. Nonetheless, the present perfect still overshadows the simple past tense in respondents' translation, indicating that the present perfect is mostly used for the past tense of this nature. Therefore, respondent 49's response could result from his experience in the language (L1). Sentence two is presented in the next section.

5.2.2 Results of the Dagbani Simple Past Tense Sentence Two

Sentence two of the simple past tense group of sentences is presented in this section. It comprises all respondents' responses on the sentence. The following Table 5.2 presents respondents' responses on the simple past tense two.

SPT Sentence 2 : *Ní cháj Tàmàlè. → I went to Tamale.*

Table 5.2 Responses on the Simple Past Tense Sentence Two

Respondents' level of education	Past as perfect	%	Past as past	%	Past as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic level	17	19.1	8	9.0	4	4.5	30	33.7
Secondary level	14	15.7	9	10.1	7	7.9	30	33.7
Tertiary level	14	15.7	11	12.4	4	4.5	29	32.6
Total	45	50.6	28	31.5	16	17.9	89	100

Generally, 50.6% of the respondents again translated the past tense sentence 2 to the present perfect. There is, therefore, no difference between sentence two and sentence 1 in respondents' interpretation of the sentence because most of the respondents translated it into the present perfect and not the simple past tense. Based on their educational levels, the difference in respondents' translations is not significant enough to deem them as variants. However, the basic and secondary levels turn out to be the educational levels, with just a few respondents translating the sentence into the present perfect than the tertiary level respondents. Just as demonstrated in the first sentence, there is enough reason to conclude that there is no difference in respondents' translation of this sentence, based on respondents' educational levels.

The Dagomba people translating a sentence of this nature into perfect suggests that they will use the present perfect in situations where the present perfect use is not required. In this case, in respondents' responses and interpretations of the sentence, there seems to be a shift in function regarding the grammatical category. In most respondents' translation, the original function of the simple past tense instead functions as present perfect. This finding indicates the role of the sentence in terms of its grammatical category (simple past tense) has become the present perfect instead of its function as the simple past tense. This observation is what Schneider (2003; 2007) terms exaptation, one of the innovations in PCEs. The lack of difference in the number of responses from the basic level through to the tertiary level shows how frequently speakers, regardless of their education levels, use the present perfect in place of the past tense. There will be continuous exaptation in the English Dagomba speak because language reflects people's culture and themselves. This is a sign that English cannot be 'that

English' if it is continually used in all domains of the Ghanaian social setting. Therefore, "if we can't decide on one Ghanaian language for the country after twenty-nine years of independence, then why shouldn't a borrowed language be 'butchered'" (Duodu 1986:3). There are many interpretations to this statement; one is, English is not a native language to the non-native speakers, speakers should, thus, not be worried when it is altered to conform to the context of speakers' culture and to fit into their linguistic schemata. "This is to say that the meaning of language is deeply embedded in the culture or social situation of its users" (Saah 1986:375). As Carrel (1984) expounds schema theory, a text only provides directions for listeners or readers as to how they should retrieve or construct meaning from their own previously acquired knowledge. Dagbani as part of the schemata of Dagomba, helps construct English as it is spoken by the Dagomba. Some of the respondents' translations of sentence two are presented below:

88. Examples of Translations of SPT Sentence 2:

- a. *Respondent 8 (basic); I have gone to Tamale.*
- b. *Respondent 14 (tertiary); I have gone to Tamale.*
- c. *Respondent 30 (secondary); I have gone to Tamale.*
- d. *Respondent 28 (secondary); I went to Tamale.*

Other responses are in the simple past tense in respondents' translations. Still, the number of respondents who interpreted the sentence as simple past are fewer than the number of responses in the present perfect. This interpretation again indicates that the present perfect is mostly or frequently used in respondents' interpretation of this kind of sentence. The data presented on sentence 2 shows that this sentence and the other have no one-to-one translation of the simple past tense from Dagbani to English. Thus, in translating the past tense, the present perfect features as a possible alternative. This, as mentioned above, could be due to the lack of difference between the two tenses since both subcategories make up the perfective aspect. For instance, a sentence, *Ò gbìhìyá* is interpreted as '*S/he has slept/ S/he slept*'. This looks like Comrie's assertion that German has no grammatical aspectual marker of past and perfect. Therefore, both are expressed in '*He has gone*' (see Comrie 1978: 8).

Respondents can, therefore, replicate the 'free variation use' of these subcategories in English. In this case, one subcategory will overshadow the other. Hence, the choice of the

present perfect over the simple past in English tense expressions. This usage signifies ethnolectal English (DagbE), spoken by Dagomba, which varies from GhE and BrE. This, therefore, reflects Weinreich's (1953) grammatical transfer and Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication, where the replica language (R) is modelled after the model language (M), resulting to another replica (Rx) language between the two languages.

The above responses also suggest that respondents' extensive exposure to education marginally reduces the influence because all responses from all levels of education show that the present perfect is frequently used in place of the simple past, with an insignificant margin from the basic through to the tertiary level of education. Next are the results for SPT Sentence 3.

5.2.3 Results of the Dagbani Simple Past Tense Sentence Three

Table 5.3 presents the distribution of sentence 3 of the simple past tense sentences. An overwhelming majority of respondents, 74 (83.1%), produce sentences that indicate that sentence three is in the present perfect and not in the simple past tense. This means that just a few respondents show in their translations that the sentence is in the past tense since there are still a few people who translated the sentence into both simple past and present perfect. The succeeding table displays the rest of the responses on the last sentence of the simple past tense.

SPT Sentence 3: *Ò kù wáhù máà.* → *He killed the snake.*

Table 5.3 Responses on the Simple Past Tense Three

Respondents' level of education	Past as perfect	%	Past as past	%	Past as both past and perfect	%	Total	%
Basic level	26	29.2	3	3.4	1	1.1	30	33.7
Secondary level	25	29.1	1	1.1	4	4.5	30	33.7
Tertiary level	23	26.0	2	2.2	4	4.5	29	32.6
Total	74	83.1	6	6.7	9	10.1	89	100

The data displayed in Table 5.3 show that the sentence expresses the present perfect meaning. Respondents show in their translations of the sentence that it expresses the

continuation of present relevance of a past situation (present perfect) more than it expresses the simple past tense in English. All the educational levels register almost the same number of respondents who translated this sentence into the present perfect. This shows how the present perfect has influenced the past tense in the English the Dagomba people speak. Translating the sentence into both the simple past and present perfect by respondents is attributed to the lack of difference between the grammatical subcategories in the Dagbani language. In this case, the perfective aspect, which includes both perfect and simple past in Dagbani is replicated in the English language. This finding suggests a heavy presence of L1 features in replicated English (DagbE). Therefore, this finding goes a long way to suggest that the mother tongue or the L1's grammar is the main possible foundation of this influence. Consequently, this type/variety of English is ethnolectal English by this ethnic group since this part of tense is modelled on Dagbani.

One other revealing point from these three sentences is that all the three sentences on the simple past tense have been translated into the present perfect at different percentages. In addition, depending on interlocutors' interest and illocutionary force, a sentence can be interpreted as any of the above-translated meanings, whether simple past, present perfect or both simple past and present perfect, which is not the case in English. For example, sentence three above has been translated into present perfect and into both perfective and simple past more than the first two sentences. This could indicate that the present perfect or simple past is a matter of choice and normally contextually dependent in Dagbani. This phenomenon suggests that aspect is more of a contextual phenomenon than a definitional concept (Comrie 1987:6). This flexibility of the perfective aspect use is comfortably replicated in English. As Dagomba speak English, they tend to choose the present perfect over the simple past tense in utterances; hence, the influence the present perfect exerts on the simple past tense in the Dagbani context. Therefore, the replicated English (DagbE) is modelled on Dagbani and, therefore, meaning in DagbE is more or less contextually dependent, just as meaning in tense expressions in Dagbani is contextually deduced.

As stated above, all the translations still show how inseparable the simple past tense and the present perfect are, thereby showing that two subcategories indicate a completed situation, as Comrie (1985) indicated concerning most languages without tense. This is an indication of the source of the influence of Dagomba's use of English. As indicated, the results

also show how rare it is for respondents to translate a whole set of sentences under one subcategory as such into English without introducing another subcategory of grammar. Another observation is how interesting the secondary level presents itself throughout the data of this category of tense. Though not significant, the secondary level keeps moving in between the basic and the tertiary levels, not taking a stable stand in their translations of the three sentences. In the translation, the secondary level can be at the same level in their translation with the tertiary level at one point, and the same level at another with the basic level. This may be because Dagbani is not taught as a compulsory subject at the secondary level, as it is compulsorily taught at the basic level. That could be the reason for the secondary level's performance in the translation. The above analysis still points out that the lack of difference between these two tenses in Dagbani reflects in Dagomba's use of English, thereby leading to the present perfect being used in place of the simple past tense. An average score of this set of sentences (simple past tense) in Figure 5.1 was calculated by getting the sum of the number of responses for every possible interpretation, for example, past as past or past as perfect or past as both past and perfect and dividing by the number sentences in the sentence group.⁹ Therefore, based on respondents' educational levels, the summary of respondents' interpretations of the simple past tense is presented in Figure 5.1 below.

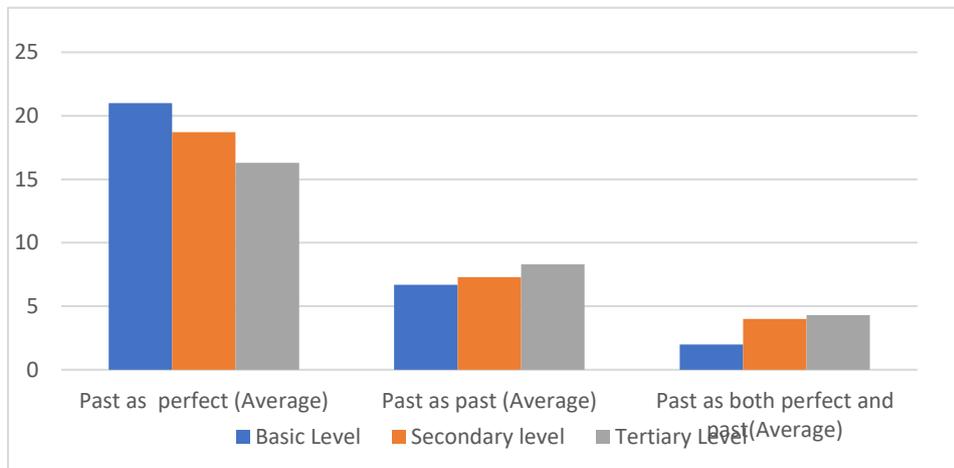


Figure 5.1 Average Score of Dagbani Simple Past Tense Sentences according to level of education

⁹ The same method was used to calculate the average score of all the sentences in both chapter five and six of this study.

The information in Figure 5.1 suggests that the simple past tense is generally interpreted with the present perfect meaning. In all three sentences in this section, the present perfect is used where the simple past tense use is required, especially by most basic level's students than the other educational levels. On the contrary, the tertiary level interprets the simple past tense with the simple past tense meaning than the secondary and the basic levels of education, as indicated in the graphical presentation above. Besides the basic level respondents, more secondary level respondents use the present perfect in place of the simple past, more than the tertiary level's respondents use it to interpret the simple past tense. The secondary level also comes second to the tertiary level in translating the sentence into both simple past and the present perfect. This shows the intensity of perfective influence at the basic level as English users in the study area. There is an indication that the perfective aspect (with the simple past) influence minimally reduces as speakers climb the educational ladder. This contrasts Dako's assertion that "number of years in formal education does not, however, seem to determine the occurrence of Ghanaianisms, so that their frequency does not appear to diminish moving from left to right on this continuum" (Dako 2001:26). Nonetheless, all educational levels interpreted the simple past tense as present perfect more than they interpret as simple past. This reflects the main ideology of grammatical replication Arakwa speakers from Taranian in Brazil employ in Heine and Kuteva (2006), where speakers of a language transfer or replicate a feature of the Portuguese language (model language) into their own language.

Hence, the L1 features in English minimally reduce regarding the use of the simple past tense. Besides, as stated above, there is a replication or transfer of the perfective aspect (present perfect aspect and the simple past tense) from Dagbani grammar to English. Thus, this replication is due to the nature of the mother tongue's grammar. Although this is not regarded as a deviant use, it confirms Sey's (1973) and Gyasi's (1990) assertions that all the deviant uses of GhE are attributed to the mother tongue. Thus, the lack of clear-cut difference between the simple past tense and the present perfect in Dagbani has some lingering effects on Dagomba's use of English. As indicated, the various interpretation of the simple past sentences also stems from the lack of difference between grammatical subcategories. The English Dagomba speak being influenced by their L1's features (features from the mother tongue) demonstrates that this English is an ethnolectal English by the people in the speech community since it is peculiar to the ethnic group. There are all indications that there is a transfer of the present perfect aspect and the simple past tense from Dagbani grammar to English. Also, there are all indications, as

stated above, that the analysis of respondents' interpretations of the sentences reflect Weinreich's (1953) grammatical transfer and Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication. Here, where the replica language (R) is modelled after the model language (M), resulting to another language between the two languages, replica (Rx), which in this study is DagbE.

The implications of this section are that there is a need to include lessons on the difference between the expressions of tense in the two languages in the syllabus of the two languages. This implication further suggests making the teaching of the local languages in the school system compulsory. The results of the marked past are presented below.

5.2.4 The Influence of Dagbani Simple Marked Past (SMP) Sentences

This section of the analysis presents how respondents translated the marked past tense from Dagbani to English. The reason for adding this section of the past tense is to test how the Dagomba people use the marked past tense. It is meant to determine whether sentences marked with the time-depth particles are interpreted and used as simple past, tense present perfect, present perfect with adverbial, or interpreted as both the present perfect and simple past tense. This will help tell the intensity of the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect on Dagomba's English tense. The analysis in this section is also constructed based on the educational levels of respondents. Results are presented in three tables; each table shows the results of one sentence. A graphical presentation is used to summarise the interpretations of all three sentences. TAdv. stands for time adverbial, while PAdv. stands for the adverb of place. In the table, the translated sentences are presented as follows:

1. 'Marked past as past' stands for 'marked past' translated into 'simple past tense,'
2. 'Marked past as perfect' stands for 'marked past translated into present perfect,'
3. 'Marked past as both' past and present perfect stands for 'marked past translated into both simple past and present perfect,
4. 'Marked past as perfect with adverbial' stands for 'marked past translated into perfect with adverbial.'

Three sentences were presented to respondents to translate. The next section presents the analysis of the first sentence from the simple marked past section.

5.2.5 Results of the Dagbani Simple Marked Past Tense Sentence One

Table 5.4 below presents data for SMP sentence 1 of the simple marked past tense which was translated from the Dagbani to English.

SMP Sentence 1: *Dànáà dí káná kpè. → 'Dànáà came here a while ago.'*

Table 5.4 Responses on Marked Past Sentence One

Respondent s' level of education	Marked past as past	%	Marked past as present perfect with adverbial	%	Marked past as present perfect	%	Marked past as both past and present perfect	%	Total	%
Basic level	16	18.0	1	1.1	13	14.4	0	0	30	33.7
Secondary level	17	19.1	1	1.1	10	11.2	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary level	28	31.5	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	29	32.6
Total	61	68.5	2	2.2	24	27.0	2	2.2	89	100

The responses on the sentences clearly show that the majority of the respondents, numbering up to 61 (68.5%), interpreted the sentence into the simple past. Nonetheless, 24 (27%) of the respondents translated it into the present perfect. It is evident, judging from the data displayed in Table 5.4, that comparatively, fewer respondents from the basic and secondary levels translated the marked past sentence 1 into past tense than the tertiary level students. Moreover, more respondents from the tertiary level translated sentences to the simple past tense. However, one subject from each from both the basic and the secondary levels translated the sentence into the present perfect with an adverbial. This usage is considered deviant usage since it moves totally away from the norm. It is also a confirmation to Sey's (1973) assertion that all the deviant usages in Ghanaian English are traced to the mother tongue. None of the respondents, especially those from the tertiary level, translated the sentence into perfect with adverbial. In addition, many respondents from the basic and secondary levels again translated the sentence into the present perfect. For both the simple past and present perfect, only two respondents from the secondary translated the sentences accordingly. 27% of the responses, which went for present perfect are considered enormous since the marked past (past with the time depth and time adverbials) is a section of tense that should usually in no case be

mistaken for another subcategory of tense. This means that an adverbial or a time-depth particle added to a sentence of this nature in Dagbani is automatically translated into the simple past tense. This grammatical category naturally develops and does not need to be learned. This, therefore, means that speakers generalise the present perfect use in Dagbani to the unmarked past. These uses are replicated into English, as demonstrated in subjects' translation of this sentence.

Although most Dagomba will interpret this sentence as past tense, the present perfect will still be an option in their interpretation. This reveals how the present perfect has frequently replaced the simple past tense in the English, the people in this speech community. An indication of major used patterns (frequently used grammatical elements) in Heine and Kuteva (2006). In this case, the simple past tense resembles that of minor used patterns (elements not frequently used). The various responses are worth mentioning because each respondent's response to the marked past is essential in explaining the influence. For instance, most respondents from the basic and the secondary levels translated this sentence into the present perfect because it has been used more in their daily conversations. Hence, such usage got into the marked past, which is mostly known to have the interpretation related to the simple past tense. The Dagomba people generalise the present perfect and, at the same time, replicate the use of the perfective aspect from Dagbani to the English language.

The translations clearly show that Dagomba interpret this marked past more with the simple past tense meaning than they relate unmarked past sentences to the present perfect meaning. However, the present perfect is not left out, even within this subcategory (marked past) of tense that does not show ambiguity (open-up to both the perfect and the simple past meaning) in the language, as the unmarked past tense does. Sentence two of the marked past is presented in the next section.

5.2.6 Results of the Dagbani Simple Marked Past Tense (SMP) Sentence Two

Table 5.5 presents the analysis and results of the second sentence of the simple marked past tense.

SMP Sentence 2: *Sulé sá chànlá ó bá yíṅá.* → '*Sulé went to his father's house yesterday*'.

Table 5.5 Response on Dagbani Marked Past Tense Sentence Two

Respondents' level of education	Marked past as past	%	Marked past as present perfect with adverbial	%	Marked past as present perfect	%	Total	%
Basic level	18	20.2	10	11.2	2	2.2	30	33.7
Secondary level	16	18.0	12	13.5	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	23	26.0	4	4.5	2	2.2	29	32.6
Total	57	64.0	26	29.2	6	6.7	89	100

The data collected on the marked past sentence 2 explains that most of the respondents translated the sentence into the simple past tense. As many as 64% of the respondents demonstrated in their translation that the sentence expresses the simple past tense meaning. 29.2% of them translated the sentence into the present perfect with an adverbial. As displayed in Table 5.5, many respondents even translated the sentence into the present perfect with an adverbial than they translated it to the present perfect. Also, data in Table 5.5 indicate that the sentence can be interpreted as present perfect, as the simple past tense or in the present perfect with adverbials by the people in this speech community. All these interpretations of the above two sentences imply that sentences of this nature will be interpreted differently in the speech community contextually. However, it suggests that most of the people in the study area use or associate this sentence with the simple past tense than they will associate it with other interpretation or meaning. Obviously, the interpretation of sentence 2, as a sentence associated with another subcategory of grammar, especially the present perfect, and perfect with an adverbial, and not the simple past alone, cannot be dispelled.

Based on the educational levels of the respondents, the marked past sentence 2 is entirely different from sentence 1, as the secondary level registers fewer respondents who translated the sentence into the simple past tense, and many respondents from the same level also translated it into the present perfect with an adverbial. The basic level records the second-highest number in translating the sentence into the simple past tense by 20.2% of the respondents from the same table. As usual, 26% of the respondents from the tertiary level translated this same sentence into the simple past, while only 4.5% of the respondents translate it into present perfect with an adverbial. However, one subject, each from both the basic and the secondary levels, translated the sentence into the present perfect with an adverbial.

Considering the marked past function in Dagbani, the various interpretations of this sentence are interesting and worth mentioning. Sentence 3 of the marked past tense is discussed below.

5.2.7 Results of Dagbani Simple Marked Past (SMP) Sentence Three

Table 5.6 shows the distribution of the results on the SMPT sentence 3.

SMP Sentence 3: *Báwá dáá góyá.* → *Bawa travelled days ago.*

Table 5.6 Responses on Dagbani Simple Marked Past Sentence Three

Respondents' level of education	Marked past as past	%	Marked past as present perfect with adverbial	%	Marked past as present perfect	%	Total	%
Basic level	8	9.0	6	6.7	16	18.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	7	7.9	6	6.7	17	19.1	30	33.7
Tertiary level	19	21.3	2	2.2	8	9.0	29	32.7
Total	34	38.2	14	15.7	41	46.0	89	100

It is clear from the data displayed in Table 5.6 that respondent translated sentence 3 of the marked past differently from the first two sentences on the marked past. As shown, 46.0% of respondents translated this sentence into the present perfect against 38.2% of the total respondents who associated it with its simple past tense meaning. As demonstrated in Table 5.6, many of the respondents also translate the sentence into the present perfect with an adverbial. Based on respondents' educational levels, 19 respondents, out of the 29 respondents from the tertiary level, indicating 21.3% of the whole sample for the study translated the sentence into the simple past tense, as against only 9% and 7.9% from the basic and secondary levels respectively.

As displayed, both the basic and the secondary levels register more responses that indicate that the sentence expresses a present perfect meaning. Nonetheless, the sentence still registers many of the respondents who interpreted the sentence as present perfect with the time adverbial. In the translation of this particular sentence, something worth mentioning is that the present perfect as a subcategory of grammar dominates in the respondents' translation of the sentence to the simple past tense. As mentioned earlier, the marked past purely depicts a

situation before the time of speaking and not a situation that expresses continuing relevance of a past situation in the language. This explanation shows that although respondents know that the marked past in Dagbani depicts past tense in both Dagbani and English, most of them still involuntarily interpret it as present perfect, following the intensity of the influence of the perfective use in speakers' L1.

As indicated, a past event, or action in Dagbani is not different from a situation that expresses the present relevance of a past situation (present perfect). This means that the difference between simple past and present perfect depends on how a situation is presented (Comrie 1978:8). Therefore, sentences that involve past situations can be interpreted either as simple past tense or the present perfect by people in this speech community. Hence, respondents assume the marked past tense could also be interpreted as the present perfect with an adverbial as the present perfect, and the simple past together is captured in the perfective aspect in Dagbani. In other words, the simple past, present perfect, and the marked past all together make up the perfective aspect in the language. Therefore, if the simple past and present perfect are used or seen as subcategories without distinction, the past can be imagined with perfect meaning. Hence, the present perfect with adverbials in respondents' interpretation of the marked past tense. The variation of respondents' translations of the three sentences can be appreciated in the following graphical presentation in Fig 5.2 below.

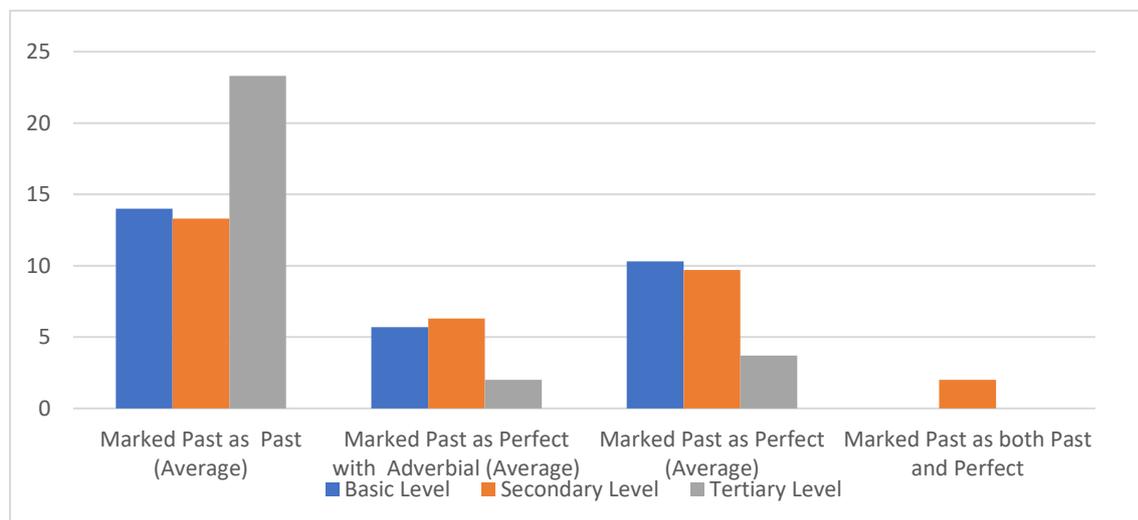


Figure 5.2 Average Score of the Dagbani Simple Marked Past Sentences according to Educational Levels

Generally, the average score of respondents' interpretations of the simple marked past tense clearly explains that the marked past in Dagbani is interpreted or translated into English as a simple past tense. The graphical presentation also reveals that the tertiary levels relate the marked past with a situation that expresses simple past tense meaning than the respondents from the secondary and basic levels of education.

As illustrated above, the second interpretation given to the marked past by respondents is the present perfect meaning. Since the marked past generally expresses the simple past meaning in Dagbani, the graph reveals that the present perfect still influences or replaces the simple past tense. As mentioned in the analysis of the preceding sentences, the present perfect will always feature in the interpretation and use of the past tense, as the people in the speech community use the English language.

It is usually unacceptable to use the present perfect with time adverbials like; 'yesterday,' 'three days ago,' 'last week,' 'years back,' among others in English. Adam (2013:57) also reveals that we cannot say '*Tia has fallen in love on his eighteenth birthday.*' It should also be certain that 'the present perfect can be combined with only a handful of time adverbials referring to a specific moment or time in the past. All those denote the very recent past, as in; *I have just seen John, I recently have made John an acquaintance*' (Comrie, 1985:84). Therefore, the English version of time adverbial with the present perfect is ungrammatical; see also (Comrie 1978:85). *I have got up at 5 o'clock this morning*; it is incompatible with perfect in English. However, it is possible to say; *I have seen him this morning*; provided the statement is made within that time frame, in the morning (cf Comrie 1978:56).

Although it is not in the interest of this research to judge the grammaticality of the phenomenon investigated in this study, it is still counted as part of the influence of Dagbani perfective aspect. It is observed that the influence of the perfective sometimes leads to some grammatically unacceptable uses, as seen in this part of the data analysis, where the present perfect is used with the time adverbials. This usage breaks the rules of grammar in the English language. If such forms exist at all, then it might be in colloquial use and may not be used or accepted in formal settings. It is, therefore, deviant usage brought about by the nature of

Dagbani, a confirmation of Sey's (1973) deviant usage in Ghanaian language being attributed to the mother tongue as its source. It is, therefore, unacceptable to say:

89. Example of Translations of SMP Sentence:

- a. Respondents 20 (Basic level) and 28 (Secondary level); **Sule has gone to his father's house yesterday.*
- b. Respondent 26 (secondary level); **Bawa has travelled some days ago.*
- c. Respondent 43 (tertiary level); **The last time Bawa has travelled.*

On the contrary, the data presented on the marked past interestingly reveals that some people in the speech community use the present perfect with time adverbials. This is because the present perfect and the simple past tense as part of the Dagbani perfective aspect are interchangeably or indiscriminately used in the language; this leads to replicating the Dagbani perfective aspect use in the English language tense. Hence, the influence of the grammar of Dagbani on the English the Dagomba speak.

Although the number of Dagbani marked past tense interpreted with present perfect with adverbial is not significant, it cannot be ignored. This is because it forms part of the English Dagomba speak. This is captured in the data, in most basic and secondary levels' translations, as follows:

90. *Sule has gone to his father's house yesterday.*

As translated by respondent 30 (secondary level), respondent 32 (secondary), respondent 48 (tertiary), respondent 49 (tertiary), respondent 52 (secondary), respondent 73 (basic), respondent 9 (basic).

91. *Bawa has travelled days ago.*

Also translated by respondent 58 (secondary level), respondent 6 (secondary), respondent 14 (tertiary), and respondent 12 (basic). This kind of translation cuts across all three levels of education. However, very few subjects from the tertiary level did this kind of translation. It can be explained that the marked past being translated into the present perfect with adverbials by a few of the tertiary level users of English indicates that the present perfect with an adverbial usually is unacceptable, as Comrie (1978) asserts. However, the frequent use

of the present perfect in place of simple past tense by most Dagomba has led to its use by some of the tertiary students. The present perfect with adverbials results from the intensity of the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect, where the present perfect dominates the simple past tense in Dagomba use of English.

Nonetheless, as indicated, the respondents from the tertiary level's extensive exposure to education has possibly helped them make this interpretation by not mostly translating the marked past to present perfect with adverbials, which expresses a situation with present relevance to a past situation. Even though interpreting the marked past with the present perfect meaning with adverbials are rare in the tertiary level students' use of English, traces of such interpretations are present in the tertiary level's translation. As stated above, all these shows how pervasive the present perfect is in the English spoken in the speech community.

Judging from the sentences translated, the advanced knowledge of the tertiary level respondents in grammar manifests in this translation as illustrated in the graph. This also features in their use of English as they express tense. Therefore, it could be said that every translation made by respondents on marked past sentences is essential in this study. For instance, the translation of the marked past to perfect with an adverbial shows the intensity of the influence of the present perfect on the simple past tense. The marked past translated to the present perfect also tells the extent to which the present perfect has influenced or replaces the simple past tense, as these people speak English. It also shows that the English spoken by these people is an ethnolect. While in BrE, one says, *I went there yesterday*, in DagbE, are pieces of evidence, where people will say: *I have seen him yesterday*.

In conclusion, the three sentences on the marked past illustrate that the intensity of the influence of the present perfect on marked past sentences reduces as the basic and secondary students climb the educational ladder to the tertiary level. While the tertiary level students hardly use or interpret the marked past as present perfect and present perfect with adverbials, most of the subjects from the basic and the secondary levels sometimes use and interpret it as the present perfective or even as the present perfect with adverbials.

Moreover, translating these sentences into the present perfect with adverbials and into the present perfect confirms that Dagbani perfective aspect has been replicated in the English language. In this case, since the perfective verb form makes no difference between the present

perfect and the simple past tense, traces will be noticed, as demonstrated. Besides, the observation made from some of the respondents' translation of the sentences into the present perfect with adverbial shows that the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect leads to the breaking of grammar rules as such uses are not acceptable in English.

The implications of translating most of the marked past sentences into simple past tense in English are that the time-depth particles are past tense markers in Dagbani, which are only different from past tense markers of English. Teachers should concentrate on teaching the tense markers of Dagbani as a distinct phenomenon from the tense markers of English. This will help minimise the common mistakes from the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect use on the usage of past tense with adverbials in Dagbani, which eventually affects the use of English past with adverbials. Also, there is the need to intensify how past tense with adverbials are used in the two languages, especially in English. Up next is the analysis of the present perfect.

5.3 Influence of the Dagbani Perfect of the Perfective Aspect on the Dagomba's Use of the English Tense

In this section, data gathered on the present perfect are analysed. It is already stated in the introductory chapter that Dagbani has no verbal form, which expresses present perfect. According to Comrie (1978), the present perfect presents is a situation as a single whole. Also, the present perfect presents events completed at a given point in time in English (cf Acheampong 2005:107). There is a form of the verb and auxiliaries that express present perfect construction. For instance, the past participle form of the main English verb plus the primary auxiliary verb *have or has* expresses the present perfect. This is different from the simple past tense expression, where the '-ed' or '-d' is suffixed to the main regular verb in English. This differentiation is not possible in Dagbani. Therefore, this simple sentence translation aims to determine if the subcategories are used interchangeably; or which subcategory of grammar is frequently used in place of the other. Generally, the present perfect involves the continuity of present relevance of a past situation (see Comrie 1978:56). This explanation suggests that it is a past event, situation, or action, but there is still evidence of the past action, even at the time of speaking. It is already established that there is no distinction between past tense and present perfect in Dagbani, that notwithstanding, the concept of present perfect exists in the deep meaning of the language. In view of this, some scholars relate some sentences with the present perfect. Therefore, this section discusses how respondents translated these Dagbani present

perfect sentences into English. The tables in this section are four; each table contains the results and the analysis of the one sentence that respondents translated. This group of sentences reveals respondents' use of the perfect. It shows whether respondents use present perfect as a situation that expresses a continuing relevance of a past situation or interprets it with a simple past tense meaning. The average score of respondents' translations is presented in a graph. The translated sentences are grouped in the following order:

1. 'Present perfect as perfect' stands for 'present perfect translated into present perfect,'
2. 'Present perfect as past' stands for 'present perfect translated into the simple past tense,'
3. 'Perfect as both present perfect' and past' stands for 'present perfect translated into both present perfect and simple past tense.'

The sentences respondents were made to translate are presented below.

Present Perfect

7. Tí díyà..... / Tí dí-mì.

1PL eat.PFV / 1PL eat.IMPV-EMP

'We have eaten'.

Sentence seven was also added to the present perfect sentences to be translated into English because in Mohammed (2006) and Yahaya's (2012), they illustrate that the aspectual suffix *-ya* expresses the present perfect in sentences it occurs. Hence, the main verb, *di* 'eat' suffixed with the aspectual *-ya* expresses the present perfect. Given these scholars' submission, this sentence was given to respondents to translate.

8. Bìhí màà dì-là sàým / Bìhi màà dí sàým.
Children DEF eat.PRF-FOC food / Children DEF eat.PRF Food
'The children have eaten the food.'

9. Ò sàbiyá.

3SG write.PRF

'S/he has written write.'

Sentence 8 was given to respondents to translate given Olawsky’s (1999) assertion on the bare infinitive in Dagbani in past tense expressions. Sentence 9 was also added to this set of sentences because of Mohammed’s (2006) and Yahaya’s (2012) explanation of the aspectual suffix and the examples they gave to illustrate the present perfect. Thus, *-ya* plus the main verb *sabi* ‘write’ expresses the present perfect.

10. ḡúná n-nîḡ lì
 3SG DCP-do.PFV 3SG.INANI
 ‘He/she has done it’.

Although this could contextually express simple past tense, it was also given to respondents to translate into English. The sentence expresses the present relevance of a past situation more than it expresses the simple past tense.

5.3.1 Results of the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect (SPP) Sentence One

The results of the Dagbani simple present perfect sentence 3 is presented in this section.

SPP Sentence 1: *Tí díyà/ Tí dí-mì. → We have eaten.*

Table 5.7 Responses on the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect One

Respondents’ level of education	Present perfect as perfect	%	Present perfect as past	%	Present perfect as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic level	13	14.6	13	14.6	3	3.4	29	32.6
Secondary level	20	22.5	8	9.0	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary level	14	15.7	8	9.0	7	7.9	29	32.6
Total	47	53.0	29	32.6	12	13.5	88	99.0

As displayed in Table 5.7, most of the respondents show that the sentence expresses the present perfect meaning in their translations. An appreciable percentage of 32.6% also indicates that the sentence expresses the simple past. As done in the above sections, some respondents indicated in their responses that the sentence expresses both simple past and present perfect meanings.

As demonstrated, the present perfect takes a different turn from the responses on the marked past tense. Although most of the respondents from each level of education translated the sentence into the present perfect, in no specific order, respondents translated the sentence differently based on their educational levels. For instance, the basic level registers more respondents who translated the sentence into the simple past tense but registered almost the same number of respondents with the tertiary level, who translated it into the present perfect. However, the tertiary level translated the sentence into both the simple past tense and present perfect than the other two educational levels.

The secondary level also registers many of the respondents who translated the sentence into the present perfect with 22.5%. The respondents from the tertiary level translate the sentence into both present perfect and simple past tense. This one would explain once again that it is due to the lack of distinction between a sentence of this nature and Dagbani simple past tense. Hence, the present perfect in Dagbani is the better option than the past tense. The tertiary level respondents' level of education again could play a role in their translation of this sentence. The tertiary level respondents can tell that the two sub-categories of grammar make up the perfective aspect in Dagbani. However, some responses from the translations are seen below:

92. Examples of Translations of SPP Sentence 1:

- a. Respondent 84 (tertiary); *We ate / We have eaten.*
- b. Respondent 79 (basic); *We ate.*
- c. Respondent number 42 (tertiary); *We have eaten / We ate.*
- d. Respondent 77 (basic); *We ate / We have eaten.*
- e. Respondent 76 (basic); *We have Eaten.*
- f. Respondent number 3 (secondary); *We have eaten.*

As indicated in the above section, the various interpretation of the Dagbani sentence as shown in the responses expose the lack of difference between the past tense and present perfect in Dagbani and how this is reflected as an influence in Dagbani speakers' use of English. Although most of the respondents translated the sentence into the present perfect, some of the respondents still variously translated the sentence as illustrated in respondents' translations, as indicated above. It is demonstrated from Table 5.7 that most of the basic and the secondary levels' users of English will not interpret this sentence as the present perfect in the same way

the tertiary level users of English do. The following table presents the results of sentence 2 of the perfective aspect.

5.3.2 Results of the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect (SPP) Sentence Two

This section analyses sentence 2 of the present perfect. Sentence 2 produces similar results as sentence 1 of the present perfect. Even though the basic and secondary levels still register most of the respondents, who translated the sentence into the present perfect by an insignificant margin, the educational levels still show in their translation that the sentence expresses the presence relevance of a past situation (present perfect). Consider the results displayed in the following Table 5.8.

SPP Sentence 2: *Bihí máà dilà sàyim máà.* → *'The children have eaten the food'*.

Table 5.8 Responses on the Dagbani Present Perfect Sentence Two

Respondents' level of education	Present perfect as perfect	%	Present perfect as past	%	Present perfect as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic Level	25	28.1	5	5.6	0	0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	24	27.0	4	4.5	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	19	21.3	7	7.9	3	3.4	29	32.6
Total	68	76.4	16	18.0	5	5.6	89	100

The data presented in Table 5.8 show that respondents interpret sentence two as the present perfect than they interpreted it into the other possible versions of the sentence. Out of the 89 respondents, 76.4% show that the sentence expresses the present relevance of a past situation in their translations. Only 18% of the total number of respondents indicate that the sentence expresses the simple past meaning. The educational levels varied interpretations indicates that responses vary, with a minimal difference, as respondents from the basic level and the secondary level translated the sentence into the present perfect than the tertiary level did.

The data presented in Table 5.8 clearly shows that all English users at all educational levels could interpret this sentence more as present perfect than as the simple past tense. This,

therefore, suggests the intensity of the influence of the perfective on respondents' use of the English tense. Most of the basic, secondary, and tertiary levels students will interpret and use a sentence of this nature, as indicated in their translations. This analysis shows evidence of mother tongue features in these people's interpretations. Another explanation of the present perfect use is demonstrated in sentence 3.

5.3.3 Results of the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect (SPP) Sentence Three

Below is Table 5.9 with responses on the sentence of sentence 3 of the present perfect sentences.

SPP Sentence 3: *Ò sàbiyá. → 'He has written.'*

Table 5.9 Responses on Dagbani Simple Present Perfect Sentence Three

Respondents' level of education	Present perfect as perfect	%	Present perfect as past	%	Present perfect as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic Level	19	21.3	8	9.0	3	3.4	30	33.7
Secondary Level	22	24.7	6	6.7	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	15	17.0	7	7.9	7	7.9	29	32.6
Total	56	63.0	21	23.6	12	13.5	89	100

Apart from sentence 2, sentence 3 registers most of the respondents, who demonstrate in their translation that the sentence expresses a present perfect meaning than it expresses the simple past tense meaning. 63% of the respondents translated the sentence into present perfect, and 23.6% of the respondents translated it into the simple past tense. This sentence presents responses that show insignificant differences in respondents' translations. Except for the tertiary level's respondents, who translated the sentence into both past and perfect, the basic and the secondary levels translated the sentence equally into the present perfect. Even though the secondary level registers many respondents who interpreted the sentence with the present perfect meaning than the basic level and the tertiary level this time, all the same, most respondents from all levels of education still think the sentence expresses the present perfect meaning. Respondents' translation of the sentence of the above section and this section so far reflects linguistic acculturation of tense in DagbE, which is part of local colouration in Anchimbe (2006).

The minimal difference in respondents' translation of the sentence, based on their educational levels, indicates the intensity of the influence on speakers' use of English. Given that, respondents interpret the sentence almost the same irrespective of respondents' level of education. Because this explains the intensity of the influence of perfective aspect in respondents' use of the English tense, it indicates the presence of L1's feature of speakers; therefore, this finding is clear evidence of ethnolectal English spoken by the Dagomba people as an ethnic group. Besides, observing from the data, most English users, especially the basic and secondary levels, translate present perfect to the present perfect more than they do to simple past tense. This, therefore, establishes that the present perfect is frequently used for this sentence more than it is used for simple past tense. Next is the presentation of results for present perfect sentence 4.

5.3.4 Results of the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect (SPP) Sentence Four

Table 5.10 presents the distribution of the fourth and last sentence of the simple present perfect sentences. The data on sentence 4, as displayed in Table 5.10 below, reveals that 63% of the respondents show in their translations that the sentence is in the present perfect. Below is Table 5.10

SPP Sentence 3: *ɲúná ń-níŋlì*. 'He has done'.

Table 5.10 Responses on the Dagbani Simple Present Perfect Sentence Four

Respondents' level of education	Present perfect as perfect	%	Present perfect as past	%	Present perfect as both perfect and past	%	Total	%
Basic Level	24	27	6	6.7	0	0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	21	23.6	8	9.0	1	1.1	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	11	12.4	13	14.6	5	5.6	29	32.6
Total	56	63.0	27	30.3	6	6.7	89	100

As displayed in Table 5.10, sentence 4 shows not much difference in how it is translated and how the other sentences are translated. 30.3% of the respondents interpret the sentence as simple past, while 6.7% indicate in their translations that the sentence expresses both present perfect and simple past tense meanings. The majority of the respondents, 63% indicate that the sentences express present perfect meaning. Besides, the results displayed in Table 5.10 above

clearly demonstrate that almost the same number of respondents from the basic and the secondary levels translated this sentence into the present perfect. It is also clear from the data on sentence 4 that many respondents from the tertiary level translated the sentence into the simple past tense and present perfect and simple past. The graphical presentation of the four sentences is presented below.

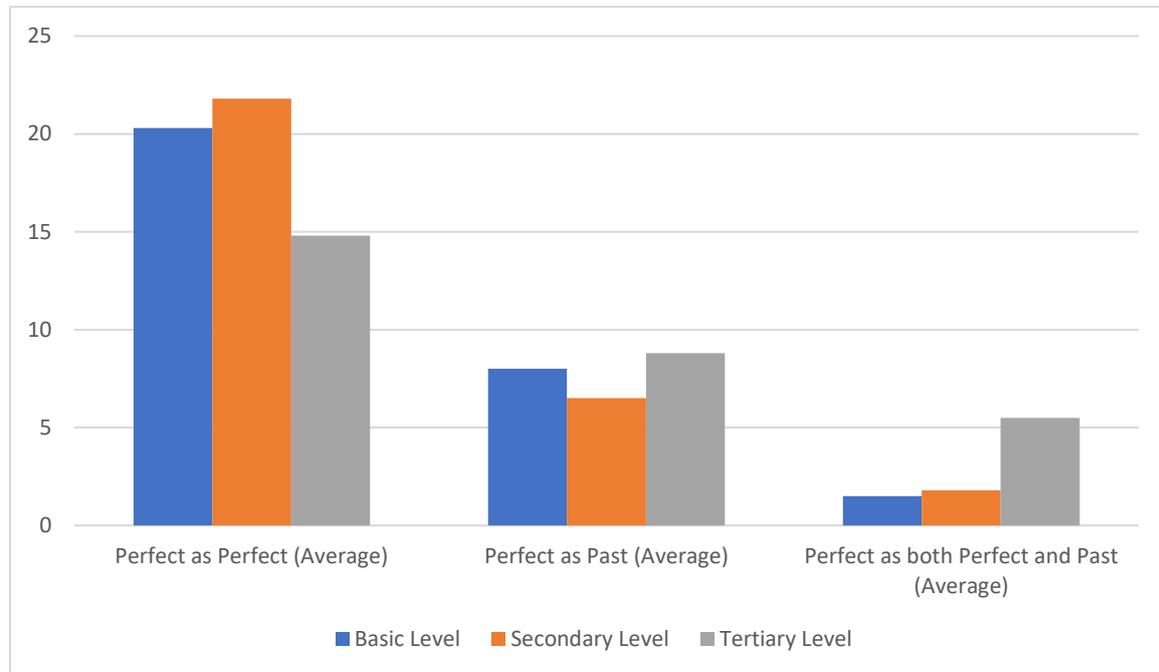


Figure 5.3 Average Score of the Simple Present Perfect according to Levels of Education

With an insignificant margin, the secondary level translated the present perfect sentences into the present perfect more than the basic level. The tertiary level leads in interpreting the present perfect as simple past tense and as both simple past tense and present perfect.

Drawing from respondents' translations of the simple past and the marked past sentences, one would have thought that all the responses in the present perfect section would be in the present perfect; in that, in respondents' translations, the present perfect replaces the simple past tense. The present perfect though insignificantly, still features in the marked past tense (usually the simple past tense) in the above analysis. Nevertheless, the present perfect is also being translated as the simple past, and both 'present perfect and simple past.' One arch explanation to this kind of response from subjects is that the simple past tense and the present

perfect, as part of the perfective aspect, are simply not differentiated in the surface meaning in Dagbani. Comrie (1978) enumerates and discusses languages that do not distinguish between the simple past and present perfect. Therefore, the subcategories are always interpreted in the same way. The grammatical replication process employed in the use of the past tense expressions in English is a simplification, one of Schneider's (2003; 2007) nativisation innovative processes. This resembles the assertion that "the phonotactics of L1 does not permit the learner to reach TL or L2 and that of L1 also restrict the learner approximating it" (Fonyuy 2012:91). In this part of the study, therefore, restrictions placed on the grammar of the L1 prevents speakers from using English grammar as it should be used.

Consequently, there is the possibility for one of these grammatical categories to dominate the other usage in speakers' use of a language that does not share the same grammatical structure or form with speakers' L1. Hence, the influence of the dominance of the present perfect over the simple past in this study. The dominance of the perfect over the simple past tense also confirms the act of replicating grammatical form or function in Heine and Kuteva (2006) or transferring grammatical feature in (Weinreich 1953) of a language and used it in another language. In this case, modelling one language based on another language; thus, the perfective use in Dagbani (using the present perfect when the use of simple past is required or not showing distinction between them in sentence expressions) is transferred or replicated and used in English, as it is used in the Dagbani language. This use creates another language in this study (Rx), an ethnolectal English spoken by the people, modelled on Dagbani, but built on English. For instance, a past situation, which has no present relevance of a past situation in BrE and GhE could be realised as: *I did it*; in DagbE, is usually realised as: I have done it.

Moreover, judging from these four sentences, respondents' interpretations of the sentences they translated interestingly reveal a significant feature of the respondents. In all four sentences, the basic and the secondary levels translated the perfect into the present perfect more than the tertiary level's translation. This is not an indication that the basic and secondary levels' users of English are better English users than the tertiary users of English. It shows how frequently the basic and secondary levels' users of English use the present perfect in their use of tenses in English. Although insignificant, this usage is an indication that the basic and the secondary level speakers speak English with more L1's features than the tertiary level. Hence, ethnolectal English is a bit strong at the lower level of education than the higher level of

education. However, it must be noted that the difference in the translations based on the educational levels may not be visible enough to term them as variants on the academic level. Still, the fact cannot be denied that the minimal difference in respondents' translation based on their educational levels exist, and the tertiary level proves to be less influenced. These are traces of respondents' translation that are worth mentioning.

About specific responses, take respondent No. 76 from the basic level as an example. His responses for the unmarked simple past tense marked past tense, and the present perfect except for one sentence all went for the present perfect. The following are some Dagbani sentences and how he translated them.

Sentences:

1. *Dànáá kánà kpè. (simple past)*
Danaa come.PFV here.
Danaa come here.
2. *Ò kù wáhù máá (simple past)*
3.SG kill.PFV snake DEF
He killed the snake.
3. *Súlé sá chàṅ-lá ó bá yíná (marked past)*
Sule TDP go.PFV-FOC 3SG.OBJ father house
Sule went to his father's house yesterday.
4. *Bíhí máá dí lá sáyím / bíhí máá dí ságím. perfect)*
Children DEF eat.PFV FOC food children DEF eat.PFV food
The children have eaten the food.
5. *Báwá dáá góyá. (Marked past)*
Bawa TDP Travel.PFV
Bawa travelled some days ago.

His responses to the above sentences are:

93. Examples of Translations of SPT, SMP, SPP Sentences by respondent 76

- a. *Danaa has come here.*
- b. *He has killed the snake.*
- c. *Sule has gone to his father's house.*

- d. *The children have eaten.*
- e. *Bawa has travelled.*

It is demonstrated in all his translations that this respondent interpreted all the sentences as present perfect. The above sentences can be interpreted as simple past in BrE as seen in the following set of examples.

94. Examples of Translations of SPT, SMP, SPP Sentences

- a. *Respondents number 79 (secondary); Danaa came here.*
- b. *Respondent number 5 (secondary); He killed the snake.*
- c. *Respondent number 19 (basic); Sule went to his father's house yesterday.*
- d. *Respondent number 37(tertiary); Bawa travelled.*

Respondent number 76's response to the above simple past sentences is a sign of ethnolectal English (DagbE) that could differ from other English speakers, especially GhE and BrE. Not only respondent 76 did this kind of translation. Many of such interpretations are dotted in all sections of this chapter, ranging from the simple past, marked past to the present perfect.

Another interesting revelation of the present perfect aspect and the past (marked and the unmarked) tense is that most of the tertiary level users of English translated most of the sentences, except the marked past tense into both simple past and present perfect than the basic and the secondary levels of education. As indicated, the translations the tertiary level's respondents do, interpreting sentences into the present perfect or simple past as both simple past tense and present perfect tense, depicts how these grammatical categories are mostly intertwined. Hence, this brings about the influence investigated in this study. As stated above, the past and the perfect indicate a completed situation (perfective) and may not be easily distinguished in the surface meaning in Dagbani.

It can also be established that most of the tertiary level's English users made most of these translations because their knowledge in the grammar of the two languages is advanced, and they can see how these subcategories dovetail into each other. The results also show that the basic and secondary educational levels are a bit more influenced by the perfective aspect of Dagbani than the tertiary level of education. Similar to the finding in the first section, this

finding indicates that respondents' extensive exposure to education could reduce the influence of the perfective aspect on Dagomba's English use. Thus, the perfective aspect, especially the present perfect impact on the respondents, reduces as respondents go higher in education. Nonetheless, we realise indexicality in respondents and the Dagomba people as they use English. Referring to Ofulue (2010), Nkansah (2016) adds that "the indexical markers of varieties of global languages like English is the presence of indigenised English expressions which distinguish each variety" (Nkansah 2016:47). Therefore, the ethnolectal English use is common in Dagbon, even though it seems to be insignificantly used at the tertiary level compared to the basic and secondary levels.

There are some other interesting observations made on some responses concerning some of the respondents. For instance, respondent number 38, a respondent from the tertiary level's response to all sentences on the simple past tense and the present perfect sections, went for the past tense. None of the sentences did he ever translate into the present perfect. His response shows the lack of difference between the two categories of grammar, which Confirms Comrie's (1978) explanation of the perfective being made up of the simple past and present perfect in other languages and Olawsky's observation that the perfective aspect of Dagbani comprises past and present perfect in Dagbani. This phenomenon is likely to have diverse effects on the people's use of English, which is rightly demonstrated in respondents' responses. It also shows that tense expression in the perfective aspect is interlocutor and contextually dependent.

There was, however, another respondent from the same level, whose response to those same sentences went directly opposite respondent 38's response. Respondent No. 86, a respondent from the tertiary level, translated all the sentences on the simple past to the present perfect and translated all sentences on the present perfect aspect into present perfect. Still, he translated those sentences on the marked past tense into the simple past tense. This respondent's response to all the sentences is significant, as it reveals vital information about the three grammatical subcategories in this chapter. It indicates that there is no distinction between the present perfect and the simple past tense. It also shows that the present perfect stands for the simple past tense and vice versa. Hence, there is a demonstration of exaptation, one of Schneider's (2003; 2007) enumerated innovative strategies in speakers' use of the English tense. It also confirms that the marked past is considered by the Dagomba people as the simple

past tense, just as most of the respondents' responses for the marked past went for the simple past tense. His response also demonstrates that the present perfect is used when there is the need to use the simple past tense in DagbE. This finding also confirms Weinreich's (1953; 1974) grammatical transfer and Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication being applied by speakers.

Another exciting response is from respondent number 21, a JHS (1) student. She took the time to explain how the time adverbials and the time-depth particles make the sentences in the Dagbani language simple past tense. Her explanation also confirms (Olawsky 1999; Bodomo 2001; 2018; Botne 2012) assertions that the time-depth particles express simple past and remoteness distinction in Dagbani. It also confirms Comrie's (1985) and Bhat's (1999) view that some languages can express tense lexically. However, all translations this respondent did on the simple past tense and marked past were in the present perfect. She also translated the sentences on the present perfect to the present perfect. Only one sentence was interpreted as the simple past tense in her translation. Closed observation of these respondents' responses and interpretations of the sentences on the subcategories of grammar in this section shows the magnitude of the perfective aspect's influence on speakers' use of the English tense. Possibly, this could mean that these people know what it means for a sentence to be marked with the time-depth particles and the time adverbials in Dagbani and English. Still, they subconsciously replicate the Dagbani perfective aspect use from the L1 into the English language. In other words, since the perfect is so influential in the English they speak, they subconsciously use the present perfect frequently.

In addition, speakers are aware of the difference between these two subcategories in the deep meaning. Still, these subcategories of grammar lack of difference in the surface meaning makes it impossible for them to respond to them appropriately, even in a language that makes this differentiation. Moreover, this respondent's response to the sentences shows that this subcategorical distinction exists in the deep meaning in the language. The language only lacks morphological means of their expression. In this case, if a language has no grammatical means of expressing aspect does not mean that the concept does not exist in the language (cf Comrie 1978:8). The same applies to the expression of tense in those languages, including Dagbani.

Moreover, respondent number 82 from the tertiary level response to all sentences is also something remarkable and worth mentioning. In his translation, almost all sentences from the simple past tense, through marked tense to the present perfect, were either in the present perfect or both present perfect and simple past tense. Only three sentences from all three sections are in the simple past tense. This respondent's response, and of course, other respondents' responses to the sentences again show the lack of distinction between these two subcategories of tense and its repercussions, which is seen in the influence the present perfective exerts on the simple past in using the English tense in this speech community. It is evident that the main foundation of the ethnolectal English of the Dagomba people (DagbE) is the lack of the difference between some grammatical features.

Respondent 16, a respondent from the basic level, gives another interesting response that is worth noting. This respondent translated all the simple past tense sentences into the present perfect and translated all the present perfect sentences into the simple past tense. His response to these sentences also shows the indistinctiveness between these grammatical categories in Dagbani. Therefore, choosing which categories to communicate a past situation in an utterance depends on interlocutors and the illocutionary force. Thus, the decision to use any of the grammatical categories that express the past situation (the perfective aspect) is more contextual than the time (past time, perfect) the situation, event, or action occurs. In other words, expressing time with these grammatical categories is more contextual than morphological in the language. This phenomenon in past tense expressions Dagomba employ is part of the evidence of the various linguistic and cultural reincarnations of language, which has its roots in the imposition of English as an official language in countries that are multi-lingual (see Anchimbe 2006:24). With this, one will not hesitate to say the nature of the expressions of tense is accountable for the influence of the perfective aspect on Dagomba's use of tense in the English language, which leads to DagbE. Discussing individual subjects' responses above emphasizes the point that the distinction between these grammatical categories is not very clear. Consequently, speakers will or may use one subcategory of grammar more frequently than the other. This phenomenon is one of the sources of influence of Dagbani perfective aspect in the English tense. In this case, DagbE is more a less contextual variety of English, and only interlocutors understand the real function of the chosen subcategories in communication.

Generally, the data presented in the tables above and the interpretations from the translations show that the present perfect is used more frequently for both simple past and the present perfect more than the past tense is used in all three sections and at all three levels of education. Therefore, in Dagomba's attempt to use a situation related to the past in English, they use the present perfect. Also, the analysis shows that the present perfect dominates in both grammatical categories in the expressions of situations that are not in the present or future tense. The possibility of using any of the subcategories of grammar (present perfect simple past) is strong.

The theoretical explanation to all these translations and uses possibly results from the grammatical transfer following the two languages' contact. In this case, the functions of the perfective aspect of the model language (Dagbani) are replicated and used in the replica language (English), leading to a different form, structure, function, hence, variety ethnically defined as Rx (a language from the replication process). This confirms Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication explanation that features of the model language (M) and features of the Replica language (R) being the source of the replica language (Rx).

The study, therefore, finds out that the simple past tense is replaced with the present perfect in DagbE. This finding demonstrates that the present perfect is often used in situations that do not exclude simple past meaning. Thus, DagbE expressions of tense are modelled on the Dagbani grammatical features (perfective aspect).

The analysis also found out that even though the present perfect is not used with the time adverbials in English, the frequent use of the present perfect has led to some speakers using the marked past (past with time-depth and time adverbials) to communicate a present relevance of a past situation in English. This use is relatively insignificant but cannot be ignored since it is part of DagbE. Hence, there are shades of the time adverbials when the present perfect is expressed in DagbE. Therefore, it insignificantly becomes a distinguishing feature between DagbE, GhE, and BrE. For example, as one may find traces of, *I have done it:* or *I did it yesterday*, in GhE and BrE: as *I have done it yesterday:* in DagbE. This usage brings a variation between DagbE and the other two varieties (GhE and BrE).

Among the findings is that the tertiary level students use the less present perfect aspect when they speak English in the speech community. The basic and the secondary students,

however, are the frequent present perfect users of English. These are indications that the Dagbani grammar heavily influences English regarding the use of these grammatical categories and subcategories in this speech community. Thus, Dagomba bilinguals of Dagbani and English have replicated the use of the perfective aspect of Dagbani (the dominant language between the two languages) in the use of the English language. The L1's features are a little bit more evident in the basic and secondary users of English than tertiary level users of English. Hence, the ethnolectal forms are somehow stronger in the basic and secondary users' English than the tertiary level, which suggests somehow intense DagbE use at the basic and secondary levels. Nonetheless, there are more other tongue features in speakers' English than the BrE features. This finding does not brand DagbE as an incompetent variety of English, but a variety of English, which only mirrored the culture of speakers. This reflects Dako's assertion that the presence of Ghanaianisms in Ghanaian English does not make GhE variety of inadequate competence. It only reflects the cultural context of the setting (see Dako 2001:26).

The implication of using the present perfect when the simple past tense use is required in English calls for the inclusion of the teaching of the typological difference between English and the local languages, especially at the basic and secondary levels of education. When attention is paid to this implication, the undesirable mistakes students make with the use of present perfect with adverbials due to the influence of the Dagbani perfective use could be minimised

CHAPTER SIX

6. Influence of the Dagbani Imperfective Aspect on Dagomba's Use of the English Tense

6.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the second objective of this study; thus, this chapter deals with the possible influence of the Dagbani imperfective aspect on the use of English tense by the Dagomba people. It concerns the analysis of how the Dagbani imperfective aspect influences Dagomba's use of the present tense / habitual present. In chapter one and two, it was made clear that Dagbani has no verbal form to express the progressive aspect differently from the habitual present or present tense. However, the concept of the two categories exists in the deep meaning in the language. Due to this, some scholars relate some sentences with only progressive and others with only the habitual present. The data are, therefore, divided into the progressive and the habitual present sections. The chapter uses data gathered from the translation exercise and the picture description task administered to 89 respondents from Tamale and Yendi in Northern Ghana. Three sets of respondents were targeted for this research: students at the basic level, secondary level, and students from the tertiary level of education.

In the translation exercise, respondents were asked to translate 3 Dagbani simple progressive and 4 Dagbani habitual sentences into English. The purpose is to establish whether the way the Dagomba use the English progressive and habitual tenses is possibly influenced by the tense and aspect of the L1 of the Dagomba people. This will also help us determine how the Dagbani imperfective aspect influences the English progressive aspect and the habitual present. The data is presented in tables and graphs. The average score of each group of sentences that were translated is presented in bar graphs.

In the picture description task, respondents were provided pictures and asked to describe the activities or actions in English. The aim was to determine if the images that depicted progressive action would be interpreted as progressive or habitual. Similarly, the picture description on the habitual present was to determine if the events or activities would be construed as habitual or progressive. Thus, the picture description is meant to confirm the

influence of the Dagbani imperfective aspect on using the English progressive and habitual present, as Dagomba speak English in Ghana. The picture description also gathers data on the Dagbani progressive and the habitual present to authenticate the data gathered on the sentences translated by respondents. Quantitative methods like charts and graphs were used to report on the results. The results of the picture description are also presented in tables and graphs.

The results in this chapter are also analysed according to respondents' educational levels: the basic level, secondary level, and tertiary level. As stated above, the chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, results on the influence of the Dagbani progressive aspect are analysed; in the second and last section of the chapter, data on the influence of the Dagbani habitual present are analysed. The next section presents the analysis of the results on the progressive aspect.

6.2 Influence of the Dagbani Progressive of the Imperfective Aspect on the Dagomba's Use of the English Tense

This section deals with Dagbani progressive aspect as scholars presented it, and how it is translated into English by the Dagomba respondents. The progressive aspect denotes an action or a situation in progress at a given time of speaking. For instance, a sentence like, *I am cooking* denotes a situation, event, or action that is ongoing at the time the statement was made. The sentence: *I was cooking*; also indicates that the action, situation, or event was ongoing sometime in the past. These sentences suggest that the progressive aspect is an entirely different subcategory from the habitual present since the habitual present denotes iterated situations that hold as a habit. According to Comrie (1978), continuousness involves a situation that is not occasioned by habituality. He also maintains that the progressive is a situation that sets up another situation, and the non-progressive does not. Comrie's explanation makes the progressive a contextual subcategory of aspect in human language. Thus, some languages have a general imperfective form, which combines both habitual and progressive meanings (continuous habitual/ durative habitual). The progressive has the same interpretation in the deep meaning but not on the surface meaning in Dagbani. Hence, these subcategories are captured in the imperfective aspect. This means that the two subcategories are presented with the same verb form in Dagbani. However, as stated above, the Dagbani sentences in this section are given to respondents to translate because they were related with the progressive by scholars.

Therefore, the section includes the analysis of all the Dagbani simple progressive sentences that were translated into English by respondents. It also presents respondents' analysis of the pictures on the progressive aspect. The translated sentences are re-organised into three groups according to the tenses into which they were translated. These are:

1. The translation of Dagbani simple progressive into English progressive (Progressive as Progressive).
2. The translation of the Dagbani progressive into English habitual (Progressive as habitual).
3. The translation of Dagbani progressive into both English progressive and habitual (progressive as both progressive and habitual).

Respondents were allowed to translate a sentence to more than one interpretation because a progressive situation in Dagbani can also be interpreted as a habitual present. Limiting respondents to one interpretation of each tense could limit the sentences' appropriate interpretations and respondents' responses to the sentences. The Dagbani simple progressive sentences that respondents were asked to translate into English are:

1. Ò pùhì-rì náá mì.
3SG greet.IMPFV chief EMP
S/he is greeting the chief too.

It is already established that no distinction is made between the progressive aspect and the habitual present in the surface meaning in Dagbani. However, sentence (1) was given to respondents as a progressive sentence because in sentence 1 for instance, the base verb, *pùhì* is suffixed with the aspectual suffixed *rì*, which (Alhassan 1988; Naden 1988; Mohammed 2006; Yahaya 2012) associate with the expression of the progressive in Dagbani.

2. Tì dírí mì.
1PL eat.IMPFV EMP
We are eating.

Sentence (2) was also given to respondents as a progressive sentence because, it has *dí* 'eat' as the bare infinitive form of the main verb, suffixed with the aspectual, *rí*, and the emphatic marker, *mì*. Mohammed (2006) attributes this imperfective marker and the particle *mì* to the Dagbani progressive aspect. Sentence (3) of the progressive sentences is:

3. Ò dirá.
 3SG eat.IMPFV
 S/he is eating.

The imperfective aspectual suffix, *rá*, a completive aspectual suffix in the above sentence three, is also associated with Dagbani progressive aspect by Mohammed (2006) and Yahaya (2012). Presenting respondents with several sentences to translate reveals how the progressive aspect is used rather than limiting respondents to only one sentence. Results on how respondents translated the simple Dagbani progressive sentence one is presented in the following section.

6.2.1 Results of the Dagbani Simple Progressive (SProg) Sentence One

This section presents the results and the analysis of the Dagbani progressive sentence 1 given to respondents to translate into English. It presents Table 6.1, which contains the numerical values of respondents' translation of sentence one. Below is Table 6.1 with the results on sentence one of the progressive aspect.

SProg Sentence 1: *Ò pùhìrì náá mì.* → 'S/he is greeting the chief.'

Table 6.1 Responses on the Dagbani Simple Progressive Sentence One

Respondents' level of education	Progressive as progressive	%	Progressive as habitual	%	Progressive as both Prog. and Hab.	%	Total	%
Basic level	29	32.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	28	31.5	0	0.0	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	21	23.6	2	2.2	6	6.7	29	32.6
total	78	88.0	3	3.4	8	9.0	89	100

The Results displayed in Table 6.1 show an overwhelming majority of 88% of the respondents demonstrating that the sentence expresses the progressive aspect in English through their translation. As indicated in Table 6.1, less than 4% of the respondents indicated in their translation that the sentence expresses the habitual present. Looking at the data presented, however, it reveals that the sentence can be interpreted in both progressive aspect and habitual present, as three respondents did so in their translations.

In view of the variable of the educational level, the results in the Table 6.1 show that more respondents in the basic and the secondary levels indicate in their translations that they will interpret a sentence of this nature as the progressive in English as a percentage of 32.6 and 31.5 respondents, respectively, did so. Though not significant, the tertiary level has the least responses that show that the sentence expresses the progressive aspect. However, the tertiary level registers more respondents who translated the sentence into habitual present, and both progressive and habitual present than the secondary and the basic levels' respondent did. Some of the responses made by the tertiary level respondents are captured as follows:

95. Examples of Translations of SProg Sentences 1:

- a. *Respondent 87 (tertiary level); S/He greets the chief.*
- b. *Respondent 89 (tertiary level); She greets the chief/ she is greeting the chief.*
- c. *Respondent 38 (tertiary level); He greets the chief.*

The above three sentences are a few of the respondents from the tertiary level respondents' responses, which went for the habitual present and both habitual present and progressive aspect. As presented in the above translations, most of the tertiary level students' responses to this sentence show that the sentence denotes both the progressive and habitual present in English. For instance, respondent 89 from the tertiary level indicates that this Dagbani sentence can be interpreted as both habitual and progressive. When the imperfective aspectual suffixes are added to the base form of the verb, the progressive, which also expresses the habitual, is expressed. Therefore, this respondent's use of tense reflects Olawsky's (1999) observation that the progressive aspect of the imperfective can also express the habitual present of the imperfective in Dagbani. Therefore, depending on the context in which the statement is made, a sentence of this nature is either interpreted as habitual, progressive or both progressive and habitual present. Therefore, it is evident that the tertiary level respondents could have done these translations based on their advanced knowledge of the grammar of the L1 and the L2.

A close look at the data displayed indicates that most English users from these educational levels in the study area would interpret this sentence as progressive. Nevertheless, though insignificant, more tertiary level users of English than the basic and secondary levels' users will interpret the sentence as habitual or both habitual and progressive.

Also, one important point to note is that hardly would a sentence like a sentence one be interpreted by the people in the speech community as habitual. Although respondents' interpretations of this sentence could be right, but depending on the context, their interpretations could go either way (progressive or Habitual). Given that, as indicated above, the Dagbani imperfective aspectual suffixes are suffixed on the base form of the verb to express the progressive, which is also used to express the habitual present. The majority of the respondents interpreting the sentence as the progressive aspect shows that the progressive has gained prominence over the habitual in Dagbani, and that is what is manifested in respondents' interpretations of this sentence. The following section presents sentence two of the progressive aspect.

6.2.2 Results of the Dagbani Simple Progressive (SProg) Sentence Two

This section presents the results of the respondents' translation of the second sentence of the Dagbani progressive aspect. The results are displayed in Table 6.2 below:

SProg Sentence 2: *Tì dírìmi.* → 'We are eating.'

Table 6.2 Responses on the Dagbani Progressive Sentence Two

Respondents' level of education	Progressive as progressive	%	Progressive as both Prog. and Hab.	%	Total	%
Basic Level	30	33.7	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	30	33.7	0	0.0	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	28	31.5	1	1.1	29	32.6
Total	88	98.9	1	1.1	89	100

In translating progressive sentence two from Dagbani to English, all the 89 respondents, except for one respondent from the tertiary level, show in their translations that sentence two expresses the progressive aspect in English. As stated above, translating this sentence to the progressive aspect suggests that the progressive aspect is frequently used more than the habitual as respondents could also interpret the sentence as habitual; because the progressive and the habitual present make up the imperfective aspect, which means that the same aspectual suffix is used in their expressions.

As demonstrated, irrespective of respondents' educational levels, they translated the sentence into the progressive meaning and not the habitual meaning. As stated above, the aspectual suffix in the three sentences above could also mark the habitual present. However, the frequent use of the progressive aspect in Dagbani reflects in respondents' translations of this sentence. Although the two grammatical categories are referred to as imperfective aspect and do not show a difference in the surface meaning in Dagbani, these English users interpret the sentence as progressive and not habitual. This occurrence could perhaps, led to the scholars (Alhassan 1988; Naden 1988; Mohammed 2006; Yahaya 2012) referring to sentences like sentences (1) to (3) respondents translated as progressive, even though they could also express habitual.

This finding suggests that people will interpret a sentence of this nature as progressive in the study area, even though they could think of it to contain a habitual present. This indicates that the progressive is frequently used more than the habitual in both the L1 and the English tense/aspect. This means that people in the speech community may use progressive even when the situation demands the habitual present in English. The analysis of the third and last sentence follows in the next section.

6.2.3 Results of the Dagbani Simple Progressive (SProg) Sentence Three

Sentence 3 of the Dagbani progressive sentences is presented in the section. The section also presents Table 6.3 with the numerical value of respondents' responses to the sentences.

SProg Sentence 3: *Ò dirá.* → '*S/he is eating*'.

Table 6.3 Responses on the Dagbani Progressive Sentence Three

Respondents' level of education	Progressive as progressive	%	Total	%
Basic level	30	33.7	30	33.7
Secondary level	30	33.7	30	33.7
Tertiary level	29	32.6	29	32.6
Total	89	100	89	100

As shown, all 89 respondents demonstrated that sentence three expresses only the progressive meaning in English in their translations. As displayed in Table 6.3, not even one

respondent from any of the three educational levels interpreted the sentence as habitual. Also, the data displayed in Table 6.3 shows that no respondent associated this sentence with any possible interpretation of the sentence (habitual or both habitual and progressive). These interpretations depict that depending on the context of a situation, a sentence like sentence three can mostly be interpreted as the progressive aspect in Dagbani and English. It is also frequently, if not only be interpreted as the progressive and not the habitual present. The average score of respondents' responses to the three sentences is presented in Figure 6.1 below:

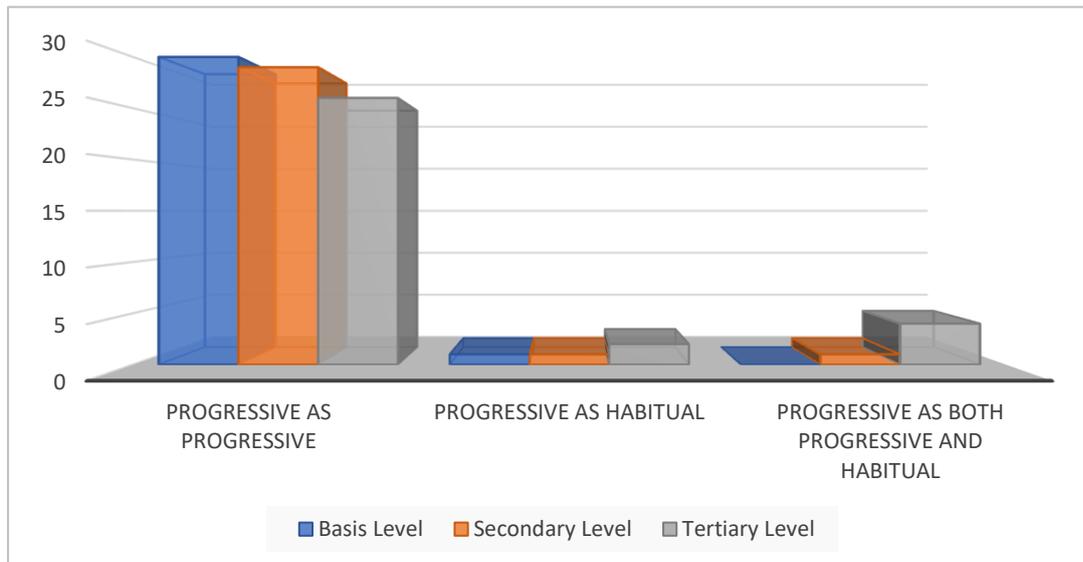


Figure 6.1 Average Score of the Three Dagbani Simple Progressive Sentences According to Educational Levels.

With a minimal difference, the basic and the secondary levels' respondents interpret the progressive as progressive aspect more than the tertiary level respondents did. As indicated in fig. 6.1, many respondents from the tertiary level interpreted some of the three sentences as both progressive and habitual meanings than the secondary level did. Insignificantly, more respondents from the tertiary level than the basic and secondary levels' respondents also think the sentences express only the habitual meaning in English. As indicated in the above three sentences, respondents translated, the progressive aspect always remains and depicts the progressive meaning in English in the speech community. Most of the respondents consider the sentences as a progressive aspect. However, the results show that the tertiary level registered fewer responses for the progressive than the basic and secondary levels. They also attribute sentences of this nature to both progressive and habitual interpretations in English

than the other two levels. Although the difference is not significant, it still communicates that the progressive use of the L1 influences the basic and the secondary levels more in English present tense expressions.

The secondary level respondents' translations of the sentences are worth noting because their responses can be captured in all three possible interpretations of the sentence. Their responses reveal traces of the progressive and habitual meanings presented with the same sentence structure in Dagbani. Therefore, the above sentences could also be interpreted as habitual and not only progressive. However, the progressive is frequently used to express present tense in Dagbani. This phenomenon has its repercussions on speakers. This leads to the influence or dominance of the progressive in the use of the present tense in English.

Generally, the three sentences above confirm the claim that the progressive usually is frequently used in place of the habitual present since the sentences can be contextually interpreted as habitual in Dagbani. Therefore, the progressive aspect of the imperfective aspect is frequently used when people in the speech community present a situation with the present tense meaning in the English language. The dominance of the progressive aspect over the habitual in the imperfective aspect, as it is used in Dagbani, is replicated in English. In this case, there is no way the progressive will be overshadowed by the habitual when the Dagomba people speak English.

As the habitual present is dominated by the use of the progressive meaning in English, the utterance becomes inappropriate, though not ungrammatical, but can lead to misunderstanding. These findings suggest evidence of ethnolectal English used by the Dagbani speakers. Using progressive when progressive use is required implies that progressives will not post many problems for students. However, students still need to know about extended progressive use in the indigenous languages, which includes the habitual present. Implying from Heine and Kuteva (2006), the progressive becomes the major used patterns of the imperfective aspect because speakers use it more than they would use the habitual present in the present tense expressions in English, while the habitual present use becomes minor use patterns. Next is the analysis of respondents' responses to the picture description that depicts the progressive aspect.

6.2.4 Picture Description of the Progressive Aspect

As indicated in the introductory chapter and chapter three, the picture description elicits respondents' denotative description of the pictures that were given to them to describe. Unlike the sentence translation section, no pre-suggestion or clues about how the respondents should construct their sentences were given. One of the reasons for making respondents describe pictures is to allow respondents to construct sentences on their own regarding the activities portrayed in the pictures. This strategy is employed to authenticate whatever translation and interpretation respondents gave to the sentences they translated in the sentence translation section. Unlike the bar charts for sentence translation, the bar charts for all pictures present the number of responses and not the average scores of responses. Responses of picture description are presented that way because pictures were presented to respondents as single items and not a group of objects¹⁰. Below are the pictures and tables for the progressive aspect.

6.2.4.1 Description of Progressive Activity Picture 'A'

As presented in chapter three, this section presents Table 6.4, which contains the results of the denotative descriptions of the progressive picture 'A.' The picture comprises a drawing of a woman cooking. Respondents were asked to give a denotative description of the activity depicted in the picture. Below is the picture that was given to respondents to describe.

¹⁰Bar charts for all pictures respondents described in this chapter are captioned responses for progressive pictures and not average scores of the responses.



Figure 6.2 Progress Picture ‘A’

Below is Table 6.4 in which the data on the progressive picture ‘A’ is displayed.

Table 6.4 Responses on Progressive Picture ‘A’

Respondents’ level of educational	Progressive as progressive	%	Total	%
Basic Level	30	33.7	30	33.7
Secondary Level	30	33.7	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	29	32.6	29	32.6
Total	89	100	89	100

All 89 respondents describe the activity in the picture ‘A’ as a situation that involves a progressive aspect. As indicated, not even one respondent tends to denotatively describe the activity as an event that depicts habitual meaning in English. Consider the graphical presentation of the responses for picture ‘A’ below.

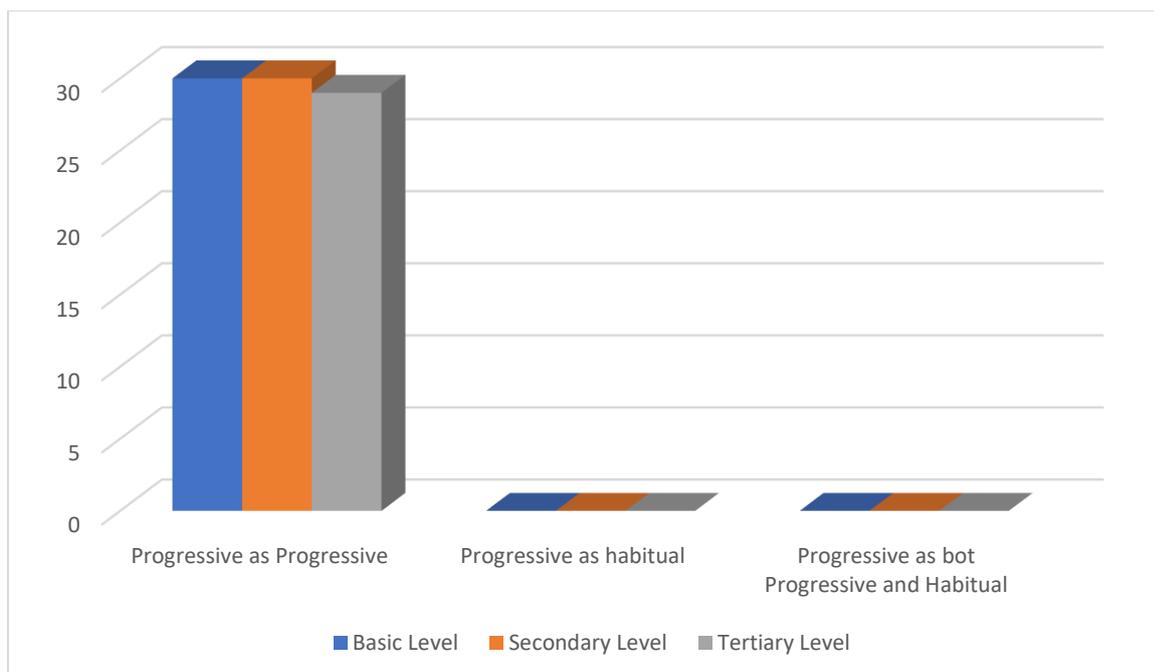


Figure 6.3 Responses for Progressive Picture ‘A’ According to Educational Level.

The responses on this picture in Fig. 6.3 suggest that an activity of this nature would generally be interpreted as the progressive aspect and not the habitual present in English. Therefore, this kind of activity gives progressive interpretation when respondents speak English. It confirms that the progressive aspect is always interpreted as progressive and not habitual. This finding means that the present habitual use will never dominate the progressive use as the progressive does with habitual, as demonstrated in the next section of the analysis. Consider the description of the Progressive picture ‘B’ below.

6.2.4.2 Description of the Progressive Activity Picture ‘B’

Picture ‘B’ presents a drawing of a man sitting on a chair, with a queue of people in front of him. The picture portrays an act of receiving or giving out money or something. Respondents were asked to describe the picture based on what they saw in the picture. The picture expresses a situation that carries a progressive meaning. It is, therefore, to elicit respondents’ understanding of what they think the picture denotes. Thus, the pictures determine whether the activity is termed as a progressive or as habitual present by the people and whether the respondents will describe it using the appropriate subcategory of grammar. Consider Figure 6.4 with the responses of the progressive aspect picture ‘B’ below:



Figure 6.4 Progressive Picture ‘B’

Table 6.5 displays the data for picture ‘B’ as seen below.

Table 6.5 Responses on Progressive Picture ‘B’

Respondents’ level of educational	Progressive as progressive	%	Progressive as habitual	%	Total	%
Basic Level	30	33.7	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	30	33.7	0	0.0	30	33.7
Tertiary level	28	31.5	1	1.1	29	32.6
Total	88	98.9	1	1.1	89	100

The data displayed in Table 6.5 show that only one person from the tertiary level describes the picture ‘B’ as both progressive and habitual present. In contrast, the rest of the 88 respondents show in their description that picture ‘B’ depicts an activity associated with the progressive aspect. Almost all the respondents, irrespective of their educational levels, interpret picture ‘B’ the same. This interpretation is expected since the progressive always overshadows the habitual present due to the same aspectual suffixes that express them in Dagbani. This means that the progressive aspect is frequently used, and since the picture denotes a situation in progress, the habitual present will not definitely overshadow the progressive in the description of the picture. The picture was to confirm the frequent use of the progressive aspect and that it has demonstrated and confirmed that the progressive is a better option than the

habitual in the description of the picture. This proves that the progressive aspect is commonly used in the present tense expression when the people in the speech community speak English.

It is evident from respondents' description of the picture that an activity of this nature is not interpreted as the habitual present. The use of the progressive as progressive in this study is a sign that the progressive aspect of the imperfective aspect of Dagbani will overshadow the habitual present expressions in English. This is because the subcategories are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes in Dagbani and could be interpreted otherwise. Results on progressive Picture 'B' can be appreciated in the graphical presentation below:

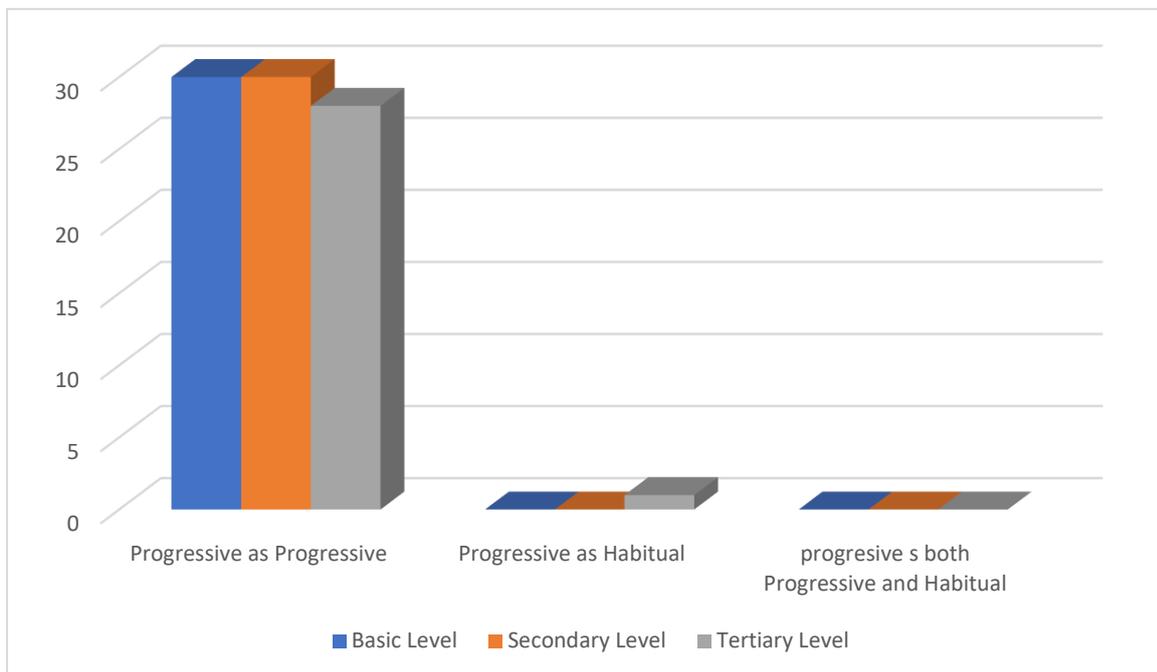


Figure 6.5 Responses for Progressive Picture 'B' According to Educational Levels

The description given to the picture suggests that normally, the Dagomba people will not refer to an activity of this nature as the habitual present when they speak English. This confirms that the progressive is used as progressive and, perhaps, the habitual since the progressive aspect is frequently used when the people in the speech community speak English. This indicates that the frequent use of the progressive aspect manifests in the English Dagomba speak. Consider next the analysis of picture 'C'.

6.2.4.3 Description of the Progressive Activity Picture ‘C’

The picture 'C' presents a female teacher teaching in the classroom, with some students in the background, where a student raises his hand to answer, ask a question, or say something. The picture has two possible denotative descriptions; both depict activities with progressive meaning. However, the number of activities and types of activity depicted by the picture does not matter. What matters is whether the activity depicts a situation in progress, or it depicts a situation, which holds as a habit (habitual). Therefore, picture 'C' can be described using the teacher standing in front of the students or the student who raises his hand in an attempt to say something. Picture 'C' is presented below:



Figure 6.6 Progressive Picture ‘C’.

Table 6.6 displays the results of respondents’ denotative description of the progressive picture ‘C’.

Table 6.6 Responses on Progressive Picture ‘C’

Respondents’ level of educational	Progressive as progressive	%	Progressive as habitual	%	Progressive as Prog./Hab.	%	Total	%
Basic level	30	33.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	28	31.5	1	1.1	1	1.1	30	33.7
Tertiary level	28	31.5	1	1.1	0	0.0	29	32.6
Total	86	96.6	2	2.2	1	1.1	89	100

Almost all the respondents demonstrated in their description of the picture that the activity it portrays depicts a progressive situation. Less than 4% described the picture in both progressive and the habitual present. These responses suggest that people in the study area will describe a picture of this nature as a progressive and not a habitual present. As stated above, this indicates that Dagbani speakers do not frequently use the habitual present when tense/aspect is expressed in English. This means that the habitual present will not overshadow the progressive aspect in English tense expressions, when the Dagomba people speak English; neither does the habitual influence the progressive aspect in Dagomba’s use of English. Responses for picture ‘C’ is presented in the following graph:

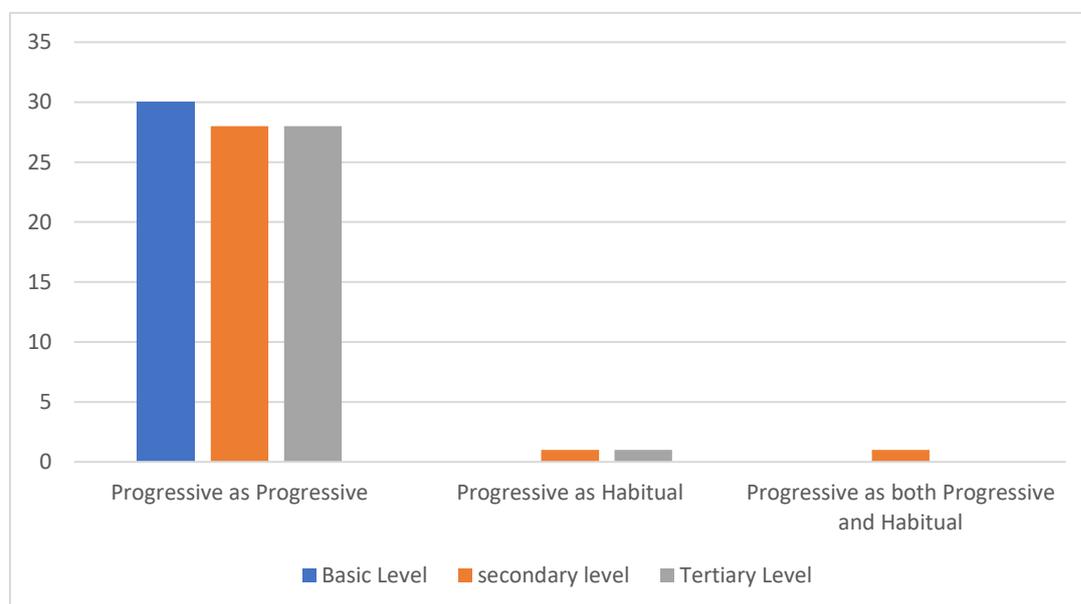


Figure 6.7 Responses for Progressive Picture ‘C’ According to Educational Levels

Figure 6.7 confirms consistency in respondents' interpretations, as their responses on all the sentence translation and the picture description regarding the progressive are said to be more in the progressive aspect. Thus, in both the sentence translation and the picture description, for almost all 89 respondents, interpretation favour the progressive aspect.

Even though the tertiary level leads in interpreting the progressive as habitual, it is evident that respondents' interpretations also show that irrespective of their educational levels, the progressive aspect is considered progressive and not habitual. Therefore, taking respondents' interpretations and their descriptions of the pictures into consideration, one would conclude that the picture description authenticates the interpretations of the sentence translation. That is, the progressive aspect always depicts the progressive meaning in the English Dagomba peak. The indication, therefore, is that Dagomba will not use the habitual when they intend to use the progressive, as they speak English¹¹. This authentication strengthens the confirmation of the ethnolectal English spoken in the speech community.

In summary, the simple progressive sentences' translation is in the progressive. The activities in pictures, A, B, and C in respondents' description confirm that the progressive is not usually overshadowed by the habitual meaning in Dagomba's use of the English present tense, even though they are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes in Dagbani. The implication of the progressive pictures being able to authenticate the progressive sentences being translated into progressive is that pictures are effective ways of expressing tense and teaching language.

The analysis from the progressive aspect clearly shows the section of the imperfective aspect that is replicated in DagbE. Thus, the progressive aspect is used as progressive and not

¹¹ However, there is one explanation for the progressive being interpreted as progressive. The imperfective aspect in Dagbani makes no distinction: which means the progressive and the habitual are used interchangeably. Therefore, the import is that once all interpretations go to the progressive meaning, the progressive is likely to be used in place of the habitual. Well, the analysis of the habitual present in the next section of the analysis confirms this.

habitual, even though speakers could interpret sentences as habitual. As stated above, this reflects major used patterns Heine and Kuteva (2006) talk about regarding replication. There are also always major used patterns and minor used patterns within the tenants of the theory. The progressive aspect is used more in present tense expressions, while habitual present is the minor patterns in English tense expression by speakers, as demonstrated in the last section of the analysis.

6.3 Influence of the Dagbani Habitual Present of the Imperfective Aspect on Dagomba's Use of English Tense

This part of the chapter analyses the results of the Dagbani simple habitual sentences that respondents were made to translate. These simple sentences reveal how the Dagomba people interpret and use the habitual (a part of the Dagbani imperfective aspect) and how it reflects the way a Dagomba uses tense in the English language. Through these sentences, one can tell whether the Dagbani habitual presence is replicated and used interchangeably with the progressive in English or replicated and used as progressive in English.

Six tables are presented in this section. The section displays four of the habitual sentences and additional two tables on the picture description. Because the habitual and the progressive are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes, two pictures, which denote habitual meaning, were given to respondents to describe. The goal of the picture description is to authenticate respondents' interpretations of the Dagbani simple habitual sentence the respondents translated. These two pictures are also presented in this chapter. About the present tense and the habitual present, the present tense presents a situation that coincides with the time of speaking, while the habitual tense presents a situation that holds as a habit. The habitual situation includes all iterated situations that hold as a habit and situations that coincide with the present moment. The habitual present does not, however, have a verb form with which it is expressed in English. In line with this, the present tense is typically used to express the habitual situation, see also (Comrie 1978). The following section presents sentence one of this section.

6.3.1 Results of the Dagbani Simple Habitual Present (SHP) Sentence One

This part of the chapter presents the results of the Dagbani habitual present sentence one. As stated above, there is no difference between the progressive aspect and the habitual present in Dagbani. However, sentence one was given to respondents as a habitual sentence to

translate. This is because the main verb *nyù* ‘drink’ is suffixed with the aspectual suffix *rì*, which in Olawsky (1999) interpretation/ glossing of sentence depicts that *rì* helps express the habitual present of the imperfective aspect in Dagbani, see Olawsky (1999:35).

SHP Sentence 1: *Ò yùrì kóm.* → *He drinks water.*

Table 6.7 Responses of the Dagbani Simple Habitual Sentence One

Respondents’ level of education	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic level	30	33.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	29	32.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	30	33.7
Tertiary level	19	21.3	8	9.0	2	2.2	29	32.6
Total	78	88.0	9	10.1	2	2.2	89	100

Almost all the respondents’ responses on the SHP sentence one of the habitual present went for the progressive aspect, as most of the respondents, that is, 88% of the respondents indicated in their responses that the sentence expresses the progressive meaning in English and not habitual meaning. This interpretation of the sentence indicates that a sentence in the habitual present becomes progressive when translated into English. Only 10.1% of the whole sample demonstrated in their translations that the sentence expresses the habitual present. Comparing this sentence one to the progressive sentence one in the other section, we will notice that both sentences are translated into progressive and not habitual in English.

With the educational levels, the displayed data tells that the tertiary level has many of its respondents agreeing in their translations that the sentence expresses the habitual meaning. While no respondent from the basic level associates the habitual sentence to habitual meaning in their translation, the secondary level registers one respondent who relates the sentence to a habitual present.

Clearly, many respondents from all levels of education translated the sentence into the progressive aspect. However, compared to the basic and secondary educational levels, the tertiary level registers fewer respondents who translated the sentence into the progressive aspect. The progressive aspect is frequently used in the basic and secondary levels than it is

used at the tertiary level. This interpretation demonstrates the intensity of the Dagbani imperfective aspect influence in the basic and secondary levels than the tertiary level of education. Also, it suggests the presence of L1 features in Dagomba's use of the progressive aspect and the habitual present use in English. Below is sentence one of the habitual present and some respondents' translations:

1. Ò yù-rì kóm
3SG. drink.IMPF. water
He drinks water.

96. Examples of Translations of SHP Sentence 1

- a. Respondent 70 (basic level); *He is drinking water.*
- b. Respondent 72 (basic level); *He is drinking water.*
- c. Respondent 1 (secondary level); *He is drinking water.*
- d. Respondent 87 (tertiary level); *He is drinking water.*

A simple gaze at the data in Table 6.7 above and these three sentences that respondents 70 (Basic), 72 (Basic), 1 (Secondary), and 87 (secondary) translated, one can tell that the habitual present is interpreted with the progressive meaning when the Dagomba people speak English. It is evident that this sentence is a complete replication of the extensive use of the progressive to cover the whole imperfective meaning. As highlighted in the previous section, some languages have a general imperfective form, which combines both progressive and habitual, usually referred to as continuous habitual or durative habitual (cf Comerie, 1978:26). Dagbani is one of such languages; therefore, there is no distinction between the progressive and habitual in the surface meanings in Dagbani. Hence, the progressive meaning is being extended to cover the habitual meaning in respondents' interpretations. This use has been carried to, or it has been replicated in the English language.

Thus, as second language users of English, the people in the speech community will express a habitual sentence with the progressive aspect, as demonstrated in their translations above. Generally, as most of the respondents indicated in their translations, the progressive aspect has overshadowed the habitual use in Dagomba's English. However, the tertiary level still registers more respondents than the secondary and the basic levels in interpreting this sentence as the habitual present. These interpretations are indicated in some translations on the habitual sentence one by respondents from the tertiary level in the following illustrations:

97. Examples of Translations of SHP Sentence 1 by Respondents from the Tertiary Level

- a. Respondent 48 (tertiary); *He drinks water.*
- b. Respondent 23 (tertiary); *He drinks water.*
- c. Respondent 24 (tertiary); *He drinks water.*

Moreover, two respondents from the tertiary level translated the sentence into both the progressive and habitual sentences. Although the responses for both progressive and habitual meanings are insignificant, it is worth mentioning, as far as this analysis is concerned. Most of the translations of this nature are done, especially by the tertiary level's respondents. This kind of translations show the lack of dichotomy between a situation in progress and a situation that holds as a habit in the surface meaning in the L1. The lack of difference (a feature of an imperfective aspect in Dagbani) or the use of the progressive in expressing the habitual present is the source of the influence.

The act of interpreting the progressive with the habitual present and vice versa in Dagbani sometimes leads to the habitual being overshadowed by the progressive aspect in the English Dagomba speak. One other reason why many of the respondents responded in the progressive aspect also tells that the progressive is frequently used in Dagbani. This explains the frequent use of progressive in English tense and aspect. Hence, the type of English with such mother tongue features (DagbE) is an ethnolectal English spoken by the people.

6.3.2 Results of the Dagbani Simple Habitual Present (SHP) Sentence Two

This section also presents the Dagbani simple habitual sentence two. Sentence two was given to respondents to translate because the probability of it being contextually interpreted as habitual is higher than it being interpreted as progressive. This means that this sentence naturally carries a habitual meaning than a progressive meaning.

SHP Sentence 2. *M̀ bá d̀h̀ìrìlá lóórí ñ-chánì shikùr̀.* → *My father drives a car to school.*

Table 6.8 responses on Dagbani Habitual Sentence Two

Respondents' level of education	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic level	27	30.3	3	3.4	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	28	31.5	2	2.2	0	0.0	30	33.7
Tertiary level	14	15.7	10	11.2	5	5.6	29	32.6
Total	69	78.0	15	17.0	5	5.6	89	100

Responses for this sentence also clearly show that 69 respondents, indicating 78% of the sample, demonstrate through their translations that this habitual sentence expresses the progressive aspect. Less than 20% indicated in their translations that the sentence is in the habitual present. Almost the same number of respondents from the basic and secondary levels again translated the sentence into the progressive aspect. As indicated, the tertiary level registers fewer responses, far less than the respondents from the basic and secondary levels, who responded in the progressive. Besides, it is indicated in respondents' translations of the sentence that the sentence carries a progressive meaning. Comparatively, as many as ten respondents from the tertiary level translated the sentence into the habitual meaning, as against 3 and 2 respondents from the basic and secondary levels, respectively.

A critical examination of the data in Table 6.8 gives the impression that the use of the progressive meaning for this sentence is a common practice of the people in the speech community. Furthermore, it is also clear that the tertiary level will have more people interpreting a sentence of this nature as a habitual present in English than the basic and secondary level students. The tertiary level respondents again will translate the sentence into both habitual and progressive meanings, as one of the possible interpretations of the sentence than the basic and the secondary levels will do. That notwithstanding, all three levels of education still interpreted the sentence as progressive more than they translated it into the habitual present and the other possible interpretations stated above. As mentioned earlier, Comrie (1978) posits that languages that have extended progressive meaning have the progressive aspect, which comprises both the progressive meaning and the habitual meaning. The translation done on this sentence shows that the frequent use of the extended progressive meaning in this kind of sentence is less at the tertiary level. Still, the translation of the habitual present to progressive portrays the presence of Heine and Kuteva (2006) minor used patterns

in the English Dagomba speak. This means that in tense expressions, the habitual is less used, while the progressive is mostly used to express both progressive and habitual present in DagbE. Consider SHP Sentence three in the next section.

6.3.3 Results of the Dagbani Simple Habitual Present (SHP) Sentence Three

This section analyses the Dagbani simple habitual present sentence three. This sentence was taken as a habitual sentence because Mohammed (2006:28) listed it among sentences that express present tense meaning. The results of the habitual present sentence three are presented in the table below.

SHP Sentence 3. *Sánà b̄arilá wáhù.* → *Sana rides a horse.*

Table 6.9 Responses on Dagbani Habitual Present Sentence Three

Respondents' level of education	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic Level	27	30.3	3	3.4	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	27	30.3	2	2.2	2	2.2	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	19	21.3	9	10.1	1	1.1	29	32.6
Total	73	82.0	14	15.7	2	2.2	89	100

From Table 6.9, 82% of the respondents show in their translations that sentence 3 expresses the progressive meaning in English. However, only 15.7% of 89 respondents show in their translations that sentence three expresses the habitual present. These translations show the intensity of the progressive aspect's dominance over the habitual present in Dagomba's use of the English present tense and aspect.

With respect to educational levels, Table 6.9 indicates that most of the respondents recording 30.3% from both the basic and secondary levels translated this particular sentence into the progressive aspect in English. On the other hand, the tertiary level registered 21.3% responses for the progressive meaning. However, compared to the basic and secondary levels, the tertiary level registered the majority of the respondents who could translate the sentence into the habitual present. These interpretations could be due to the tertiary level students' knowledge and awareness of the imperfective aspect in Dagbani; that is, the progressive aspect

as a category of grammar that includes the habitual present and vice versa in the L1. This, therefore, means that the possibility of the progressive being used by people in the study area for the habitual present in English cannot be denied.

The data presented in Table 6.9 above and the preceding sentences on the habitual present obviously reveal that the Dagomba people comfortably replicate the imperfective aspect use of Dagbani (habitual progressive meanings) in the use of English habitual tense. This interpretation goes to confirm Heine and Kuteva (2006) replication, Weinreich (1953) grammatical transfer leading to aspects of Ofulue's (2010) indexicality's presence in DagbE. In this case, in a situation where the habitual present is supposed to be used, the progressive is used by the people in this speech community, a sign of the mother tongue or L1 feature influence on the Dagbani speakers, leading to an ethnolectal English of the Dagomba people. As indicated above, most respondents from the tertiary level always interpret the sentences as habitual present more than the basic and the secondary levels do. Therefore, one's level of education minimally plays a role in the reduction of the influence and L1 features at the higher level of education. This means that as one goes higher in education, the frequent use of the progressive aspect in place of the habitual present in English insignificantly declines. The following section presents sentence four and the last sentence of the sentence translation of the Dagbani habitual present.

6.3.4 Results of the Dagbani Simple Habitual Present (SHP) Sentence Four

In this section, sentence four of the habitual present is presented. It comprises Table 6.10 with a display of the responses to sentence 4 of the Dagbani habitual present. This sentence was also picked based on (Mohammed 2006:28), using it as one of the illustrations of the present tense sentences in Dagbani. As the responses to the preceding three sentences in this section, sentence four clearly shows that most of the respondents, 88% translated the Dagbani simple habitual present into the progressive aspect in English. However, only 11.2% of the respondents show in their translation that sentence four expresses the habitual meaning. The results are displayed in Table 6.10 below.

SHP Sentence 4. Sàná bǎrílá ó wáhù. → Sana rides her horse.

Table 6.10 Responses on the Dagbani Habitual Present Sentence Four

Respondents' level of education	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as both habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic Level	29	32.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	29	32.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	20	22.5	8	9.0	1	1.1	29	32.6
Total	78	88.0	10	11.2	1	1.1	89	100

Although all levels of education show most of the respondents indicated sentence four to be in the progressive aspect in English, the basic and the secondary levels again register the same number. Many responses went in favour of the progressive aspect. Thus, they translated the sentence into the present participle more than the tertiary level respondents did. Again, many respondents from the tertiary level translated the sentence into the habitual present more than the basic and the secondary levels. The tertiary level possibly does this translation, given their many years of education. The average score and summary of the four sentences in this section is presented in the graph below:

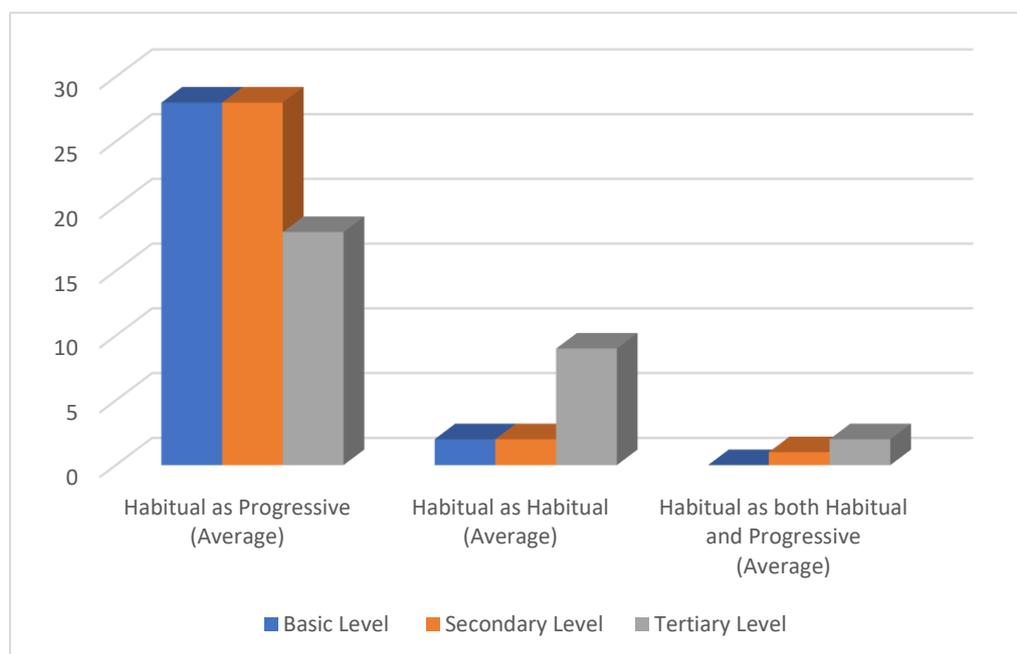


Figure 6.8 Average Score of the Four Habitual Sentences According to Educational Levels

The chart in Fig.6.8 presents the progressive aspect as the major use patterns in English since respondents interpret the habitual present as a progressive aspect in English. This means that the majority of present tense expressions are done using progressive aspect, the major used patterns in DagbE. Thus, as shown in Fig. 6.8, the progressive is used when the use of the habitual is required in DagbE. This is a clear sign of a replica language (Rx) being created. Using the progressive aspect for the habitual present is part of the linguistic colouration Anchimbe (2006) explains as part of nativisation in the indigenised varieties of English. This explains reincarnating, nativising, or innovating English to “suit the communal requirements of the situation in which it is used” (Anchimbe 2006:24). Findings based on educational levels demonstrate that though all the educational levels interpret the habitual present as a progressive aspect, the overwhelming majority is from the basic and the secondary levels. The tertiary level, however, leads in interpreting the habitual present as a habitual present. Besides, many respondents from the same level show in their translations that the sentences express both habitual present and progressive aspect in English. These respondents always interpret a sentence as both the progressive aspect and the habitual present. Some examples of such responses are captured as follows:

98. Examples of Translations of SHP Sentences to both Habitual Progressive

- a. Respondents 24, 47 and 48 (tertiary); *My father is driving a car to school; Or: My father drives a car to school.*
- b. Respondents 81 and 89 (tertiary); *He/she is drinking water; Or: She drinks water.*

Although such translations can be captured at basic and secondary levels of education, most of these translations are found in the tertiary level’s responses. These interpretations mean that the influence of the imperfective aspect is strong in the basic and secondary levels than in the tertiary level of education.

As indicated in Figure 6.8, not even one of the sentences’ interpretations has the basic level respondents associated with both progressive and habitual meanings in English. This means that the basic level did not give two interpretations to one Dagbani habitual sentence. This is an indication that the basic level has limited knowledge regarding the imperfective aspect being interpreted as both progressive and habitual present. It also shows the intensity of the influence at the lower level of education.

The conclusion drawn on the habitual present is that Dagomba will almost always interpret the habitual present as the progressive aspect when they speak English. In this case, the habitual or the present tense is realised by Dagomba English speakers in the progressive aspect and not in the simple present as it is in British English. For instance, a situation that holds as a habit in BrE, as in: *My father drives a car to school*. Due to the influence from L1 features of the Dagomba people, they use of the progressive aspect for the habitual present as in: *My father is driving a car to school*: as against the form in GhE as: *My father has been driving a car to school*. /*My father drives a car to school*.

Even though respondents from all levels of education translated the sentence into progressive, the tertiary level leads in translating the habitual into the habitual present in English. An overwhelming majority of the basic and the secondary levels lead in translating those sentences into the progressive aspect in English. This shows that the basic level and the secondary levels frequently use the progressive in place of the habitual more than the tertiary level users of English do. Therefore, among the subcategories of the Dagbani imperfective aspect, the impact of the progressive aspect on the habitual present in Dagomba's use of English is slightly felt at the basic and secondary levels more than at the tertiary level of education. This suggests that the basic and secondary English users speak English with Dagomba's L1 background than the tertiary level. As stated above, the intensity of the influence of the progressive over the habitual present minimally reduces, as students move from the basic and secondary levels of education to the tertiary levels of education. This reflects Schneider's view that there is a lot of dialectal variability at the lower level and informal settings, which diminishes at higher and informal settings (see Schneider 2007:72). This finding also means that the ethnolectal L1 influence in the basic and the secondary levels is not the same at the higher level of education.

For the basic and the secondary levels, no difference is recorded. Their translations in favour of the habitual present at those levels were inconsistent. Another observation made from these four sentences is that the tertiary level respondents always translate sentences from habitual into both the habitual present and progressive aspects in English. Only two persons from the secondary level interpreted or translated the sentences into both habitual and progressive aspects with all the four sentences. Their translations indicate that the basic and the secondary level users of English interpret the habitual as progressive in English. Although not

so significant, respondents' interpretations still indicate frequent use of ethnolectal English at the basic and the secondary levels of education than at the tertiary level. This pattern of language use is always part of language variation studies, including Labov's (1961; 1966) studies in Martha's Vineyard and New York City, respectively; and Broeck's (1984) linguistic complexity phenomenon between the working class and middle-class people, and Fonyuy's (2012) Cameroon English ethnolect. The basic and secondary levels do not also frequently interpret the sentences and activities in the pictures as both the progressive aspect and the habitual aspect. Therefore, this finding goes a step further to confirm how influential the progressive is in subjects' translations and their use of the two categories (tense and aspect) of grammar. The tertiary level students possibly translate the habitual present into habitual meaning in both the habitual and progressive meanings because they have advanced knowledge in the grammar of the two languages. This finding could explain why they can easily infer and tell that the habitual present exists on its own as a subcategory of grammar. However, the progressive performs both functions (progressive and habitual) in Dagbani. It may also mean that tertiary level students are aware that the progressive and the habitual can be expressed with the same aspectual suffixes but are distinguished by context.

Nonetheless, all these findings and interpretations point to the same issue and the confirmation of Kachru's (1985; 1988; 1990b) discussion on the three concentric circles that the outer circle consists of different varieties, marked by nativeness as their main defining feature. Even though the discussion in this study goes beyond word class's level, one could relate this finding to Todd's (1982:289) observation that the lack of distinction between count and noncount nouns reflect the structure of African vernaculars. Relating to this finding, the lack of difference between the progressive and habitual present leads to this part of ethnolectal English.

Therefore, one observation is that because the Dagbani imperfective aspect includes both the progressive and the habitual present, normally, the progressive aspect is used to express the habitual present in Dagbani. The reason being that there is no unique verb form for the expression of the habitual present or present tense and since the progressive is used to express the habitual present, there is the possibility of the progressive to dominate the habitual present in English as demonstrated. Therefore, the Dagomba people use the imperfective aspect in English, as used in Dagbani. Consequently, Dagomba replicate how the imperfective

aspect is expressed in Dagbani to how tense is expressed in English. Hence, the L1 influence of the Dagomba, especially in most basic and the secondary levels English speakers' use of the English tense, cannot be denied. As indicated, this finding confirms Weinreich (1953; 1974) and Heine and Kuteva (2006) grammatical transfer where the replica language is modelled on the model language leading to a replicated language (Rx).

Schneider (2015) observes the dominance of progressive use over habitual use in Ghanaian English. On the contrary, Schneider does not attribute the frequent use of the progressive aspect to the various indigenous languages in Ghana. Schneider's reason is that most Ghanaian languages, including Gur languages, distinguish between progressive and habitual meanings; therefore, the mother tongue cannot be the source of this use. Based on the literature reviewed and the data presented, not all Ghanaian languages have verb forms that make a distinction between the two subcategories of grammar. For instance, although the idea of habitual and progressive exist in the deep meaning in Dagbani, a distinction is not made between the two subcategories of the imperfective aspect in the surface meaning since the same aspectual suffixes are used to express them. The Data presented above also speak something different from Schneider's (2015) assertion of expressing the habitual present. Some respondents translated the habitual sentences to both habitual and progressive and vice versa. It is also evidently clear from the literature in chapter two above that the aspectual suffixes *dì* and its variants; *rì, nì, tì*, and *dá* and its variants; *rá, ná, tá* express the progressive. The same aspectual suffixes are used to express the habitual present in Dagbani since there is no distinct form that expresses the habitual present. See expressions of such illustrations in Olawsky (1999) and Issah (2015).

As indicated in the two sections of this chapter, progressive use has overshadowed situations that require habitual use. This is a result of the nature of the imperfective aspect in Dagbani. Hence, the presence of the L1 or L1 features in DagbE sets it apart from GhE and BrE. Therefore, DagbE is a product of Dagomba's use of the progressive in Dagbani, a replication of Dagbani in the English language, as Dagomba use English as a second language. There is also evidence that respondents can interpret a Dagbani habitual sentence as both habitual present and the progressive aspect in English. This leads to one of the subcategories of the imperfective aspect overshadowing the other when Dagomba speak English. As stated above, the progressive overshadows the habitual because they belong to the same imperfective

aspect in Dagbani. The same aspectual suffixes used to express the progressive are used to express the habitual present. As mentioned earlier, Comrie makes a similar observation in his assertion that some languages have a general imperfective aspect, which combines both habitual and progressive aspect (cf Comrie 1978:26).

There is every indication that mother tongue is one of the possible contributory factors of the frequent progressive use over the habitual/ present tense when Dagbani speakers use English. Thus, the Dagomba people as second language users of English, will express a habitual sentence with the progressive meaning, as translated above. This finding is because, although there is a difference in the way respondents translated the sentences in this section, the number of responses for the progressive aspect is more than the number of responses for the habitual present. For instance, the basic level has an average score of 28.3 for progressive and 1.5 for habitual; the secondary level recorded an average score of 28.3 for progressive and 1.3 for habitual. However, the tertiary level registered an average score of 18 for progressive and 8.8 for the habitual present. As stated above, this summary indicates few L1 features at the higher institutions, hence less ethnolectal English at that level of education. Nonetheless, the progressive is generally used by the Dagomba in the present tense expressions in DagbE.

It is, therefore, clear that the two subcategories are expressed with the same suffixes. This means that there is no distinction between the two in the surface meaning. In the deep meaning, however, Dagbani has both progressive and habitual present. However, most speakers prefer progressive when referring to habitual present in English. As stated above, it is an indication that the Dagomba people replicate the use of Dagbani imperfective aspect in English since the use of any of these two categories in a sentence in Dagbani is contextual. Dagomba use of the habitual and present tense in English is entirely based on how the imperfective aspect (uncompleted situation) is used in Dagbani. This means that the replication of the Dagbani imperfective use in English makes the English the people in the speech community speak different from BrE, which distinguishes between the progressive and habitual present (cf Comrie 1978:33). In BrE, the '-s' and '-es' are suffixed to the main verbs to express habitual and present tense with singular subjects and nominals. The bare infinitive form of the verb expresses habitual with plural subjects and plural nominals. In this case, as a habitual situation in DagbE will be presented as in; *Sana is riding her horse to farm*: in BrE, it will read; *Sana rides her horse to farm*. As stated above, this is due to the mother tongue

influence or L1 features of the Dagomba as an ethnic group. GhE could be a combination of the BrE and the DagbE due to influences from languages with similar grammatical features as Dagbani. The GhE version being a combination of GhE and BrE could also stem from Wolf's (2010) explanation of EAS and WAE's homogenisation that the pressure from national norms for English teaching and English use exerts on speakers; the endonormative processes make all speakers going by the national norm. As Seargeant (2010) puts it, all categorisations of the world Englishes perform different functions in society (see Seargeant 2010:209). Thus, DagbE could be considered an emerging variety of English with a distinct function.

The implication of the use of the progressive aspect for the habitual present is that there is a need for a distinction to be made between the expressions of the simple present tense or habitual present in Dagbani and English. These students will know the distinction between the two languages, regarding how the two languages operate when tense is expressed.

6.3.5 Picture Description of Dagbani Habitual Present

This section presents results on the two pictures that were given to respondents to describe. The picture description is to authenticate data collected from the habitual present through simple sentence translation. The data is presented in two tables; one table displays results on picture 'D' and the other on picture 'E.' The picture 'D' is present below.

6.3.5.1 Description of the Habitual Present Activity Picture 'D'

Picture 'D' presents a series of the same activity, which takes place Monday through Friday. The drawings illustrate the same picture of a man sitting on a chair, with a queue of people before him. The image portrays an activity of receiving or giving out money. The denotative description of the picture signifies that the man works in a bank. The series of the same activity throughout express habitual meaning, an interpretation that is solicited from the respondents. Thus, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, up to Friday, holds as a habit, thereby depicting a habitual meaning. Each respondent described the series of activities in the picture in one sentence, indicating what the man does. Below is the habitual present picture "D".



Figure 6.9 Habitual Picture ‘D’

Despite all indications that the series of activities in the picture point to a habitual situation, the data presented here show that most respondents do not show in their responses that the activities indicate a habitual situation.

73% of the respondents in their responses show that the series of activities in the picture depicts progressive action. However, only 26% of the respondents relate the activities in the image to the habitual meaning. Table 6.11 carries the results on the series of activities in picture ‘D’ and how respondents described the picture based on their educational levels.

Table 6.11 Responses on Habitual Picture ‘D’

Respondents’ level of educational	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as both habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic Level	23	26.0	7	7.9	0	0	30	33.7
Secondary Level	25	28.1	5	5.6	0	0	30	33.7
Tertiary Level	17	19.1	10	11.2	2	2.2	29	32.6
Total	65	73.0	22	24.7	2	2.2	89	100

Based on respondents’ educational levels, the basic and the secondary levels recorded most responses that indicate the series of activities denote progressive situation in their description. As displayed above, out of the total number of respondents, 26% and 28.1% from the basic, secondary level’s respondents, respectively, demonstrate in their descriptions that

the activities in the picture depict a situation that is in progress. This interpretation is an indication that Dagomba use the English tense based on the background of their L1. Thus, they use the English present tense based on how they use the Dagbani imperfective (progressive and habitual) aspect in Dagbani. A graphical presentation of the results on the picture ‘D’ is presented below:

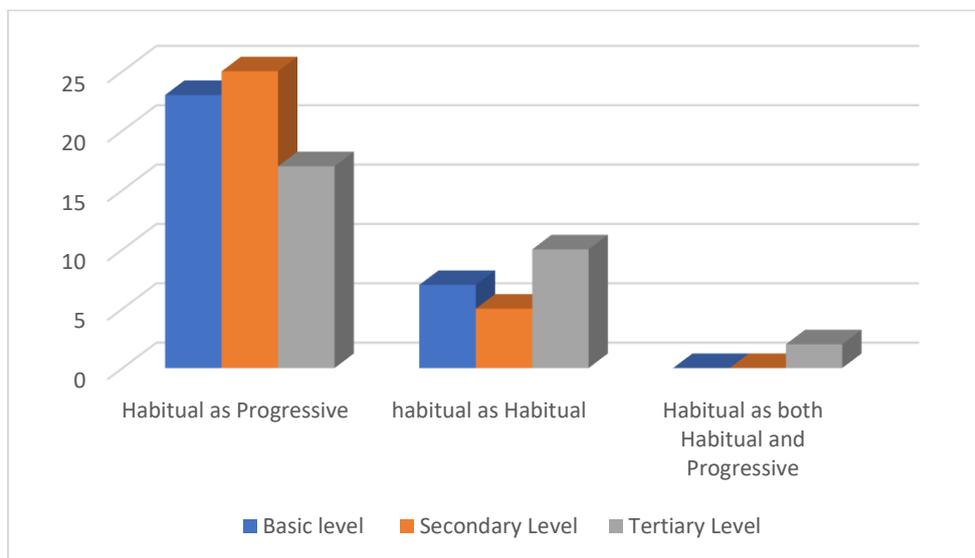


Figure 6.10 Responses for Habitual Picture ‘D’ According Educational Levels

Comparatively, the tertiary level always has the least number of responses for the ‘habitual’ as ‘progressive.’ It has the majority of responses for the ‘habitual as habitual’ than the basic and secondary levels. Though insignificant, the tertiary level is still the only level that responded in both progressive and habitual in their descriptions of this picture. For instance, respondent numbers 49 from the tertiary level described the picture as; *He works here / He is working here*. As stated above, this response shows that the tertiary level students extended exposure to education could make them realise that the progressive can and express the habitual present. Hence, its reflection in their description, as illustrated in figure Fig. 6.10. Therefore, it is confirmed from Fig. 6.10 that the tertiary level students are a bit less influenced by the L1 grammatical features. That notwithstanding, the Dagomba people speak ethnolectal English as an ethnic group. Other respondents from the same level describe the picture with only habitual meaning, as seen in the following:

99. Examples of Interpretations of Habitual Picture ‘D’ by Respondents from the Tertiary Level

- a. Respondent 88 (tertiary); *Her father works here.*
- b. Respondent 89 (tertiary); *He works here.*
- c. Respondent 87(tertiary); *This is where my father works.*

Though not significant, these responses still indicate a few L1 features in the tertiary level speakers’ English. Some examples of sentences from general responses from respondents’ description of the picture are presented below:

100. Examples of Interpretations of Habitual Picture ‘D’

- a. Respondent 1(secondary); *He is working here.*
- b. Respondent 61(secondary); *My father is working here.*
- c. Respondent 16 (basic); *He is working here.*
- d. Respondent 84 (tertiary); *He is working here.*
- e. Respondent 85 (tertiary); *He is working here.*
- f. Respondent 19 (basic); *He or she is working in this bank.*

As indicated in the examples above, all responses were in favour of the progressive aspect. Considering sentences in the set of examples in 100 above, it is evident that there is no one to one description of the picture of the habitual present, as respondents may refer to an activity as either progressive or habitual present. Nonetheless, the progressive aspect is always a better option in speakers’ interpretations. For instance, as shown above, respondents; (16) and (19) from the basic level; (61) and (1) from the secondary level; (84) and (85) from the tertiary level and many more show that the picture denotes a progressive situation in their descriptions and not habitual present.

The tertiary level registers more respondents who described the Picture ‘D’ with a habitual meaning than the basic and secondary respondents. However, there is still an indication that the tertiary level as a group of speakers in the speech community also registers more responses for the progressive aspect than it registers for the habitual present. This suggests that the basic and the secondary levels of education use ethnolectal English than people with higher education in the speech community. However, ethnolectal English is still

pervasive in the tertiary level of education. This is also a sign of the intensity of the influence of the Dagbani imperfective aspect, hence a variety of English founded on speakers' L1.

Consequently, the results of picture 'D' go to confirm the findings on the sentence translation that the habitual present use in tense expressions is overshadowed or is influenced by the progressive aspect, as Dagomba speak English. For example, the series of one activity of a man in the bank, in BrE depicts habitual present, as in: *He works in a bank*. However, the same activity is realised in DagbE, as in a habitual present marked by the features of the L1 of Dagomba, as in: *He is working in a bank*. In GhE, both could be used in: *He works in a bank*. Or: *He is working in a bank*.

As indicated somewhere in the above chapter, *He is working in a bank* may exist in Ghanaian English due to some typological similarities between some Ghanaian languages and Dagbani. Consequently, some speakers of English could be influenced by the L1 of the speakers, thereby making tense expressions in their English sound similar to the English spoken by the people of Dagbon. Besides, Schneider (2015) notices the extension of the Progressive to the Habitual present in GhE. This could explain why Ghanaians sound similar with regard to the macro-level variety of English they speak, even though there are micro-level English like DagbE.

6.3.5.2 Description of Habitual Present Activity Picture 'E'

Picture 'E' also presents a series of the same activity of a lady teacher from Monday to Friday. The picture denotes a lady teacher with school children in a classroom. One of the students raises his hand to say something. The series of one activity was used for respondents to get the idea that the situation they were to describe is an iterated situation that holds as a habit. Thus, the series of activities can only depict a habitual present. Respondents construct their own sentences as they describe the series of activities in the picture. Consider the habitual picture 'E' as follows:



Figure 6.11 Habitual Picture ‘E’

As many as 73% of the respondents described the picture in the progressive, as Table 6.12 below clearly shows.

Table 6.12 Responses on Habitual Picture ‘E’

Respondents’ level of education	Habitual as progressive	%	Habitual as habitual	%	Habitual as both habitual and progressive	%	Total	%
Basic Level	21	23.6	9	10.1	0	0.0	30	33.7
Secondary level	25	28.1	4	4.5	1	1.1	30	33.7
Tertiary level	19	21.3	10	11.2	0	0.0	29	32.6
Total	65	73.0	23	25.8	1	1.1	89	100

65 out of the 89 respondents described the series of activities in the picture as progressive; only 23 indicated that the repetitive activities in the picture all together denotes the habitual present. Consider the graph for picture ‘E’ in Fig. 6.12 below.

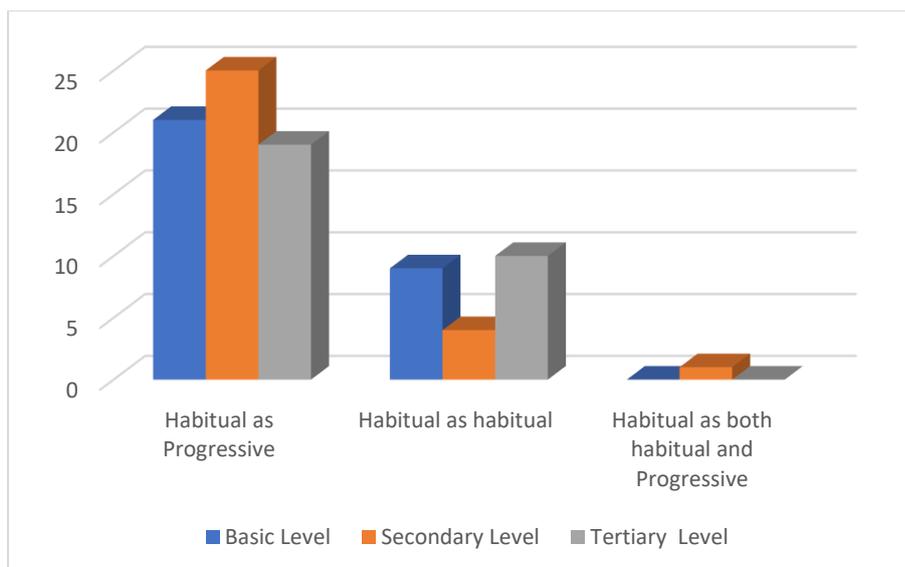


Figure 6.12 Responses for Habitual Picture ‘E’ According to Educational Levels

As indicated in Fig. 6.12, the secondary level registers most of the respondents who describe this picture in the progressive aspect in English than the basic and the tertiary levels did. As usual, the respondents from the tertiary level lead in translating the sentences and describing the pictures in the ‘habitual present as habitual’ and in both ‘progressive aspect and habitual present. Respondent 48 response, for instance, indicates that all habitual and progressive sentence and picture description are in the progressive, and in both habitual and progressive aspects. None of his translations or descriptions indicates habitual present alone. Thus, any time he wanted to refer to a sentence as habitual, he attached the progressive as a possible interpretation of it. It seems from his descriptions and translations that the habitual present is not grammatical enough to stand as a category of grammar to express tense in English, as the progressive aspect does. This interpretation shows how progressive use in tense expressions has overshadowed the habitual use in the English the people in the speech community speak. Hence, the ethnolectal influence of the L1 of the people in the speech community on the use of English. Starting from the simple Dagbani habitual sentence one, consider respondent 48’s responses as seen below:

1. Ò yùrì kóm
3.SG. drink.IMPF water
He drinks water.

His response to the habitual sentence one was: *He is drinking water*. The simple Dagbani sentence 2, reads as seen as in:

2. M̄ bá dùhì-rì lá lóórí n-cháni shíkùrù.
1SG. father drive.IMPFV FOC car DCP-go.IMPFV school

My father drives a car to school.

He again interpreted this sentence as both progressive and habitual situation, as; *My father drives a car to school*. Or: *My father is driving car to school*. The simple Dagbani habitual sentence 3 also reads:

3. Sánà bá-rí wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFV horse.

Sana rides a horse.

He responded in the progressive in his translation of this sentence, as; *Sana is riding a horse*. The sentence 4, which reads almost the same as sentence 3, as seen below:

4. Sánà bá-rí là ò wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFV FOC 3SG.OBJ horse

Sana rides her horse.

The last sentence was also given a progressive interpretation in his translation, as; *Sana is riding her horse*. His response to the habitual picture, ‘D’ as; *He works here*; Or: *He is working here*. Also, Picture ‘E’ was described as progressive and habitual meanings, as in; *The madam is teaching here*; Or: *This where this madam is teaching*.

Looking at respondent 48’s response to the picture ‘E,’ as indicated in the illustrations above. He possibly wanted to bring another version of his response, which could probably be in the habitual present but ended up giving another translation, which is also in the progressive. This interpretation and other interpretations are signs of the intensity of the progressive in the expression of tense in these people’s use of the English language. The interpretations are part of the linguistic innovations Kachru (1982) refers to as linguistic reincarnation of the English, and by Anchimbe (2006) as local colouration. This is an indication of the ethnolectal English based speakers’ L1.

Another respondent from the tertiary level who did an exciting translation is respondent (84). She translated all sentences on the habitual present to habitual present and translated all sentences on the progressive aspect to progressive. She also described all the pictures except

picture 'E' appropriately. A critical observation of these two respondents shows how advanced most tertiary users of English in the study area are in using the progressive and the habitual present. Her interpretations also show that the habitual meaning and the progressive meaning exist in the deep meaning of every imperfective aspect. Still, their difference is not just possible in the surface meaning since the aspectual suffixes used in expressing the progressive are used for the habitual present. With all the pictures used in this chapter, respondents saw the pictures to be depicting habitual present, but they are just overwhelmed by the imperfective aspect of Dagbani. When we compare the pictures on the habitual present and that of the progressive aspect, we see the difference in respondents' responses. Even though the habitual pictures on the habitual section were also interpreted as progressive rather than habitual, we still notice that respondents interpreted the pictures on the habitual as habitual present more than way they interpreted those pictures on the progressive section. Therefore, respondents actually saw the pictures on the habitual section to be depicting habitual present, but they are just overwhelmed by the Dagbani imperfective aspect. This interpretation clarifies the intense influence of the progressive on the habitual present on Dagomba's English present tense expressions.

Like the basic and secondary levels' students, the tertiary level students' usage of the habitual present is overshadowed by the progressive. As stated above, one can say that the frequent use of the progressive aspect use is replicated from the Dagbani imperfective aspect, given that there is no distinction between the two subcategories in the surface meanings. Therefore, speakers have no option but to transfer their L1 usage of these two subcategories of grammar to the L2. Hence, the perceived influence of the imperfective aspect, which leads to ethnolectal English, based on speakers' L1.

Respondents' interpretations also show the covert existence and distinction between the two subcategories but can only be overtly expressed with the same structure. In this case, the two subcategories dovetail into each other making the expression of these two categories more contextual than morphological in Dagbani. There is, therefore, a heavy influence of the L1 of the speakers on the English they speak. As a result of influences of this nature, Richards (1979) observes that the new varieties of English have recently developed in domains in many parts of the world where English functions as a second language and not a foreign language. English serves a second language function in the study area and Ghana as a whole.

Moreover, the basic and the secondary levels reveal something worth mentioning about the Dagbani imperfective aspect in their sentence translation and picture description. The secondary and basic levels have most of their translations and descriptions in progressive aspect and habitual present, always being interpreted as the progressive aspect. For instance, respondent (18) from the secondary level gave a noticeable interpretation that cannot be overlooked. Not only did he respond in the present perfect for the simple past, marked past and present perfect in chapter 5, but he also interpreted the habitual present as progressive in both his sentence translation and picture description.

These interpretations indicate that these two categories are used without discrimination in Dagbani; the same is also replicated in English. Thus, the progressive expresses the habitual present, and the present perfect expresses the simple past in DagbE. As indicated above, these findings stem from the fact that in Dagbani, the two subcategories (the perfective and imperfective) have no distinction between past and present perfect; and there is no difference between the habitual and progressive aspects. Comrie (1978) notes that imperfectiveness includes habitual and progressive meanings. Olawsky (1999) also confirms this when he highlights that the verb in the Dagbani has two forms, the perfective and the imperfective. The imperfective expresses all uncompleted situations, while the perfective involves all completed situations.

Time (tense) is expressed in these two verb forms or categories (perfective and imperfective) in Dagbani. It is the case that the category that dominates a particular tense/times expressions in Dagbani is replicated in English. This replication constructs a new English based on speakers' L1. Hence, 'cultural contact begins the history of these varieties of English' (Ugorji 2015:20). In this case, the contact between Dagbani and English (representing two cultures) constructs DagbE. Thus, with these two forms or categories in mind, the majority of Dagomba users of English, especially many of the basic and the secondary levels, use the progressive, which is frequently used in Dagbani, also to express tense in English.

In most parts of the sentence translations and the picture descriptions, the basic level is almost always at the same level as the secondary level in giving the appropriate translations to all sentences. It could stem from the fact that Dagbani is taught as a compulsory course together with the English language at the basic level, which could make the basic level have the upper

hand in the two languages' grammar. This, therefore, manifests in the basic level's performance in sentence translations. Unlike the basic level, at the secondary level, Dagbani is taught as an elective subject and not as a compulsory or core subject. Possibly, the secondary level's respondents might, therefore, sometimes forget some aspects of the grammar they have learned due to disuse. This phenomenon could make them be apart and below the basic level in some of their translations. As a result of this, the English the secondary level students speak is more prone to the influence of progressive use in Dagbani, just like the English the basic level students speak.

For the tertiary level, they are more advanced in the grammar of both languages. Therefore, whether they take the Ghanaian language as a compulsory course at the tertiary level or not, they could perhaps benefit from their extended exposure to education. Therefore, they may apply their previous knowledge in the two languages and use these grammatical categories comparatively better than the secondary and basic levels of education do. Thus, maturation and experience are possible factors in the tertiary level's ability to translate better and describe the pictures. Thus, the tertiary level students have been through more stages of education. Therefore, they have more advantages in their translations and interpretations of the activities in the picture. These, therefore, go a long way to minimizing the influence of the progressive aspect on the habitual present use in the English the tertiary level students speak. Hence, though insignificant, the tertiary student speaks English with less L1 features (imperfective aspect) compared to the basic and the secondary levels.

Comparatively, the tertiary level respondents' responses on sentence translations and the picture descriptions also went for progressive. The level, however, registers more (10) responses for picture 'D' as habitual, and the same number of responses (10) for Picture 'E.' They also translated the sentences from the Dagbani habitual present to habitual in English than the secondary and basic levels' respondents. The secondary and basic levels described picture 'D' with (5) and (7) responses, respectively and (4) and (9) responses, respectively, for the habitual activity on picture 'E'.

For the sentence translation on the Dagbani progressive, an average score of (2) responses from the tertiary level went for the progressive as habitual; (0) from the secondary level went for progressive as habitual, but one from the basic level went for progressive as

habitual. However, the secondary level registered an average score of 1 for progressive as both progressive and habitual, while the tertiary levels registered 3.5.

For sentences, in the translation of the Dagbani habitual present sentences, the average scores for habitual being translated into habitual were the basic level had 1.8, secondary level, 1.5, and the tertiary level 8.8. Though insignificant, the tertiary level translated and described the pictures in the habitual meaning more than the secondary and basic respondents did. These responses indicate that the distinction between the progressive and simple present/habitual is slim and cannot easily be noticed. Thus, it is more contextual than morphological. Therefore, subjects do these translations based on this implication (the lack of difference on the surface meaning). Nonetheless, the progressive aspect dominates in the picture descriptions from picture A to E. This finding confirms and suggests a type of English spoken by the Dagomba people is based on their L1 form.

The tertiary level always has some respondents referring to habitual as both habitual and progressive than the basic and the secondary levels with a narrow gap. This shows how English users in the study area consider each of these two grammatical categories to be possibly interpreted with the same meaning in Dagbani. Apart from the progressive main function as a situation in progress, its special or other uses, where the use of the ‘ing’ in gerundial function (when progressive assumes nominal function), as in:

Dancing is not an option here.

Where dancing in the above sentence performs a nominal function as demonstrated. Besides, when a verb assumes the function of an adjective, as in modifying nominals in sentences, as in:

I will choose the dancing toy.

In the above sentence, the present participle form of the verb, dance, does not function as a verb but assumes an adjectival role of modifying the nominal *toy*. Besides being used in progressive verb form, it has acquired another function in DagbE, as a situation that holds as a habit. As fore mentioned, the change in function is termed as exaptation in Schneider (2003: 207).

A close observation of the results on the sentence translations and the picture descriptions shows that respondents' responses to the activities do not show the difference in terms of number. This is because all the Dagbani sentences that respondents translated and the pictures they described went in favour of the progressive aspect and not the habitual present. It is therefore certain that even picture 'D' on one side, and picture 'E,' which show series of activities that depict the habitual present, is interpreted by the majority of the respondents as progressive in English. It confirms the translated sentences on the Dagbani habitual present, which also shows that the progressive aspect overshadows situations that hold as a habit (habitual) when Dagomba (s) speak English. Pictures 'A,' 'B' and 'C' of the progressive aspect also confirm the frequent use of the progressive in place of habitual in English.

Thus, all the pictures support the same idea that the progressive aspect is always a better option and not the habitual present when Dagomba speak the English language. Therefore, the data collected with these two tools confirm the hypothesis that Dagomba use the progressive aspect instead of the habitual present or simple present tense when they use the habitual present. As stated above, this is a replication of the use of the imperfective aspect of Dagbani in English. Hence, the presence of the mother tongues features in the DagbE.

In this chapter, the dominance of the progressive over the habitual present in Dagomba's use of the English tense and aspect is as a result of replication, which is based on the intense contact between Dagbani and English. Heine and Kuteva (2006), while referring to Kessing (1991) state that in an intense contact situation, speakers normally develop some mechanisms that are equated to similar concepts and categories across languages, something described as 'formulas and equivalence.' This, Heine and Kuteva rename equivalence relations or equivalence (isomorphism), see (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 4). Therefore, Dagomba tend to equate the use of aspect (imperfective aspect) of Dagbani to that of English. Consequently, speakers transfer how the imperfective aspect is used in Dagbani to English. Hence, Dagomba speak the English language based on the structure of L1. This subsequently results in the difference or the variation of the English Dagomba speak from GhE and RP. For instance, as Dagomba say:

101. Examples of General SHP Sentences

- a. *Respondent 60 (secondary); My father is working in this bank.*
- b. *Respondent 7 (basic); My father is driving a car school.*

c. *The baby is drinking too much water. (Not from data).*

Where the deep meaning of what they say is actually in the habitual present, as in BrE English:

d. *Respondent 83 (tertiary); My mother saves her money at this bank.*

e. *Respondent 85 (tertiary); My father drives to school.*

f. *The baby drinks too much water. (not from data).*

The habitual present indeed expresses situations that hold as a habit; this suggests that it includes iterated situations, including a situation at the time of speaking. However, a situation at the time of speaking may not be ongoing, but that does not mean that the situation has seized to be a habit. Therefore, English distinguishes this habitual situation and a situation that is in progress by using the present tense. This distinction is not possible in Dagbani because the progressive form which is expressed with the imperfective aspectual suffixes *di* and its variants (*ri, ti, ni*) and *da* and its variants (*ra, ta, na*) express the habitual present in the speakers' L1. As indicated, this stands as the basis of the influence, which leads to the ethnolectal English based on the L1 of Dagomba, who speak English as a second language.

The implication of using progressive aspect when the use of the habitual present is required also demands compulsory teaching of both the expressions of tense in English and Dagbani and the other indigenous languages during instructional periods. Also, the implication of one category being used when the need for the other category is required implies that Dagbani will continually influence the English once they remain in contact. This is an indication that DagbE and other ethnic varieties have come to stay.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. Influence of Dagbani Phonological Features on Dagomba's Spoken English

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the influence of the Dagbani phonological features on the Dagomba people's spoken English. The chapter responds to the third objective of this study and explains how the Dagbani phonological features influence Dagomba use of English. In chapter one and three, a detailed description of the Dagbani and English sound systems reveal differences between the phenomenon in both languages. Given this, nineteen (19) phonological features were investigated in this chapter to find out how the Dagbani sound system impacts speakers' pronunciation of English words. The realisation of each of these features is presented on spectrograms in a bid to show how different they are from Ghanaian English (henceforth, GhE) and RP realisations.

Moreover, the numerical values of respondents' realisation of each of the 19 features are reported on statistical tables. However, it is not all respondents who pronounced target words that contain these features. For instance, two respondents from the secondary level of education could not give their responses to all the elements contained in variables in this chapter. This is because the two respondents were still not able to read and, therefore, could not provide their realisation of the features. That does not, however, impact the results negatively.

To obtain Dagomba realisation of the features that are investigated, we employed short-text reading. As stated in the above introductory chapter and the methodology, respondents were given a simple text to read. The short text comprised the variables (words) in which the investigated RP features were contained. The goal of giving them a short text and not isolated words was to ensure that respondents were not given a clue as to which feature was investigated. The sample size was 89; 30 basic level students, 30 secondary level students, and 29 tertiary level students. One person from Yendi Health School was not interviewed due to some unforeseen circumstances beyond his control. It was challenging to find a replacement since all efforts made to get a replacement proved abortive. As a result, 44 students were interviewed from the three levels of education in Yendi. 15 respondents each from the basic

and secondary levels of education, and 14 respondents from the two tertiary levels in Yendi. In Tamale, 3 students were chosen from each of the 24 selected schools, making 45 students.

19 words containing 19 features were investigated in this study because the features investigated post pronunciation problems in those 19 words as people in the speech community speak English as a second language. It was necessary to explore as many as 19 features because the more the number of features one investigates, the larger the DagbE pronunciation one covers. 19 words were used in the investigation because the problems the features pose in DagbE can be made manifest through those phonetic environments (in words that can be pronounced). The first feature in the variable, *leaders*, is analysed in the next section.

7.2 Realisation of /i:/ in *leaders*

In this section, the realisation of the RP feature /i:/ in the word *leaders*, in Dagomba’s pronunciations is analysed. The unit includes Table 7.1 of the chapter displaying the results on Dagomba’s realisation of the feature. According to Dolphyne (1988), in West African countries, the vowel /ɪ/ is realised as near to the /i:/ sound in their pronunciation. There is the possibility that /i:/ could also be reduced to /i/ in WAE, including GhE. Also, as indicated in the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, the first sound occupying the vowel space of the root syllable in the word, *leaders*, is the long vowel, /i:/. This same feature is realised differently from DagbE as /ɪ/, and in GhE as /i/ as presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Interview_ DagbE _ /i/ as in leaders

Respondents’ level of education	RP /l[i:]dɛs/	%	GhE /l[i]dɛs/	%	DagbE /l[i]dɛs/	%	Total	%
Basic level	1	1.1	8	9.0	21	23.6	30	33.7
Secondary level	0	0	3	3.4	23	25.8	26	29.2
Tertiary level	0	0	12	13.5	17	19.1	29	32.6
Total	1	1.1	23	25.9	61	68.5	85	95.5

Table 7.1 shows that 68.5% of all respondents, irrespective of their educational level, realised RP /i:/ in the variable, *leaders* as /ɪ/. 23% articulated the GhE realisation of the feature while only one person could articulate the RP realisation of the feature, as indicated above.

Looking at the feature based on respondents' educational levels, the basic and the secondary levels lead in realising the RP /i:/ as /ɪ/. As indicated, 24% and 26% of the basic and secondary levels, respectively articulated the feature by applying the vowel reduction strategy.¹² 19% of the tertiary level respondents also articulate the DagbE realisation of the feature. This shows that Dagomba realise /i:/ as /ɪ/ in this context. Vowel reduction is a common thing in Africans' pronunciation. For instance, Schneider explains that the articulatory movement regarding these East African short vowels, /i, e, a, o, u / is freer because fewer vocalic contrast needs to be differentiated; and that they are simpler to perform (cf Schneider 2007:102). Also, Schneider adds that such articulation on vowel reduction leads to homophony. Therefore, it is enough to say Dagomba simplify the articulation for themselves by reducing the feature, since the phoneme, /i:/ frequently occur in Dagbani, and they choose /ɪ/ over it. To simplify the articulation of the vowel for themselves, Dagomba end up reducing the RP long vowel, /i:/ in their articulation of the feature. This realisation is manifested in the pronunciation of the word *leaders*.

In the reduction process, as the feature is restructured to the GhE feature, /i/, which Dagomba reduce to /ɪ/, as the following spectrograms show.

¹² Apart from the responses of those who could not read, two other responses on 'leaders' from the secondary level were not added, as respondents mistakenly referred to it as 'elders' This could stem from the context of the short text.

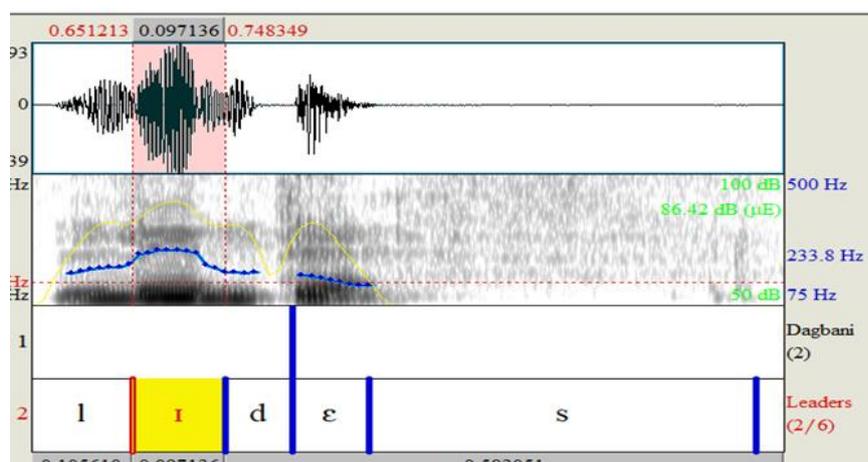


Figure 7.1 DagbE /ɪ/ for RP /i:/ as in leaders

The above spectrogram was done based on respondent, number 88 from the tertiary level's realisation of the feature. The dark parts of the spectrogram signify higher energy densities, while the lighter (grey) parts signify lower energy densities. The spectrogram in Figure 7.1 shows a shorter, lower, and weaker vowel sound than the RP realisation in figure 7.2. The spectrogram exhibits the total duration of the DagbE version of vowel to be 0.0098 seconds and the formant frequency to be 233.8. Formant frequencies are important for showing or measuring the existing difference between the three realisations of the feature investigated. The formant frequency of the DagbE realisation is, therefore, different from that of the GhE and RP versions, when we compare the spectrograms for those features.

In this spectrogram, much of the acoustic energy concentration is on the two vowels /ɪ/ and /ɛ/, followed by lateral /l/ and the voiced alveolar stop /d/. The portion with less vocal cord vibration and less acoustic energy helps identify the voiceless sound /s/ as shown in the portion marked /s/. Although in rapid RP speech, the voiced sounds preceding /s/ would force it to be voiced and lenis. Surprisingly, however, in respondent number 88, realisation, /s/ remains voiceless¹³. However, the visual presentation of the formants on the consonants (/d and l/) is not as influential as that of the formants on vowels. This is because vowels show clearer

¹³ Unfortunately, I have not been able to figure out the phonetic process that is responsible for this. I could mention that these mistakes could also come from the influence of the orthography and may not always be from phonological processes. He sees <s> and pronounces the sound as <s> and not the voiced /z/.

formants than consonant since vowels show more sonority than consonants. As it is clearly indicated through the formants in the spectrogram, the vowel /ɪ/, seem to be slightly lower and shorter vowels than the RP /i:/.

Regarding the spectrogram in Figure 7.1 above, one would say that the environment in which the RP feature, /i:/ occurs, is another reason for it being restructured. For instance, the nature of the sequencing of the segments in ‘leaders’, /li:dəs/ affects the RP feature in respondents’ articulation. The preceding and succeeding sounds of the RP /i:/ in the word, *leaders*, affect the realisation, in that the voiced alveolar plosive, which succeeds the feature affects the preceding sound because there is no such sequencing in speakers’ L1. Dagomba, therefore, shorten the RP /i:/ to /ɪ/, so that they can articulate the feature in the phonetic environment; the feature, however, does occur in the L1. In this case, vowel shortening results because the feature /i:/ occurs in the Dagbani words but not in the same phonetic environment. Consider the following examples from Dagbani:

Word	Gloss
lígá	‘shirt/dress’,
míigi	‘be fermented’,
líí	‘tiny’,
líigi	‘mark’

All the above words contain a long vowel similar to that in the word, *leaders* /li:dəs/. However, the Dagomba people have a problem maintaining its quality in phonetic environments where the voiced stop, /d/ and the voiceless fricative /f/ succeed it. Similarly, the feature in words such as ‘peace,’ ‘leave,’ ‘lead,’ ‘leaf,’ among others is usually shortened, either to the DagbE /ɪ/ or the GhE /i/. This realisation demonstrates that the quality of the RP /i:/ may not be maintained in some phonetic environments by the people in the speech community, as shown above. Therefore, it can be said that the phonetic environment of this long vowel has an impact on the way Dagomba realise the segment. This realisation goes a long way to affect the metrical presentation of the RP /i:/ in these people’s pronunciation of the whole word. This is, therefore, an ethnolectal influence of the L1 of Dagomba in their realisation of the RP feature /i:/, in the word *leaders*. The visual presentations of the feature in GhE and RP are as follows.

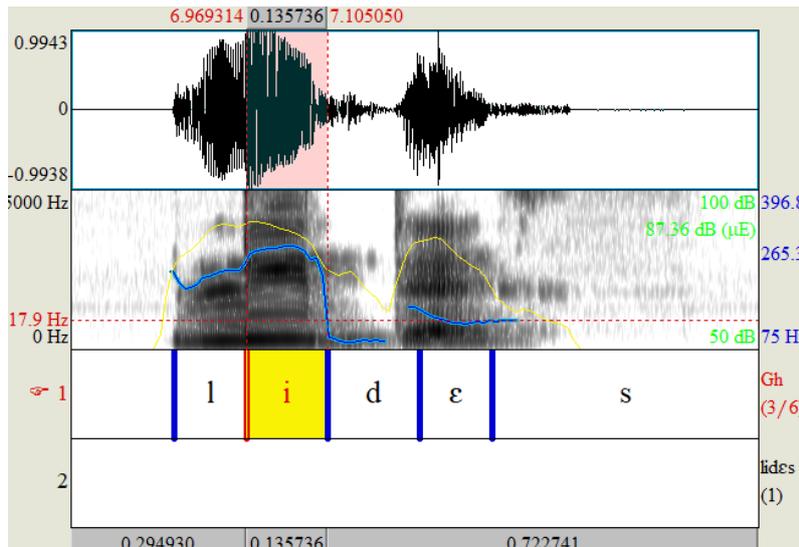


Figure 7.2 GhE /i/ for RP /i:/ as in *leaders*

The GhE version of the realisation appears to have more prominence than the DagbE realisation but appears to be shorter in length than the RP version of the feature. While the DagbE version shows a vowel quality or length with 0.098 seconds, the GhE realisation shows 0.135, and that of RP, 0.154 seconds. Evidently, there is a variation in the realisation of the same feature in these three varieties of English. The features of the three realisations indicate varied formant frequencies of 233.8Hz, 265.3Hz, and 249Hz in figures 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3, respectively. Hence the /i/ in DagbE, /i/ in GhE and /i:/ in RP as indicated in the spectrogram of the RP realisation below.

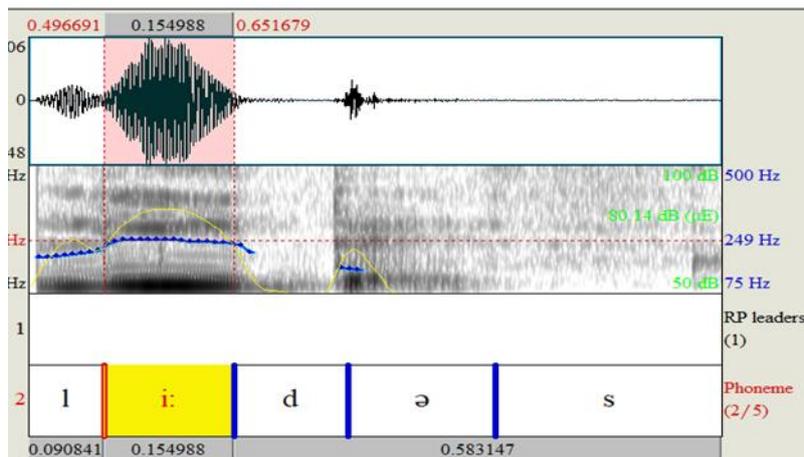


Figure 7.3 RP /i:/ as in *leaders*

The RP realisation was done by respondent 7, a basic level student. A comparison of the feature shaded in yellow in Figure 7.3, and that of the spectrogram of Figure 7.1 shows that there is a bit of difference between the formant of the RP feature, GhE feature, and that of DagbE feature /ɪ/. It is indicated that from the formant of /i:/, the entire minute within which the sound was produced in the above spectrogram as in the RP realisation is higher and wider than the /ɪ/ in the DagbE realisation. This indicates a long vowel which is reduced to a short vowel. Next is the realisation of the feature in *conflict*.

7.3 Realisation of /ɪ/ in *conflict*

Table 7.2 Interview_DagbE_ /ɛ or i:/ as in *conflict*

Respondents' level of educational	RP /kɒnfl[ɪ]kt/	%	GhE /kɒnfl[i]kt/	%	DagbE /kɒnfl[ɛ]t/	%	DagbE /konf[i:]t/	%	Total
Basic level	0	0	8	9.0	9	10.1	13	9.0	30
Secondary level	0	0	8	9.0	18	20.2	2	9.0	28
Tertiary level	3	3.4	12	13.5	11	12.4	3	13.5	29
Total	3	3.4	28	31.5	38	42.7	18	31.5	87

The feature in the second syllable of the word *conflict* is realised as /ɪ/ in the Advanced Oxford Learners Dictionary (8th ed). Dolphyne (1988) observes that languages like Akan, Kasem and Sisala have /ɪ/, but they still use /i:/ instead of /ɪ/ in words that it occurs. In the same way, with the various articulation of the RP feature, /ɪ/ by the respondents, most of the 87 respondents variously realise by restructuring the feature without the prefinal sound of the consonant cluster to /i:/ and /ɛ/. For instance, 42.7% of the respondents realised the feature as /ɛ/ without the sound /k/, while 31.5% realised and simplified the RP feature, /ɪ/ as /i:/, also without the sound /k/ in the consonant cluster. Only 3 of the respondents articulated the RP realisation of the feature, /ɪ/. Among the 29 respondents from the tertiary level, the majority of them produce the GhE version of the feature. Most respondents from the secondary level realise the RP feature /i:/ without the cluster's prefinal consonant. Most of the basic schools' respondents realise it as /ɛ/ without the prefinal consonant sound, /k/ of the coda. However, the only three respondents who realised the RP segment, /ɪ/ are from the tertiary level.

In respondents' pronunciation of the word 'conflict,' most of the respondents realise the RP [ɪ] in two ways. First, they realise the RP /ɪ/ as /ɛ/, without the prefinal consonant, /k/

of the consonant cluster, and second; they extend the RP /ɪ/ to /i:/, also without the prefinal consonant, /k/ of the cluster. The absence of consonant clusters in Dagbani could have led to this consonant cluster simplification (the prefinal consonant's deletion to ease pronunciation).

One explanation for the above observation is that the RP /ɪ/ is not an occurring feature before the velar /k/ in Dagbani. Olawsky (1999) and Hudu (2016) observe that /ɪ, i/ and the front vowels do not occur after [k] in the CV word. The same could apply to /ɪ, i/ before /k/ since their occurrence before [k] is limited in Dagbani. It could be that because the feature is not frequently articulated within this phonetic environment in the L1, the restriction has affected the articulation of the feature. The phenomenon leads to simplification; hence, the restructuring of the RP /ɪ/ to the /ɛ/, and the deletion of [k] in the word 'conflict.' Deletion also occurs because the phonotactics of Dagbani does not allow the occurrence of consonant clusters, most significantly, clusters in word-final position. Therefore, speakers are unable to make a successive glide from one consonant sound to another. This deficiency affects the segment's production in various ways, leading to multiple realisations, as seen in the above table.

In this word, the cluster /kt/ is not allowed in the Dagbani language, not in the initial position or word-final position. M-minibo (2014) observes no consonant clusters in Dagbani, as Dagomba always insert an epenthetic vowel between the co-occurring consonants. Therefore, it is observed that the lack of consonant clusters in Dagbani, especially in the coda position, has diverse effects on the Dagomba people when they articulate the feature in the word as second language users of English. The Dagomba users of English attempt to articulate this /kt/ sound in the final position and immediately after a mid-high front vowel, /ɪ/, which does not precede nor succeed /k/. Therefore, it leads to fronting, tensing, and extending the vowel length to /i:/ in one realisation and a little lax lower front vowel /ɛ/. The deletion of the velar sound in /kt/ in most of the basic level's production of the feature, which leads to /i:/ without the <k> in the cluster /kt/, is caused by the absence of consonant clusters in the L1. It also leads to lowering and laxing the root of the tongue and the deletion of parts of the cluster. The ultimate realisation is /ɛ/ without the <k> in /kt/ sound. This is largely observed in most of the secondary and tertiary level students' pronunciation.

Compared to the other educational levels, many tertiary-level respondents realise the feature in the GhE realisation of it. This could be due to the tertiary level respondent extended exposure to the use of the English language. This is because the GhE realisation of the feature contains the consonant cluster, /kt/, which is closer to the RP realisation than the others. Thus, the realisation of this segment by the tertiary level students may not be considered in the metric representation of RP /t/. Still, as mentioned above, this segmental realisation is closer to RP than the other realisations of DagbE because these respondents can articulate the consonant cluster, /kt/. Vowel harmony plays a role in the realisation of the DagbE features /ɛ/ and /i/. The root vowels /ɔ/ and /o/ trigger /ɛ/ and /i/, respectively in the two realisations of DagbE.

Also, since /k/ does not mainly occur with the front vowels in some phonetic environments, it becomes more difficult to articulate when it co-occurs with another sound in a cluster. It becomes worse when the cluster happens to succeed any of the front vowels. This phonological process calls for the dropping of the velar sound and simplifying the articulation of the sound /t/ to vowel sounds that can easily be articulated. Hence, the restructuring of /t/ to the lowering and spreading of lips results in the sound /ɛ/. In addition, it leads to raising the tongue to the production of /i/. The inability to articulate the consonant cluster is responsible for the deletion of the prefinal sound that leads to the above realisation without the /k/ sound. Dagomba's realisation of the feature in the word 'conflict' sets Dagomba apart from other English speakers in Ghana. Thus, it makes this kind of English sound like an ethnolectal variety of English. With the inability of speakers of Dagbani to articulate /kt/ in Dagomba realisation of the word *conflict*, there is a variation between GhE, RP, and DagbE. The realisation of this feature and the following features reflect the linguistic effects of nativisation in Schneider (2007), where features are restructured and innovated to fit local context. The realisation of the feature in honour is analysed in the next section.

7.4 Realisation of /v/ in honour

Dagomba's realisation of the RP feature, /v/ in word honour is analysed. Table 7.3 with respondents' responses on the feature is presented below.

Table 7.3 Interview_DagbE _ /hɔ or ha/ as in *honour*

Respondents' level of education	RP / <i>[ɒ]nər/</i>	GhE / <i>[ɔ]na/</i>	%	DagbE / <i>[hɔ]na/</i>	%	DagbE / <i>[ha]na/</i>	%	Total	%
Basic	0	13	14.6	12	13.5	3	3.4	28	31.5
Secondary	0	11	12.4	11	12.4	6	6.7	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	20	22.5	6	6.7	3	3.4	29	32.6
Total	0	44	49.5	29	32.6	12	13.5	85	95.6

The data in Table 7.3 indicate that the respondents are equally divided between those who pronounced the word with an initial open glottis sound, /h/, and those who produced the Ghanaian realisation. Sey (1973) and Dolphyne (1988) observe that in Ghanaian and West African Englishes /ɒ/ is realised as /ɔ/. This explains the GhE realisation of the feature. As displayed, there are 50-50 realisations of the feature between the Ghanaian and the DagbE realisations, but no RP realisation of the feature is captured¹⁴. A percentage approximating 50 of the respondents articulated the GhE realisation, while approximately 33% articulated the DagbE /hɔna/ and approximately 14% realised the DagbE /hana/. As demonstrated, traces of the two DagbE realisations of the feature cannot be overlooked, as it remains a signifier in Dagomba's articulation of the feature. Respondent number 87 from the tertiary level is one of the respondents who realised the RP /ɒ/ with one of the DagbE realisations (hɔna). Therefore, it is not a new thing to hear the open glottis sound in the initial positions of words, such as: *honour, honesty, honourable, honey*, to mention but few, in the speech community. One other observation is that the tertiary level respondents articulated the GhE realisation than the secondary and basic levels respondents. The secondary and basic levels respondents realised the DagbE realisation than the tertiary level respondents.

¹⁴ However, not all respondents' responses on the feature were captured since some respondents either skipped or mispronounced the variable that contains the feature. Apart from the two secondary school respondents who were still unable to read, two other respondents from the basic level mispronounced the variable. For instance, Respondents number 8 and 9 from the basic level referred to 'honour' as 'hour.' Even when their attention was immediately drawn to it, they still pronounced it as 'hour.'

Dagbani language restricts the glottal sound, /h/, to be skipped when it occurs in the word-initial position. [h] is always maintained in all positions and all phonetic environments in Dagbani. It, however, does not frequently occur in a word-initial position in the language. Thus, in word-initial position, /h/ only occurs in a few words in Dagbani. Examples are *hállí* ‘temper’, *hàlí* ‘even,’ *háŋ* ‘an exclamation indicating being fed-up,’ *háŋkáli* ‘sense/wisdom’. Olawsky (1999), drawing from Wilson (1972), however, states that the sound /h/ is a typical word-final sound which occurs because of vowel deletion. Even though /h/ does not frequently occur in Dagbani word-initial position, this does not prevent it from being produced by speakers in word-initial position. Another explanation to /h/ in Dagomba’s realisation of ‘honour’ could be the same problem that second language learners go through as learners of English; that is, engaging in spelling pronunciation of English words. One more explanation that could be given to the above realisations of the feature by the Dagomba people is that generally, Dagbani has a minimal number of words, with a null/empty or open onset syllable. In regard to loanwords, a typical Dagbani word does not begin with a vowel (cf Hudu 2014:13). Therefore, speakers may transfer the various realisations into the English language from the L1.

7.5 Realisation of /ɜ:/ in *service*

In this section, Dagomba’s realisation of the RP /ɜ:/ in *service* is analysed. Table 7.4 is also presented with the numerical values of respondents’ responses on the feature.

Table 7.4 Interview_DagbE_ /e/ as in service

Respondents’ level of educational	RP /s[ɜ:]vis/	%	GhE /s[ɛ]vis/	%	DagbE /s[e]vis/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	0	6	6.7	24	27.0	30	33.7
Secondary	1	1.1	3	3.4	24	27.0	28	31.5
Tertiary	2	2.2	10	11.2	17	19.1	29	32.5
Total	3	3.3	19	21.3	65	73.1	87	97.7

As shown in the above table, most of the respondents, 73%, once again restructured the RP sound /ɜ:/ to the Dagbani phoneme /e/, followed by 21% of the respondents who realised it as /ɛ/, the Ghanaian realisation of the RP /ɜ:/. Only 3% of the respondents from the whole sample could articulate the RP realisation of the feature. Meanwhile, Sey (1973) and Dolphyne

(1988:11) observe the sound /ɛ:/ to replace the RP /ɜ:/ in West African languages; Also, Somo Bobda (2000) observes the RP /ɜ:/ to be replaced by /ɛ/ in West African realisation. These assertions explain the [ɛ] for the RP /ɜ:/ for the Ghanaian realisation.

Looking at the data, and based on respondents' educational levels, many respondents from each level of education realised the RP /ɜ:/ as the Dagbani vowel phoneme /e/. Only two of the tertiary level's respondents and one respondent from the secondary level articulated the RP realisation of the sound. Most basic and secondary level respondents articulated the DagbE version of the feature than the tertiary level's respondents. The physical presentation of the feature in Dagomba's articulation is presented in the spectrogram in Fig. 7.4 below.

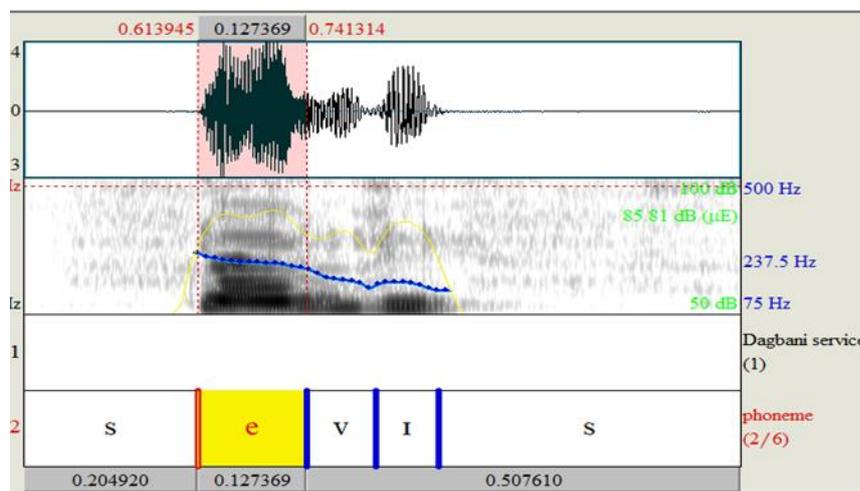


Figure 7.4 DagbE /e/ for RP /ɜ:/ as in service

The spectrogram is from respondent number 17 at the basic level. As indicated, the feature /e/ in DagE has a duration of 0.127 seconds and formant frequency of 237.5Hz. The intensity of acoustic energy is almost silent in the onset position as shown in the spectrogram in figure 7.4. There are some low acoustic energy signs at the portions of the voiceless sound /s/ at both ends of the word. This low acoustic energy manifests in the faint grey traces of the formants. The resonant parts of the word /e/ and /ɪ/ and the voiced phoneme /v/ indicate the presence of acoustic energy. The formants of /e/ show the presence of intense acoustic energy as indicated in the spectrogram.

The spectrogram shows nativisation by completely restructuring of the RP feature, /ɜ:/ . The reduction of the restructured RP phoneme, /ɜ:/ could stem from the general fact stated by

Roach that the long vowels /i:/, /a:/, /ɜ:/, and /u:/ are shortened by the following fortis consonants¹⁵ (cf Roach 2009:38). Many reasons can be assigned to the RP /ɜ:/ being realised as /e/ or /ɛ/ in the DagbE and the Ghanaian articulation of it. One of them is that the RP /ɜ:/ is non-existent in the Dagbani vowel inventory. Dagomba find it difficult to articulate this mid-central vowel. Therefore, like other L2 learners of English, Dagomba, simplify the articulation by restructuring the vowel to the two vowels, /e/ and /ɛ/, particularly, the phoneme /e/, whose production results from leaving the lips in a neutral position. Simo Bobda (2000) posits that in West African English, speakers restructure non-existing sound in their pronunciation of some words, to meet the requirement or cater for those sounds that do not exist in West African languages sound system. Dagomba as part of West Africans could be applying this nativisation process to meet the requirement of RP since /ɜ:/ is not existent in Dagbani. Bodomu (1985) also observe similar occurrence in Dagaaba learners of French and English use of the two languages. He observes that one of the main sources of errors in Dagaare speakers' English and French is the absence of a vowel feature in the local language, and Dagbani is no exception. One can also say there is the substitution of that feature with a vowel that exist in the L1 and considered a closer vowel to the RP feature /ɜ:/ in terms of the place of articulation, than the other vowels in the L1. Speakers also restructure the RP feature, as no stress is involved in the spreading of lips to neutral position to articulate the DagbE version of the feature. Although the DagbE /e/ and the Ghanaian /ɛ/ do not occur with the voiceless sound /s/ in any Dagbani word, they frequently occur in words seen in:

Word	Gloss
té	'filter',
péhi	'peel',
bè	'live',
téri	'nests',
zèri	'soup',

¹⁵ It could be that phonological process by which a long vowel is shortened by the succeeding fortis could also be applied to lenis in some phonetic environments, since /v/ as a lenis affects the quality of this long vowel in *service*.

It could also be that Dagomba are able to produce this sound because /s/ and /ʒ/ share the similar level of lip spreading, they could be classified under one natural class. This is because sounds that exhibit the same behaviour in a phonological system are natural classes (cf Gordon 2019:56). Also, the vowels /ɛ, i, e/ belong to a natural class of front vowels. These vowels being able to occur with /ʒ/ in Dagbani is dependent on the state of the lips in producing the consonant and the vowel sounds. This phenomenon could apply to the realisation of *service* since [s] and [ʒ] belong to the same natural class of sounds. This could be the source of the simplification Dagomba apply in the realisation of the feature in *service*. Of course, spelling pronunciation could also be a factor; and if so, this means that Dagomba do spelling pronunciation of the feature than pronouncing it the GhE way. It is enough to say that the absence of /ʒ:/ in Dagbani and over-simplification make Dagomba move from /ʒ:/ to /ɛ/ and to /e/ in the realisation of the feature. However, they can articulate [s] preceding [e], even though there is no such occurrence in Dagbani. As indicated on the tertiary level respondents' realisation of the feature, the advanced users of English replace the feature with the Ghanaian phoneme /ɛ/, which is closer to the RP /ʒ:/. However, most basic, and secondary Dagomba users of English use a sound that exists in the language and can be easily articulated by speakers in place of the RP sound, hence the sound /e/ in DagbE realisation. It can be said that these users of English in this speech community apply the principle least effort in their articulation of the feature, as they speak English. Thus, they try to simplify the pronunciation by resorting to the processes, as mentioned earlier under nativisation.

The vowel [ɛ] in some of the pronunciations could be a hyper corrected version of the sound /e/ in DagbE. Those speakers who do this articulation possibly try to overcome the DagbE realisation of the feature by using a feature that is closer to the RP phoneme, hence the GhE vowel that involves less spreading of lip but lowering of the tongue than in the articulation of /e/ in most Dagomba's realisation. This is demonstrated in the tertiary level respondents' production of the feature, where 10 out of the 29 respondents realised the RP sound, /ʒ:/ as the Ghanaian /ɛ/. The spectrograms of the GhE and the RP realisations of the feature, as articulated by respondents 89 and 18 are also presented below.

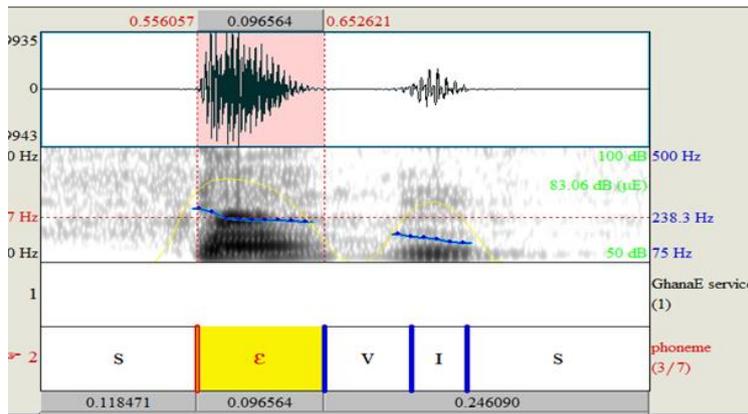


Figure 7.5 GhE /ɛ/ as in service

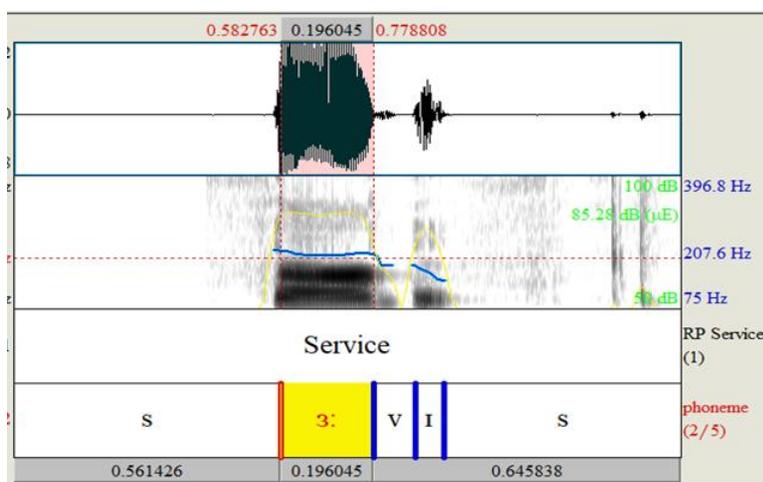


Figure 7.6 RP /ɜ:/ as in Service

The spectrogram for the Ghanaian realisation is from respondent 89 from the tertiary level, while that of the RP is from respondent 18 from the secondary level. Considering the visual presentation of the feature in the three spectrograms (Fig. 7.4-7.6), the formants of the DagbE version of the feature is more wide-spread and higher than that of the GhE. The vowel variation is also visible in the duration and formant frequencies of the three realisations. The DagbE realisation has a duration of 0.127 seconds and formant frequency of 237.5Hz, the GhE version has a duration of 0.097 seconds and formant frequency of 238.3Hz, while the RP vowel is 0.196 seconds long, with formant frequency of 207.6Hz. The GhE version is also a bit more spread and higher than the RP version, as indicated in the displayed spectrogram of figures 7.5 to 7.6. The F1 of the RP feature shows more concentration or an increase in acoustic energy than the GhE realisation. That of the GhE shows a bit of concentration at F1 and in F2 than the DagbE realisation. There is less spread of acoustic energy in both the GhE and the RP

realisations of the feature, as the acoustic energy seems to be more concentrated in F1 than the rest of the formants. It is, however, obvious that the RP feature is longer than the other two realisations.

The formants of the RP version show less spreading of the active speech organs in the articulation of the feature. Between the GhE realisation and the DagbE realisation of the feature, it is indicated that the nativisation process that the Dagomba employ is a mere simplification. This is because both /ɛ/, the GhE realisation and /e/, the realisations of DagbE do not occur in the same phonetic environment with the sound, /s/ in Dagbani. However, Dagomba choose the sound /e/ over the sound /ɛ/. Findings on this feature established that the restructuring of the RP feature to the DagbE version results from the absence of the RP feature in the Dagbani language. Thus, Dagomba are not able to articulate the RP /ɜ:/. They, therefore, employ restructuring in any phonetic environment the feature finds itself. As stated above, Simo Bobda (2000) maintains that West Africans restructure non-existent sounds in their pronunciation. In this case, the absence of the feature in this variable leads to a similar restructuring of the feature in *worship*, *work*, *church*, *nurse*, and others. Dagomba make these pronunciations based on nature of their L1, an indication of ethnolectal English pronunciation by them as an ethnic group. Next on the discussion is the variable coming.

7.6 Realisations of /ʌ/ in coming

In this section, the realisation of the feature in the word *coming* is analysed. Below is Table 7.5 with the numerical values of respondents' responses.

Table 7.5 Interview_DagbE_ /a:/ as in coming

Respondents' level of education	RP /k[ʌ]mɪŋ/	GhE /k[a]mɪn/	%	DagbE /k[a:]mɪn/	%	Total	%
Basic	0	2	2.2	28	31.5	30	33.7
Secondary	0	2	2.2	27	30.3	29	32.5
Tertiary	0	8	9.0	21	23.6	29	32.6
Total	0	12	13.4	76	85.4	87	98.8

As indicated in the above table, most of the respondents simplify the articulation of the sound /ʌ/ to /a:/, as 85.4% of the respondents realised the RP /ʌ/ as the Dagbani /a:/. Though

insignificant, the basic level and secondary level respondents realised the RP /ʌ/ as /a:/, with the percentage of 31.5 and 30.3 respectively than the respondents from the tertiary level of education, as they articulate the feature, /ʌ/ in ‘coming’. The short vowel feature /ʌ/ is a non-existent feature in Dagbani. In Dagomba’s attempt to articulate the feature in ‘coming’, they end up articulating a vowel that is as close as possible in the L1. Hence, the substituted phoneme, [a] in the GhE version. Atetchi (2006:8) considers [a] as the tone of the African languages’ vowel. Also, Dolphyne (1988:9) mentions /a/ as a substitute for all open vowels /æ, ʌ. ɑ:/ in the West African countries. For this reason, /a/ is considered as the Ghanaian version of /ʌ/ as indicated above.

As demonstrated, /ʌ/ is not only substituted with the Dagbani phoneme /a/ in DagbE but also, the vowel has gained some prominence to another sound in Dagbani. Thus, the people in the community cannot articulate the features /ʌ/ in ‘coming.’ Obliterating and replacing features with another that exist in speakers’ language is a common phenomenon of nativisation in Schneider’s (2003; 2007) explanation of the dynamic model. The phonetic environment could also be a factor for the lengthening of the feature. This is because any inflection, like ‘ing’ and ‘-s,’ as in ‘coming’ and ‘comes,’ could lead to the restructuring and lengthening of the feature /ʌ/ since it does not undergo lengthening in Dagomba’s pronunciation of ‘come’. The feature has been simplified to look like Dagbani words with the feature /a:/, as seen in:

Word	Gloss
laa	‘earthenware bowl’,
màa	‘the’,
bàa	‘dog’,
nàa	‘chief’,
nààwúni	‘God’
zàa	‘all’
sáa	‘rain’
dàa	‘market’

Consider the realisation of *kid* below.

7.7 Realisations of /ɪ/ in *kid*

The variants of Dagomba’s realisation of the RP /ɪ/ in *kid* are analysed in this section. The section presents Table 7.8, as seen below.

Table 7.6 Interview_ DagbE_ /i:/ as in *kid*

Respondents' level of educational	RP /k[ɪ]d/	GhE /K[i]d/	%	DagbE /k[i:]t/	%	DagbE /k[i:]d/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	5	5.6	12	13.5	11	12.4	28	31.5
Secondary	0	2	2.2	14	15.7	11	12.4	27	30.3
Tertiary	0	8	9.0	12	13.5	9	10.1	29	32.6
Total	0	15	16.8	38	42.7	31	34.9	87	94.4

While no respondent articulated the realisation of the RP feature /ɪ/ in the pronunciation of the word, *kid*, the majority of the respondents simplify by replacing the RP vowel /ɪ/ with the Dagbani phoneme /i:/, with the voiceless sound /t/ in the coda position. Those who pronounce the variable, with the DagbE realisation of the feature, with the sound, /d/, in the coda position make a total 38% of the sample; and those who articulate the RP /ɪ/ as /i:/, with /t/ in the coda position make 42%. Those who articulate the Ghanaian feature is 16.8% of the sample¹⁶. It is indicated that irrespective of respondents' educational level, most of them realised the phoneme /ɪ/ in /kɪd/, as /i:/, as in ki:t and ki:d. Dolphyne (1988) enumerated Akan, Sisala, Ijo, Efik and Kasem as part of the languages with the vowel /ɪ/ but use /i:/ as a substitute. The above data in Table 7.6 show that Dagbani is one of those languages that restructure the vowel sound, /ɪ/, even though they have that vowel sound. However, based on the phonetic environment in which this sound occurs, speakers of the above-mentioned ethnic groups could realise the feature differently. Consider the DagbE realisation of the feature, as indicated in the following spectrogram.

¹⁶ However, apart from the two secondary level respondents, who showed symptoms of dyslexia, one other respondent from the same level and one respondent from the basic level could not capture the variable *kid* in their reading of the short text. Given this, four realisations of the DagbE for the RP feature /ɪ/ are missing.

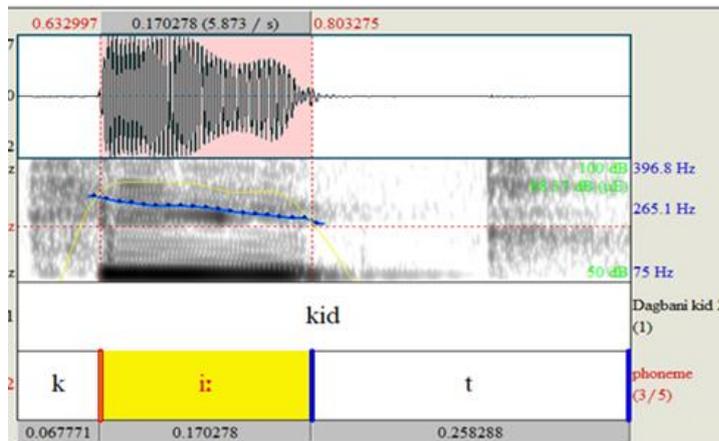


Figure 7.7 DagbE /i:/ for RP /ɪ/ as in kid

As usual, the faint undulated parts at the beginning and end portions of the spectrogram are the realisations of the voiceless stops and fortis /k/ and /t/. The middle portion, which shows visible parts of formants, is the restructured vowel /i:/. Between the grey portions for /k/ and /t/ is the portion for /i:/. It shows a low F1 value and a high F2 value. It also shows the accumulation of acoustic energy within the F1 region. The two formants being quite apart from each other indicates that the feature is a front and a [+ATR] feature. The stretch towards /k/ on one side and towards /t/ on the other indicates its quality as a long vowel.

In respondents' articulation, the RP phoneme, /ɪ/ has been simplified to a frequently used vowel in Dagbani; hence, the sound /i:/, as indicated in the spectrogram. There are some restrictions regarding the occurrence of the feature with other sounds in Dagbani. For instance, Olawsky (1999) observes a phonotactic restriction on front vowels occurring with /k, g, ŋ/ in CV and CVC syllable structure in Dagbani. This could be one explanation for the restructuring done on the feature. Although the sound /i:/ does not occur with [k] in the L1, lengthening the [i] sound is easy to do, based on its frequent occurrence in other phonetic environments, as in:

Word	Gloss
bíísím	‘heat’,
míísí	‘pain’,
víígí	‘uncover’,
níímá	‘prosperity’,
píi	‘choose’

Simplifying the RP, /ɪ/, to the DagbE /i:/ could therefore be due to the transfer of its occurrence from the L1 into English by the Dagomba. Similarly, the vowel in words *bit*, *mid*, *pit* *did*, *bid*, *lid*, *rid*, among others, always undergo the same simplification through restructuring to the long vowel in Dagomba's pronunciation. The GhE realisation and the RP feature are shown in the following spectrogram. The variation in the realisation of the feature between DagbE and GhE shows the presence of differentiation, the 5th stage of five progressive stages of Schneider's (2003; 2007) PCEs Phases.

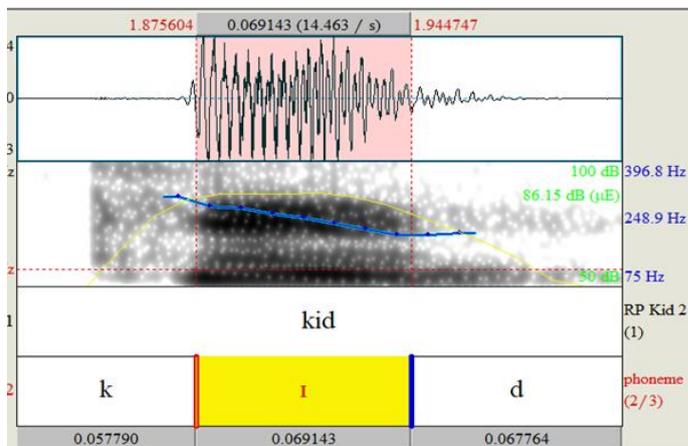


Figure 7.8 RP /ɪ/ as in kid

The F1 value of the feature, as indicated in the above spectrogram, appears to be higher than the DagbE realisation. It is again stated that both F1 and F2 have almost the same rate of acoustic energy; this is an indication of the short vowel /ɪ/. This vowel is quite different from the DagbE realisation of the feature. Comparatively, the vowel duration for the DagbE version is 0.170 second with formant frequency of 265.0, while the RP version has the duration of 0.069 seconds with formant frequency of 248.9 Hz. This clearly shows the RP version of the feature is weaker and shorter compared to the DagbE version of the feature. In comparison, the spectrogram in Figure 7.8 and the GhE spectrogram in Figure 7.9 for the word *kid* below, reveal some differences in the realisation of the RP feature.

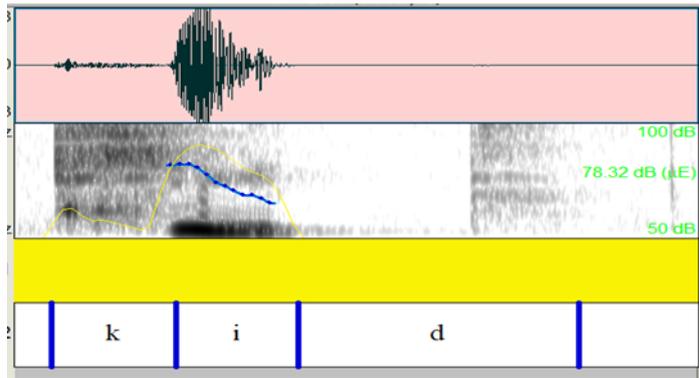


Figure 7.9 GhE /i/ for RP /i/ as in kid

In the spectrogram of Fig. 7.9, there appears to be more acoustic energy in the production of the voiceless velar sound, /k/ than it is in the production of its counterparts in the RP spectrogram and the spectrogram of DagbE *kid*. As indicated, in the production of the vowel, the F1 value is low. Still, it shows traces of intensity around the dark shades, which means more acoustic energy concentration. The F2 seems to be high but with low acoustic energy. F1 and F2 being far apart from each other indicate that the feature is a high front phoneme /i/, which is not as long as the feature in DagbE *kid*. There is also evidence of ethnolectal variety of English spoken by the Dagomba in Ghana since this pronunciation is peculiar to the Dagomba in the Ghanaian context. Labov (1966) determines from his exploratory study at New York City department stores that the variable [r] is a social differentiator. The spectrograms of the above vowel [ɪ] in the same vein, could be seen as a differentiator among the three varieties of English, as indicated. The feature in quality is presented in the next section.

7.8 Realisation of /ɒ/ in *quality*

In this section, the feature /ɒ/ in RP *quality* is analysed. The section presents Table 7.7 with the statical values of respondents' realisation of the feature. Consider Table 7.7 below:

Table 7.7 Interview_DagbE_ for /o/ as in *quality*

Respondents' level of education	RP /kw[ɒ]lɪti/	%	GhE /k[ɔ]liti/	%	DagbE /k[o]liti/	%	Total	%
Basic	4	4.5	2	2.2	24	27.0	30	33.7
Secondary	2	2.2	2	2.2	24	27.0	28	31.4
Tertiary	1	1.1	2	2.2	23	25.8	29	32.5

Total	7	7.8	6	6.6	71	79.8	84	94.2
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Most of the respondents realised the RP /ɒ/ in *quality* as /o/. Approximately 80% of the respondents did realise it as such in their articulation. 6.6% of the sample restructured the feature to the GhE, /ɔ/ without the sound /w/ after the velar sound. Sey (1973) discovers that in GhE, the vowel phonemes /ʌ/ and /ɒ/ are realised as /ɔ/. Due to the environment in which respondents find themselves, the phonological features of both the Ghanaian and the Dagbani versions of the sounds affect respondents' realisation of the RP feature in *quality*. Hence, the vowel being restructured in two ways. The Ghanaian version, where they replace /ɒ/ with /ɔ/, and the DagbE version of the feature, where respondents replace the RP feature with /o/. As indicated in Table 7.7, in the realisation of the sound /o/, it is noted that respondents' extended exposure to education does not reduce the influence of the L1 feature on the RP feature. This is because a good number of respondents at all levels of education could not produce the RP realisation of the feature, /ɒ/ in *quality*. Consider the physical presentation of DagbE /o/ in the below and subsequently the other two, /ɔ/ and /ɒ/.

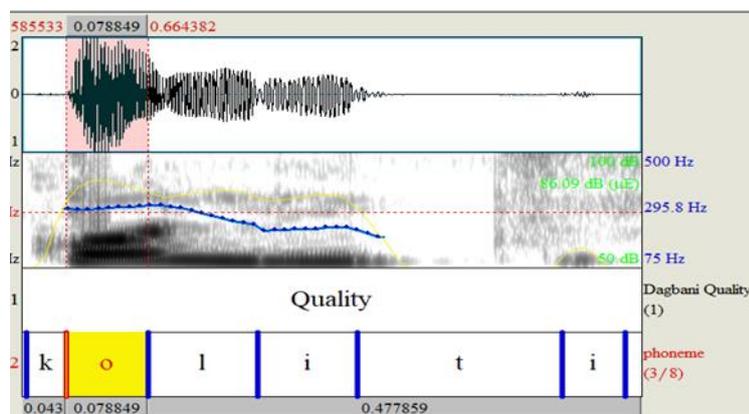


Figure 7.10 DagbE /o/ for RP /kwɒ/ as in *quality*

The spectrogram in Fig. 7.10 shows the voiceless velar, /k/, with grey colour, indicating signs close to no formants. As indicated above, second after the voiceless velar consonant are the formants, F1 and F2 for the DagbE /o/. Based on the visual interpretations of all back vowels, this suggests a back closed vowel sound /o/. The next sound, /l/, also shows a visible portion of acoustic energy but with no clear-cut formants. There are, however, apparent signs of acoustic energy with hissy signs of noise at the top. With /i/, the formants are quite apart from each other, which is a typical clue of a front vowel. Stops like /t/ are generally presented

with an open space of silence that ends with a sign of noise burst, as indicated. Another thing the spectrogram in figure 7.10 indicates about the vowel sound is the duration which is 0.079 seconds and formant frequency of 295.8Hz.

As explained, through restructuring Dagbani vowel /o/ replaces the RP /ɒ/, which occurs immediately after the approximant /w/ in the RP realisation. A consonant cluster or a diphthong, as '[kwɒ]', may appear to be restricted by the phonotactics of Dagbani because the sequencing of such sounds hardly occurs in Dagbani. This phonological process could explain why the respondents drop <w> in the word *quality's* pronunciation. It could also be said that the simplification of the feature in Dagomba's articulation results in the dropping of the approximant /w/ in the RP /kwɒləti/. As speakers try to simplify the articulation of the vowel, it leads to the rounding of lips in one vowel's production because the semivowel's production involves the lips. Hence, the Dagbani vowel, /o/, as demonstrated in the realisation of the RP /kwɒləti/ as /koliti/.

It is also clear that vowel harmony as a phenomenon in the language plays a role in respondents' realisation of the RP feature. There is a suffix to root harmony in DagbE realisation of the feature. Obviously, the [+ATR], /i/ as a suffix vowel, triggers the [+ATR] vowel /o/ in the root syllable. Therefore, with the suffix vowel /i/ as the trigger, the possibility of /o/ to occur as a root vowel and not /ɒ/, which does not already exist in the language is high. According to (Hudu 2010; 2016), in suffix-to-root harmony, the suffix vowel is the trigger of harmony, while the root vowel is the target, (see also Dakubu 1997; Olawsky 1999).

It is noted in Table 7.7 that the number of respondents who produce the RP /kwɒləti/ as /koliti/ overwhelmingly exceed those who make the GhE realisation, /kɒləti/. This occurrence indicates that the DagbE realisation of the feature is different from the general Ghanaian realisation and the RP realisation. This finding is a sign of a distinct pronunciation within the Ghanaian context; it is an impetus of ethnolectal pronunciation. Similarly, Dagomba restructure the feature in words: *quantity*, *quantify*, *qualify*, and *qualification* in their pronunciation. Restructuring the RP feature is also captured in the visual representation of the GhE version in the spectrogram presented below. As stated above, this is a demonstration of an ethnolect in the Ghanaian linguistic community. The spectrogram of the Ghanaian realisation of the feature is as follows:

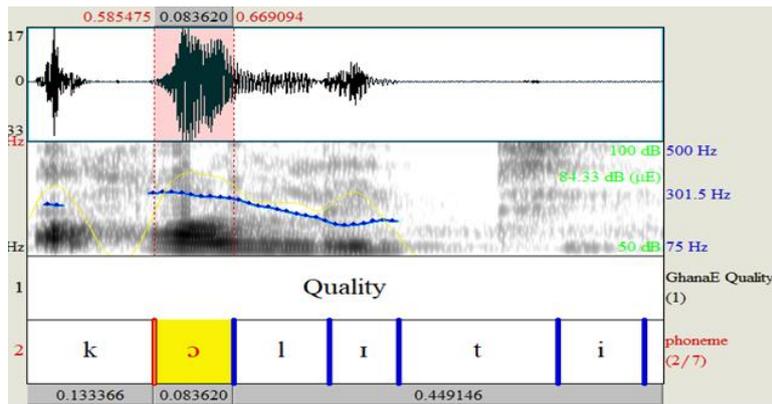


Figure 7.11 GhE /ɔ/ for RP /kwɔ/ as in quality

The GhE realisation as indicated in figure 7.11, the feature's duration is 0.084 and has formant frequency of 301.5. In the spectrogram in Fig. 7.11, the formants of the feature, /ɔ/, are closer to the DagbE realisation of the RP feature since it is also a back vowel without the semi-vowel [w] in respondents' articulation. However, there is a difference between the two realisations as the GhE version's formants are lower than that of the DagbE realisation. The RP spectrogram also presents a different visual presentation of the feature, as seen in the following spectrogram.

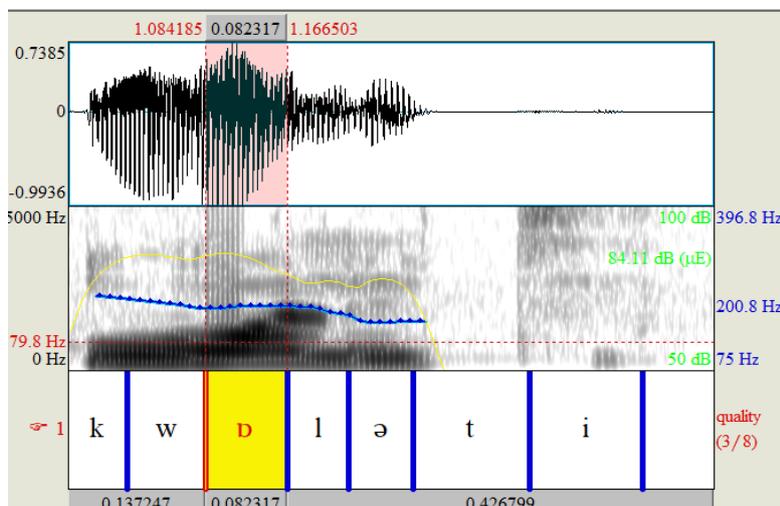


Figure 7.12 RP /kwɔ/ as in quality

As indicated in the above spectrogram in Fig. 7.12, the RP version also has 0.082 seconds duration and formant frequency, 200.8Hz. although the acoustic energy is more concentrated on the vowel /ɔ/, the energy is more distributed on the approximant /w/ and the

first two vowels, /ɒ/ and /ə/ respectively. The spectrogram also reveals formants on the semi-vowel, although not as shown on the central vowel /ɒ/. As indicated in the faint undulated crest, the voiceless velar stop /k/ and the voiceless alveolar stop also offer a long silence and an outburst of air, especially with the phoneme /t/. Also in the spectrogram, are signs of the front closed vowel /i/. Indeed, the RP realisation of the spectrogram is distinct from the DagbE and the GhE, as the semi-vowel /w/ comes immediately after the velar sound in the RP realisation. This sound is quite a problem for the people in the speech community when it comes to the velar /k/. It is almost close to impossible to articulate the RP feature. The spectrograms of GhE and DagbE present something contrary to what is shown on the RP feature in the spectrogram. It is also clear that the feature /ɒ/ is restructured to an existing vowel in both GhE and DagbE realisations of the feature. Nonetheless, they all still vary sparingly as the formant frequency of GhE is of 301.5, that of RP is 200.8Hz, while that of DagbE is 295.8Hz in figures 10, 11, and 12 respectively. The restructuring of the feature to the DagbE realisation is a phenomenon that sets Dagomba's pronunciation distinctively apart from GhE and RP pronunciations. Hence, the English Dagomba speak contains L1 features, making DagbE more of an ethnic variety of English.

7.9 Realisation of /ɔ:/ as in *also*

The RP feature, /ɔ:/ in Dagomba's realisation of the feature in the word *also* is presented in Table 7.8 below. Table 7.8 presents the numerical values of respondents' responses.

Table 7.8 Interview_DagbE _ /o/ as in also

Respondents' level of educational	RP /ɔ:ls əʊ/	GhE /ɔ]ls o/	%	DagbE /o]luso	%	DagbE /o]so/	%	DagbE /o]liso/	%	Total	%
Basic	0	1	1.1	14	15.7	7	7.9	8	9.0	30	33.7
Secondary	0	0	0	16	18.0	5	5.6	7	7.9	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	1	1.1	16	18.0	6	6.7	6	6.7	29	32.5
Total	0	2	2.2	46	51.7	18	20.2	21	23.6	87	97.7

As indicated on the data displayed in the above Table 7.8, the respondents variously realise the RP /ɔ:lsəʊ/ as /oluso/, /oso/, and /oliso/. As shown, 51.7% of the respondents realised the RP /ɔ:lsəʊ/ as /oluso/, 20.2% realised it /oso/ and 23.6% realised as /oliso/. Only one

respondent from both the basic and tertiary levels produced the Ghanaian version of the feature. Perhaps, all these realisations exist because of the absence of consonant clusters, /ls/. Table 7.8 demonstrates that irrespective of Dagomba's level of education, they realise the RP feature in the above various DagbE realisations of the feature. With one of the variants of the DagbE realisation of the feature, the spectrogram is also seen as follows.

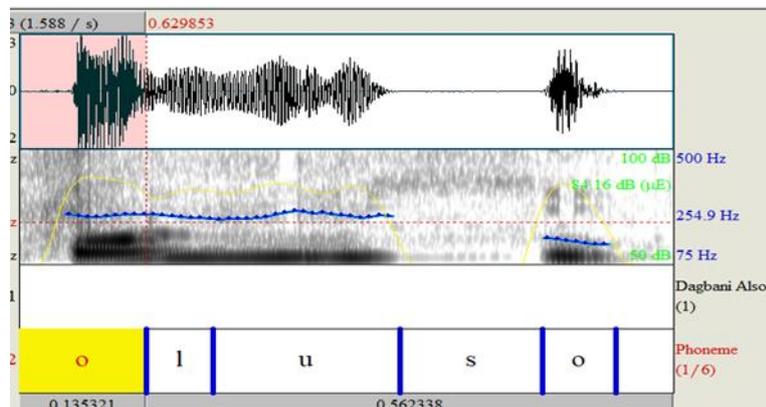


Figure 7.13 *DagbE /o/ for RP /ɔ:/ as in also*

The spectrogram in Fig. 7.13 presents /o/ in the onset position as the realisation of the RP feature /ɔ:/ by most respondents. The formant of /o/ exhibits concentrated acoustic energy in the closely packed F1, F2 values, with the close back vowel, /u/, inserted between the sound /s/ and /l/, all indicating the presence of acoustic energy. The voiceless postalveolar fricative shows less acoustic energy, as seen in the faint dark colour, with signs of hissy hints of sound at the top. As indicated in the spectrogram, the duration of the DagbE realisation of the feature is 0,135 seconds and formant frequency of 254.9Hz.

As indicated, Dagomba usually insert an epenthetic vowel /u/ or /i/ between consonant clusters /ls/ to break up the undesirable cluster when they speak English. The absence of the diphthong /əʊ/ in Dagbani leads to the reduction of the RP vowel /əʊ/ to a monophthong /u/ by the Dagomba, as indicated in the spectrogram. Although DagbE realisation is the monophthong /o/, Dolphyne's (1988) observation that the diphthongs of this nature being monophthongised to the long vowel /o:/ in West African English explains this finding. However, the diphthong is not one of the focal segments in this section. It is mentioned because the last sound is a contributory factor to the restructuring of the feature in the onset position. As part of linguistic

aspect of nativisation of the explanation, Schneider (2007) indicates the shortening of the RP phoneme /ɔ:/ in *thought* to [ɔ] or [o] in most African countries.

It should also be noted that the sound, /ɔ/, is a shared phoneme in both English and Dagbani. However, the long vowel /ɔ:/ does not exist in the Dagbani sound inventory. Therefore, its occurrence has been restricted by the phonotactics of Dagbani. Considering the proximity of the Dagbani vowel, /o/ to the RP feature, /ɔ:/, and how simple it is for Dagomba to articulate /o/, Dagomba nativised the RP feature through simplification and restructuring to /o/. Another explanation for the restructuring has to do with the position of the feature in the word. In Dagbani, apart from loan words and the word, *íín* ‘yes’ and some pronouns, *ó* ‘s/he’ ‘it’, and inanimate, *à* ‘you,’ the phonotactics of Dagbani do not allow a vowel to occupy the onset position of an original Dagbani word. Hudu (2014), for instance, observes that an original Dagbani word does not begin with a vowel. Therefore, Dagbani speakers always try to avoid a vowel in the onset positions of loan words by introducing the sound /d/ before the vowel that begins the loan word, specifically when such a word is used in a sentence (cf Hudu 2014:13), see also (Olawsky 1999).

The phonotactics of the language could be one reason that accounts for the vowel in the onset position of the word and other words containing the feature in the onset position like; *alternative, always, although, ultimate*, among others, being restructured. This is a nativisation process that Dagomba employ to simplify the articulation of the feature. This innovation makes the English the Dagomba people speak different from RP and GhE, hence, the type of English that is attributed to the Dagomba as an ethnic group.

It is also indicated in the above table that irrespective of respondents’ educational levels, Dagomba speakers of English always insert an epenthetic vowel /u/, /i/ between the consonant clusters, /ls/ in their pronunciation of the variable. On some occasions, they drop the lateral sound /l/. Vowel harmony also plays a role in choosing the epenthetic vowel /u/ and /i/ in the root syllable in speakers’ realisation of the feature. For instance, the suffix vowel, the [+ATR] /o/, triggers the root vowel /o/, which is also a [+ATR] vowel. The [+ATR] mid-vowel /o/ triggers the [+ATR] vowels /u/ and /o/ that succeeds the phonemes /l/ and /s/, respectively in the word. It is, however, clear that not all consonant clusters pose problems to speakers. The

clusters in words such as *blessings, brown, black, class*, to mention but a few, do not pose problems to the people in the speech community.

However, most words with consonant clusters in the middle and the last syllables, such as: *also, alternative, always people, couple, table, possible*, among others, are likely to be problematic. Dagomba usually insert an epenthetic vowel to break the consonant cluster in such phonetic environments. It is also possible that Dagomba transfer or relate the feature to the vowel in Dagbani words/clauses such as:

Word	Gloss
kòlùgu	‘a bag’
zòlùgú	‘umbilical cord’
zùlíyá	‘family’
o lùyá	‘S/he has fallen’/’S/he fell’.
o lìliyá	‘S/he has vanished.’

Moreover, /o/ being one of the commonly used vowels in Dagbani, speakers tend to replace or substitute the vowel /o/ with the RP vowel in the production of the first sound of the variable. It could be explained that it is because the Dagbani phoneme /o/ is commonly used in the language. Dagomba simply resort to using the vowel /o/ instead of the GhE /ɔ/ and RP /ɔ:/. Apart from introducing a vowel between the consonant cluster, many subjects realised the RP /ɔ:lsəʊ/ as /oso/. These speakers may be making efforts to produce the feature without an epenthetic vowel between the consonants, which eventually leads to the deletion of the lateral, /l/ in the production. The GhE and the RP spectrograms are presented below.

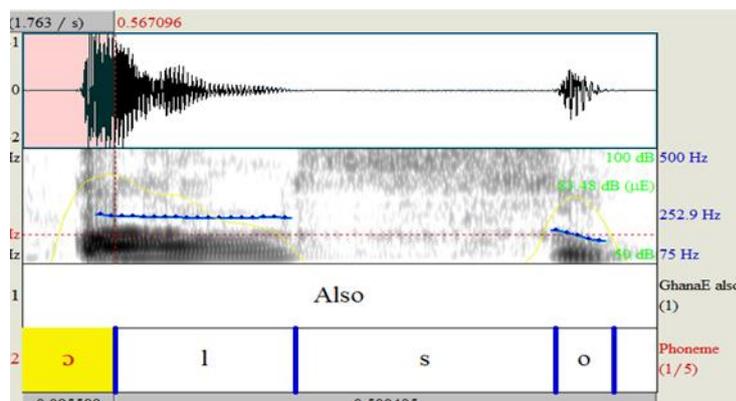


Figure 7.14 GhE /ɔ/ for RP /ɔ:/ as in also

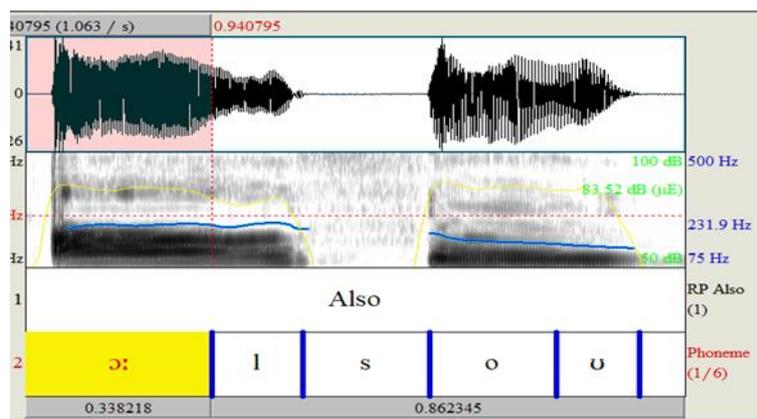


Figure 7.15 RP /ɔ:/ as in also

Looking at these two spectrograms in Figures 7.14 and 7.15, they both show closely packed formants, a characteristic feature of the back vowel /ɔ/. The spectrogram captures the RP feature to be longer than that of the GhE /ɔ/. However, both spectrograms indicate concentrated acoustic energy in the formant of both /ɔ/ and /l/. The spectrograms also show similar faint signs of the voiceless sound, /s/. However, it is deducible from the spectrograms that the last vowel sounds of the spectrograms are not the same since that of the RP shows a sign of diphthongisation. The above three spectrograms show a difference in how Dagomba realise the onset vowel of the word, *also* as in the DagbE /o/, the GhE, /ɔ/, and that of the RP is /ɔ:/. These three features are both phonetically and phonologically different. For example, the DagbE realisation of the feature shows a duration 0.135 seconds, with formant frequency of 254.9Hz. The GhE realisation also shows a duration of 0.57 second, with 252.9Hz formant frequency, while the RP realisation is 0.34 seconds, with a formant frequency of 231.9Hz. The closeness of the DagbE and GhE realisations are visible in the formant frequencies as indicated in the above figure 7.13 and 7.14.

Another observation concerning the variable is that the diphthong /əʊ/ and /oʊ/ are simplified and restructured to the cardinal or Dagbani phoneme /o/. This could also stem from the fact that most diphthongs, including the diphthong /əʊ/, are not occurring sounds in Dagbani. Hence, there is the possibility of replacing it with a vowel sound that exists in the language and the one that is closer to it in the L1. The innovation employed by Dagomba in realising almost all the features in this study falls within trade colonies exploitation. An innovation caused by transfer phenomenon, or innovation caused by second language learning (see Schneider 2007: 45). It is, therefore, not out of place to say that this innovation Dagomba

employ makes the English language the people in the speech community speak being classified as an ethnolect.

7.10 Realisations of /ɔ:/ in *pour*

In this section of the analysis, respondents' realisations of the RP feature /ɔ:/ in *pour* is analysed.

Table 7.9 Interview_DagbE_ /u/ as in *pour*

Respondents' level of education	RP /p[ɔ:]r/	GhE /p[ɔ:]r/	%	DagbE /p[u]wɔ/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	2	2.2	28	31.5	30	33.7
Secondary	0	0	0	28	31.5	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	9	10.1	20	22.5	29	32.6
Total	0	11	12.3	76	85.5	87	97.8

The data in Table 7.9 above indicate that the majority of the respondents nativised the RP long vowel, /ɔ:/ by restructuring and shortening it into the Dagbani vowel /u/. They also introduce the approximant /w/, a sound considered a consonant sound in Dagbani. As demonstrated, 85.5% of the respondents articulated the RP and GhE realisation as the DagbE realisation. Only 12.3% of the respondents articulated the GhE realisation. This phonological process makes the variable a disyllabic word because Dagomba articulate the vowel feature in the *pour* as [u], while introducing the sound /w/. Dagomba employ this innovation process in the realisation of the feature to simplify the articulation of the feature for easy pronunciation.

As explained above, the long vowel /ɔ:/ is not part of the Dagbani vowel phonemes. This aspect of Dagbani phonology could be responsible for Dagomba substituting the feature with the vowel, /u/. It could also be responsible for introducing the sound /w/, which intends to make the feature easy for pronunciation. As indicated, Dagomba introduce the approximant /w/ in the middle of the long vowel, thereby making the monosyllabic a disyllabic word. This makes the variable look more like a typical Dagbani word that can be easily articulated, as the feature in the Dagbani words:

Word	Gloss
púa	'pregnancy'
púlí	'stomach'
púrí	'farms'

The realisation of the feature in hour is presented in the next section.

7.11 Realisations of /aʊə/ as in *hour*

The analysis of how the feature, /aʊə/ in *hour*, is realised by the Dagomba people is presented in this section. Consider Table 7.10 with the numerical presentation of respondents’ realisation of the feature below.

Table 7.10 Interview_DagbE_ /a or ha/ as in *hour*

Respondents’ level of education	RP /aʊə(r)/	%	GhE /awa/	%	DagbE /hawa/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	7	7.9	19	21.3	4	4.5	30	33.7
Secondary	9	10.1	13	14.6	6	6.7	28	31.4
Tertiary	3	3.4	14	15.7	12	13.5	29	32.6
Total	19	21.4	46	51.6	22	24.7	87	97.7

It is indicated in Table 7.10 that 46, representing 51.6% of the respondents, realised the RP /aʊə(r)/ as the GhE /awa/. 24.7% of respondents also realised the feature as /hawa/, and 21.4% of the respondents produce the RP realisation of the feature. Based on respondents’ educational levels, most basic and secondary level respondents articulated the GhE realisation, while most tertiary level respondents articulated the DagbE realisation of the feature. This indicates that the ethnic pronunciation of the variable is gradually moving towards the GhE realisation and may, with time, change to the RP realisation. This is because the RP feature shows an appreciable number of responses from the younger generation to that effect. The realisation of RP /aʊə(r)/ as /hawa/ by some respondents, as indicated in the data displayed in Table 7.10, is insignificant. However, it cannot be ignored because it is one of the notable attributes in some speakers’ production of the feature. Although the sound /ʊ/ is a shared phoneme in both RP and DagbE, the Dagbani phonotactics does not permit it in diphthongs and triphthongs (which do not even exist) in the language. Therefore, sometimes vowel reduction and the insertion of an epenthetic sound are employed as indicated in the above-displayed data. This is a nativisation strategy Schneider (2004) captures as obliteration of distinction between long and short vowels, which often lead to homophony (see Schneider

2007:72). Another explanation could be that the approximant /w/ replaces the short /u/ in the triphthong, because /ʊ/ seems to be closer to /u/ as an existent vowel in Dagbani.

Moreover, The Dagomba people have a problem with gliding from one vowel sound to another in articulating some diphthongs or triphthongs in the vowel space. Therefore, they mostly apply the principle of least effort; a phonological process where speakers substitute, reduce, or restructure a sound, which is difficult to articulate to a sound that is closer to the concerned feature its articulation. Similar observations are made in other non-native varieties of English. Diphthongs are normally weakened, lose their glides, or shortened (cf Dolphyne 1988; Simo Bobda 2000; Funyuy 2012). In summary, some speakers simplify one feature to another feature that exists in Dagbani and can easily be articulated by speakers in their pronunciation of the word, which contains the feature. Dagomba employ the same phonological processes in words: *our, power, lower, and more*. Thus, Dagomba reduce the whole triphthong to a monophthong quality in the variable. Simo Bobda (2000) notices this monophthongisation as a feature in West African Englishes. Monophthongisation is frequently employed in articulating diphthongised words, as Dagombas speak English. Sey (1973) discovers that /æ/, /ʌ/ and /ə/ are normally realised in GhE as /a/. Therefore, the central vowel /a/ replaces the schwa sound, which exists, but is normally not a common feature in the language and does not visibly appear with other vowel sounds in diphthongisation and triphthongs, as it does in English. Therefore, the schwa sound is in limited use in Dagbani; and depending on where it occurs in English words, it can easily be substituted with the frequently occurring Dagbani phonemes, /a/ and /e/ or any vowel that can occur in the phonetic environment. Per Olawsky’s (1999) explanation of the schwa sound, it can be seen in Dagbani words:

Word	(orthography)	Goloss
<bini	/bɛni/	‘thing’,
<pini	/pɛni/	‘mount’
<kpina>	/kpɛna/	‘guinea fowls’,
<mili	/mɛli/	‘mop’,
<gilli>	/gili/	‘go round’

The feature may be realised as such because of the spelling pronunciation, which often troubles most second language learners. Also, the glottal fricative /h/ sound could be articulated since the phonotactics of Dagbani does not allow a vowel in the onset position of an original Dagbani word. /h/ may also be introduced in the syllable-initial position because the occurrence

of vowels in the onset position of an original Dagbani word is limited. The sound /d/ is usually introduced when such words are used in sentences (see Hudu 2014b:13). Hence, the introduction of a consonant sound in the onset position to make articulation simple.

7.12 Realisations of /ɔɪ/ in *oil*

Table 7.11 presents results on how the RP feature /ɔɪ/ in *oil* is articulated by the Dagomba.

Table 7.11 Interview_DagbE_ /ɔya/ as in *oil*

Respondents' level of education	RP /ɔɪ/	%	GhE /ɔ:yɛ/	%	DagbE [ɔya]	%	Total	%
Basic	0	0	2	2.2	28	31.5	30	33.7
Secondary	2	2.2	2	2.2	24	27.0	28	31.4
Tertiary	0	0	6	6.7	23	25.8	29	32.5
Total	2	2.2	10	11.1	75	84.3	87	97.6

As displayed in Table 7.11, the majority of the respondents (84.3%) articulated the DagbE realisation (ɔya) while 11% of the sample articulate the GhE realisation. It is also demonstrated in Table 7.11 that the basic level leads in the production of the RP feature /ɔɪ/ in the variable, as /ɔya/, followed by the secondary and the tertiary level students. Though not significant, the respondents from the tertiary level lead in articulating the GhE realisation of the feature in the word *oil*. Two of the respondents from the secondary level were able to articulate the RP realisation of the feature. Consider the spectrograms below; first, the DagbE realisation (7.16), second, the GhE realisation (7.17), and third, the RP realisation (7.18) of *oil*:

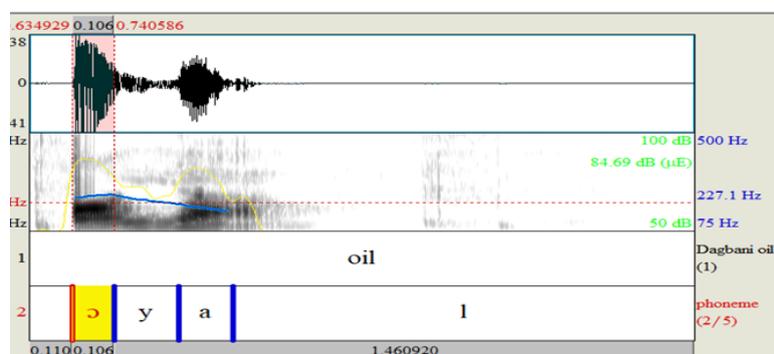


Figure 7.16 DagbE /ɔya/ for RP /ɔɪ/ as in *oil*

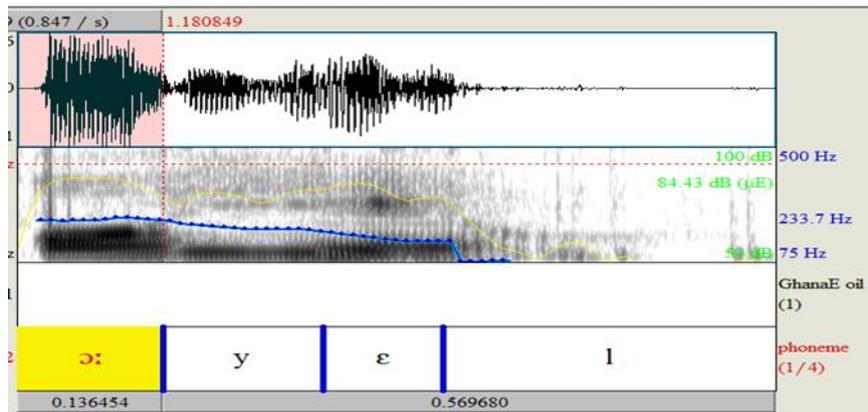


Figure 7.17 GhE /ɔ:yɛ/ for RP /ɔɪ/ as in oil

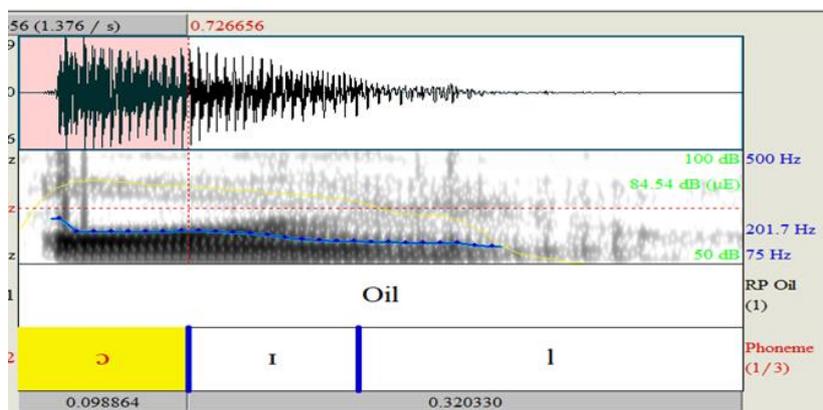


Figure 7.18 RP /ɔɪ/ as in oil

The three spectrograms in Figures 7.16, 7.17, and 7.18 show the different realisations of the feature, as demonstrated in F1 and F2 of the three spectrograms. It is indicated from the sound waves and the visible formants in the spectrogram in Figure 7.18 that there are some signs of diphthongisation of the onset feature of the RP realisation. Both the waves and the formants show a long continuous concentrated acoustic energy. It ends in faint-undulated portions of grey colour, which indicates low acoustic energy of the lateral /l/. Fig. 7.16 and 7.17 present visual impressions of similar vowel sound at the onset positions of the spectrogram. The DagbE and the GhE realisations show similar acoustic energy for the onset feature, /ɔ/ and the introduction of [j]. As shown in Figure 7.17, the vowel formants right after [j] clearly show different vowel features, /a/ and /ɛ/ in the DagbE and GhE realisations, respectively as indicated in the spectrogram. Another thing that gives a clear picture of the difference between the three features is the fact that the formant frequencies are different. The

formant frequency for the DagbE realisation is 227.1Hz, GhE is 233.7Hz, and RP 201.7 in figures 7.16, 7.17, and 7.18, respectively.

In Dagbani, the diphthong, /ɔɪ/, does not frequently occur. Therefore, respondents possibly reduce the feature by restructuring it to the monophthong /ɔ/ and inserting the [y] and /a/ to avoid the glide. This monophthongisation also simplifies the articulation since it takes away the glide for them. Thus, Dagomba apply simplification as one of the nativisation processes to reduce the RP feature to a common vowel in the vowel system of their language. The nativisation strategy that involves reducing the diphthong to a simple monophthong eases the articulation of the feature. This strategy resembles the common occurrence of the monophthong /ɔ/, as seen in the Dagbani words:

Word	Gloss
zɔ́	‘a bat’
tɔ́ŋ	‘a trap’,
lɔ́	‘throat’,
fɔ́ŋ	‘city’
pɔ́bí	‘cover’

The people in the speech community always avoid glides; therefore, vowel sounds that involve gliding from one vowel to another continually undergo monophthongisation. Dagomba cannot articulate the vowel in the GhE realisation because /ɔ:/ does not exist in the language, which complicates its articulation for the people. The complication could also come from the fact that the original Dagbani syllables usually begin with consonants and not a vowel, see (Olawsky 1999 and Hudu, 2014).

Apart from some diphthongs like /ua/, /ia/, /ei/, /oi/, /ooi/, /aai/, /eei/, and /uui/, the phonotactics of Dagbani does not allow most diphthongs in the language. Thus, as non-occurring features, most English diphthongs become difficult to articulate. This calls for the insertion of the phonemes /j/ <y> and introducing the vowel [a] that makes the variable a disyllabic word. There is no doubt that this realisation is based on the L1 of these speakers. Therefore, this realisation makes people in the speech community sound different as an ethnic group when speaking English. Hence, the English the Dagomba speak becomes an ethnic variety of English as this type of English is completely different from the RP and GhE articulation. This phenomenon makes DagbE an ethnolect of the Dagomba people. The

proliferation of ethnic varieties within non-native varieties of English including DagbE confirms one implication of Kachru’s concentric circles. This, Anchimbe indicates “that the English language is far from facing any dead ends, it continues to gain grounds (in terms of the number of users and regions)...” (Anchimbe 2006:23). This is because as the lectal languages continue to be in contact with English, such realisations of English features will continue to mark speakers of the various indigenous languages.

7.13 Realisations of /eɪ/ in *table*

In this section, the variants of the feature in *table* are analysed. The section presents Table 7.12, which contains numerical values of respondents’ responses on the feature investigated.

Table 7.12 Interview_DagbE _ /e:/ as in table

Respondents’ level of education	RP /t[eɪ]bl/	GhE /t[e:]bl/	DagbE /t[e:]bɔl/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	0	30	33.7	30	33.7
Secondary	0	0	28	31.5	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	0	29	32.6	29	32.6
Total	0	0	87	97.8	87	97.8

The data in Table 7.12 above show that all respondents, except the two respondents who could not read, articulate the DagbE realisation of the RP feature /eɪ/. Besides, irrespective of respondents’ level of education, they realise the RP /eɪ/ in *table* /t[eɪ]bl/, as /e:/ in their pronunciation. As explained in the above discussion, Dagomba inability to glide from one vowel sound to another in some diphthongisation leads to the simplification of the vowel, which leads to the reduction of the RP sound, /eɪ/ to the GhE/ and DagbE long vowel, /e:/ in these people’s articulation of the feature. Not only do respondents reduce the diphthong, but they also break the undesirable cluster and syllabic consonant, by inserting an epenthetic vowel /ɔ/ in the consonant cluster, /bl/.

It could be said that most closing diphthongs, especially those with the high vowel and centring diphthongs, are most likely to cause articulation problems. Depending on the phonetic environment, centring and closing diphthongs, including the sound /eɪ/ and triphthongs, they

usually have their first sound lengthened while the second sound of the diphthong or triphthong undergoes deletion. This phonological process is typically done to simplify the articulation of the feature when people in the speech community articulate such sounds. It is observed that people in the study area do not usually have a problem with the feature in the following: *foul*, *owl*, *fowl*, *amount*, and *bow*. However, they have a problem with the first and second syllables in words such as: *table*, *cable*, *able*, *sizable*, among others. In this case the simplification done here is by merely lengthening the first vowel of the diphthong and deleting the last vowel sound. This strategy resembles the simplification strategies employed in BanE (Banso English) and WimE (Wimbun English) in Fonyuy's (2012) findings on Cameroon ethnolects. It should, however, be noted that there are words in Dagbani that contain closing diphthongs although, most of such words contain long vowels, which end in the sound /i/ as shown below.

Word	Gloss
móói	'ripe'
gúúí	'run'
póói	'rot'
zóói	'grow'
máái	'be cold',
vóói	'sip/ pull',
bééí	'cut without formula',
páái	'reach/arrive',
ɲmáái	'cut'
tóói	'fetch'/ 'can'

This illustration demonstrates that though the sound /i/ comes at the end of the vowel sounds, those vowel sounds after which /i/ occurs in diphthongisation are long vowels and not short vowel sounds. It is almost impossible to have the diphthong /ei/ in Dagbani words. In exclamations, however, we can find; oi! ai! eei!, aai! and ooi! All these could account for using the long vowel instead of the diphthongs in some phonetic environments. It is also possible that the RP /ei/ could just be likened to an existing Dagbani long vowel /e:/ as in words like:

Word	Gloss
téé	'spread'
béé	'or/ shin'
féé	'embarrass'
léé	'become'
nyéé	'nose'

Besides, introducing the epenthetic vowel in the last syllable is meant to break the undesirable cluster. As Hudu (2014) observes, the sound /o/ is a frequently occurring vowel sound in a Dagbani word-final syllable position. This occurrence is also a possible explanation for the epenthetic vowel between /bl/ in this realisation of the feature in *table*. This type of pronunciation is peculiar to Dagomba. Thus, the realisation of the feature is different from both the GhE and the RP versions, which makes this variety of English an ethnolect of the Dagomba in the Ghanaian linguistic spheres.

7.14 Realisations of /aɪ/ as in *file*

The RP feature, /aɪ/ in Dagomba’s pronunciation of the word *file* is analysed. It contains Table 7.13 in which respondents’ responses are displayed¹⁷. Although the DagbE realisation of the feature is the same as the GhE realisation, especially with the first syllable, it is worth explaining because such a detailed description has not been given in Ghanaian English. Moreover, this realisation is common with the Dagomba as an ethnic group. Below is Table 7.13 with respondents’ responses.

Table 7.13 Interview_DagbE_ /a:/: as in file

Respondents’ level of education	RP /f[aɪ]l/	GhE /f[a:]l/	DagbE /f[a:]l/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	0	29	32.6	29	32.6
Secondary	0	0	28	31.5	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	0	29	32.6	29	32.6
Total	0	0	86	96.7	86	96.7

¹⁷ Responses for the feature /aɪ/ are not up to the requisite number of responses for that feature, since one respondent from the basic level skipped the word in which the feature was contained. Two secondary school respondents’ realisation of the feature was not also included, since two respondents were dyslectic (unable to read) and could not pronounce the word.

As shown in the data displayed, none of the respondents produced the RP /aɪ/. Advanced learners' Oxford Dictionary realised the feature in *file* as /aɪ/; that is why it is used as the RP feature.

All respondents, irrespective of their educational levels, articulated the feature as /a:/. It shows that respondents cannot glide from the central vowel /a/ to the front vowel /ɪ/ in the environment it occurs. Although a diphthong close to the diphthong /aɪ/ (/ai/) exist in the language, especially in exclamations, it does not precede the lateral /l/ in Dagbani¹⁸. Therefore, speakers simplify the RP sound by restructuring it to the Dagbani phoneme, /a:/. Similarly, this same nativisation process leads to the reduction of the features in; *file, mobile, title*, among others, in Dagomba's pronunciation.

The closing diphthong, /aɪ/, does not pose a problem to the Dagomba in all phonetic environments. For instance, the feature in words like; *fight, bite, might, light, tight*, among others, are not problematic to the people in the speech community. It usually poses a challenge, where the feature is preceded by the lateral /l/ and succeeded by the bilabial plosive /b/. This is because /bl/ becomes /bol/, which is the main difference between the DagbE realisation and the GhE realisation of the entire word. Therefore, the environment in which the feature occurs can be a contributory factor to this difficulty. Moreover, the Dagbani phoneme, /a:/, is a common sound, which occurs in many words, including words such as:

Word	Gloss
fáa	'the act of snatching'
fààkó	'relief'
báá	'dog',
dàá	'market'
láa	'earthenware bowl'
wáá	'dance',
sáa	'rain'

¹⁸Although Dolphyne (1988) posits that the sound, /aɪ/ does not pose problems to West Africans, it does because it is realised as long vowel in GhE and DagbE. This means that the phonetic environment in which the features occur could play a role in the articulation of the feature. Therefore, depending on the phonetic environment the RP feature /aɪ/ occurs, West Africans including the Dagomba people may or may not be able to articulate it.

This articulation could be transferred into the realisation of the RP feature, hence, lengthening the first vowel sound and deleting the close vowel, as demonstrated in the realisation of the RP feature /aɪ/. It could be said that Dagomba apply all these mechanisms to nativise the feature for easy pronunciation, as demonstrated. The analysis of the RP feature /ʌ/ in study is next.

7.15 Realisations of /ʌ/ in study

The feature /ʌ/ in *study* is analysed in this section. Table 7.14 below presents the numerical values of respondents' realisation of the feature.

Table 7.14 Interview_DagbE_ /e/ as in *study*

Respondents' level of education	RP /st[ʌ]di/	GhE /st[ɛ]di/	%	DagbE /st[e]di/	%	Total	%
Basic	0	0	0	30	33.7	29	33.7
Secondary	0	0	0	28	31.5	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	3	3.4	26	29.2	29	32.6
Total	0	3	3.4	84	94.4	87	97.8

Data presented indicate that almost all the respondents realised the RP /ʌ/ as the DagbE /e/, as 94.4% of the total sample realised the RP feature as /e/. Based on the respondents' educational levels, three respondents from the tertiary level realised the feature as the GhE realisation, /ɛ/. All respondents in the basic and the secondary levels of education realised the RP /ʌ/ as the DagbE /e/ in their attempt to pronounce the RP /stʌdi/.

The absence of /ʌ/ in the Dagbani vowel inventory could contribute to the Dagomba simplifying the feature's articulation by restructuring it to the Dagbani phoneme /e/ in the pronunciation of the word *study*. Therefore, one could say that speakers apply the principle of least effort in maximum simplification in realisation of the feature.

The manner of articulation of the co-articulated fortis sounds, the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ succeeding each other could lead to the realisation of the feature as /e/. This is because, as /e/, a front vowel is produced from the front part of the tongue, which involves spreading of the lips to neutral position, is almost the same state of the lip spreading in the articulation of /s/. This could be the basis of the simplification Dagomba apply in the articulation of the feature. This is because moving from /s/ to /t/ and to /ʌ/ cannot

be a possible occurrence in Dagbani. The feature in surprise is analysed in the following section.

7.16 Realisations of /ə/ in *surprise*

In this section, the variants of *surprise* are analysed. Table 7.15 below presents respondents' realisation of the RP feature, /ə/. According to Dolphyne (1988), the schwa sound is variously realised as /a/, /ɛ/, and /ɔ/ in West Africans realisation of; *about*, *letter*, and *doctor*, respectively. The author maintains that some languages like Ewe has it but fail to use it in English. In the abstract of Simo Bobda's work on the *Uniqueness of Ghanaian English Pronunciation in West Africa* he says, "the distinctiveness of Ghanaian English involves the restructuring of (RP) /ʌ/, /ɜ:/, post-tonic /ə/ with orthographic <er, re, or, our, ur, ous, us, um> /ə/ before a final /n/, the pronunciation of *-able* and *-ative* words, certain words with <a> ..., " (Simo Bobda 2000) This could explain the various realisations as seen below.

Table 7.15 Interview_DagbE_ /ə/ as in surprise

Respondents' level of education	RP /s[ə]'prais/	%	GhE /s[a]prais/	%	DagbE /s[ɔ]prais/	%	Total	Total %
Basic	0	0	16	18.0	12	13.5	28	30.3
Secondary	0	0	8	9.0	18	20.2	26	28.1
Tertiary	0	0	8	9.0	20	22.5	28	33.7
Total	0	0	32	36.0	50	56.2	82	92.1

The variants of s[ə]prais is divided into the DagbE pronunciation and the GhE pronunciation. Most of the respondents restructure the RP /ə/¹⁹ to the Dagbani vowel /ɔ/. As shown, 56.2% of the respondents restructured the RP /ə/ to the DagbE /ɔ/ in the pronunciation of *surprise*. The number of respondents who articulated the Ghanaian version of the feature is

¹⁹ According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, the RP feature in surprise is realised as /ə/, as presented in the table.

32%²⁰. Comparatively, the word *surprise* is normally realised as s[ɔ]prais more than the Ghanaian pronunciation, s[a]prais, when the Dagomba speak English.

The data presented in Table 7.15 also show that 18 and 20 respondents from the secondary and tertiary levels, respectively realise the RP /ə/ in *surprise* as the DagbE /ɔ/. At the basic level, however, most of the respondents realise the RP /ə/ as the cardinal [a], the GhE realisation of the feature. This finding could be an indication of a gradual shift in the realisation of the feature by the younger generation, as their realisation tends to move away from the ethnic realisation of the feature to the GhE realisation, which is closer to the RP /ə/. This realisation may, with time change to the RP feature. As shown, none of the respondents could articulate the RP realisation of the feature. Observation made by Sey (1973) about GhE shows that /æ/, /a:/, and /ə/ are always realised as /a/ in GhE, as demonstrated in the above table 7.15. This realisation is completely based on respondents' L1, which sets the English they speak apart from that of GhE and RP. The GhE /a/ and the DagbE realisation /ɔ/ both occur in Dagbani; as in *sáá* 'rain,' *sálímá*, 'gold,' *sálím* 'an exclamation,' and *sóyó* 'a broom' and *sóη* 'a mat' respectively. In Sey's reference to Tamfu (1999:17), which Fonyuy (2012) made a similar observation about, principal least effort in WimE /ɛ/ and Cameroon English /e/, in the realisation of the variable, 'able,' (cf Fonyuy 2012:124). Perhaps, it is easier to move from the semi-closed vowel to the bilabial plosive than from the open vowel to the bilabial /p/. All these are done to nativise the feature to sounds that look like a realisation in Dagbani. A comparison of the three realisations is presented in the following spectrograms:

²⁰ Seven respondents out of the 89 respondents did not capture the feature *surprise*, in their reading of the short text. Therefore, in the analysis, seven realisations of the RP feature, /ə/ was not captured. Nevertheless, the absence of the seven responses does not prevent the actual realisations of the feature in the three varieties being realised.

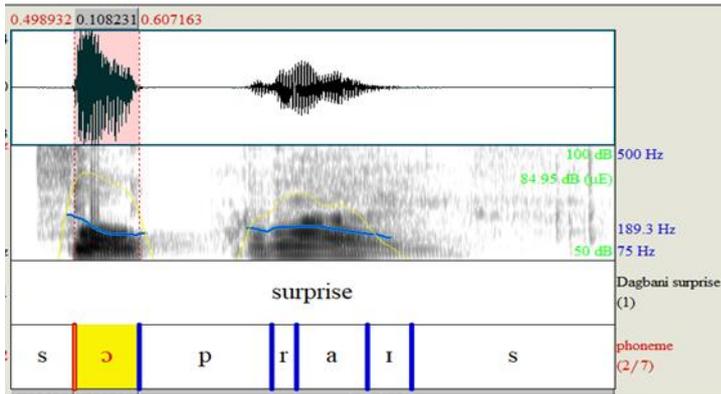


Figure 7.19 DagbE /ə/ for RP /ə/ as in surprise

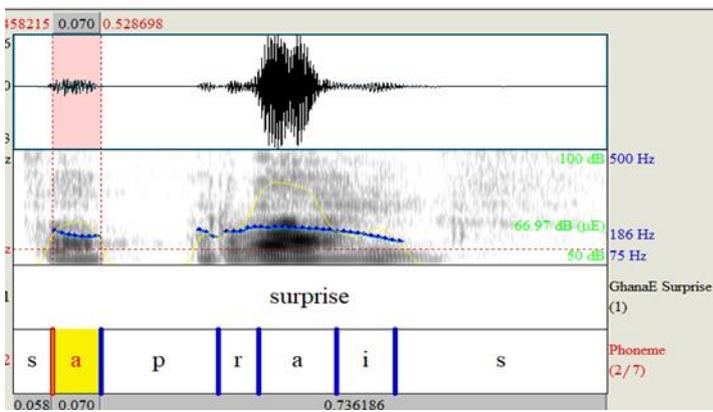


Figure 7.20 GhE /a/ for RP /ə/ as in surprise

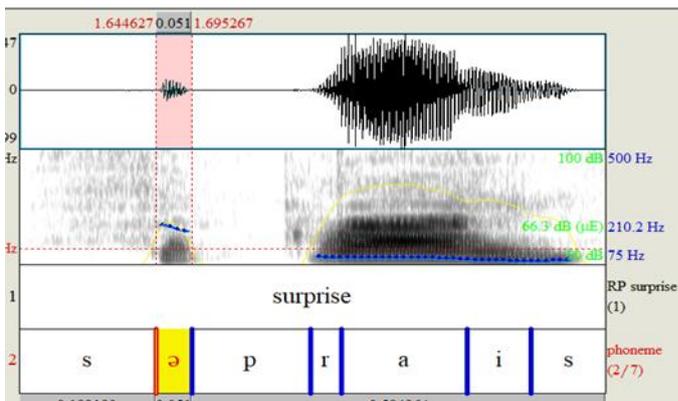


Figure 7.21 RP /ə/ as in surprise

Observing the three spectrograms in Figures. 7.19, 7.20, and 7.21, one would realise there is less acoustic energy on the RP realisation of the feature than the DagbE and the Ghanaian realisations. This description confirms that the RP feature, /ə/ is a weaker and shorter

vowel with an articulation duration being 0.051seconds than the DagbE phoneme, /ə/, which has a duration of 0.108 seconds as indicated in figures 7.21 and 7.19, respectively. The Ghanaian feature /a/ has a duration of 0.070 seconds as illustrated in figures 7.20. The features also show formant frequencies of 189.3Hz for the DagbE version, 186Hz for the GhE version, and 210.2Hz for the RP version. Furthermore, there is more acoustic energy on the RP's second vowel sound than that of DagbE and the GhE realisations. The formants of the sound occupying the second vowel space give a clear indication of diphthongisation in all three spectrograms. According to Olawsky, the schwa vowel occurs as a root syllable vowel in Dagbani as in:

Word	Gloss
<síma>	/səma/ 'groundnuts',
<símlí>	/səmli/ 'groundnut-SG',
<títálí>	/təta-li/ 'big-SG'

(cf Olawsky, 1999:244).

However, whether it is the schwa sound or /i/, which Hudu (2016) proes as the real vowel that occurs as the variant of /i/ Dagbani, the point remains that the schwa, [ə] is another problematic phoneme to articulate in the environment preceding the voiceless plosive /p/; this is because the variants of /i/ do not seem to occur between /s/ and /p/ in Dagbani. Given this, speakers restructure the schwa sound into a vowel, the articulation of which is closer to the schwa sound, such as the GhE realisation of the feature. Better still, they restructure it to a vowel sound, which exists in the local language and can easily be articulated in the phonetic environment it occurs, as demonstrated in the DagbE realisation of the feature. The vowel phoneme occurs in a phonetic environment surrounded by two fortis, /s/ and /p/. It is possible the phonetic environment in which it occurs as the only voiced between fortis sounds could have forcefully given the feature prominence. Hence, the realisations, especially the DagbE realisation of the feature. In this case, the use of Dagbani /ə/ over the GhE [a] and the RP /ə/ indicates a peculiar pronunciation of the feature, a sign of an ethnolectal variety of English pronunciation by the Dagomba.

7.17 Realisation of /pl/ in *people*

The realisation of the RP /pl/ in the word *people* is analysed in this section. Consider Table 7.16 with respondents' realisation of the feature below²¹.

Table 7.16 Interview_DagbE_ /ʊ or ɔ/ as in *people*

Respondents' level of education	RP /pi:[pl]/	%	GhE /pi[pl]/	DagbE /pi:p[ʊ]l/	%	DagbE /pɛp[ɔ]l/	%	Total	%
Basic	0	0	0	18	20.2	12	13.5	30	33.7
Secondary	1	1.1	0	23	25.8	4	4.5	28	31.4
Tertiary	0	0	0	21	23.6	8	9.0	29	32.6
Total	1	1.1	0	62	69.6	24	27.0	87	97.7

As demonstrated in Table 7.16, respondents either insert an epenthetic vowel /ʊ/ or /ɔ/ to break the undesirable consonant cluster /pl/ during articulation. All respondents from three levels of education insert the phoneme /ʊ/ than the phoneme /ɔ/ between /pl/ in their realisations of the feature. Additionally, the data in Table 7.16 indicate that many of the respondents, 69.6%, realise the RP feature /pl/ or a syllabic consonant /l/ by inserting an epenthetic sound /ʊ/ between the co-occurring sounds, /pl/. As indicated, more basic level respondents than the other two educational levels insert the phoneme /ɔ/, as they reduce and restructure the RP /i:/ to /ɛ/. Many secondary and tertiary level respondents insert the phoneme, /ʊ/, with 26% and 24%, respectively than the basic level students. Although one respondent from the secondary level produced the RP feature, none of the respondents could articulate the RP and the GhE realisation /pipl/. Sey (1973) observes that /i:/ in *meet* and /ɪ/ in *six* are both realised as /i:/. For this reason, /pi:p[pl]/ was suggested as Ghanaian pronunciation and the RP realisation. However, it was rare to hear the articulation of the RP /i:/ when respondents pronounced the RP /pi:p[pl]/.

²¹ It has become necessary to consider the discussion of vowel sound in the root syllable, because it is a contributory factor to the 2 realisations of the syllabic consonant /l/ or the feature /pl/ in the suffix.

Dagomba usually insert an epenthetic vowel in the final syllable vowel space when they pronounce the variable *people*. The two variants, /pi:pʊl/ and /pɛpʊl/ in the DagbE are products of nativisation through restructuring. These realisations are complemented by vowel harmony. Although /pi:/ cannot be referred to as a root syllable, a close observation of the feature in the final syllable of the variable, *people*, shows a root-to-suffix harmony in Dagomba's realisation of the word. The vowel in the initial syllable triggers assimilation or harmony in the root syllable (cf Olawsky 1999; Hudu, 2010; 2016). The [-ATR], /ɛ/, a front the mid-low vowel triggers the [-ATR] back mid-low vowel, /ɔ/, as indicated in most basic level responses and realisation of the feature. Therefore, harmony trigger /ɛ/ as a low vowel also triggers /ɔ/, a vowel with the same height as /ɛ/. Interestingly, in the other articulation of the DagbE realisation of the feature, the [+ATR] front high vowel /i:/ was supposed to be triggering the [+ATR] back high vowel /u/ in the suffix. However, harmony was blocked, leading to the realisation of the feature as /ʊ/, in the Dagomba people's pronunciation of the RP /pi:pl/. Hudu (2010) discovers that when an opaque consonant lies between a trigger of harmony and the target, harmony is blocked and that harmony block involves root-to-suffix harmony, (cf Hudu 2010:185).²² Hence, the root-to-suffix harmony in realising the RP /pl/ as /pʊl/ by Dagomba is a type of pronunciation peculiar to Dagomba, which makes the English spoken in this speech community a variety of English that is defined by the nature of their L1. Besides, even though realisations of this nature are not considered as deviant usage, they point to Sey (1973) attribution of all uses that deviate from the British norm to the mother tongue.

7.18 Realisation of /aʊə/ in *power*

In this section, the variant of the RP *power* is analysed. Table 7.17 presents the numerical values of respondents' responses.

²² Even though Hudu (2010) lists /l, s, r/ as examples of the opaque consonant that block harmony in Dagbani, I think that depending on the phonetic environment /p/ occurs in, it could also block harmony. This stems from the fact that the phoneme /i/, as a root vowel in Dagomba's pronunciation of *people* does not trigger /u/ in the suffix syllable, but it rather triggers /ʊ/, as demonstrated in Table 7.16. However, the two respondents from the secondary level, who could not read realisations were not captured.

Table 7.17 Interview_DagbE_ /a or a:/ as in power

Respondents' level of education	RP p/aʊə(r)	%	GhE p/a:/wa	%	DagbE p/a/wa	%	DagbE p/aa/	%	Total No.	Total %
Basic	1	1.1	24	27.0	3	3.4	2	2.2	30	33.7
Secondary	0	0	25	28.0	2	2.2	1	1.1	28	31.3
Tertiary	2	2.2	23	25.8	1	1.1	3	3.4	29	32.5
Total	3	3.3	72	80.8	6	6.7	6	6.7	87	97.5

The above Table 7.17 shows evidence of Dagomba realising the RP version of the feature /aʊə(r)/ in *power*, as the GhE /a:/, as 81% of the respondents articulated it as /a:/. 6.7% of the sample realised the DagbE articulation of the feature. That notwithstanding, Dagomba's realisation of the feature cannot be ignored since traces of such realisations are noticed in the speech community. The restructuring could stem from the absence of triphthongs in speakers' L1. Therefore, the people in the speech community find it difficult to glide from one vowel to another and onto another in the articulation of the RP feature. Consequently, speakers employ vowel simplification and reduction, two of the innovative processes Schneider (2003; 2007) enumerated as part of second language user's strategic ways of nativising English as a second language. Naturally, nativisation by reducing, lengthening, and deleting parts of the feature make the articulation as easy as some frequently occurring words in the L1. For instance, the feature in, /pawa/, /pa:wa/, /paa/, resembles that in: *páá* 'per day' *sòmpáá* 'some part of a house,' *yúpáá*, 'nickname,' among others in the L1. Weinreich discovers similar difficulties that lead to substituting Schwyzertutch sounds for intricate Romansh sounds (see Weinreich 1974:17). Next is the realisation of the feature in *bed*.

7.19 Realisations /e/ in *bed*

The feature in *bed* is presented in this section. Table 7.18 below is a summary of responses.

Table 7.18 Interview_DagbE_ /ε:/ as in *bed*

Respondents' level of education	RP b/e/d	GhE b/ε/d	%	DagbE b/ε:/d	%	DagbE b/ε/t	%	Total	%
Basic	0	6	6.7	16	18.0	8	9.0	30	33.7
Secondary	0	5	5.6	16	18.0	7	7.9	28	31.5
Tertiary	0	3	3.4	18	20.2	8	9.0	29	32.6

Total	0	14	15.7	50	56.2	23	25.9	87	97.8
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As displayed in Table 7.18, most of the respondents realised the feature, /e/ in bed as /ɛ:/, and /ɛ/, leading to the pronunciation of the RP ‘bed’ as /be:d/ and /bet/. 56.2% articulated the long /ɛ/, with the coda /d/. In comparison, 26% of the respondents articulated the /ɛ/, with the coda /t/. Only 14 of the sample, representing 15.7% of the respondents, produce the GhE version of the feature. None articulated the RP feature.

The sound /e/ is a feature in both Dagbani and RP. However, there is no word in Dagbani in which those sounds in ‘bed’ occur in the same phonetic environment. This could be counted as one reason why Dagomba restructure the feature to a longer and lower vowel sound than the RP vowel sound in bed. This innovative process makes the articulation of the feature simple for the people.

One could also explain that the other realisation of the feature, with the voiceless phoneme in the coda position of the word, also results from simplification. This means that the lenis is made fortis, based on speakers’ efforts to meet the RP realisation of the feature. In this case, speakers attempt to shorten the vowel, as the feature is realised in the RP pronunciation. Hence, the voiceless sound /t/ in some Dagomba’s pronunciation of the word. This brings about variation in the realisation of the feature, making this realisation a peculiar feature of the English the Dagomba people speak. The feature in *couple* is analysed in the next section.

7.20 Realisations of /ʌ/ in *couple*

This section presents the analysis of how Dagomba articulate the RP feature /ʌ/ in *couple*. The feature in the second syllable of the word, *couple*, is also analysed since it is a distinguishing feature between GhE realisation and that of the DagbE realisation of it. However, the occurrence of the feature in the first syllable is explained since it contributes to the realisation of the feature in the second syllable. This section presents Table 7.19 below, which displays respondents’ responses of the RP feature.

Table 7.19 Interview_DagbE_ /ʌ/ as in *couple*

Respondents’ level of education	RP /kʌpl/	%	GhE /kɔpl/	%	DagbE /kɔpʊl/	%	Total	%
Basic	2	2.2	3	3.4	25	28.0	30	33.6

Secondary	2	2.2	2	2.2	24	27.0	28	31.4
Tertiary	1	1.1	2	2.2	26	29.2	29	32.5
Total	5	5.5	7	7.8	76	84.2	87	97.5

Most of the respondents, 84.2%, realised the RP feature in the root syllable as /ɔ/, and inserted an epenthetic vowel, /ʊ/, before the syllabic consonant /l/. /ʊ/ is a frequently used phoneme in Dagbani, especially in word-final position (cf Hudu, 2014). Some examples of /ʊ/ occurring in the final syllable are:

Word	Gloss
kòlgó	‘bag’,
nyóbú	‘the act of burning’,
bógyó	‘an arm’
nyógyó	‘chesty
kóbú	‘farming’ (noun)

The RP /ʌ/ in the first syllable of the variable, *couple*, may be simplified to /ɔ/ because in GhE, /ʌ/ and /ɒ/ are realised as /ɔ/, (Sey 1973). Therefore, the realisation of /ʌ/ as /ɔ/ in DagbE could result from effects from GhE. Moreover, the GhE realisation and that of DagbE realisation of the first syllable could be due to spelling pronunciation on the part of speakers. This realisation could also be due to continuity, a parameter of nativisation (Schneider 2003; 2007), or colonial input (Wolf 2020). This means that this kind of pronunciation could be copied from the native speakers who serve as teachers but could not pronounce words differently. This realisation goes a long way toward affecting the realisation of the second syllable in the DagbE realisation. This means that the difficulty speakers encounter in the realisation of the two RP features in the first syllable has led to those two-co-occurring consonant /pl/ being inserted with the Dagbani vowel, /ʊ/. It also means that the insertion of the short /u/ is based on the nature of the Dagbani language (vowel harmony phenomenon). Thus, the back mid-low vowel, /ʊ/, in the final syllable is triggered by the [-TR] vowel /ɔ/ in the root syllable. In this case, /ɔ/ is the simplified phoneme in the root syllable in the DagbE realisation of the RP /kʌpl/, which triggers /ʊ/ in the suffix, as indicated in respondents’ realisation. Therefore, the difference between DagbE and the GhE realisations lies on /ʊ/, which results from the sound /ɔ/, in the onset of a syllable.

As explained in the discussion of the other variants of *people* and *table* above, inserting an epenthetic vowel between the co-occurring consonants by Dagomba is due to the absence

of syllabic consonant and consonant clusters in Dagbani. The articulation of these features makes the pronunciation very different from the RP pronunciation, as the RP ends with a syllabic consonant.

Moreover, the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ could also have diverse effects on the feature. Given that the place of articulation of /p/, a bilabial plosive being succeeded by the lateral /l/ could result to the rounding of the lips, leading to the sound /ʊ/. Thus, since the realisation of /p/ and /ʊ/ involve the two lips coming into contact could lead to this realisation. The DagbE realisations of the feature sound quite similar to the following words in Dagbani.

Word	Gloss
kóblí	‘bone’,
kóbrí	‘feathers’,
púlí	‘stomach’,
dòpúlí	‘cross’,
nápónpólí	‘footrot’,
pú	‘divide’,
párapúlí	‘pregnancy’

The feature in the above Dagbani words could also be the reason for the RP /kʌpl/ being realised, as demonstrated above.

In a nutshell, the chapter revealed that Dagbani phonological features have influenced the articulation of some English features that tend to affect the pronunciation of the words that contain these features. It reveals that Dagomba employ nativisation processes, restructuring, simplification, vowel reduction, and lengthening in their realisation of the features investigated. These nativisation processes go a long way to set apart the English the Dagomba people speak from the GhE and the RP pronunciations. Besides, results presented in this chapter show that the phonotactics of the language, spelling pronunciation, and vowel harmony as a phonological process forms the basis of the nativisation processes the Dagomba people employ. Moreover, it is demonstrated that except for respondents’ realisation of the feature in *hour* and *power* that went for the GhE realisation, the rest of the 17 features favoured the DagbE realisation. That notwithstanding, some realisations of the feature in *hour* and *honour* are still peculiar to the Dagomba people. This finding confirms the English the Dagomba speak as an ethnic variety of English.

Based on respondents' educational levels, even though the tertiary level possesses minimally less of the ethnic features, all educational levels respondents articulated the DagbE realisation of the investigated features in this study. Respondents from all levels of education articulated the DagbE realisation in ten of the investigated features. However, the basic and the secondary levels use the DagbE realisation more than the tertiary level respondents do. Although respondents realised the DagbE version of the features, the tertiary level respondents realised the RP feature with GhE pronunciation more than the basic and the secondary levels. The basic and secondary levels realised the DagbE realisation of the features than the GhE realisation. It is the case that the Ghanaian realisations of the features are closer to the RP than the DagbE. This finding suggests that people in the speech community's level of education insignificantly affect how they realise the investigated features. Hence, the ethnic pronunciation reduces minimally as speakers climb the educational ladder. Though insignificant, speakers become more aware of ethnic pronunciation as a substrate articulation to the other realisations (GhE and RP). Nevertheless, all 19 features investigated in this study discovered features peculiar to the Dagomba, a sign of an ethnolectal English in the Ghanaian linguistic setting.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8. Findings, Conclusion, and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study was to investigate how the Dagbani language spoken in Northern Ghana influences its native speakers' (the Dagomba's) use of the English language. The grammar, morphology, and phonology have been studied in-depth, but the influence of these aspects of the language on the use of English has not been studied. The status of English as an official language in Ghana demands the need to explain how Dagbani, as one of the indigenous languages, influences the use of English. This study will add to the literature on the influence of the various L1s on English.

The study can also facilitate the endonormative material inclusion in the educational system since the influence is visible and results in a variety of English peculiar to the Dagomba as an ethnic group. For this purpose, the objectives set out at the beginning of this study were to investigate:

- 1) The influence of the Dagbani grammatical and phonology features on Dagomba's use of English. The specific objectives were to describe:
 - a) How the Dagbani perfective aspect (simple past and present perfect) influences Dagomba's use of the English past tense.
 - b) How the Dagbani imperfective aspect (the progressive and habitual present) influences Dagomba's use of the English habitual or present tense.
 - b) How the phonological features of Dagbani influence the spoken English of the Dagomba.

Dagbani influences English in diverse ways, but I chose these three sections of the language because all the parts of the Dagbani that influence English cannot be investigated in one research work.

To achieve these objectives, I employed simple sentence translation, picture description, and simple text reading to elicit data from respondents. Respondents were from Yendi and Tamale of the Northern region, Ghana. As indicated in chapter four, the choice of the two areas of Dagbon became necessary because, based on the phonological level, two dialects of Dagbani stand out and are spoken in those two areas. However, findings show that speakers of these dialects show no variation in the English they speak.

Thus, this concluding chapter provides an overview of the main findings obtained from the analysis of the study. The chapter is presented in a way that gives prominence and evidence to recognising and accepting ethnolectal-based English, DagbE, as a variety of English that comes to stay. This discovery stems from the study's implication that as long as different indigenous languages and dialects, including Dagbani, remain part of people's social settings, the indigenous languages, including Dagbani, will continue to influence English.

Besides, findings on the foundation of the influence that makes DagbE an ethnological variety of English, is the concern of this section. The conclusion is based on two parts of the research findings, thus, on the grammatical features and on the phonological features that stand as a foundation on which DagbE is established. Also, the chapter presents the implications and recommendations of the findings. The chapter further presents a conclusion reminiscent of findings that give credence to the mother tongue as one of the sources of ethnic varieties of English, including DagbE.

8.1 Findings on the Grammatical Features of DagbE

The variation between DagbE and GhE and the RP is grounded on one reason. The lack of difference between; first, the subcategories of the perfective aspect of Dagbani and second, the subcategories of the imperfective aspect of Dagbani. Against this backdrop, I used the Grammatical Replication theory by Heine and Kuteva (2006) to explain the grammatical transfer Dagomba employ in English tense expressions. The grammatical replication is based on the third section of Weinreich's (1953) grammatical transfer (functions or meaning of grammatical form, grammatical functions). This third section of grammatical transfer Heine and Kuteva (2006) further developed to the grammatical replication, which involves model and replica languages. The grammatical transfer was designed to explain grammatical transfer in language contact-induced situations.

Here, the model language (source language) provides a model for the replica language (target language and the resulting language). As indicated, there is a lack of difference between the simple past tense and the present perfect. More so, there is no difference between the progressive and the habitual in Dagbani. This phenomenon leads to the replication of the imperfective and the perfective use of Dagbani in English. This replication results in a variety of English peculiar to the Dagomba as indicated in this study. Findings in this study are presented starting from empirical chapter five.

In chapter five, the influence of the Dagbani perfective aspect on the use of English was investigated. Findings show frequent use of the present perfect aspect over the simple past tense when the simple past use is required in the English Dagomba speak. Thus, the present perfect use in DagbE has over-shadowed the simple past. The present perfect has no one-to-one translation of the simple past tense to the simple past and the present perfect into present perfect in English. The analysis shows some simple past sentences being interpreted as both present perfect and past tense. A simple past tense sentence can be translated present perfect and vice versa.

Similarly, some present perfect sentences were interpreted as both the present perfect and simple past tense. This finding implies that the simple past and the present perfect are sometimes used interchangeably in Dagbani. The majority of the respondents translated the simple past and the present perfect sentences into present perfect. In this case, the present perfect and the past tense are captured in one subcategory of tense in Dagbani. This usage contrasts BrE and sometimes GhE, where the simple past tense expresses a past situation. The present perfect is used only for actions with continuing relevance of a past situation. This finding confirms Weinreich's (1953) grammatical transfer and Heine and Kuteva's (2006) grammatical replication, where grammatical expressions of a language are transferred to another in contact situations.

It is evident from the survey data that marked past (past with the time-depth/adverbials) is frequently interpreted as the simple past tense in Dagbani. It is again interpreted as such when translated into the English language by Dagomba. This section of the findings confirms Olawsky (1999), Bodomo (2001; 2018), and Botne's (2012) observation that the time-depth particles mark simple past tense in the language. Grammatically, the present perfect is not used

with the time adverbials in English, except as in; *I have seen him this morning*, when it is still in the morning, (cf Comrie 1978:56). However, the dominance of the present perfect over the simple past tense has led to the breaking of English grammar rules. For instance, findings show that the frequent use of the present perfect by the Dagomba has led to the present perfect being used with the time adverbials. These are examples of sentence constructions that are usually not accepted in English; *Sule went to his father's house yesterday* is grammatically accepted in BrE and GhE. Although not frequently used, sentences such as *Sule has gone to his father's house yesterday*, is part of the evidence of such ungrammatical uses found in the data. Hence, such uses, though infrequent, are part of DagbE. Effective lessons on language differentiation in teaching can help curb ethnic features that appear as errors, as in the above sentence. The study also found out some expressions of tense that are not ungrammatical but inappropriate. For example, when the present perfect is used where a simple past tense use is required, it is only inappropriate as the function of the subcategory is changed from a past situation to a situation that involves continuing relevance of a past situation. Thus, such uses are grammatically correct but inappropriate.

Furthermore, in this study, there is no one-to-one translation of simple past to simple past tense and no one-to-one translation of the present perfect to the present perfect. This finding indicates that the differentiation between the past and the present perfect is not essential in Dagbani. This finding confirms Olawsky's (1999) assertion that past tense making is not crucial in Dagbani. This assertion explains why one subcategory of grammar is preferred to the other. Hence, the present perfect is usually considered a better option than the simple past when reference is made to a completed situation. This finding suggests that teachers should make a calculated attempt to teach the expressions of time/tense in both languages in schools in the study area.

Moreover, findings show that all educational levels replicate the Dagbani perfective use in English. Nevertheless, on a comparative view of the academic levels, the tertiary level speakers minimally use less of the present perfect in place of the simple past than the basic and the secondary levels when a past situation is expressed. This finding suggests that the tertiary level respondents use less of the present perfect in English than the basic and secondary levels. For instance, Figure. 5.1 (found in chapter 5) shows many basic and secondary students realising the simple past as perfect than the tertiary level students. However, the same Fig. 5.1

presents the tertiary level respondents as the educational level that recognises the simple past as simple past than the basic and the secondary levels. This finding presupposes a compulsory and deliberate inclusion of Dagbani in the basic and secondary syllabus. It should be made a mandatory liberal course in the first year of tertiary level education.

Besides, in Fig 5.2, the analysis shows that many of the tertiary level respondents interpreted the marked past as past and registered a few respondents than respondents from the other two levels with the different possible responses to the sentences. This finding indicates that the tertiary level of education minimally uses grammatical features that are close to GhE and the BrE realisation more than the basic and the secondary levels. Thus, even though all levels of education in the study area speak the ethnolect of Dagbani English, the basic and the secondary speakers are more influenced by the Dagbani grammatical features than the tertiary level of education. It is also clear from Fig. 5.1, Fig. 5.2, and Fig 5.3 that the tertiary level interprets both subcategories of grammar with both past and perfect meanings. This finding shows that age, experience, and level of education minimally play a role in using substrate forms. This finding corroborates with Heine and Kuteva (2006) finding that young speakers replicate the model language in the target language in contact situations than older speakers. As demonstrated in the third stage (nativisation) of Schneider's (2007) Post-Colonial English Processes, there is evidence of linguistic effects, where changes in morphology, phonology, and syntax are noticed.

More so, in chapter six, the influence of the imperfective aspect of Dagbani on English was investigated. Findings in chapter six show that the progressive aspect, a subcategory of the imperfective aspect, is frequently used when the habitual present use is required in DagbE. All sentences respondents translated and the pictures they described indicate that the progressive aspect is always a better option than the habitual present where the habitual or the progressive is required. This finding means that Dagomba predominantly and frequently use the progressive aspect to express the present tense or the habitual present. This usage sets Dagomba English apart from other speakers of English in Ghana and the RP.

Ellis (1985) observes in SLA (second language acquisition) that age, aptitude, cognitive style, motivation, and personality are the five factors that influence second language learning and use. This study found out that the tertiary level of education (a level with a high age value

and high level of experience) minimally realises and uses the RP realisation of the grammatical features (the values of the imperfective aspect) than the other two levels of education (see Fig. 6.1, and Fig. 6.8 in the above chapter six). This finding shows that although all educational levels use the ethnic variety (DagbE), the influence minimally reduces as speakers go higher in education. Findings also show that the basic and secondary levels of education do not show variation in how they speak English, as respondents from the two levels show similar results in their translations. The results from the secondary and the basic levels and even the tertiary signify the intensity of L1 features in DagbE.

Findings on the grammatical features in chapters five and six are based on Heine and Kuteva's (2006) position that the replica language Rx is built on the target language (English in this study) but modelled by the model language (Dagbani) in this study. The analysis shows that Dagomba use the subcategories (past, perfect) under perfective and the habitual, and progressive under imperfective in English, as they use them in Dagbani. Thus, English spoken by the people in Dagbon is peculiar to the Dagomba as an ethnic group.

8.2 Functional Change of the Grammatical Categories in DagbE

Every grammatical category or subcategory has roles and functions it performs in a sentence. These grammatical functions make sentences grammatically appropriate and acceptable. Grammatically appropriateness here refers to a sentence that fulfils the subcategorical function and not the grammatical correctness of sentences. In this case, a sentence can be grammatically correct but may not be grammatically appropriately used. For instance, findings show that the functions of the subcategories of grammar, simple past, present perfect, progressive, and habitual/simple present tense, do not perform their intended appropriate functions in DagbE. For example, occasions where the present perfect is used, even when a speaker intends to use the simple past tense, are evident in respondents' interpretations of sentences. Schneider (2003; 2007) refers to this change in function as exaptation.

Similarly, the progressive aspect is used when the habitual present or the present tense use is required. These uses are not ungrammatical, but they are grammatically inappropriate. The point, however, is that grammatical inappropriateness can lead to misunderstanding. For instance, when a habitual sentence in DagbE, as indicated in the data, is treated as progressive, as in, *my father is driving a car to school*. This sentence could also be understood as progressive

by other English speakers, especially by Native speakers. In this case, the intended meaning will not be communicated. Thus, as the speaker intends to convey an iterated situation that holds as a habit, the receiver understands it as a progressive situation.

Other studies also observe a change and extension of the functions of the subcategories of grammar. For instance, Schneider (2015) notices the extension of the progressive to other functions, including the habitual present in GhE. The author explains that the extension of grammatical function is usually common in the new English varieties and is considered substrate to the native English varieties. Given this, extending the progressive aspect to imperfective, in general, is not encouraged in Standard English (cf Schneider, 2015:36). However, referring to (Quirk et al. 1985:198-199; Aarts 2011:268), Schneider states that ‘... habits marked by the Progressive are typical of limited temporary duration’ (Schneider 2015:34). In some languages, ‘the aspectual meaning ‘progressive’ is indeed inherent in many situations the progressive refers to’ (Schneider 2015:45).

The findings of this study confirm that the progressive function does not only include situations that are in progress, but it has a wide range of functions. It is difficult to precisely single out one as a progressive function, as one stands to the risk of limiting the function to one category (cf Schneider 2015:46). As this study reveals, in DagbE, the progressive aspect and the present perfect perform more than just one function, making DagbE distinct, especially from BrE and sometimes GhE, even though there are bits of similarities between DagbE and GhE and RP, as they all express situations in the same language.

8.3 The Replication in DagbE

As stated above, Heine and Kuteva’s (2006) grammatical replication is built on Weinreich’s (1953; 1974) third grammatical interference, function, or meaning. In Heine and Kuteva’s study, the grammatical transfer explains how grammatical morphemes are replicated from a model to replica languages. It still explains the grammatical categories reproduced from the model language to a replica language in the study regarding grammar. In this study, Dagbani is the model (the source) language, while English is the replica (receiving or the target) language. Findings indicate that using the subcategories of the perfective and the imperfective aspects is utterly different from how tense and aspect are expressed in the English language. Therefore, the perfective and imperfective use is transferred from Dagbani to the tense and

aspect of English. In this study, it is evident that the perfective use is replicated from Dagbani into English. For instance, in Dagbani, differentiating situations with the present relevance of a past situation (present perfect) from the simple past is not essential in the surface meaning. This is because they are expressed with the same aspectual suffixes. Following this usage, sometimes speakers do not show the difference between the simple past and the present perfect when they speak English. Therefore, the frequent use of the progressive aspect when the use of the habitual present is required is a replication of the imperfective use in Dagbani to English. This usage is stemmed from the fact that Dagbani is a language that shows no difference between the progressive and habitual, and no distinction between the simple past and the present perfect. Thus, one category, each from the perfective and the imperfective aspects, dominates the other in Dagbani. This usage is a replication in the English language that brings variation between BrE and DagbE.

The grammatical replication done in this study sets DagbE apart from GhE and BrE. For instance, the analysis of this study shows that a simple past, present perfect, and sometimes marked past could be expressed as; *He has gone to school* in DagbE. However, in GhE and BrE, it is realized as, *He went to school*; for simple past and, *He has gone to school*; as the present perfect. A habitual situation, as in; *Sana rides her horse* in GhE and BrE, is usually realised as; *Sana is riding her horse* in DagbE. For this reason, The English spoken by the Dagomba is an ethnolect and a replicated language, peculiar to the Dagomba in Ghana. However, because other Ghanaian languages may share similar features with Dagbani, the progressive may sometimes be used when the habitual is expressed in GhE. Therefore, it may not be uncommon to hear the progressive/habitual use in GhE, as Schneider (2015) indicates. This also explains why a Dagomba sounds as a typical Ghanaian when s/he speaks English.

Consequently, there is a transfer of the grammatical function of the subcategories of the Dagbani perfective and imperfective aspects in English. This change in grammatical function is from the nature of the mother tongues grammar. Hence, it is not a new thing to say that the mother tongue influences the domains of grammatical features in the post-colonial Englishes, just as the mother tongue's notable consequence on the phonology and lexis (cf Schneider 2007:71-90). The main findings of the Dagbani phonological features are next.

8.4 Main Findings on the Phonological Features in DagbE

In chapter seven, the analysis of the phonological features of Dagbani was presented. The main findings of this study show that the primary cause of the difference between DagbE, GhE, and the RP's pronunciation is the nativisation processes (restructuring, simplification, and vowel shortening/lengthening) of the RP vowels. It is evident in this study that these nativisation processes are employed, following restrictions placed on speech sounds by vowel harmony and the Dagbani phonotactics. The nature of the vowel and consonant systems of the target language is also a factor. An example is consonant clusters as part of the English sounds and their absence in Dagbani. Nonetheless, the nativisation processes speakers employ in pronouncing RP words informed my decision to use Schneider (2003; 2007) model for the analysis. Schneider (2003; 2007) explains how indigenous people applied the nativisation processes in Post-colonial Englishes. Usually, the difference between the L1's sound system and the L2 could lead to nativisation of the phonological features.

It is often said that where there are differences between the L1 and L2, the knowledge of the L1 will interfere with the L2 (see Ellis 1985:6). Therefore, in this study, the difference between the two languages' sound systems has repercussions on speakers' pronunciation. Hence, the Dagbani phonotactics, coupled with the nativisation processes employed by speakers, as listed above are responsible for this variation in the pronunciation within these three varieties. Therefore, this difference goes a long way to drawing a line between DagbE, GhE, and RP pronunciations of English words.

In this study, the dichotomy between DagbE, RP, and GhE points to the phonotactics of the languages, spelling pronunciation, and vowel harmony as the phonological processes that form the basis of the nativisation speakers employ in the realisation of the features investigated. This assertion suggests that the difference between the consonants and vowel systems of Dagbani and that of GhE and RP sets these varieties apart in terms of speakers' pronunciation. Concerning the parameters with which the data was analysed, findings show that there has not been much difference in the way speakers exhibit ethnic or L1 features in English among the educational levels. All levels of education in the speech community have these fossilised speech forms of the ethnic elements. For instance, there is no difference in how the basic and secondary levels articulate the features investigated. The basic and secondary

students minimally exhibit more L1 features in their pronunciations than the tertiary level students. This finding shows the extent to which the L1 features interfere in the people in the speech community's pronunciation of English words.

Another finding established in this study is that compared to the basic and the secondary levels of education, the tertiary level of education somehow fossilized the GhE features, even though they also retain the mother tongue features of the Dagbani language speakers. As demonstrated in the analysis, in nine of the variables, the tertiary level students' realisation of the GhE form was slightly more than the basic and the secondary level students' realisation. It is expected that the ethnic features reduce as speakers go higher in education. Although the reverse has not occurred, the number of L1 features in the English spoken at a high level of education is huge. The minimal reduction of ethnic features at a higher level of education shows the intensity and high percentage of L1 features in DagbE. Consider Table 8.1 for the phonological variation between DagbE, GhE, and RP.

Table 8.1 Phonetic Variation in DagbE, GhE, and RP

Phoneme	Word	RP	GhE	DagbE
i:	leaders	l[i]:dəs	l[i]dɛs	l[ɪ]dɛs
ɪ	conflict	kɒnfl[ɪ]kt	kɒfl[i]kt	kɒnfl[ɛ]t / kɒnfl[i:]t
ɒ	honour	[ɒ]nər	[ɔ]na	[hɔ]na/ [ha]na
ɜ:	service	S[ɜ]:vɪs	s[ɛ]vis	s[e]vis
ʌ	coming	k[ʌ]mɪn	k[a]min	k[a:]min
ɪ	kid	k[ɪ]d	k[i]d	k[i:]t/k[i:]d
ɑ:/ɒ	quality	k[wɒ]lɪti	Kɔliti	k[ɔ]liti
ɔ:	also	[ɔ:]lsəʊ	[ɔ]lso	[o]luso/oliso/oso
ɔ:	pour	p[ɔ:](r)	p[ɔ:]	p[u]wɔ
auə(r)	hour	[auə](r)	[a]wa	[ha]wa
ɔɪ	oil	[ɔɪ]l/	[ɔy]ɛ	[oya]l
eɪ	table	t[eɪ]bl	t[e:]bl	Te:b[ɔ]l
aɪ	file	f[aɪ]l	f[a:]l	F[a:]l
ʌ	study	st[ʌ]di	st[ɛ]di	St[e]di
ə	surprise	s[ə]praɪs	s[a]praɪs	s[ɔ]praɪs
pl	people	pi:[pl]	pi:[pl]	Pip[ɔ]l/pɛp[ɔ]l
auə(r)	power	p[auə](r)	P[a:]wa	p[a]wa/p[a:]
e	bed	b[e]d	b[ɛ]d	b[ɛ:]d
ʌ	couple	k[ʌ]pl	k[ɔ]pl	k[ɔ]pɔl

As the features and various variables are presented in Table 8.1, there seems not to be a single word the RP shares with the DagbE. All features are either restructured or simplified

due to the absence of that feature or phonological process. However, there are some features DagbE shares with GhE. It is indicated that even if the features of DagbE and GhE are not shared, they are closer to each other than RP. This explains why Dagomba speak with the Ghanaian accent, even if the two varieties differ at the phonological level.

8.5 DagbE as an Ethnolectal English

Data gathered from the 89 subjects establish that the English tense is expressed, based on the structure of Dagbani. For instance, as indicated in the above discussion, Dagomba's use of the Dagbani imperfective and perfective aspects heavily influences the English tense and aspect as Dagomba speak English. The presence of Dagbani grammatical features in DagbE confirms that it is a variety of English, which is built on L1 features of Dagbani. Hence, DagbE can be considered as an ethnolect of the English language spoken by the Dagomba as an ethnic group. DagbE is considered a variety of English, '[...] because we all use the words and sentences of English in particular ways, whether we use a standard variety of the language or not' (Davies 2005:6). Additionally, DagbE is an ethnolect termed as such, based on the fact that 'a language variety is typically associated with a community of speakers, and in many communities, a language means no more than a particular way its members speak it' (Mufwene 2001:22). DagbE could be seen as an ethnolect based on 'dialectal characteristics', which explains the linguistic forms of a particular group of people. Thus, the definition that 'Dialect is popularly thought to be a use of the words and grammar of a language that can be distinguished from a supposed non-dialectal norm that is usually considered superior' (Davies, 2005:6). This study shows that the grammatical and phonological features distinguish DagbE from GhE and RP.

As demonstrated in the analysis, what makes Dagomba sound different from other speakers is not only attributed to the restrictions placed on Dagomba's pronunciations by the language's phonotactics, but the difference can also be attributed to many social factors. The type of education speakers receive and from which social setting they hail. In this case, variation in pronunciation may indicate to others where we are from or what our social background is, what sort of education we have had, and so on' (Davies 2005:6). The social setting of speakers is the indigenous Dagomba from whom they receive education. Even if they are with English speakers, the probability of them being bilinguals of both English and Dagbani is high. In this case, speakers influence one another.

Dillard (1980) made similar observations in Romani ethnolect of American English. In a related study in Romani carried out by Dillard, this author observes that Romani's complex sound system intrudes in English. This intrusion leads to a distinction between the ethnolectal English of Romani from American English (cf Dillard 1980:259). Dillard observes the lack of distinction between Romani sounds, which form part of the Romani people's ethnolectal English basics. In this study, similar observations are made from the data where Dagomba's inability to articulate some English sounds due to the absence of those features and other phonological processes lead to vowel reduction and vowel substitution, as demonstrated in Figs. 2-3, Figs. 4-6, and 19-21 respectively in chapter 7. This eventually brings about the variation between DagbE, GhE and RP, and English leading to an ethnolectal English by the Dagomba as an ethnic group in the Ghanaian setting.

Hence, English words are pronounced in conformity with Dagbani speech sounds. In a similar vein, the English tense is used following the perfective and the imperfective use in Dagbani. In this case, the present perfect is used for the simple past, and the progressive is used for the habitual and simple present tense in English. This means that tense expressions are modelled on Dagbani but are expressed in English. In Dagbani, the progressive aspect is used where the habitual and the simple present tense use is required, and the present perfect is used where the simple past tense use is needed. This is because the progressive is used for both progressive and habitual present expressions, and the present perfect for simple past tense and present perfect expressions. Similar observations exist in Romani ethnolects of English. For instance, in Romani, *because* is used in place of *that* complementizer in English because the Romani word, *ke*, is used for both *that* and *because* (see Dillard 1980:261). As there is enough evidence confirming DagbE as an ethnolect, the next section looks at its future in the linguistic world.

8.6 The Future of the Ethnolectal English by the Dagomba

The future of the Dagbani ethnolects of English largely relies on how often it is used in communication in the speech community and the percentage of students from the basic to tertiary level who speak with perceivable L1 features. It is evident in this study that the influence of the grammatical features tends to show almost the same results as the phonological features. For instance, in both chapters five and six, respondents' educational levels and age do not largely play a role in respondents' use of the Dagbani perfective and the imperfective

aspects in English. The basic and the secondary level respondents minimally use the ethnolectal English of the Dagomba people than the tertiary level speakers, as depicted in Figs. 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 in chapter 5, Figs. 6.1, 6.3, 6.5, 6.7, 6.8, 6.10, and 6.12 in chapter 6. In this case, mother tongue or L1 features are only minimally reduced towards the tertiary level.

In chapter seven, the presence of L1 features in respondents' pronunciation is more than the presence of GhE features. Based on respondents' educational levels, the basic and secondary levels again minimally exhibit the ethnolectal pronunciation of English words than the tertiary level speakers. The minimal difference in pronunciation among educational levels indicates that level of education and age contribute little to the reduction of ethnic features in English words' pronunciation. The minimal reduction of ethnic features shows the intensity of L1 features in the English Dagomba speak. One's level of education does a little in terms of the decline of the mother tongue features as speakers move higher in education. Even at the highest level of education, there is a heavy influence of mother tongue or L1 features on speakers' English. In this case, nativisation in DagbE is so strong that only three features (power, honour, and hour) went for the GhE realisation of those features.

Although all educational levels realise the ethnolectal pronunciation of English words, the basic and the secondary level speakers minimally articulated the ethnolectal forms than the tertiary level did. This minimal difference of the influence between the basic, secondary and tertiary levels may probably stem from the fact that our accents frequently adjust in various ways to people from other regions and backgrounds' (Davies 2005:7). For that matter, the basic levels might have adjusted their accent to be apart with the secondary level, as they try to impress the interviewer. Nonetheless, the L1 features still dominate in both grammar and phonology of DagbE, even at the tertiary level. This is because someone with a strong regional accent in childhood is still unlikely, however, to lose all traces of that accent in later life (even if they try hard to). The way they learn to pronounce words in their native dialect or language is both too automatic and too intricate (cf Davies 2005). Therefore, people who learn a foreign language, even those long residents in a country where it is spoken, generally speak it with at least some of the pronunciation features of their first language (Davies 2005:7).

Perhaps, the basic and the secondary level speakers adjusted their accent to fit a situation to meet unfamiliar faces. Speakers, especially those from the tertiary level, could not

simply overcome the strong accent they lived with since childhood. Even the presence of an unfamiliar face could not make them adjust their accent. As Fonyuy (2012) puts it, it could also be that the basic and the secondary level speakers could benefit from modern teaching methods. For that reason, there is an insignificant reduction of ethnic features between the lower/intermediate and the tertiary level English.

8.7 Vowel Reduction, Raising and Lowering in DagbE

Chapter seven shows evidence of vowel shift, a phenomenon that forms the basis of determining the phonetic and phonemic dichotomies between the ethnic pronunciations in DagbE, the unique pronunciation of GhE and RP. Findings show vowel lowering, raising, vowel weakening, and instances where some vowels gained prominence in speakers' pronunciation. Also, there is evidence of vowel reduction following the nativisation processes speakers employ in their English word pronunciation. For instance, some evidence of vowel reduction found in the analysis is reducing the RP /ʌʊə/ in *power* to GhE /a:/, and to DagbE /a/. Thus, RP /ʌʊə/ has undergone monophthongisation in both DagbE and GhE realisations of the feature. Another instance of vowel reduction in the analysis is demonstrated in Table 7.16. Table 7.16 shows the RP /aɪ/ in *file* being reduced to /a:/ in both GhE and DagbE. The RP /eɪ/ in *table*, as presented in Table 7.12, also undergoes vowel reduction to /e:/. However, the difference that exists between GhE and DagbE realisations of *table* is that /bɪ/ has been separated by an epenthetic vowel, leading to /bʊl/ in DagbE. Figs 7.18, 7.17, and 7.16 respectively show the physical realisation of the RP /ɔɪ/ in *oil* being reduced to the GhE /ɔ:/ and into the DagbE /ɔ/. Monophthongisation of these features in these variables leads to variation in how the variables are pronounced in English varieties. Moreover, the RP /kwɒləti/ is realised as /kɒliti/ in GhE and realised as /koliti/ in DagbE. Although both GhE and DagbE drop the approximant, /w/, DagbE has the feature /o/, while GhE has /ɔ/.

An instance where weaker vowels gain prominence is with the RP /ʌ/ in *couple* //kʌpl/, to /ɔ/ in both GhE and DagbE. The study reveals that prominence given to the RP feature /ʌ/ affects the realisation of the vowel in the final syllable of DagbE pronunciation. An epenthetic vowel /ʊ/ is inserted in Dagomba's pronunciation of the variable. Moreover, the RP /ʌ/ in *coming* has not only been made a strong vowel but has also been made a long vowel. Thus, the RP /ʌ/ is given prominence and realised as /a/ in GhE; the same feature has gained prominence and length into the DagbE /a:/ in *coming*. Another instance where a weak vowel gained

prominence in the findings is demonstrated on the RP /ə/ in *surprise*. /ə/ is realised as, /ɔ/ in DagbE and as /a/ in GhE, as indicated in figures 7.19, 7.20, and 7.21, respectively, in chapter 7. The RP weak vowel /ɪ/ in the word *kid* has not only gained prominence but has acquired some length in DagbE, (see Figs, 7.7, and 7.8, and 7.9 in chapter 7).

Additionally, findings show vowel substitution from the RP /ɪ/ to GhE /i/, and to DagbE /ε/ in *conflict*, as indicated in Table 7.2. Besides, the RP /ɔ:/ in the variable *pour* has been substituted with the Dagbani /u/. Among the list of substituted vowels, the study found are that from the RP /ɜ:/ in *service* to the GhE /ε/, to the Dagbani /e/; see figures 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6 in chapter 7 for the physical realisation of the feature. Below is Table 8.2 with nativised RP vowels.

Table 8.2 Nativised RP Vowels in DagbE

Reduced Vowels	Vowels that Gained Prominence	Substituted Vowels	Weak to Strong/long Vowels
/aʊə/	/ʌ/	/i:/	/ʌ/
/eɪ/	/ə/	/ɔ:/	/ɪ/
/aɪ/	/ɪ/	/ɜ:/	
/ɔɪ/		/ɪ/	

It is evident from the above Table 8.2 that the RP vowels /ʌ/, /ə/, /ɪ/ have gained prominence and realised as vowels that frequently occur in Dagbani, as in /ʌ/ to /ɔ/ in *couple* and to /a:/ in *coming*, /ə/ to /ɔ/ as in *surprise*, /ɪ/ to /i:/ as in *kid*. Additionally, /aʊə/, /eɪ/, /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/ have gone through vowel reduction of the nativisation processes in DagbE, from /aʊə/ to /a/ as in *power* and *hour*, /eɪ/ to /e:/ as in *table*. /aɪ/ to /a:/ as in *file*, and /ɔɪ/ to /ɔ/ as in *oil*. The vowels that underwent substitution in the nativisation process are, /i:/ to the weak vowel, /ɪ/ in *kid*, /ɔ:/ to /u/ in *pour*, and /o/ in *also*; /ɜ:/ to /e/ in *service* and /ɪ/ to /ε/ in *conflict*. However, among all the features investigated, the phoneme /ɪ/ is the most mutilated vowel sound in DagbE. It has undergone deletion, substitution, weakening, and gained prominence. All these realisations are L1 features that make English words pronounced in DagbE unique and different from GhE and RP.

8.8 Unique Features of DagbE and GhE

Apart from three features for which DagbE and GhE share, the analysis in chapter 7 discovered distinguishing features between DagbE and GhE. Also, parts of the study show features that are recognised more with GhE realisation than DagbE. For instance, Table 7.3, 7.10 show respondents' articulation of the GhE realisation of the features in *honour*, and *hour* more than they realised the DagbE versions of those features. The RP feature /aʊə/ in *power* in Table 7.17 was also realised more with the GhE version than the DagbE realisation. This finding implies that some ethnic features will go extinct as speakers continue to use the GhE version, a variety that is always perceived to be closer to RP. This finding implies that these features with the GhE realisation could be added to the teaching syllabus to make endonormative normalisation a reality in the country's educational system.

The shared features of both varieties are observed; for instance, the RP features, /ei/ and /ai/ on Tables 7.12 and 7.13 share the same features, /e:/, /a:/ respectively in the onset syllable in both GhE and DagbE. The study also found out that the RP /ʌ/ in Table 7.19 is realized in GhE and DagbE as /ɔ/, which in turn has its repercussions on the last syllable in DagbE realisation of the feature, where an epenthetic vowel /ʊ/ is inserted. Thus, GhE and DagbE share the same features in the syllable onset position but contain different elements in the last syllables. This finding implies that many languages in Ghana share common characteristics, which form the foundation of GhE.

The study found unique features that distinguish DagbE and GhE in Ghana. The distinctive features between GhE and DagbE give significant evidence that ethnolinguistic elements exist within GhE. The summary of the two varieties' specific features (GhE and DagbE including RP) is presented in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3 Summary of Distinctive Features of RP, GhE, and DagbE

Variety/ variable	leaders	conflict	coming	kid	quality	also	pour	oil	surprise
RP	Li:dəs	Kɒnflɪkt	kʌmɪŋ	kɪd	kwa:ləti	ɔ:lsoʊ	pɔ:(r)	ɔɪl	səpraɪs
GhE	lides	Kɒnflɪkt	kamin	ki:d	kɔliti	ɔlso	pɔ:	ɔ:yel	səprɪs
DagbE	lɪdɛs	Kɒnflet konfli:t	Ka:min	ki:t ki:d	kɔliti	ɔluso ɔliso oso	puwɔ	ɔyal	səprɪs

Others are the RP /stædi/ realised in GhE as /stædi/, and in DagbE as /stedi/. Additionally, the RP /pi:pl/ also realised as /pi:pl/ and realised as /pi:pɔl/ or /pɛpɔl/. Finally, RP /bed/, which is realised as /bɛd/ in GhE and /bɛ:t/ and /bɛ:d/ in DagbE. Hence, the data and analysis, coupled with the summary of the distinctive features of both GhE and DagbE in Table 8.3 confirm the existence of ethnic English. Besides, it is evident from the findings and in the above Table 8.3 that GhE shares some features and pronunciations with RP. For example, GhE and RP share almost the exact realisations for /pɔ:/ and /bɛd/. As presented in the above table 8.3, the GhE realisation is closer to the RP realisation of the features than the ethnic features. Such features could be added to the English syllabus of formal education in the country to speed up endonormative teaching methods acceptance in the country.

8.9 Impact of Phonetic Environment on Ethnolectal Pronunciations

As demonstrated in Table 8.2, different vowel sounds behave differently depending on the phonetic environment of the feature. The impact of the phonetic environment on the realisation of phonological features is a common phenomenon in Dagbani. A typical example is the sound /g/ being realised as [x] before voiceless consonants in Western Dagbani (see Olawsky 1999; Hudu 2010:12). One of the findings in this study indicates that the phonemes /ɪ/ and /i:/ are realised differently in DagbE depending on the phonetic environment in which they occur. Findings show that the RP /i:/ becomes a shorter and weaker vowel when it succeeds the lateral [l] and precedes the alveolar stop [d] in Dagomba's pronunciation. Consequently, the RP /li:dəs/ is realised as /lɪdɛs/ in DagbE. However, the RP /ɪ/ in the variable kid in Table 7.6 and, as indicated in Table 7.3, has gained prominence and length when it appears after /k/ and before /d/ in Dagomba's pronunciation. Therefore, the RP /kɪd/ is realised as /ki:d/ in DagbE. Even though /i/, a counterpart of /ɪ/ and a closely related vowel in Dagbani occurs in CVC root in Dagbani syllable structure, there is no word among the listed word that /i/ succeeds the sound k in Dagbani (see Hudu 2010:77). This difference in the realisation implies that Dagomba can articulate some speech sounds. However, restrictions are placed on the realisation of the features by the phonetic environments in which they occur. This finding implies that it is not necessarily the absence of a feature in a language that can lead to variation in accent. However, the environment in which a feature occurs, especially when existing sounds in a language do not co-occur in a phonetic environment, that can happen.

Similarly, the RP /ɪ/ in the final syllable of *conflict* is either realised as /i:/ or /ɛ/ without the /k/ when it succeeds the sound [l] and precedes the consonant cluster /kt/. This finding implies that the phonetic environment could lead to the variation or change in vowel quality of existing features in a language. Olawsky (1999) also discovers the effects of the phonetic environment of sounds, completely changing sounds to different sounds in Dagomba's realisation of sounds (see Olawsky 1999:264; Hudu 2010:12). However, a non-occurring feature in a phonetic environment in which a feature occurs could lead to vowel substitution or restructuring. This finding confirms Simo Bobda (2000) observation that West Africans restructure non-existent sounds in their pronunciation.

Moreover, findings show that the RP /ɔ:/ is realised differently in different phonetic environments in DagbE. As indicated in Table 7.8 (in chapter seven) and the above Table 8.2 (in this chapter), the RP /ɔ:/ in the onset position of the variable *also* is realised as /o/, as it precedes the phoneme /l/ in DagbE. However, /ɔ:/ in *pour*, as it succeeds the bilabial plosive /p/ appears as /u/ in DagbE. The analysis of chapter 7 also reveals the RP /ʌ/ realised differently when it appears in the variable, *coming* and *study*. /ʌ/ in *coming*, is realised as /a:/, the same sound is realised as /e/ in the word *study*, and in *couple* it is realised as /ɔ/ in DagbE. As stated above, such observation implies that it is not only the absence of an RP feature in DagbE that causes vowel restructuring, the nature of Dagbani and the phonotactics of the language, but also the phonetic environments in which elements occur leads to restructuring, which results in pronunciation difference among GhE, RP, and DagbE. In this case, the same vowel sounds can be realised entirely differently in different words in DagbE.

8.10 The Retention of Ethnolinguistic Features in DagbE

Findings show intense L1 feature retention in DagbE since ethnic realisations and pronunciation of the RP features demonstrate some evidence of fossilisation. Ethnic features from the basic level to the secondary through to the tertiary level persist with an insignificant reduction among the educational level. The retention of mother tongue features at the basic level to tertiary level is presented in Table 8.4 below.

Table 8.4 Retained Ethnolectal Features in DagbE Pronunciation

Word	Basic Level	%	Secondary Level	%	Tertiary Level	%
Service	s[e]vis	27%	s[e]vis	27%	s[e]vis	19%
Leaders	l[i]dɛs	24%	l[i]dɛs	26%	l[i]dɛs	19%
Coming	k[a:]min	32%	k[a:]min	30%	k[a:]min	24%
Kid	k[i:]t	14%	k[i:]t	16%	k[i:]t	14%
	k[i:]d	12%	k[i:]d	13%	k[i:]d	10%
Quality	k[o]liti	27%	k[o]liti	27%	k[o]liti	26%
Pour	P[u]wɔ	32%	P[u]wɔ	32%	P[u]wɔ	23%
Oil	[ɔya]l	32%	[ɔya]l	27%	[ɔya]l	26%

The summary of the ethnic features in Table 8.4 and the data analysis from chapters 5-7 confirm that Dagomba form part of the Ghanaian English-speaking community and speak Ghanaian English. Nonetheless, there is a high level of retention and fossilisation of features from the Dagbani language. For instance, there are retained and fossilised features of DagbE /e/ away from GhE /ɛ/ and RP /ɜ:/ in *service*. The DagbE /i/ is different from the GhE /i/ and the RP /i:/ in *leaders*. Among the findings is the Dagbani /a:/, which is different in terms of length from GhE /a/ and the RP /ʌ/ in the word, *coming*. The DagbE /ɛ/ is distinct from GhE /i/ and RP /i/ in *conflict*, among others. This vowel shift brings about the difference in pronunciation in DagbE from the RP and GhE. Hence, the distinctive features in this study mark out DagbE as an ethnic variety in Ghana. The basic level minimally retains more of the L1 features than the tertiary level does.

There is no doubt that the mother tongue features that make up the distinguishing features of the DagbE from the GhE and the RP are the nativised features. Also, this ethnolect identifies Dagomba when they speak English. Hence, the main foundation of DagbE as an ethnic variety is nativisation, which leads to differentiation (setting Dagomba's English apart from other varieties of English). Nativisation and differentiation are made manifest in the fossilised and retained ethnic forms. This confirms Schneider's (2007) third stage of the post-colonial Englishes process and 5th stage (the differentiation), as a strong manifestation of ethnic variety in Ghana. The ethnic features do not enormously diminish as speakers climb the educational ladder. Below is a table showing the summary of responses on the phonological features.

Table 8.5 Summary of Ethnic Features in DagbE Pronunciations

Sound	RP	GhE	DagbE
/i:/ in leaders	1	23	61
/ɪ/ in conflict	3	28	56
/ɒ/ in honour	0	44	41
/ɜ:/ in service	3	19	65
/ʌ/ in coming	0	12	65
/ɪ/ in kid	9	15	69
/kwɒ/ in quality	7	6	71
/ɔ:/ in also	0	2	85
/ɔ:/ in pour	0	11	76
/aʊə/ in hour	19	46	22
/ɔɪ/ in oil	2	10	75
/eɪ/ in table	0	0	87
/aɪ/ in file	0	0	86
/ʌ/ in study	1	3	84
/ə/ in surprise	0	32	50
/pɪ/ in people	1	0	66
/aʊə/ in power	3	72	13
/e/ in bed	0	14	73
/pɪ/ in couple	5	7	72
Total	54	344	1,216
Average	3	18	65
%	4%	21%	75%

Two respondents did not take part in the reading of the text. Therefore, the percentages were calculated by deducting those respondents from the total respondents, 89, bringing the number to 87. The number of zeros in each column further reduces the number of responses in the columns to arrive at the percentages of the average scores.

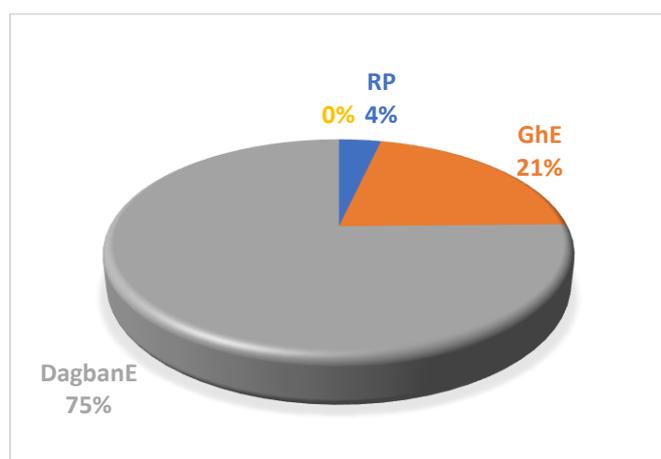


Figure 8.1 Average Score Ethnic Feature Retention in Pronunciation

Finding and as shown in Table 8.4 indicate that not even one person could articulate the RP realisations of seven features. Also, none of the respondents could articulate three elements of the GhE realisations. Another finding, as displayed in Table 8.5, shows that three features were given the GhE realisation than the DagbE realisation . The rest of the features were given the DagbE realisation. The ethnic realisations of the features in this study are 75%. This percentage is far more than the GhE 21% and the RP 4%, as indicated in Fig. 8.1, which shows pieces of evidence of an ethnolectal English spoken by the Dagomba as an ethnic group. The analysis of this study and findings show that the foundation of the variation in pronunciation between DagbE, GhE, and RP can be linguistically traced to L1 or mother tongue features.

Table 8.6 Ethnolectal Retention of Grammatical Features

Perfective	Basic	%	Tertiary	%
Past as PFT	21	23.6%	16	10%
Past as past	7	7.9%	8	9.4%
Past as both	2	2.2%	4	5%
PFT as PFT	27	30.3%	20	22%
PFT as Past	11	12%	12	13%
PFT as both	2	2.2%	7	7.9%
Imperfective				
Prog. as Prog.	30	33.3%	26	29.2%
PROG as HAB	0	0	9	10.1
HAB as PROG.	28	31.7%	18	20.2
HAB as HAB	2	2.3%	10	11.2%
Pictures PROG. as PROG.	30	33.7%	28	31.5%
Picture PROG. as HAB.	0	0	1	1.1%
Picture HAB. PROG. as HAB.	22	24.8%	18	20.2%
Picture HAB. as HAB.	7	7.9%	10	11.2%

The average score of the responses for the imperfective and perfective aspects, as indicated in Table 8.6, shows that the basic level has just a little more ethnic features in their responses than the tertiary level. This indicates that the L1 features in educational levels persist because there is only a minimal reduction of the ethnic features towards the higher level of education.

Table 8.7 Retention of the Ethnic Elements of the Perfective

Present perfect	Simple Past	Both past and Perfect
55.1%	37%	7.9%
50.6%	31.5%	17.9%
83.1%	6.7%	10.1%
53%	32.6%	13.7%
76.4%	18%	5.6%
63%	23.6%	13.5%
63%	30%	6.7%
Total Avg. 63%	26%	11.%

Findings, and as indicated in Table 8.7, show that the present perfect is preferred in both situations connected to the simple past tense and the present perfect. Each figure in Table 8.7 represents the number of responses for each sentence of the present perfect and simple past tense in chapter 5. The seven sentences for the simple past and present perfect in chapter 5 add up to the average score of 63%. This represents the percentage of the frequency of the sample's use of the present perfect, while only 26% use the simple past in completed situations in English. 11% of the sample interpreted the sentences as both presents perfect and simple past tense. Each of these percentages presented in the table contributes immensely to this study's findings because it forms part of the features of DagbE. Below is the pie chart presenting the summary of the L1 features of the perfective in DagbE.

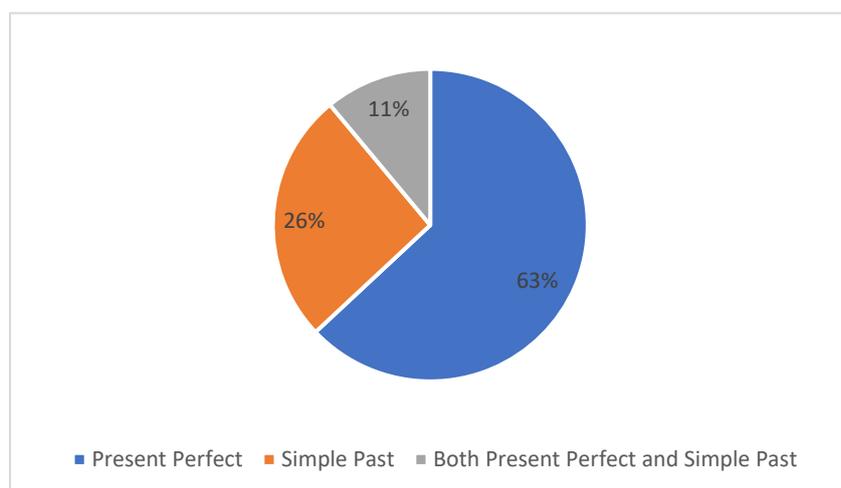


Figure 8.2 Ethnic Retention of Perfective Aspect

The part marked blue in the above pie chart shows the intensity of ethnicism in expressing a completed situation. The use of the present perfect in both perfect and simple past situations makes DagbE uniquely different from GhE and BrE. The ethnic retention of the imperfective features is presented in Table 8.8 and subsequently in the chart in Fig. 8.3 below.

Table 8.8 Retention of the Ethnic Features of the Imperfective

Progressive	Habitual	Both PROG. and Habitual
88%	3.4%	9%
99%	0	1.1%
100%	0	1.1%
100%	0	2.2%
98%	1.1%	2%
97%	2.2%	5.6%
88%	10.1%	1.1%
78%	17%	2.2%
82%	16%	1.1%
88%	11.2%	0
73%	25%	0
73%	26%	0
Total Avg 89%	9%	2%

Table 8.8 shows all the responses for progressive, habitual, and all responses that went for both the progressive aspect and habitual aspect. The average score in percentage for all the sentences on the progressive and the habitual indicates the finding that the progressive is used extensively in both progressive and habitual situations. This phenomenon defines DagbE as a unique ethnolectal English spoken by the Dagomba. Consider the physical presentation of the table in the pie chart below.

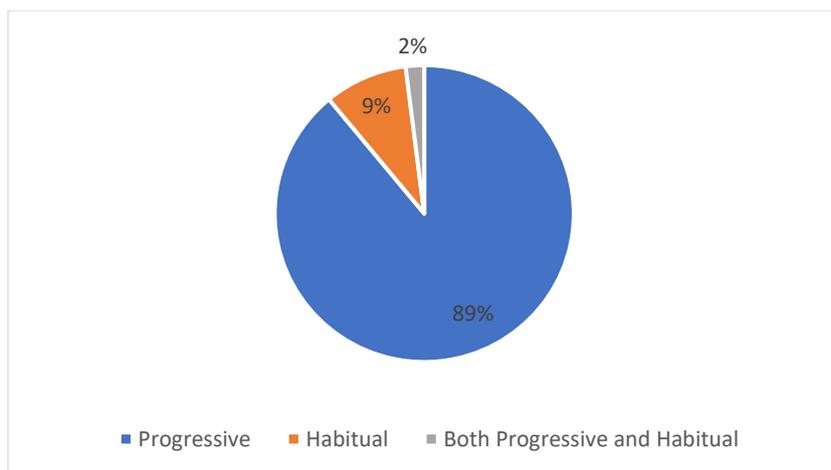


Figure 8.3 Ethnic Retention of Imperfective Aspect

As demonstrated in Table 8.7, the imperfective section of the data analysis shows evidence of the progressive aspect being extended to the habitual present in DagbE. An average score of the responses from the imperfective section for the progressive aspect is 89%, which represents the L1 features in DagbE. Thus, the progressive aspect is used when the habitual or the present tense use is required. The habitual present recorded only 9% in DagbE. As stated above, the implication is that the progressive is used even when a situation demands the habitual present or the simple present tense. This occurrence in DagbE is not the case in RP and GhE, as demonstrated.

8.11 Trace Elements

The study shows evidence of some trace elements in the interpretation of sentences. Trace elements in this study are evidence of some features in the language, but they are not visible enough. For example, some trace elements are captured in respondents' responses in chapters five and six. Respondents interpreted some sentences to belong to two grammatical subcategories. They are past as both past and perfect, perfect as both perfect and past, progressive as both progressive and habitual, habitual as both habitual and progressive, and features whose realisations went for GhE. These trace elements, as indicated in the empirical analysis chapters, are not enormous. However, their count cannot be ignored since they form part of the data and carry significant weight in this study's analysis and findings. For instance, a simple past sentence or progressive being interpreted as both past and perfect and or both present perfect and simple past show the lack of dichotomy between the two grammatical subcategories.

This implies that the two pairs of subcategories are used in free variation, as demonstrated in the analysis. Besides, one of the subcategories overshadows the other subcategory when the Dagomba speak English. These findings, therefore, suggest the difference between Dagbani and English being made clear, with particular attention on the subcategories' differentiation.

Using the subcategories in free variation shows the intensity of mother tongue grammatical features' influence on English tense and aspect. Apart from these, the frequent use of the present perfect leads to the breaking of English grammar rules in English. English users, especially those at the basic and secondary levels, use the perfective with adverbials.

Moreover, chapter seven presents trace elements on the phonological features that are investigated in this study. Although such trace elements are not enormous, they are the distinctive features that mark out ethnic varieties [...] (Funyuy 2012:160). Thus, these trace elements are not visible enough to make a mark but are part of the English the people in the speech community speak. Table 8.9 below present the trace elements in the data.

Table 8.9 Trace Elements

Edu. levels	Past as both past and perfect	Perfect as both perfect and past	Marked past as perfect with adverbial	PROG. as both PROG. and HAB.	HAB. as HAB and PROG.	Phonological features
Basic	2.2%	2%	3%	0	0	7.3%
secondary	3.7%	2%	7.5%	2%	1.1%	5.6%
Tertiary	5%	6.3%	2.2%	4%	6%	7.8%
Total	11%	10.3%	13%	6%	7%	21%

As stated above, these trace elements are insignificant but remain part of the ethnic features of Dagbani. For instance, marked past with adverbials, as in; *Sule has gone to his father's house yesterday*, is not common in GhE and not possible in BrE. The marked past with adverbials is insignificantly used by the Dagomba, but traces found in some percentage in all levels of education. Therefore, the uses of perfect with adverbials are a dent in DagbE. The other elements, especially pronunciation though insignificant, leave some marks on DagbE. For instance, the realisation of the features in *honour*, *hour*, and *power* were realised more in GhE realisation and not in DagbE. Such realisations cannot be ignored since traces of such are

found in DagbE. As demonstrated, the tertiary level respondents lead in the responses for the subcategories being used interchangeably than the basic and secondary users. This means that the tertiary level's extended exposure to education impacts their interpretations of the sentences.

8.12 Implications of the Study

Using the simple past tense and the present perfect interchangeably and the dominance of the present perfect over the simple past in DagbE is not undesirable usage. Therefore, it is not in the interest of this study to brand any grammatical feature ungrammatical. It is not also in the interest of the study to consider ethnic pronunciation as unacceptable pronunciation but to see features as defining elements of DagbE. Nonetheless, they can be considered as uses and pronunciations that are inappropriate in line with the BrE and RP standards. The implication is to create awareness for instructors to appreciate Dagbani grammar and English grammar in the classroom setting. Also, differentiating the grammar of the two languages will help students to appreciate the grammar of the two languages and understand them better. Moreover, replacing one subcategory with another in a sentence implies that the difference between the two languages should be considered in syllabus and content development. In this case, teachers would pay attention to the difference between the two languages and deliberately teach them as languages with different grammatical features. The study could remind grammarians and syntacticians to consider the effects of the difference between the imperfective and the perfective aspects and their functions in expressing tense in different languages. In this case, they could add them to their plans for content development for all educational levels.

Besides, context-dependency for meaning in DagbE informs other speakers to come to terms with the role context plays in some English varieties. Conscientising speakers about the role of context in the new varieties can prevent misunderstandings in communication among English speakers. For “one must remember that misunderstanding of meaning [...] is not uncommon among those using the same educated variety (even in the same biological family), so it will certainly be no less so when multiple varieties are in use” (Kachru and Smith 2008:61). The present perfect with the time adverbials, as trace elements in DagbE suggests that students should be made to practice the use of situations with present relevance of a past situation. In this case, students can do away with the shreds of evidence of the undesirable use of the present perfect with the time adverbials in English. Trace elements that were realised with GhE realisation should be referred in teaching.

Pedagogically, the study offered advice concerning which areas of English grammar and phonology, and which area of the indigenous languages, in the same space with English should be included in the classroom. The study explained the foundation of the mother tongue features, which leads to DagbE. It also came out with findings that confirmed that once ethnic groups co-exist in the same space with English, the interference of ethnic features in English, leading to different tongues of the same language, will persist. Agreeing to this finding will lead to the acceptance of DagbE and any other ethnic variety of English in Ghana. Appreciating the ethnic varieties and their existence will inform the decision of educationalists, teachers, syllabus, and content developers to consider incorporating ethnic features that are closer to RP in the teaching syllabus. In this case, chances of endorsing endonormative material inclusion in the educational system of non-English speaking nations brightens.

As Anchimbe rightly states, ‘the future and continuity of an IVE is strongly dependent on the ways of its speech communities linguistically identify with it’ (Anchimbe, 2006:210). Hence, “those ethnic English features that are closer to RP than [...], they could be positively referred to in the teaching-learning process – that non-native speaker of English could attain native speaker competence” (Fonyuy, 2012:177). Such ethnic features to which reference could be made in this study are those with GhE pronunciation that are part of this study’s findings. They include, /a/ in GhE /awa/ for the RP /aʊə/ in /aʊər/, /ɔ/ in GhE /ɔna/ for the RP /ɔ:/ in /ɔ:nər/. Additionally, /a:/ in GhE /fa:l/ for the RP /ai/ in /fail/, /ɔ/ in GhE /ɔlso/ for the RP /ɔ:/ in /ɔ:lsəʊ/ among others.

The retention of L1 features in English pronunciation suggests that educationalists should incorporate or intensify the teaching of the sound systems of the two languages in JHS and SHS. Pronunciation teaching should be part of communication skills (Com-skills), a compulsorily taught course in the first year of every University in Ghana. This will enhance students’ knowledge of phonetics and phonology of the local languages and RP. The study could conscientise learners and English users about other ethnic varieties of English in Ghana. This act could awaken others’ preparedness to accept speakers of different ethnic varieties of English. Additionally, it could psych other speakers to make efforts to recognise and understand others when they speak English marked with L1 features.

8.13 Recommendations

Considering the ethnic diversity of Ghana and the fact that English is mainly spoken at workplaces, radio stations, courts, Government offices, and most importantly in school settings, the parameters used in investigating DagbE could be used as the basis on which other ethnolects of English spoken in Ghana and West Africa could be investigated. For instance, the educational levels could be the primary tool with which ethnic varieties could be measured, predominantly ethnic varieties of English within the Mabia language group. The manifestation of mother tongue or L1 features from the basic level of education through the secondary to the tertiary level is one of the authentic ways to measure the intensity of the influence or interference of other L1s. For example, the impact of speakers' L1 features does not show much chronological reduction from the basic to tertiary level, as the basic and the secondary levels on one side show no variation in the use of L1 features. However, findings show some reduction in the influence of the ethnic elements in the English they speak, as they move higher to the tertiary level.

The intensity of the influence of the L1 features on DagbE suggests a strong need for content development and methodological amendments in the educational system. Phonetics and phonology should be a compulsory part of language teaching in non-native English-speaking environments. Moreover, different teaching methods of English and the indigenous languages' sound systems and deliberate pronunciation teaching is paramount if we need to make others appreciate and understand others from different ethnic backgrounds' pronunciation. Besides, the grammar of Dagbani and English should be made compulsory, where lessons are planned so that learners are taught the function of the perfective and imperfective aspects in both languages. Following this, tense and aspect are taught in both the indigenous languages and in English. Besides, both languages should be compulsorily taught at all levels of education to make the distinction between the two languages clearer.

8.14 Conclusion

As stated in the introductory part of this chapter, this study aims to investigate the influence of the Dagbani language on Dagomba's use of the English language. Specifically, I explored: a) how the Dagbani perfective aspect (simple past and present perfect) influences Dagomba's expressions of the English past tense, b) how the Dagbani imperfective aspect (the progressive and habitual present) affects Dagomba's use of the English habitual present tense,

and c) how the phonological features of Dagbani influence the spoken English of the Dagomba. This theme has not been scholarly investigated whatsoever.

Considering the proliferation of non-native varieties and the numerous functions of English in Ghana, this study is the right area of linguistics to explore. Thus, findings will not only determine how Dagbani influences English and finally discover DagbE as an ethnic variety within GhE but will also help in the revision of content materials in education to facilitate endonormative content inclusion in the curriculum.

The study found out that the English spoken by Dagomba is entirely influenced by the nature of Dagbani grammar and phonology. For instance, the nature and uniqueness of the Dagbani phonological system, the perfective and imperfective aspects, are the foundation of the influence that leads to the existence of DagbE. As Fonyuy rightly puts it, “results showing differences in pronunciation can significantly distinguish social groups, such as ethnic groups and socio-educational groups in society and contribute to the study of pronunciation variation and evolution” (Fonyuy 2012:175).

On the grammatical features, the study found instances where the simple past, present perfect, simple present tense, and the progressive tense are different in how they are used in DagbE and BrE. For example, in BrE, a simple past situation, *He went there*, is mostly realised as *He has gone there*, in DagbE, when the situation does not involve continuing relevance or present relevance of a past situation. Sometimes any of the two subcategories are used in DagbE when a simple past situation is required. In this case, the present perfect is used instead of the simple past that is needed. Similarly, instances where the use of the habitual present, as in BrE: *My father drives a car to school*, is required: *My father is driving a car to school*, is used in DagbE. Hence, the progressive is a preferred subcategory in DagbE when the simple present/habitual is required. Therefore, the Dagbani perfective and imperfective influence Dagomba’s use of English tense.

Findings also show the phonological features of Dagbani violating the RP pronunciation rules right from the basic to the tertiary level users’ spoken English. The inability to realise some phonological features, given the phonotactics of the L1, leads to strategies like; vowel shortening/lengthening, vowel reduction, vowel substitution, and spelling pronunciation, which eventually result in fossilisation. Findings show that the variation in

pronunciation among DagbE, GhE, and RP is founded on phonological processes (vowel harmony, vowel reduction, vowel weakening, vowel shortening, and vowel lengthening) speakers apply in pronouncing English words. All these innovative strategies are used, given the nature of the mother tongue of speakers. Findings show that DagbE has a stand in the linguistic space in society. Findings and analysis point to the fact that DagbE has a future as an ethnolectal English. This is because the prospects of DagbE can be measured by the number of speakers from the basic level of education to the tertiary level of education. Thus, the continuity of DagbE can be predicted based on this study’s findings. For instance, since Dagbani, as an indigenous language remains in contact with the English language, they will continue to influence each other in the speech community. Therefore, Dagbani features will continue to interfere in the grammar and the pronunciation of the English language, as demonstrated in the analysis of this study. Also, the influence of the L1 features from both the grammar and phonology of Dagbani is intensive from the basic level speakers to the tertiary level speakers. The heavy influence of Dagbani grammar and phonology at the basic level shows the possibility of the retention of ethnic features that become fossilised in advanced learners’ English. Hence, speakers find it challenging to overcome this fossilisation at the tertiary level, as its manifestation is apparent in how the high level of education retains the L1 features. Consider the level of survival of DagbE in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10 Level of Survival of the DagbE

Ethnic Retention of Pronunciation	Ethnic Retention of the Perfective Use	Ethnic Retention of the Imperfective Use
75%	63%	89%

The fossilisation of L1 or mother tongue features from the basic level to the tertiary educational levels indicates that DagbE has come to stay. Therefore, it should be accepted, and plans should be made to incorporate those parts that are closer to RP in classroom teaching. In a nutshell, this study forms the bases under which other ethnic varieties within the Mabia languages and ethnic varieties in Ghana can be investigated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Simple Text

My *people!* What again? I don't want to listen, and he doesn't want to give an ear; they don't also want to hear, but it comes. Yes, I saw it *coming!* Another *conflict!* Yes! *Conflict,* always sleeping with us on the same bed. Everyone tests it *bit by bit,* every hour every minute, here and there. What for? Hmm! For *power!* Political *power?* Or hydropower? One may ask, but never ask! I think I am the wrong person to be asked. Ask your chairman, your chief, and all the *leaders.* They sit on one chair, one seat, and claim not to have an alternative than to *file* a report with their mobile phones and move not an inch. *People!* Stand up!

The 'quantity' of good *leaders* in our communities depends on us, and the amount of peace in our communities depends on the *quality of leaders* and *quality of service,* but we need to *study* the situation a *kid* is a *kid!!* Older adults do not like cold water. They normally *pour* hot water and mix. They can even sometimes add *oil.* Did you know I have boys who sell for me to get some coins? I always do well. I have a mower lower than these. When they finish the funeral, they will be *coming* home. I *honour* all, respect me. Support me, supply the supplement! Don't be *surprised.* But listen to another side of life! Sometimes *people* compromise if only they are sure, it will produce something good. That was why so many *people* were there to see how the *couple* will come out of the hospital with their newly born child. I found that very interesting. How did you find that? You did find that interesting, didn't you? I found something where the *people* were waiting to receive another. There was a gentleman sitting on a *table* in front of the building, where two school children mix varieties of food that are sold in school. 'Translate the text and inflate the tyre!' He shouted, then, everybody turned.

The Perfective Sentences

Simple Past

4. Dànáá kánà kpè.
Dànáá come.PFV here
'Dànáá came here.'

5. Ní cháj Tàmàlè.
1SG go.PFV Tamale

‘I went to Tamale’

6. Ò kù wáhù máà.
3SG kill.PFV snake DEF
‘He killed the snake’

Marked past

4. Dànáá dí káná kpè.
Dànáá TDP come.PFV here
‘Dànáá came here a while ago.’
5. Sùlé sá chàṅlá ó bá yíṅá.
Sùlé TDP go.PFV 3SG father house
‘Sùlé went to his father’s house yesterday.’
6. Báwá dáá góyá.
Báwá TDP Travel.PFV
‘Bawa travelled days ago.’

Present Perfect

4. Tí díyà..... / Tí dími.
1PL eat.PFV / 1PL eat.IMPFV-EMP
‘We have eaten.’
5. Bìhí màà dì là sàyím / Bìhi màà dí sàyím.
Children DEF Come.PRF FOC food / Children DEF eat.PRF Food
‘The children have eaten the food.’
6. Ò sàbì-yá.
3SG write.PRF
‘S/he has written.’
4. ṅúná n-nîṅ lì
3SG DCP-do.PFV 3SG.INANI
‘He/she has done it’.

The Imperfective Sentences

Progressive

4. Ò pùhìrì náá mì.
3SG greet.IMPFV chief DCP
S/he is greeting the chief too.

5. Tì dírímì.
1PL eat.IMPFV.DCP
We are eating.

6. Ò dirá.
3SG eat.IMPFV
S/he is eating.

Habitual Sentences

5. Ò yùrì kóm
3SG. drink.IMPF. water
He drinks water.

6. M̀ bá dúhírílá lóórí n-chàni shíkúrú.
1SG.DEM father drive.IMPFV car DCP-go.IMPFV school
My father drives a car to school.

7. Sánà b́rì ó wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFV 3SG horse
Sana rides a horse.

8. Sánà b́rílá ó wáhù.
Sana ride.IMPFV 3SG wahu
Sana rides her horse.

Appendix 'B': Pictures on the Progressive Aspect

Picture 'A'



Picture 'B'

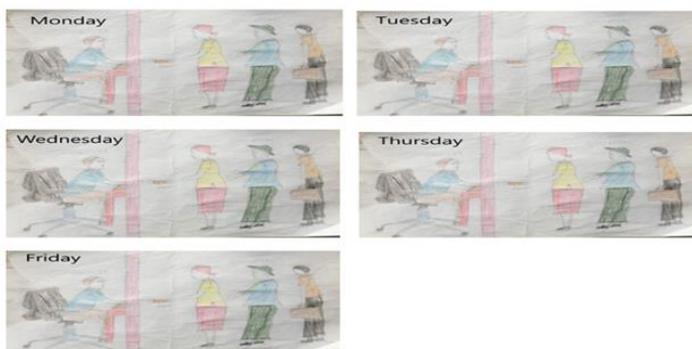


Picture 'C'



Appendix 'C': Pictures on the Habitual Present

Picture 'D'



Picture 'E'

