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**English as a post-colonial lingua franca:
A multivariate analysis of English-ownership and
Language-In-Education model preference among Ghanaian
tertiary students**

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Dissertation submitted to the University of Oxford in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition

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Abstract

Ghana, like many postcolonial African nations, is at a sociolinguistic crossroads in which English is believed to be encroaching on sociocultural domains, while the country's indigenous languages are being promoted by governments to have a stronger presence in mainstream education. The current study therefore aimed to understand the extent of English ownership and Language-In-Education model preference (LIEMP) among tertiary students in Ghana to investigate whether the attitudes of the country's most active English users corroborate these governmental initiatives. The study also considered the influence of sociodemographic factors, namely (i) L1, (ii) Age, (iii) Gender, (iv) SES, (v) Region, (vi) Academic Discipline, (vii) Most Spoken Language, and (viii) English Variety Preference, on students' attitudes towards English in Ghanaian society and indigenous languages in Ghanaian mainstream education. The study employed a mixed-methods approach, with quantitative data collected through an online questionnaire completed by 159 participants and analysed through descriptive, correlative, and regression analyses, and qualitative data obtained through 4 semi-structured interviews that were analysed thematically. While the questionnaire results revealed that most of the sample did not claim ownership of English on a macro-level, their self-directed LIEMP varied strongly based on select sociodemographic factors, namely L1, Home Region, and SES. A relationship was also found between participants' lack of ownership and LIEMP, with qualitative findings indicating that, regardless of which LIE model the students prefer, they view implementing appropriate curricula for all L1 groups as impractical or simply irrelevant to the Ghanaian market at large. These results demonstrate the importance of attitudinal studies to appropriately strategise language planning through "bottom-up" incentives, as well as the need for prestige planning to accompany acquisition planning in order to facilitate public sensitisation towards L1-incorporated education in postcolonial Africa.

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List of Abbreviations

BGL	Bureau of Ghana Languages
BSE	British Standard English
CUP	Common Underlying Proficiency
DIL	Dominant Indigenous Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ENL	English as a Native Language
EO	English Ownership
ESL	English as a Second Language
GhaE	Ghanaian English
GhaPE	Ghanaian Pidgin English
H	High Language/Variety
L1	First Language/Native Language
L2	Second Language
LAFA	Locally Acquired Foreign Accent
LIE	Language-In-Education
LIEMP	Language-In-Education Model Preference
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MSL	Most Spoken Language
NALAP	National Accelerated Literacy Project
NLTF	National Literacy Task Force
PEV	Preferred English Variety
PIE	Planning-Implementation-Evaluation
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SP	Student Pidgin
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Introduction

Dako & Quarcoo (1994) use a well-known Akan proverb to metaphorically describe the historical complexities surrounding the Ghanaian people's attitudes towards the English language: "If you catch the beautiful nightjar, you inflict on yourself a curse, but if you let it go, you have lost something of great value" (1). This orientation of English, an exoglossic (ex-colonial) language associated with the former colonial administration, as a curse and, simultaneously, a valuable necessity, is epitomised by the fact that it remains Ghana's sole official language and medium in government and higher education, despite the presence of an estimated 50 (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008) to 81 (Simons & Fenning, 2017) native languages. This inequality in functions and prestige, attributed to postcolonial norms and globalisation trends (Williams, 2019), has made English proficiency an instrumentally-charged necessity for social mobility and economic success (Coupland, 2009). Consequently, English is encroaching on many (primarily sociocultural) domains previously reserved for local Ghanaian languages. Results from qualitative studies (Afrifa, Anderson, & Ansah, 2019; Mufwene, 2010) have alluded to Ghanaians professing that English may gradually assume L1 status in the country due to the prioritisation of children attending English medium schools, and parents choosing to speak English at home. Theorists (Agyekum, 2018; Phillipson, 1991) have subsequently attributed this potential language shift (a phenomenon in which the speech community shifts in favour of the domain's dominant language, Fishman; 2006) to a modern-day "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992: 2).

Conversely, the Ghanaian government has frequently attempted to counter these inequalities through the increased implementation of indigenous languages in the English-dominated context of education (Owu-Ewie, 2006). The modern-day attempt was first introduced in 2006 through the inception of the National Accelerated Literacy Project (NALAP), denoting instruction from Kindergarten to Primary 4 in one of Ghana's 11 government-sponsored indigenous languages, paired with a gradual transition to English (Anyidoho, 2018). Although the NALAP model was intended to mirror the cognitive (Baker, 2011; Bialystok, 2009; Cummins, 2000) and socio-affective (Bialystok, 2018; Turnbull, 2018) benefits of L1-based instruction, it has been criticised by researchers (Ansah, 2014; Osei, 2015) and panned attitudinally by the Ghanaian public (Bronteng, 2020; Bisilki, 2018; Owu-Ewie & Edu-Buandoh, 2014), with the latter party frequently calling for a reversion to

an English-monolingual Language-In-Education (LIE) model. Although public advocacy for an English-monolingual model has mostly been attributed to instrumental motivations (e.g., academic success) (Agbozo, 2021; Sarfo, 2012), further qualitative research has also revealed preference for English instruction on additional integrative bases, such as cross-ethnic communication improvement (Quarcoo, 2006) and interethnic equality (Yevudey, 2014).

These insights suggest a gap in understanding English attitudes in Ghana from the standpoint of ownership. While the global dissemination of English has made learners throughout different ESL (English as a second language) contexts embrace their use of English outside of an exonormative perspective (i.e., native speaker norms) (Crystal 1999), Norton (1997, 2010) still professes that the ownership of a language is linked to a speaker's identity in the context of its social meaning. Further to the perception of English in Ghana as an increasingly influential language for integrative community interaction (Agbozo, 2015) and cross-ethnic communication (Dako, 2002), discussions have also centred on the endonormative (localised) development of Ghanaian English (GhaE) as one of the so-called New Englishes (Kachru, 1996) and how it is nativising through innovation, appropriation, and decentralisation from traditional colonial standards, especially among secondary and tertiary students (Bonney, 2021). Quarcoo (2014) embodies these observations in his argument that "The English language has been with us longer than every Ghanaian alive today, and has, therefore, acquired the status in society where we can also refer to it as our language" (24). Nonetheless, while many studies have shown ESL speakers from postcolonial Asian contexts professing an owner identity with English (Higgins, 2003; Kohn, 2018), postcolonial Africa remains an understudied context in this regard (Parmegiani, 2008).

Based on the above phenomena and research gaps, I insist that analysing the extent of English ownership among Ghanaians, in tandem with their educational model preferences, may provide holistic insights into the public's perceived role of English in Ghanaian society and native languages in Ghanaian education. Such findings may also help to fulfil the common gap in language policy implementation in postcolonial Africa based on attitudinal inquiry (Owu-Ewie, 2015), echoing the statement by Baker and Prys-Jones (1998) that "any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitudes of those likely to be affected." (178). This pilot study thus aims to investigate the potential links between language attitudes and policy preference in Ghana among the nation's tertiary-

level students by analysing the extent to which they claim ownership of the English language as well as their preferred LIE model for mainstream education.

Literature Review

This chapter aims to discuss relevant concepts explored in the current study and provide an overview of the theoretical foundation on which the study relies. The chapter begins with a broad description of language attitudes and their theoretical link to policy implementation, followed by the investigation of two primary themes, analysing concepts in **i) English Ownership** and **ii) Language-In-Education Planning**, respectively. The chapter explores these themes from perspectives ranging from postcolonial Africa en masse to Ghana itself.

2.1 Language Attitudes and Language Policy

Garrett (2010) explains that definitions of ‘attitudes’ are admittedly wide-ranging, with the term often being used interchangeably with concepts such as motivation and ideology. However, I contend that Dragojevic's (2017) definition of the term—a speaker or community of speakers' evaluation that remains sufficiently consistent to be distinguished and quantified—appropriately encapsulates attitudinal studies in terms of theoretical and empirical goals (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). Among the most noteworthy ways of empirically analysing attitudes is through Rosenberg & Hovland's (1960) tripartite model, which classifies language attitudes as emotional (sentiment-based), cognitive (knowledge-based), and behavioural (action-based) (Artamonova, 2020; Kusuma, 2019; Ladegaard, 2000). These three attitudinal aspects have been shown to conflict in past studies by Baker (1992), Lasagabaster (2017), Nduwimana (2019), and Garcia-Palomino (2021). This contrast of overt and covert language attitudes (Baker, 1992) implies that an individual's attitudes towards a language may be bound to a specific domain.

This attitudinal complexity is also present in language policy practises, as Shohamy (2006) explains that attitudes may be interpreted explicitly in policy texts or implicitly through community practises. Language attitudes could thus be interpreted as implicit language policy, which influences subsequent explicit policy practise (Bell, 2013; Jourdan, 2021). Chimbutane (2012) emphasises the interplay of attitudes and policy by stating that “language policy is a mechanism for locating language within social structure, determining who has access to political power and economic resources” (359).

In the case of postcolonial Africa en masse, theorists (Adebija, 1994a; Takam, 2020) have maintained that policy in the region is grounded in a monolithic power dichotomy between a nation's respective endoglossic (indigenous) and exoglossic (ex-colonial) languages. Ngugi (2018) explains that the region's native languages, regardless of population or pre-colonial influence, were marginalised economically and politically by their respective colonial administrations, expressing that "European and African languages never met as equals" (105). This exoglossic-endoglossic dichotomy has often been applied to illustrate attitude configurations across postcolonial English-speaking contexts, such as in Kachru's (1996) model of World Englishes, which categorises postcolonial nations under the so-called 'outer circle', encompassing ESL (English as a second language) countries. Kachru describes these contexts as nations with historical British colonial relations and where English is commonly used in prestige sectors (government, education, media, etc.), despite other indigenous languages acting as L1s (Kachru, 2005).

This contrasts with the extended circle, which stands for EFL (English as a Foreign Language), and the inner circle, which serves as the model's focal point, containing ENL (English as a Native Language) contexts (such as Australia, Britain, the United States, etc.). Galtung (1999) refers to the inner circle as a "controlling centre" (106) that continues to influence the outer and expanding circles years after independence through economic and educational standards, a phenomenon described by Mfum-Mensah (2005) as "Neocolonialism" (2).

The depiction of attitudes based on perceived nativeness and foreignness is also symbolised by Adekunle's (1995) interpretation of Pan-African language attitudes through the contrast of centrifugal and centripetal forces. He describes the centrifugal force as utilitarian, outward-looking, and instrumental, thus exclusively associated with the attainment of social mobility (Wolff, 2016). He associates this force with ex-colonial European languages, especially English, because of their adaptability to the modern global village (Adekunle 1995). Studies in Nigeria (Akeem, Stapa, & Yunju, 2021), Tanzania (Musa, 2023), and Namibia (Norro, 2022) have indeed presented secondary and tertiary students' orientation to English as almost exclusively instrumental.

By contrast, Adekunle (1995) describes the centripetal force as representing culture and language self-determination, driven by solidarity, and group identity through an indigenous social interaction medium. This is to say that the centripetal force is integrative in nature (Gardner, 1988), entailing favourable attitudes towards the target language and culture

that foster community integration. Accordingly, studies involving attitudes towards Sango in the Central African Republic (Boyette, 2013), Kinyarwanda in Rwanda (Niyomugabo, 2015), and Malagasy in Madagascar (Ravelonanahary, 2007) show the centripetal force as commonly associated with policy motivations involving the promotion of indigenous languages.

Nonetheless, the languages highlighted in the latter empirical studies are not as socioethnically bound or present in contexts with the same multilingual density or attitudinal configurations as in West African contexts such as Ghana. Moreover, several theorists (Higgins, 2009; Ndhlovu, 2010; Ohly, 2004) view it as unfair to monolithically categorise all indigenous languages under one mantle. Alternatively, Batibo (2005) suggests categorising language dynamics in Africa into a triglossia, which is the use of three languages by the same group, each with distinct and complementary roles (Ansah, 2022). In this postulation, (i) the High (H) language is the official language, and (ii) the dominant indigenous language (DIL) is used as lingua franca and considered to have H functions in relation to (iii) the indigenous language(s) below them in population and/or prestige. This is to say that DILs could also have instrumental qualities while simultaneously posing an internal threat to language shift themselves (Phillipson, 2013). This dynamic, in relation to English's role in Ghana's language ecology, is discussed in the following section.

2.1.1 English in the Ghanaian Language Ecology

The language ecology of Ghana and its subsequent English attitude configurations are effectively summarised using Adegbija's (2000) five attitudinal characteristics that he attributes to all West African countries:

i) The unsevered colonial umbilical cord

Though Obeng (1997) suggests that English has been present on Ghana's southern coast since the 1550's, its use was mostly limited to British forts and trading posts until the nineteenth century, when the British took control of the Ashanti region and a wider inland territory to form a commercial colony subsequently named the Gold Coast (Gocking, 2005). Ironically, when British administrators and Basel missionaries implemented their education systems in the country, they frequently developed materials in major indigenous languages

(i.e., Akan, Ga, Ewe, etc.), but, as Adika (2012) explains, such mediums were limited to rural, ethnically homogenous territories, while multiethnic urban centres (e.g., Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi) were taught strictly in English. This established an inherent prestige association for the English language, as it was the sole medium of instruction (MOI) in the country's most developed areas (Dseagu, 1996).

Even after becoming the first African nation to declare independence from a European power in 1957 (Amamoo, 2011) and rejecting the British name by adopting the name of an ancient African kingdom representative of their pre-colonial communities (Apter, 2008), Ghana's newly-formed government under ardent Pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah insisted that English remain the exclusive language of administration and education, under the belief that it was the most economically viable language to maintain national development. Wiredu (2002) associates this historically instrumental attachment to English with Ghana's struggle for cultural self-affirmation (conceptual decolonization), which he claims continues in postcolonial times.

ii) The official dominance of ex-colonial languages, and

iii) The official neglect of indigenous languages;

Attitudinal data from various decades (Saah, 1986; Andoh-Kumi, 1997; Ofori & Albakry, 2012) maintains that English remains the most esteemed language in the nation (Guerini, 2017), primarily because of its public perception as the key to socioeconomic advancement.

However, the recreational use of English in Ghana has traditionally been limited to urban and educational domains (Owusu, 2013). The country's literacy rate, which is the highest in West Africa but far below the averages in Southern (91%) and Eastern (93%) African former British colonies (Manten et al., 2020), demonstrates this; according to the 2022 Ghana Living Standard Survey, only 30% of Ghanaians are intermediately literate in English, while the rate among adolescents aged 13–18 is 71% (Karakara, Sebu, & Dasmani, 2022). It is also worth noting that Ghana's English literacy rates are significantly lower in the nation's Northern regions, where colonial contact and subsequent socioeconomic development were significantly less prevalent (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008).

There is also a relative North-South division in terms of a DIL, with Dagbani and Hausa (the latter indigenous to West Africa but not Ghana) commonly fulfilling lingua franca status in the Muslim-majority North (Dakubu, 2015). Nevertheless, despite the prominence of several regionally bound lingua francas (e.g., Ewe, Ga-Dangme, etc.), Akan is regarded, under one collective, as Ghana's premier DIL (Agyekum, 2011). Often classified interchangeably between a language and a dialect continuum (Boadi, 2008; Guerini, 2009), Akan is commonly divided into the macro-dialects of Fante and Twi, with the latter classified into three primary non-Fante dialects (Akuapem, Asante, and Akyem). In the 2020 Ghanaian census, 45% of the population spoke Akan as a L1, with 86% as either a L1 or L2 (Dzahene-Quarshie & Marjie, 2020), acting as the language of daily economic trade in most major Ghanaian cities. Although Akan is commonly used in religious events and media, attitudes towards its potential expansion into higher mainstream education have been continuously mixed (Assan, 2010).

This is to say that the prestige associated with English has ultimately translated into a comparatively low esteem for indigenous languages, including Akan, in educational domains. Dako's (2011) qualitative study involving students at the University of Ghana expressed that many participants viewed bilingualism in English and a local language as 'worthless', claiming that local languages rarely have economic significance. This was also evident in Anokye's (2019) study concerning tertiary students' CV writing techniques. Under the "languages spoken" category, students consistently mentioned exoglossic languages (e.g., English, French, Spanish) but not Ghanaian languages.

Nevertheless, theorists (Afful, 2006; Bodomo, 2009) have expressed that the main language conflict attitudes towards English in Ghana are among the Akans, especially among speakers of Asante Twi (the current prestige dialect), with Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) claiming that the officialisation of Akan may only be a "matter of time" (2). However, the following attitudinal constructs explain not only what factors may keep English as the sole official language but also its potential integrative quality in the Ghanaian context.

iv) Dense multilingualism, and

v) Socio-politically interwoven language-related problems

Although the exact number of native languages in Ghana is still unknown (Appiah, 2021), increased institutional support for vehicular majority languages like Akan has often caused certain minority language communities to feel systemically threatened (Anani, 2019). Historical resentment against a dominating ethnic group like the Asantes, whose Akan dialect has been prominent and prestigious since colonial times, has commonly led to exaggerated language loyalty among several groups (even among Akan groups themselves) (Turchetta, 1998). These attitudinal conflicts are also prevalent among speakers of high-population, government-sponsored languages, as a study by Dakubu (2005) involving teachers whose L1 was Ga (the indigenous language of Ghana's capital, Accra) explained how they were not particularly interested in teaching Ga but outright refused to teach Akan (which they all spoke) as a matter of ethnic pride and, consequently, taught exclusively in English. Bibiebome, Anderson, & Mensah (2019) reported a qualitative study of how the spread of Akan as a trade language into the north has also caused many young people to prefer resorting to English as a means of ethnic neutrality.

As such, Dako (2019) argues that English is a “superethnic solution to the potentially controversial issue” (3) of official language selection, as it has no ethnic implications. Notwithstanding Nkrumah's (a Fante Akan) focus on African values and identity, he viewed English as “the finest way to communicate and unite Ghana” under a socially equal approach (Smock, 1976; 3). What's more, he also viewed English as a premier medium for Pan-Africanism, as it was the one language that communicatively united a majority of postcolonial African nations (Kaba, 2017). Moreover, Nkrumah believed that the conceptual decolonisation of English would come from “speaking it like Africans” (Yankah, 1985: 12). These goals entailing the (i) expertise and (ii) loyalty of English are the fundamental tenets of the modern theoretical interpretation of language Ownership (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Rampton, 1990), a concept explored further in the following section.

2.2 English Ownership

2.2.1 Definition and Postcolonial Implications

Globalisation and the subsequent growth of English as an international language have led to its mass denationalisation and acculturation to local needs among outer and expanding

circle contexts (Sharifian, 2014), with Norton (1997) arguing that English no longer only belongs to “native speakers of standard English, [but] to all the people who speak it, irrespective of linguistic and sociocultural history” (409).

Definitively, Rampton (1990) states that ownership refers to how a language develops a person's identity and linguistic skills on two bases: (i) expertise, denoting language mastery above "nativeness" as an effective indicator, and (ii) loyalty, a desire to be identified with a language, either by inheritance or, in non-native circles, affiliation.

Park (2011) expanded on Rampton's approach by advocating for an ownership framework consisting of (i) “legitimate knowledge” and (ii) “language allegiance”, believing that English ownership is acquired through valid knowledge and emotional belonging (Seilhamer, 2015).

Regarding postcolonial contexts, Vaish (2005) claims that ownership is realised through a synthesis of overt factors, including creative usage and grammar appropriation, as well as the emotional agency to liberate themselves from "non-native" identities. Norton (2013) insists that language users personally regulate and interpret these identities, comprising a binary of English learner identity, entailing a position of reduced power (Dweck, 2013), and English owner identity, when a person perceives themselves and/or their local community as genuine speakers of English despite it not being their L1 (Mohochi, 2015).

It is therefore important to look at ownership from both a micro-perspective (the extent to which an individual speaker sees a language as his or her own) and macro-perspective (whether sociolinguistic groups view themselves as legitimate owners of a language in a linguistic market) (O'Rourke, 2011). According to studies involving students from ESL contexts, such as India (Canagarajah, 2006), Malaysia (Higgins, 2003), Singapore (Rubdy et al., 2008), and even EFL contexts such as Japan (Matsuda, 2003) and Finland (Nikula, 2007), English Macro-ownership is gradually decentralising from inner circle norms, with non-native communities producing nationalised standards that are increasingly accepted locally. In the case of Ghana, the endogenous English code is Ghanaian English (GhaE), classified as a New English (Schneider, 2003), as it follows the structural norms of British Standard English (BSE), but consists of its own phonology (e.g., fewer total vowels from BSE and syllable-timing as opposed to stress-timing), as well as lexical and grammatical

inclinations (dubbed ‘Ghanaianisms’), such as the use of prepositions as verbs (e.g., “*Off* the engine!” to imply “*Turn off* the engine!”) (Simo-Bobda, 2000; Ngula, 2014).

Nonetheless, while Ghana and other postcolonial African contexts have produced documented appropriated versions of their exolanguages, such as English in Nigeria (Oyebola, 2020) and Kenya (Michieka, 2005), as well as French in Ivory Coast (Newell, 2009) and Portuguese in Angola (Holm, 2009), the region remains empirically understudied in terms of evaluating ownership, or even public recognition, of these varieties. Moreover, the colonial trauma and linguistic imperialism associated with exolanguages in Africa have caused theoretical contention over the sheer possibility of loyalty towards these tongues (Phillipson 1991; 1992). Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiongo's (1998) "colonisation of the mind" theory explicitly constructs a person's L1 as a fixed identity determined by birth (12), insisting that Africans can only express their micro- and macro-identities through an African language.

By contrast, Nigerian author Chinua Achebe (1977) expressed potential in English ownership, so long as the language carries “the weight of my African experience” and transforms into “a new English, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings” (13).

It is necessary to put colonial history into perspective when analysing such attitudes, as Onyemena (1999) explains that Ngugi’s Kenya was a British settler colony and must have had a greater collective need for conceptual decolonisation compared to Nigeria’s Achebe. Such contextualisation is also necessary for Parmegiani’s (2014) seminal study of English ownership among 120 Zulu-L1 secondary students in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, one of the first studies to empirically analyse ownership in sub-Saharan Africa. Among the participants, 72% did not regard English as their own language, with 7 of the 8 qualitatively interviewed participants professing language ownership as ethnically bound, in turn corroborating Ngugi’s theory. These results can be contextualised through the racially segregative history of Apartheid in the country (Seidman, 1999), but also with the strong language loyalty associated with the political and cultural history of isiZulu L1s (compared to other South African L1 groups, such as isiXhosa) (Rudwick, 2018).

This need for attitudinal interpretation on the basis of different sociodemographic variables will be further exemplified in the following section, where attitudinal studies in Ghana with potential regard to ownership are observed.

2.2.2 Ownership-Related English Attitudes in Ghana

Though not directly researched from an ownership standpoint, several empirical studies analysing the Ghanaian public's attitudes towards English have produced results that potentially complement Park's (2011) knowledge/allegiance framework, in turn incentivising a more in-depth study on the matter.

In a survey conducted by Quarcoo (2006), 100 parents from metropolitan Accra were asked to provide at least three reasons why they had chosen English over their L1 in communicating with their children. While the two most popular responses denoted instrumentally charged reasons (school admission and academic success), the third most popular response by 46% of parents was to communicate with Ghanaians from different linguistic backgrounds. This statistic assumes a substantial proportion of these parents view fellow Ghanaians as English-speakers from an endonormative community perspective, in turn denoting an additionally integrative orientation of the language. Nonetheless, this motivation may also be interpreted as instrumental, given the high social status of English-speaking Ghanaians (Aheto-Tsegah, 2011). Moreover, such attitudes towards English as an interethnic common language may be bound to cosmopolitan contexts such as Accra, as opposed to more homogeneous regions in the country.

Indeed, according to Dolphyne's (1995) survey of 82 students at the University of Cape Coast, there appears to be a strong correlation between L1 affiliation and perceptions of language allegiance in Ghana. The students had to select which language was the most important component of Ghana's cultural and linguistic identity. Among the participants, most non-Akan L1s (64%) selected English, whereas a vast majority of Akan L1s (80%) selected Akan.

A similar language conflict trend was found in results denoting self-perceived legitimate knowledge, such as in Guerini's (2008) survey of 90 students at the University of

Ghana in Accra, where over one quarter of the Akan L1 subgroup (28.2%) rated English as an equally effective language to express their feelings as Akan, compared to 52.8% of non-Akan native speakers who rated English as effective as their L1. However, it must be noted that these trends of allegiance and knowledge may not be commonplace among all non-Akan L1 groups, and the tertiary student sample assumes that these participants have more frequent contact with English as well as a presumably higher socioeconomic status (SES) than the country's general populous.

Studies regarding exonormative and endonormative English variety preferences among Ghanaians also show potential variance in L1, SES, and age.

Although BSE has always been perceived as the official target in mainstream education and government, it is not popular among younger Ghanaians, with Koranteng (2006) describing the curiosity of the phenomenon by claiming “the educated Ghanaian thinks he speaks British English and yet frowns on any type of pronunciation that approximates it” (23).

Additionally, theorists (Bruku, 2010; Arthur-Shoba, Dako & Quartey, 2013) claim that, since the 1990's, an accent influenced by General American (GA) features is increasingly acceptable and popular among adolescent and tertiary students compared to BSE, attributing these sentiments to globalisation, media, and kindred cultural sensitivity with the African-American populous. This phenomenon is locally referred to as a ‘locally acquired foreign accent’, or LAFA, (Huber, 2008). Though the trend has yet to be quantitatively researched, Dako (2019) explains that it is especially noticeable in Ghanaian media outlets, where young announcers speak with GA-associated phonological features, particularly through an overuse of rhoticity and the flapping of [t] as the medial consonant of words like ‘better’.

There is still theoretical ambivalence as to whether students see LAFA as an exonormative attempt at GA or a localised, endonormative aspect of GhaE (Dako, 2003a). This ambivalence exemplifies the theoretical disagreement on what English variety exemplifies the so-called ‘ideal speaker’ in Ghana (Adjaye, 2005; Dako, 2019).

In Guerini's (2008) aforementioned survey, approximately 60% of all participants agreed or strongly agreed that they were “careful to choose the ‘correct’ pronunciation when speaking English, with no evident Ghanaian accent” (23). Nonetheless, this exonormative

orientation may be a product of social acquiescence bias due to factors such as a foreign based (i.e., Italian) survey conductor, and a higher SES relative to the University of Ghana's elite status (s, 8). Such interpretations have merit based on findings from accent-preference surveys conducted in the same university by Ghanaian researchers (Dako, 1991; Osei-Tutu, 2018) (which is also grounds for potential social bias), as well as Asante-Nimako's (2018) study of 200 public tertiary students in Kumasi. The results from these studies indicated that a majority (over 65% in each study) of tertiary students perceived GhaE as a legitimate accent that they were comfortable with and identified with their mode of speech, in turn denying Widdowson's (1994) proposal that certain New English varieties, such as GhaE (and other West African varieties), should be viewed as separate languages. However, in terms of contact and use, students most frequently identified Student Pidgin (SP), an acrolectal variant of Ghanaian Pidgin English (GhaPE), as their premier code for casual communication (Dako, 1991; Rupp, 2013; Osei-Tutu, 2018).

The theoretical debate over Ghana's Pidgins (SP and GhaPE) as English varieties or autonomous languages (Anderson, 2009; Widdowson, 1994) is valuable to the conversation of English orientation and ownership in Ghana. The next section briefly explains these Pidgins and their sociolinguistic status in the country.

2.2.3 Classification of Pidgins in Ghana

English localisation in Ghana, and all West African British colonies, did not start with a direct adaptation of BSE, but rather through pidginisation (Crystal, 2003). This process emerges from extended interaction between groups of people who do not speak a common language yet require communication (Holm, 2000). Structurally, pidgins are composed of a superstrate language (often the dominant, ex-colonial tongue) for the lexicon and substrate languages (the indigenous tongues) for the grammatical basis (Singh, 2017). Although pidgins (and their nativised form, creoles) are seldom recognised as variants of their superstrate languages (Holm, 2000), the Ghanaian variants of GhaPE and SP have also been argued (Kirkpatrick, 2014; Sekyi-Baidoo, 2019) to be an outgrowth of English, though this debate remains attitudinally underinvestigated. Regarding origin and status, GhaPE developed as a trade jargon between the British and local Ghanaian populous, remaining historically limited to southern Ghana's high-density multiethnic communities and army and police camps (Huber, 1999). However, from the late 20th century onwards, the social

stigmatisation associated with GhaPE as “broken English” (Obeng, 1997; 3) has led to its popularity in these communities being displaced by either Akan, GhaE, or SP as an informal communication mode.

While SP remains a modern-day identity marker for educated Ghanaians throughout the country’s urban centres (Rupp, 2013), its genesis is more indicative of a rebellious antilanguage (Halliday, 1978) than a localised form of English. Indeed, SP, which has its structural roots in Liberian and Nigerian pidgins as opposed to GhaPE (denoting Pan-African sentiments), was initially popularised among elite male secondary and tertiary students in Cape Coast and Accra in the late 1950s, coincident with Ghana's 1957 independence (Osei-Tutu, 2019; Pipkins, 2004). Osei-Tutu (2018) describes SP’s popularity growth as a form of protest against Ghana’s rigid school system by subverting the rule that only BSE was to be used in class, which was viewed as an extension of the former colonial dominance of British culture in mainstream education. This stigma of inner-circle standards in Ghanaian education admittedly extends to the 21st century; in 2002, senior minister of state J.H. Mensah advised public school instructors to use BSE at all times, stating that GhaPE and SP lower English standards (Owusu et al., 2022).

It is also worth noting that the use of SP is traditionally exclusive to Ghanaian males (Suglo, 2012), with data from Dako’s (2013) qualitative study showing very negative attitudes towards females who use SP, presenting allusions to “indecent” and “immoral” behaviour. This general social standard requiring the exclusive use of an exonormative form of English suggests a potentially lower ownership level among women.

However, this male-female binary may differ among L1 groups, as exemplified in

Adjei-Tuadzra’s (2015) study of an Ewe L1-majority women's secondary school in Volta Region, where over 30% of the females claimed to speak SP—not with their male counterparts, but among themselves.

The concept of certain languages and/or varieties being restricted to certain domains and certain social groups is also at the centre of the theoretical question regarding LIE policy in Ghana (and postcolonial Africa en masse). This is the second major theme of this study and will be explored in the next section.

2.3 Language-In-Education Model Preference

2.3.1 The Theoretical Case for L1-Based LIE Models

= will perform better academically if they are exposed solely to English in school and at home.

By contrast, pedagogical theorists (Kosonen, 2009; Bialystok, 2009) have advocated for the implementation of L1-L2 bilingual models, positing that extensive academic L1 input improves L2 competence as opposed to diluting it. Cummins' (1979, 2014) interdependence hypothesis suggests that L1 and L2 proficiencies are cognitively connected within a learner's mental reservoir through a Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). Baker (2008) claims that any academic or conceptual knowledge obtained in one's CUP can be interchangeably utilised through either the L1 or L2, regardless of typological distance, in a process known as "transfer" (131). Though transfer can also occur from L2 to L1, Krashen (2002) maintains that engagement in the more familiar language is most effective, especially when the learner has a competent L1-literacy foundation (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Despite this, developing L1 literacy for the successful transfer of academic contents is an admittedly gradual process (Owu-Ewie, 2006), with Cummins' (2000) systematic review estimating that at least five years are required for students' progression to grade-level academic literacy in the L2. This remains a logistical query for African policymakers, as Bunyi (2017) claims that extensive empirical support for this hypothesis is needed to ensure the development of a long-term L1-oriented curriculum that is both pedagogically and economically viable.

Several such studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa have endorsed the positive effects of L1-based transfer from both pedagogical and emotional standpoints. In Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2007) and Kenya (Hungu et al., 2018), secondary and pre-primary students who were taught in Kiswahili (the L1 among all participatory students) understood mathematics and scientific contents better than those who were taught exclusively in English. Regarding West African contexts, Hovens (2002) compared bilingual and monolingual education programmes in Guinea-Bissau and Niger, finding that students who studied in their L1 could read and write in both their L2 (Portuguese and French, respectively) and their L1 better than their L2-monolingually educated counterparts. Moreover, his qualitative observations showed

that L1-educated students participated more in class discussions, citing bilingual classrooms as more relaxing and encouraging of student engagement in both nations.

Nonetheless, the L1 groups in these studies were represented very uniformly in their respective classes, as well as being relatively high in population and development as DILs in their respective regions (e.g., Kiswahili, Balanta, Zarma, Akan, etc.). This observation connects to a common issue of LIE-planning in Africa, where the exoglossic-endoglossic dichotomy insists that all L1 groups should be planned for similarly at a macro-level (Baldauf, 2005; Kaplan, 2013; Omoniyi, 2003). Indeed, researchers (Awuor, 2019; Malone, 2003; Ouane & Glanz, 2010) have explained that many attempts at L1-based bilingual curriculum implementation in Africa (nearly all of which are Transitional models under the 5-year threshold) have been piloted by “top-down” implementations (e.g., governments, NGOs, applied linguists), often without input from the local L1 communities (i.e., “bottom-up”).

Such curricular and even linguistic development, executed with minimal community involvement, has frequently led to implementational and attitudinal issues, including

- (i) culturally irrelevant content (often copied directly from L2-syllabi) (e.g., Cameroon’s Bulu/French transitional programme; Takam, 2020),
- (ii) L1-L2 exposure models unbecoming of the LM’s urban or rural context (e.g., the exclusively 50-50 Rendille/English programme in rural Kenya; Benson & Kosonen, 2021), and
- (iii) new orthographies that the L1 group may find unfamiliar (e.g., Oromo in Ethiopia; Chicoine, 2019) or even inter-ethnically controversial (e.g., the pre-NALAP orthographic dispute among Ghana’s Akan dialect groups; Ansah, 2014).

Regarding the latter example of Ghana, although the NALAP had a stronger initiative to appropriately develop materials and curricula among all L1 groups (Akan dialects included), the sheer demographic and developmental inequalities between the programme’s 11 government-sponsored L1s have been a seminal factor in the programme’s negative theoretical (Annan, 2020; Owu-Ewie, 2014) and attitudinal (Osei-Poku, 2012; Yevudey, 2014) receptions. The next section discusses the NALAP and Ghanaians’ sociodemographically bound attitudes towards L1-L2 bilingual education in greater detail.

2.3.2 Ghanaian Attitudes Towards L1-Based Education: The NALAP and Beyond

The implementation of the NALAP in 2006 stemmed almost entirely from top-down strategies, as Ghana's Ministry of Education established the National Literacy Task Force (NLTF) to develop the programme in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Leherr 2009). Structurally speaking, the model's programme mandates the use of an indigenous language (preferably the pupil's L1) as the primary (90% exposure) MOI from kindergarten through Grade 3, with English as the sole MOI thereafter (Owu-Ewie, 2014). This model aims to enable the pupils to acquire literacy and numeracy in both a DIL and English, ideally making the country's linguistic market more equitable in the process (Fobih, 2008).

Notwithstanding the programme's aims, Ansah (2014) claims that one of the NALAP's initial top-down faults was to task the Bureau of Ghana Languages (BGL) with developing orthographies and literatures for the 11 government-sponsored DILs (selected based on population and equal geographical distribution): Akan (i.e., Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi, and Fante), Dagaare, Dagbani, Dangme, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Kassem, and Nzema. This means that, even under the conservative estimate of Ghana having 50 indigenous languages (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008), over three quarters of the country's L1s are neglected under this model, emphasising the risk of peripheral linguistic imperialism, where DILs are imposed on speakers of minority languages (Phillipson, 2013).

Moreover, for the policy to be cognitively effective, teaching materials would have to be designed and published in each of the aforementioned DILs. In a quantitative survey of Accra-based parents' attitudes towards the NALAP by Bronteng (2020), most Ghanaian families were not convinced that the right teaching resources were in place for the programme. However, it is worth noting that while attitudes towards such curricular development among Ga and Ewe L1 groups were overwhelmingly negative (70% and 80%, respectively), 60% of Akan L1 parents indicated a positive reception towards the NALAP. According to Bretuo (2020), these findings may be a sign of the disparity in developmental resources and cognitive development among Ghana's L1 groups. Sarfo (2011), who calculated that roughly 55% of all 1,542 published items in a Ghanaian L1 (translated or original) are in an Akan dialect, supports this interpretation. What's more, Ofei's (2021) qualitative interviews, which inferred that the recent trend of incorporating poems and

literary works into Akan-L1 curricula increased positive orientations among teachers and learners towards using their L1 as a MOI, insist that Akan's relatively higher development and prestige contribute to its perception as more appropriate in educational domains than other indigenous Ghanaian languages, not only pedagogically but also attitudinally. Nonetheless, the study's method of interviewing both parties simultaneously within the classroom setting may have resulted in social desirability bias among most of the participants.

Nevertheless, non-Akan L1s are held at a comparative developmental disadvantage, given their lack of infrastructural capacity, shortage of writers in these languages, and publishers' lack of interest in L1 development due to its small linguistic market relative to English (Opoku-Amankwa, Edu-Buandoh, & Brew-Hammond, 2015). This inequality is especially emphasised through Ghana's North-South developmental divide (Cogneau & Moradi, 2014), for while southern DILs have varying frequencies in published works in Sarfo's (2011) calculation of all Ghanaian L1 books (20% in Ga, 18% in Ewe, 6% among remaining Southern DILs), a total of 150, or less than 1%, have been published in DILs indigenous to Ghana's North (Dagaare, Dagbani, Kassem, and Gonja). As Obeng (1997) explains, this shortage of literature predicts "academic doom" (68) for these L1s and is a microcosm of the lack of prestige associated with them, as their local media presence is limited to spoken domains, namely FM stations, with newspapers of merit being distributed almost exclusively in English or Hausa (Agboka, 2014). This underdevelopment has translated into the public educational domain, as evidenced by Inusah, Mahama, and Mashoud's (2020) survey among 80 participants' (pupils, teacher-trainees, and educationists) attitudes towards the NALAP programme in 4 (2 urban, 2 rural) North-Ghanaian primary schools (2 Dagbani-MOI; 2 Gonja-MOI). Overall, the implementation of the model was markedly panned by all parties, with the most common critiques including: (i) "Not enough books" (declared by 95% of all participants); (ii) L1 teachers feeling 'ashamed' of teaching in the L1 (86.25%); and (iii) "Not enough trained L1 teachers" (85%).

However, the latter issue of insufficient teacher training has admittedly been a common issue in NALAP implementation, regardless of region. Theorists (Anyidoho, 2018; Awedoba, 2009) explain that the cost involved in the development of teaching materials and staff development programmes means that lower SES contexts in Ghana have less access to appropriate L1 curriculum training, leaving many teachers feeling prepared to only teach literacy in English. These delineations are substantiated through Akyeampong et al.'s (2013)

survey of 1,079 rural public school teachers in Ghana's Ashanti and Eastern regions, 79% of whom expressed confidence in teaching reading in English but not their L1 (irrespective of proficiency). In an earlier study by Seidu, Ayoke, & Tamanja (2008), a Ghanaian language literacy test was administered to 2,418 rural teachers nationwide, finding that 18% of them were not literate in any Ghanaian language, 63% were partially literate, and only 19% were literate.

This socioeconomic aspect is especially paradoxical given Bretuo's (2020) evaluation that lower SES contexts in Ghana have generally less out-of-school contact with English, while middle- and upper-class contexts have a higher proportion of bilingual NALAP programmes despite also having a higher linguistic heterogeneity (which suggests a higher need for English use). Although the NALAP officially states that "the dominant L1 must only be implemented as the MOI where the linguistic composition of classes is fairly uniform" (Adu-Agyem & Osei-Poku, 2012: 166) (albeit the classification of "fairly" remains unclear), Annan (2020), in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, found that 50–60% of urban (Accra, Kumasi, and Tamale) pupils in each bilingual primary class spoke a language other than the indigenous MOI. This heterogeneity propounds language contact as another key factor in determining attitudes towards the bilingual model's appropriateness, as observed in Yevudey's (2014) attitudinal evaluation of two primary classrooms (one English-monolingual, one Ewe-English bilingual) in the Ewe-majority Volta region. The qualitative findings indicate a strong correlation between students' model preference and their perceived exposure to the MOI, as participants who reported higher out-of-school exposure to Ewe expressed a preference for an Ewe-English bilingual MOI. Contrarily, non-Ewe L1 pupils who reported higher contact with English expressed a preference for English-monolingual instruction, commonly noting the model as more equal among all L1 groups. These attitudinal conflicts suggest that, despite the NALAP's motives, Ghana's dense multilingualism and uneven development, even among its DILs, may have ironically led to a greater disregard for indigenous languages in mainstream education (Osei-Boateng, 2022). What's more, such factors may have potentially propelled an increased (sociodemographically bound) embrace of English as an equalising factor among pupils in educational contexts (Owusu-Ansah, 2022; Appiagyei, 2022).

This theoretical debate regarding the appropriateness of indigenous languages in educational domains has also arisen in Ghana's tertiary educational field, where the 11 DILs

have been implemented as undergraduate courses in select universities (van Pinxteren, 2022; Mohammed, 2021). This phenomenon has highlighted a further potential attitudinal divergence based on academic discipline. For example, questionnaires filled out by Ghanaian students in fields like hard sciences (Anokye, 2022) and business (Sarfo, 2012) have shown that they overwhelmingly disfavour local languages in academic domains, with their reasons often corroborating Frempong's (1986) claim that "English takes precedence over the local language as the main vehicle for scientific, technical, economic, and literary knowledge" (376). By contrast, a recent study by Nyamekye & Baffour-Koudah (2021) evaluating 144 humanities students' motivation towards taking Ghanaian language courses at the University of Cape Coast shows a nuanced appreciation for native L1s in mainstream education (albeit as subjects, not explicitly as MOI). While the results showed that the participants' motivation for studying one of Ghana's 11 DILs offered in the programme was primarily integratively bound, the students also collectively registered above average mean scores ($p > 0.05$) for 3 of the 5 instrumental motivations (denoting opportunities for local employment and academic prospects), although these motivations are likely exclusively indicative of the more prestigious DILs.

This potentially increasing interest in the presence of Ghanaian languages in tertiary academic domains, coupled with university students being the most frequent users of localised English-based codes such as GhaE and SP (Hampel, 2020), makes tertiary students a particularly timely demographic for a pilot analysis (under appropriate sociodemographic contextualisation) of English ownership and LIE model preference in Ghana. The next chapter details how these attitudes will be collected, measured, and analysed through this study's methodology.

Methodology

3.1 Research Questions

This research investigates the extent to which Ghanaian University students express ownership of the English language and their preferred model for mainstream education in Ghana. The study also seeks to understand the modern association between English identity and the model of instruction university students presume is most appropriate for their home context. Moreover, I also wish to address the multidimensionality of such attitudinal studies

in West Africa (Adegbiya, 2000), and the need to examine which other sociodemographic factors may affect similar or differing attitudes among Ghanaian students. This synthesis of concepts is illustrated below in Figure 1.

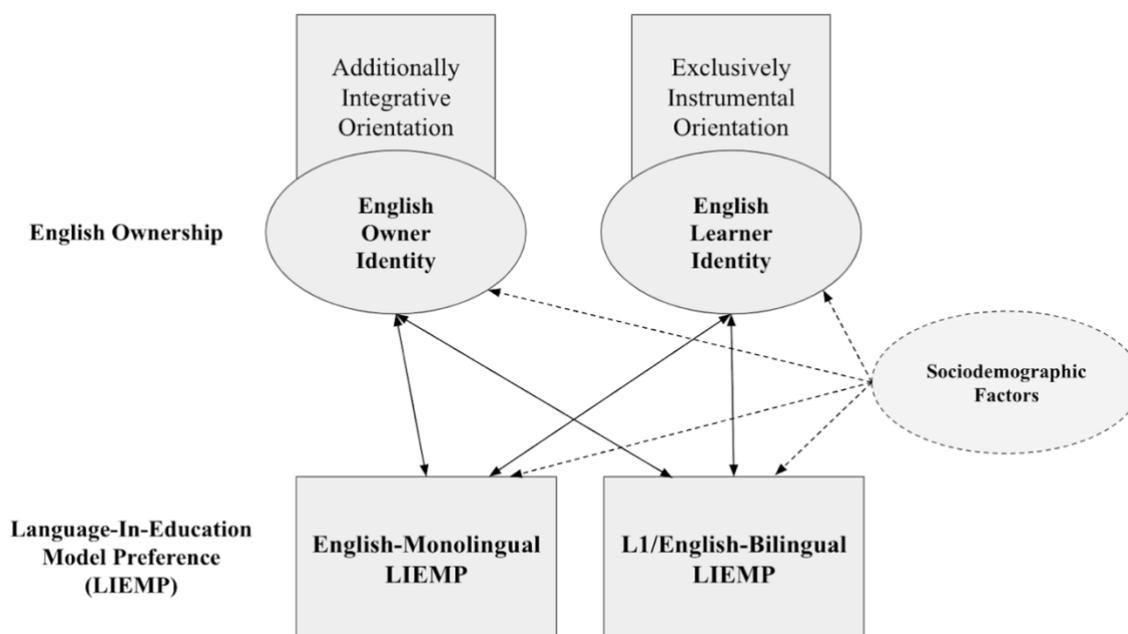


Figure 1. A Conceptual Framework of the Study

The study asks the following research questions:

- (1) To what extent do Ghanaian tertiary students claim ownership of the English language? Is their English orientation ‘Exclusively Instrumental’ or ‘Additionally Integrative’?
- (2) Which language-in-education (LIE) model would Ghanaian tertiary students consider most effective for mainstream education? Do their attitudes allude to English-monolingual model preference or L1/English-bilingual model preference?
- (3) Is there an identifiable relationship between Ghanaian students’ English ownership and LIE-model preference?
- (4) What sociodemographic factors are the most noteworthy predictors of the respondents’ attitudes towards English ownership and LIE-model preference?

3.2 Study Design

The present study adopts a mixed-methods approach using the sequential explanatory method (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2017). This involves first collecting and analysing quantitative data, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data based on the results of the initial quantitative investigation (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach is highly recommended in language attitudes research (Baker, 1992; Dörnyei, 2007), not only to address the limitations of each macro-approach, but also to incorporate the most well-rounded and comprehensive methods for investigating the topic (Hinrichs, 2014; Silverstein, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

The study also prioritises recent recommendations (Ngcobo & Barnes, 2021; Lüpke & Watson, 2020) to emphasise the complex nature of language attitudes, extending beyond the traditional binary view of 'positive or negative' attitudes towards a nation's postcolonial lingua franca, which was typically explored solely through quantitative surveys and questionnaires. Therefore, the questionnaire used in this study investigates attitudes regarding the extent of English ownership and language policy preference (rather than viewing English and the models concerned solely on a 'positive-negative' spectrum). The results of the questionnaire were complemented with semi-structured interviews to provide a comprehensive combination of quantitative and qualitative paradigms (Husband, 2020).

The first stage of the study addresses all four research questions and entails the administration of an online questionnaire to collect quantitative data on participants' attitudes towards their English second language (L2) identity and their preferred language-in-education model.

The second phase supplements the initiative of the fourth research question, employing qualitative inquiry to further interpret and contextualise the quantitative phase's findings. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a subset of participants who indicated opposing LIE-model preferences in the survey between English-monolingual model preference to L1/English-bilingual model preference. This qualitative phase allows for more exploratory research and addresses Question 4, which focuses on the important contextual and sociodemographic factors influencing participants' model preference. This study thus seeks to investigate, articulate, and triangulate its quantitative findings through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Consistent findings across the two methods will

increase confidence in drawing conclusions, whereas discrepancies between the methods will further emphasise the complexity of the phenomenon of language attitudes in postcolonial contexts (Grůnová et al., 2019). **Figure 2** illustrates the chronological order of the phases of the study.

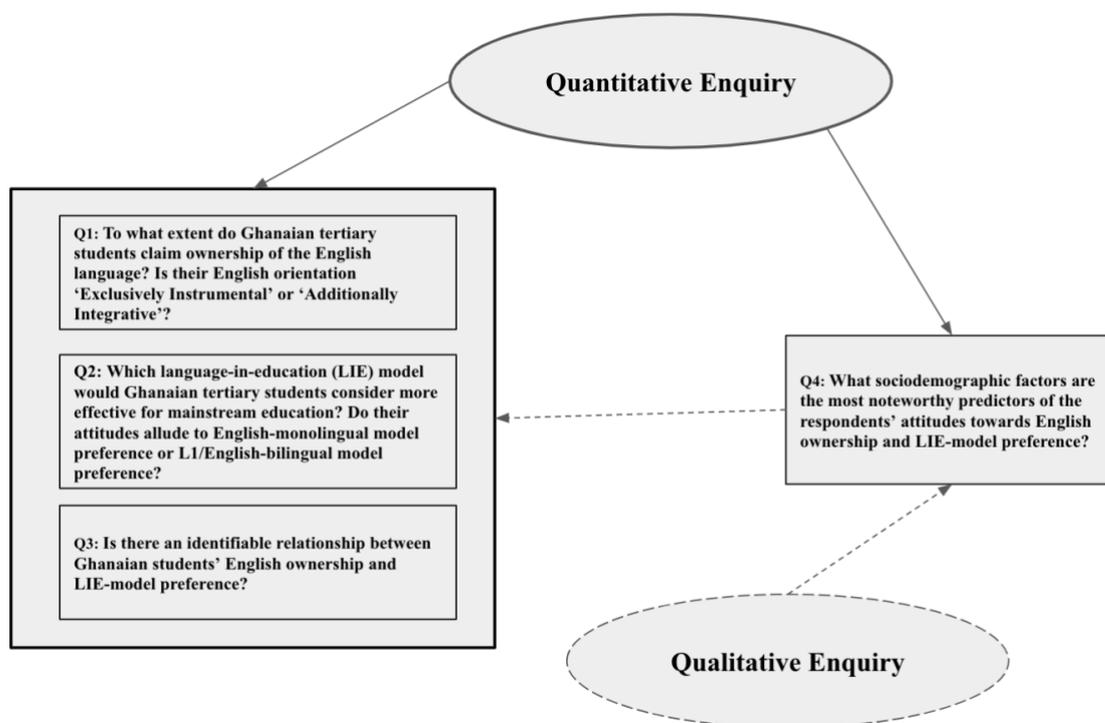


Figure 2. The Chronological Order of the Phases of the Study

3.3 Population and Sample

The current study examined attitudes among Ghanaian tertiary students studying in their home country, a field that, in recent years, has seen exceptional growth in terms of student enrolment and demographic homogeneity. A report by Sasu (2021) in conjunction with Ghana's Ministry of Education reported 547,000 Ghanaian students enrolled at domestic universities at the start of the 2020–21 curriculum, more than double the national enrollment numbers from just ten years prior. This massive increase is attributed in large part to the founding and implementation of many new universities, with 13 new institutions opening since 2010 alone (Biney, 2021). This phenomenon has also led to higher enrolment among pupils from varying L1 backgrounds, home regions, and especially socioeconomic strata,

with tertiary enrolment among Ghana's lowest SES tertile increasing from 6% to 17% from 2009 to 2019 (Salifu & Odame, 2023).

Another advantage to exclusively analysing tertiary participants is their relatively shared baseline English proficiency. In order to enrol at university, Ghanaian pupils must meet the university entry criteria by scoring a minimum of C4 (60%) on the English portion of the West African Examination Council's (WAEC) Senior School Certificate (WAEC, 2018).

Overall, 159 adult (age ≥ 18) Ghanaian students studying domestically took part in the survey portion of the study.

3.3.1 Survey Sample

The sample consisted of both undergraduate and postgraduate students at Ghanaian universities. Several of my Ghana-based professional and academic colleagues (i.e., professors and university staff) aided in recruiting questionnaire participants through poster advertising (Appendix A4) on their social media channels. Students who chose to participate were also encouraged to share the questionnaire with their colleagues. This process, dubbed "snowball sampling" (Parker et al., 2019), helped spread the questionnaire relatively widely, eventually reaching students from 11 institutions across 5 Ghanaian administrative regions (see Appendix B1.9 for universities sampled).

Inclusion criteria for the study were:

- (i) identifying as a Ghanaian national;
- (ii) having undergone education in Ghana from Primary 1 level; and
- (iii) being enrolled full-time at a Ghanaian university at the time of the research.

A total of 183 respondents completed the survey. However, 13 participants did not fulfil all three of the above criteria. These replies and those of participants who left more than 50% of the questionnaire empty ($N = 11$) were discarded. As such, 159 entries were confirmed as valid for analysis.

3.3.1.1 Survey Participant Demographics

Despite the common critique (Johnson, 2014; Sedgwick, 2013) of snowball sampling's admittedly high capacity for producing unrepresentative homogeneity among entrants, the study's sample appeared to display appropriate heterogeneity across most of the study's six primary independent variables:

(i) First language [L1], **(ii)** Age, **(iii)** Gender, **(iv)** Socioeconomic status [SES], **(v)** Home Region, **(vi)** Academic Discipline

The participant demographics by variable are listed below. It is important to note that, for the sake of study economy and to prevent a wider variance among multiple sub-categories, I chose to code each categorical variable's subcategories under either binary or ternary macro-categories; these macro-categories are based on the major attitudinal variances posited in the literature review and are also explained below:

(i) L1: The participants' L1s were classified under the binary of **(i)** "Akan", and **(ii)** "non-Akan", based on empirically deciphered divergences in language and policy attitudes among Akan and non-Akan L1-speakers (Berry, 2017; Beyogle, 2014; Guerini, 2008). Despite the common ambiguity in the classification of which languages constitute Akan's dialect continuum, the study considered all languages that are classified as Akan in accordance with the Bureau of Ghana Languages (BGL, 2018).

Overall, 72 (45.2%) of the respondents claimed to have an Akan L1, and 87 (54.7%) claimed to have a non-Akan L1.

(ii) Age: The respondents' age ranged from 18 to 35, averaging 23.19 (SD = 3.35) in total, with the standard deviation illustrating a significant age range among participants.

(iii) Gender: 83 (52.2%) of the respondents were female, and 76 (47.8%) were male.

(iv) SES: The study's categorisation of socioeconomic status is based on the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2021). The GLSS categorises households into a ternary of wealth tertiles, from upper

to middle to lower. These tertiles are determined by assessing various indicators such as household assets, housing conditions, access to basic services, and ownership of durable goods. The following official GLSS-recognised tertiles were thus used as categories for SES in the questionnaire:

- *Upper tertile*: households with the highest socioeconomic status based on the indicators mentioned above. 63 (40%) identified as being in the Upper tertile
- *Middle tertile*: households with an average socioeconomic status, neither among the poorest nor the wealthiest. 77 (42%) were from the Middle tertile
- *Lower tertile*: households with the lowest socioeconomic status. 19 (12%) were from the Lower tertile

It is worth noting that the above percentages by SES are proportionally similar to the SES makeup from Salifu & Odame's (2023) most recent survey data among all Ghanaian public tertiary institutions (43%, 46%, and 11%, respectively).

(v) Home Region: The participants' administrative region of origin was categorised under the binary of *(i) North*, and *(ii) South*, based on Ghana's theoretically and empirically researched "North-South developmental divide," which included languages and curricula (Takyi, Amponsah, & Asibey, 2021). According to the 2018 Ghanaian regional referendum, the macro-region of the Ghanaian North consists of 5 administrative regions (Northern, North East, Savannah, Upper East, and Upper West) (Anlimachie & Avoada, 2020). All participants claiming to be from these regions were classified under "North", while the remaining regions were classified under "South.

Among the participants, 130 (81.8%) claimed to be from the South, and 29 (18.2%) from the North. While this makes "Home Region" the most homogenous variable at a macro-categorical level, this was expected given the variance in the number of universities and enrolled students between the two macro-regions (Salifu & Odame, 2023).

(vi) Academic Discipline: To address the fact that certain fields of study differ in classification by university, I opted to classify academic discipline options into two macro-categories: *(i) Arts and Humanities (AH)*, and *(ii) Sciences and Business (SB)*. Not only is this the same categorisation used in previous studies on language attitudes among tertiary students (Sarfo, 2012; Torto, 2014), but the macro-categories are also more directly representative of the theoretically and empirically implied integrative-instrumental divide in EO and LIEMP among students by academic field (Ametova, 2020; Junko, 2005).

Among the participants, 90 (56.6%) were classified as students of an AH subject, and 69 (43.4%) were classified under SB.

(See Appendix B1 for a more descriptive presentation of the study's demographic statistics within several of the categorical variables.)

3.3.2 Interview Sample

If they expressed interest in participating in the second phase, questionnaire respondents were asked for their contact information. Participants with substantially different ($p < 0.05$) mean scores for English-Monolingual-LIEMP and L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP were sought after, with a particular interest in respondents whose mean values landed at varying degrees within each LIEMP (Levis et al., 2020).

For instance, among respondents who showed a higher English-Monolingual-LIEMP (with a mean above 3.5), I aimed to select a participant who displayed significant Monolingual-LIEMP by scoring over the 75th percentile (with a mean of 4.75 or higher) and one who displayed more moderate Monolingual-LIEMP by scoring under the 75th percentile (between 3.6 and 4.74).

The same selection process accounted for participants displaying a L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP (with a mean above 3.5), selecting one participant with a significant Bilingual-LIEMP by scoring over the 75th percentile (with a mean of 4.75 or higher) and one who displayed a more moderate Bilingual-LIEMP by scoring under the 75th percentile

(between 3.6 and 4.74). The study only considered respondents who had significantly different mean scores for Monolingual-LIEMP and Bilingual-LIEMP.

Four individuals (two per LIEMP) were thus randomly selected for interviews among those who expressed interest in the quantitative stage. Two participants, one male (A) and one female (B), were selected from the English-Monolingual-LIEMP subsample, and two males (C, D) from the L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP subsample. The selected interviewees' ages averaged 23.5 (SD = 1.91). The four respondents also covered the field in the survey's sub-categories in L1, SES, Home Region, and Academic Discipline. The table below shows a detailed description of the respondents' demographic survey entries.

Interviewee Code	EO (Mean)	LIEMP (Mean)	L1	Age	Gender	SES	Home Region	Academic Discipline
A	EO-Owner (M = 3.8)	L2-Mono (M = 5.2)	Non-Akan	19	Male	Lower	North	Science/ Business
B	EO-Learner (M = 4.6)	L2-Mono (M = 4.4)	Non-Akan	24	Female	Middle	South	Arts/ Humanities
C	EO-Learner (M = 3.6)	L1/L2-Bi (M = 3.8)	Akan	26	Male	Upper	South	Arts/ Humanities
D	EO-Learner (M = 4)	L1/L2-Bi (M = 5.2)	Akan	23	Male	Middle	South	Science/ Business

Table 1. Demographic information of the interview participants.

3.4 Research Instruments

3.4.1 Questionnaire

Data on participants' (i) self-perceived English ownership, (ii) Language-In-Education Model Preference (LIEMP), and (iii) demographic information, were collected through the questionnaire (Appendix A5). The questionnaire was hosted on Qualtrics.com, and was available exclusively in English for this study. While making the survey available in multilingual versions translated into native Ghanaian languages may be an effective tool for matched guise in future research (Larson, 2019), an English-monolingual survey was chosen as the most appropriate system for this particular research, as:

- (i) the survey's language ownership section focuses solely on English,
- (ii) to not alienate Ghanaians of certain L1 groups by selecting to have the survey available in some native language over others,
- (iii) sheer economy of time to translate and confirm said translations with colleagues from various language groups.

The study employed a questionnaire, as it allows researchers to acquire more data from a wider range of participants than similar studies (Bartram, 2019; Garcia-Amaya, 2017). Despite such capability for mass participation at a convenient rate, self-evaluation questionnaires also have several limitations: respondents may overstate or misrepresent their language orientation to show their distance from traditional culture and adherence to a modern, educated elite. This phenomenon, when respondents describe their language behaviour in a way that makes them appear more socially acceptable than they are or to appease the researcher, is termed by Baker (1992) as the "halo effect" (19). Although some answers may be imprecise or even partially unreliable (especially regarding individual language ownership and language use), Sgier (2012) still advocates that a careful analysis of the data can provide many useful insights into respondents' attitudes and the relationship between a speech community's languages.

It is also worth noting that while measuring attitudes, perceptions, and belief systems, it is impossible to ensure that all respondents will have the same frame of reference while answering attitude questions (Alshenqeeti, 2014). To rectify this query, the selected questionnaires use multi-item scales for each target domain. Each major component has 4-5

items, with EO bearing an additional two open-ended questions (Section 3.4.1.1). Each section of the questionnaire is described and justified below.

3.4.1.1 English Ownership

3.4.1.1.2 Text Entry Items

After entering their sociodemographic information, respondents were asked to answer the following open-ended text-entry questions in one word,

1. "What language do you use the most in your daily life (outside of the university setting)?"
2. "When speaking English, what accent/dialect would you prefer to speak with?"

The questions were meant to provide further participant insight into two key factors in shaping L2 ownership discussed in the literature review: (i) English language contact and possible personal nativisation, particularly evidenced by use outside of university settings (Beyogle, 2014), and (ii) L2-variety preference by letting participants directly express which English variety they prefer to speak with. Following Springer & Harwood's (2015) thematic grouping technique, inspired by MacKinnon's (1981) study on language attitudes in Scotland, the responses under each question were categorised under two main macro-themes:

(1) Answers for "Most Spoken Language" were macro-coded under '*English*' or '*non-English*', and

(2) Answers for "Preferred English Variety" were coded under '*Inner-Circle Variety*' or '*L1-Influenced Variety*'.

The coded macro-themes were then recorded onto the study's database, thereby providing two additional independent variables to the quantitative analysis: **(vii)** Most Spoken Language (MSL), and **(viii)** Preferred English Variety (PEV).

3.4.1.1.2 Likert-Scale Items

Further to the English Ownership section, the survey featured 10 6-point Likert scale questions about participants' self-perceived English ownership in Ghana. Following Bartram's

(2019) recommendation for psychometric tests in the behavioural and social sciences, a 6-point Likert scale was selected because a longer scale increases sensitivity and is closer to the interval level of scalability and normality. Moreover, because the survey questions addressed social stigma, such as cultural orientation and dialect preference (Walker, 2015), a neutral point (found in the middle of odd-numbered scales) was not included so as to minimise social desirability bias (Larson, 2019). The survey follows the guidelines set forth by Tan (2014), who investigated postcolonial English ownership among Singaporean tertiary students. It also follows the *framework for legitimate knowledge and language allegiance* established by Park (2011) to show how L2 (or simply non-native) speakers assume lingua franca ownership. Ten statements from the survey correlate to the Likert scale items under two primary components:

(i) English owner identity and

(ii) English learner identity

Items 1–5 represented an English learner identity and thus an “Exclusively Instrumental” orientation of English:

- (1) *English is a foreign language.*
- (2) *The benefit of English in Ghana is more economic than cultural.*
- (3) *The colonial history of English impacts my current views on the language.*
- (4) *When speaking English, I would like to sound as British or American as possible.*
- (5) *I do not use English much outside of the university setting.*

Items 6–10 represented an English owner identity, and thus an “Additionally Integrative” orientation of English:

- (6) *The English language is a part of Ghana’s national identity.*
- (7) *English culturally unites Ghanaians from all ethnic groups.*
- (8) *I feel that English can help me express myself as much as my first language.*
- (9) *I feel comfortable speaking English in a Ghanaian accent/dialect.*
- (10) *I often communicate with my friends and family in English.*

Items (1-2) and (6-7) present adjacent attitudes to *language allegiance* and the affective attachment that speakers have to the language on a macro-societal level (Mbori,

2008). These items inquire whether respondents perceive English as an integral part of Ghanaian identity, or as a foreign language, which remains an instrumental tool contributing little to their personal and national identities.

Items (3) and (8) reflect English ownership regarding perspective on power relations and *legitimate knowledge*, incorporating both language proficiency and an understanding of oneself as a legitimate speaker of the language (Norton, 2013). According to Darwin & Norton (2015), self-perceived learners frequently view themselves in a position of limited power with the language in question (3), whereas self-perceived owners view themselves as holding control and power over the language and how they use it (8).

Items (4) and (9) carry on from self-perceived power and legitimate knowledge from the standpoint of accent and dialect preference, where a historically exoglossic accent standard would imply a more instrumentally based learner identity (4), while preferring a localised accent would entail a more integratively oriented owner identity towards English (Shoba & Dako, 2013). These items may also provide guise-based attitudinal insights on the distinction of GhE and/or SP as either English vernaculars, or autonomous languages altogether (Huber, 2013), which will be expanded on contextually in the qualitative interview portion.

Items (5) and (10) refer even more directly to self-perceived localization through English use, particularly in contexts less associated with instrumental motivation, a key factor in highlighting a language's integrative potential (Yu & Downing, 2012).

All items in the final questionnaire were randomised.

3.4.1.2 *Language-In-Education model preference (LIEMP)*

3.4.1.2.1 Likert-Scale Items

A set of 10 more 6-point multi-item scale questions were asked regarding the participants' assumed LIEMP. This section follows questions from the nuanced survey that Benson (2020) used to assess community opinions of the introduction of Wolof-French and Pulaar-French LIE programmes in Senegal. The Likert scale items corresponded to:

- (i) English-Monolingual LIEMP; and
- (ii) L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP

Similar to the English Ownership section of the survey, the questionnaire maintains an even-numbered 6-point scale to avoid social desirability bias. While this means that there is no direct point in the scale to imply a “no preference” attitude towards model preference, Lahaussais (2019) insists that indicating preference on a varying binary can prove more effective for both quantitative power and political implication. Like in the English Ownership section, all items in this part of the survey were randomised.

Items 11–15 represented English-Monolingual LIEMP:

- (11) Having English as the only official language ensures a more stable balance between local people.*
- (12) English-only medium education means equal chances for all Ghanaian students.*
- (13) Only English can keep Ghanaian science and learning in touch with world-wide developments.*
- (14) Switching to African languages as a medium of instruction would affect education standards.*
- (15) It is not economically practical to develop sufficient teaching materials in Ghanaian languages.*

Items 16–20 represented L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP:

- (16) There should be more opportunities for education (of all levels) in native African languages.*
- (17) Exclusively favouring English may increase differences in social class within Ghana.*
- (18) African-language curricula would help advance Native African societies.*
- (19) It is easier to understand concepts when they are explained in African languages.*
- (20) Governments should prioritise investment in curriculum development for mother-tongue instruction.*

Items (11–12) and (16–17) imply model preference as regards social equality and opportunity.

Items (13) and (18) refer to which LIE model respondents believe would most benefit Ghana’s societal development in the globalised world, through evaluating the self-perceived importance of both maintaining English-only instruction to keep developmental pace with the mainstream world (13) and increasing the prestige of endoglossic languages through advancing their presence in mainstream education (18).

Items (14) and (19) entail model preference from the perspective of self-perceived pedagogical benefits related to CUP (Cummins, 2000).

Items (15) and (20) signal attitudes towards the viability of mother-tongue based curriculum implementation, one of the most noteworthy obstacles in West African language education policy development (Mbori, 2008).

The multi-item scale included negatively worded items for both monolingual (15) and bilingual (17) model preferences to prevent response bias.

3.4.1.3 Questionnaire Piloting

The questionnaire was piloted with 10 non-study participants who fulfilled inclusion requirements. Pilot participants represented 4 universities across diverse L1s, religious backgrounds, home regions, and academic disciplines. In addition to completing the pilot survey, participants were requested to offer comments on the question items' clarity, language usage, length, cultural relevance, appropriacy (e.g., whether any questions were offensive), and other pertinent aspects.

Despite favourable participant feedback on the questionnaire's content, the Cronbach's alpha scores for the EO and LIEMP multi-item scales showed low internal consistency (under 0.6) (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009). The Likert-scale questions were therefore altered, based on the aforementioned questionnaires from previous relevant studies (Benson 2020; Niyibizi, 2014), to draw more firmly on existing theories (see Appendix A5.1 for Pilot 1 outcomes). 15 Ghanaian tertiary students tested the updated questionnaire to guarantee dependability. The second pilot demonstrated a much more reliable questionnaire (as the Cronbach's alpha for each of the 4 major components was above 0.6).

3.4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Four semi-structured interviews were carried out to obtain a deeper understanding of the participants' views of English ownership and LIEMP. Two participants indicating English-monolingual-LIEMP and two participants entailing L1/English-LIEMP were interviewed. As the interviews are meant to enhance and correlate findings from the quantitative phase of the study, it was determined that four participants would suffice.

3.4.2.1 Interview Protocol

The interviews comprise a semi-structured discourse that follows an interview protocol (Appendix C1) with the objective of answering and contextualising answers to the fourth research question, which seeks to investigate the influencing factors underlying students' EO and LIEMP. Although one possible limitation was that the interviews were conducted exclusively in English as opposed to a native Ghanaian language (e.g., Akan), the participants appeared to show a personal keenness to communicate in English, as they viewed the study and the interviews as an opportunity to express Ghanaian society to a wider global audience; nonetheless, providing participants with a language option could provide matched guise observations in future attitudinal studies (Cummins, 1994). Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes, with all responses recorded and transcribed for analysis. While it is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed discourse analysis, I agree with Cameron's (2001, p. 154) observation that "important contextualising information may be carried by small details that are easily overlooked because they have little or no referential content," especially in the discussion of identity, which frequently involves ambivalence (Cummins, 1994; Hays & Erford, 2010). As such, features such as tone, hesitation, and laughter were to be transcriptionally coded in the appropriate cases during analysis (Hays & Erford, 2010).

The participants' EO (English ownership) and LIEMP (Language-in-Education Model Preference), respectively, were the two main themes that followed a series of warm-up questions in each interview. The first section asks about participants' self-perceived ownership of English as Ghanaian students and citizens. The second section focuses on the participants' LIEMP in order to obtain a grasp of their motivation for their personally preferred LIE-model, including a question regarding their personal experiences across varying levels of education (including primary, whether under an English-monolingual or L1/English-bilingual system).

3.4.2.2 Researcher Positionality

In attitudinal interview contexts, a researcher's outsider or insider status is a key factor, as qualitative inquiry makes the researcher the data collection instrument (Bourke,

2014), with researchers therefore having to reconcile their numerous, often contradicting identities (Lee, 2018). According to Loxley and Seery (2008), insider status denotes members of the same group who share the cultural, biological, vocational, and other characteristics of the culture under study; any case in which such backgrounds aren't shared denotes a researcher's outsider status.

In my case, while I have an insider status with participants from a vocational standpoint, being both a tertiary student, and a professional with teaching experience in sub-Saharan African contexts, my cultural background as a Pole studying in Britain entails that I am engaging in these interviews through an outsider status (Mann, 2011; Wiederhold, 2015). A larger outsider status admittedly implies certain disadvantages, such as a lack of "lived familiarity" with the group being researched (Holmes, 2020: 3) and hence "a more truthful, authentic understanding of the culture under study" (Moore, 2012: 9), as well as a supposedly unbalanced sense of authority over the interviewees, dubbed by Barker (2011) as a "researcher's ivory tower" (3). Nevertheless, full insider positionality may also prove limiting in attitudinal research, as according to Greene (2014), interviewees may succumb to the "Social Desirability Bias" (13) and provide responses they think are "socially appropriate" for their group. Moreover, an outsider may explore assumptions that an insider may miss (Lee, 2018), as well as support the research's objective regarding empiricism-based positivism (Smith, 1999).

Indeed, upon explaining my outsider cultural background to participants during interview scheduling, the reception among the interviewees was quite positive. Several participants noted that expressing their views on an outside platform was beneficial for Ghana's visibility on a wider global research scale. What's more, despite being European, my Polish background implies that I am not an L1-English speaker, thus giving me an outsider status for both the Ghanaian context as well as the English-speaking inner circle en masse, in turn suggesting a strong sense of objectivity towards all facets of the study (Mann, 2011). Despite my cultural outsider status, my general interest and knowledge of Ghanaian culture and sociolinguistics also inspired a very positive rapport with the participants and led them to be even more open in the interview process.

3.4.2.3 Interview Piloting

The semi-structured interview protocol was piloted with 3 of the Ghanaian tertiary students who participated in the questionnaire piloting. Overall, it was determined that the interviews lasted a reasonable duration on average (30 to 45 minutes) and elicited information that was pertinent to the research questions.

3.5 Data Analysis Plan

The study's analytical plan follows the recommendations of Kircher and Zipp (2021), who advocate that a first stage in the process of questionnaire-based qualitative analysis should involve describing the data through descriptive statistics to get an initial picture of where the collective attitudes broadly stand, which subsequently leads to a deeper evaluation based on such broader trends. As a result, this study's analytical query was structured as follows: Questions 1-3 focused on the macro-level attitudinal trends among Ghanaian tertiary students, while Questions 3-4 asked about the explanation of those trends at a more multidimensional micro-level (Giles, 2021).

3.5.1 Research Question 1

The first research question was addressed in the first section of the questionnaire on the self-perceived English ownership of Ghanaian tertiary students and further confirmed through in-depth interviews. The multi-scale questionnaire items were ranked based on their mean scores to ascertain the extent of English ownership among all respondents. The data were analysed using Dörnyei's (2007) "summative model" (p. 27), where the means of the items that make up each model-preference scale were used to calculate the respondents' self-perceived ownership orientation (*mean_EO_owner* and *mean_EO_learner*) and to identify the overall trend of the proportion of Ghanaian participants who perceive English as additionally integrative to its instrumental qualities.

A 2-tailed paired-samples t-test was performed to determine whether there is a significant difference between the *EO_owner* and *EO_learner* item responses. To assure internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha values were calculated in advance across each multi-item scale (Appendix B3).

3.5.2 Research Question 2

The second research question was addressed in the second section of the questionnaire pertaining to mainstream LIE-model preference. A two-tailed paired-samples t-test was used to compare the means of the two subdivisions (*mean_LIEMP_monolingual* and *mean_LIEMP_bilingual*) that showed the respondents' LIEMP tendencies. This was done in an identical process to the analysis of English orientation. To assure internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha values were calculated in advance for each multi-item scale. The test entails two plausible outcomes:

(i) a significant difference with a higher monolingual-LIEMP mean indicating preference for English-monolingual instruction;

(ii) a significant difference with a higher bilingual-LIEMP mean indicating preference for L1/English-bilingual instruction

3.5.3 Research Question 3

Using histograms, probability pots, skewness scores, and kurtosis scores (Appendix B2), I checked to see if the variables from Question 1 (*mean_EO_owner* and *mean_EO_learner*) and Question 2 (*LIEMP_Monolingual* and *LIEMP_Bilingual*) had a normal distribution. All 4 models have standard residuals between -2 and 2. According to Pallant (2020), such an absence of multicollinearity among predictor variables allows for more accurate results concerning specific predictors. Firstly, a bivariate correlation analysis was conducted to ascertain the relationship between each English-ownership orientation (ratio scales derived from Likert scale items) and each LIEMP orientation.

For a more thorough comprehension of the intervariable relationships, linear regression analyses were also performed. In keeping with the research questions, participants' self-perceived identity as Ghanaian English speakers (*mean_EO_owner* and *mean_EO_learner*) was included as a predictor variable in the regression model. Additionally, the study's independent variables, i.e., L1, Age, Gender, SES, Home Region, Academic Discipline, as well as MSL and PEV, were incorporated into the multiple regression models to determine their predictive potential over each EO and LIEMP.

3.5.4 Research Question 4

The fourth research question was addressed complementarily through both quantitative and qualitative inquiry. The quantitative inquiry was based on identifying noteworthy phenomena from the same regression analyses conducted for Question 3, and the qualitative inquiry consisted of four interviews with a semi-structured format. The interview data were subjected to latent level content analysis, which involves the "researcher's second-level and interpretive examination of the underlying meaning of the data" (Dörnyei, 2007: 246). All interviews were audio recorded and verbatim transcribed for analysis. I repeatedly listened to the interview recordings and, in the process, identified data trends and queried pertinent keywords in advance. Following initial and secondary interpretive classifications, 6 notable content themes emerged:

a. *EO: Learner Identity*

i) Colonialism: Past and Present

ii) Exonormative View on Accents and Varieties

b. *EO: Owner Identity*

iii) Proficiency Determining Ownership

c. *English-Monolingual-LIEMP*

iv) Lack of Native Language Development

v) Past Failures of L1 MOI Implementation

d. *L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP*

vi) Divergence in Theory and Practice

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics approval was granted through the Departmental Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford's Department of Education, in accordance with the CUREC procedures for ethical approval of all research involving human participants (refer to Appendix A1). Participants were contacted and provided with participant information forms (Appendix A2) that detailed data handling procedures and information about the researcher before their participation. Prior to completing the questionnaire and/or participating in interviews, participants were required to give explicit consent (Appendix A3) as per the researcher's request.

Anonymization measures were applied to all questionnaire data. Interview participants were informed that their personal information, including email addresses and names, would be deleted after the interview, and that they would be identified and referred to in the study through codes. Participants were also informed that Audio recordings of interviews and questionnaire data were securely stored on an encrypted and password-protected OneDrive, all of which were to be permanently destroyed upon the completion and submission of the project.

Results

The results of the study are presented in two major sections. The first section quantitatively addresses research questions 1 through 4 regarding Ghanaian students' English Ownership (EO) and Language-In-Education Model Preference (LIEMP), as well as their potential correlation and the influence of key sociodemographic factors. The second section qualitatively discusses noteworthy findings interpreted from the semi-structured interviews, which aimed to identify and contextualise the factors that influenced the students' EO and LIEMP.

4.1 Quantitative Results

4.1.1 English Ownership

4.1.1.1 Text-Entry Questions

a. *Most Spoken Language (MSL)*

The first question in the ownership section of the survey directly inquired the participants' self-proclaimed most spoken language (MSL) in text-entry format. **Figure 3** displays the overall distribution of MSL responses (with the Akan languages organised by their sub-categories). Among 159 respondents, 147 (92.4%) indicated a non-English language as their MSL, while 12 (7.6%) indicated English as their MSL. Although this model indicates a lower level of English nativisation among Ghanaian tertiary students, some limitations to this interpretation must be acknowledged, including (i) the synonymy of ethnic background and language group in Ghana, regardless of proficiency (which may translate to exaggerated language loyalty) (Darko, 2012), and (ii) the participants using English the most may not necessarily have nativised the language but rather moved to a cosmopolitan setting such as Accra (Sarfo, 2021). Nonetheless, the sample exhibited a substantially more frequent orientation towards their most spoken language being non-English.

English [12]			
Non-English [147]	Akan (21)	Twi (16)	Asante Twi (22)
			Akuapem Twi (10)
		Fante (7)	
		Bono (7)	
		Nzema (4)	
		Ga (22)	
		Ewe (13)	
		Hausa (11)	
		Dagbani (10)	
		Dagaare (4)	

Figure 3. Text-Entry responses for participants' "Most Spoken Language" (MSL) according to English and non-English dichotomy.

b. Preferred English Variety (PEV)

The second question in the ownership portion of the survey directly asked for the PEV of the respondents in text-entry format. The overall distribution of PEV responses is shown in **Figure 4**. Among 159 respondents, 97 (61%) indicated an L1-Influenced PEV, while 62 (39%) indicated an inner-circle-PEV. The 97 L1-influenced accent responses were entered as either "African" or more specifically "Ghanaian", with the former entry attesting to language orientations associated with Pan-Africanism (Sarfo, 2012). The 62 IC-influenced accents fit what Holliday (1994) described as the British-Australasia-North-American model. While British/English received a substantial total of 24 entries, the 38 entries for American English were reflective of the recent shift in preference towards the LAFA model (Dako, 2014); indeed, conducting a correlation analysis between PEV responses and age should be considered for future studies to help interpret which variety may be growing or declining in popularity. Overall, the sample indicated a much stronger orientation towards L1-influenced accents in the second text-entry question, in turn suggesting a more endonormative ownership of English from the standpoint of variety preference.

Inner-Circle Influenced Accent [62]	British (21)	English (3)
	American (38)	
L1-Influenced Accent [97]	African (33)	Ghanaian (64)

Figure 4. Text-Entry responses for participants' "English Variety Preference" (EVP) according to Inner-Circle Influenced and L1-Influenced Dichotomy.

4.1.1.2 Likert-Scale Items

To quantitatively inquire into respondents' English Ownership, learner and owner orientations were represented by 5 statements, respectively, as multi-item scales. Among the items denoting "English Learner" orientation, Item (4) received a mean score below the midpoint of 3.5, while all other statements received a score significantly above 3.5. Item (4) was developed to evaluate Ghanaian students' exonormative orientation of accent standards (Koranteng, 2006); the subsequent low mean score therefore assumes that Ghanaian students tend to prefer speaking with an endonormatively oriented, localised accent, which correlates to the results from the previous PEV text-entry section (though Item 4 also has the highest

standard deviation of the *EO_Learner* items). Overall, the sample appears to view English from an exclusively instrumental standpoint (mean_EO_Learner = 4.61; SD = 1.36).

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
(1) <i>English is a foreign language.</i>	4.93 (0.93)
(2) <i>The benefit of English in Ghana is more economic than cultural.</i>	5.12 (0.76)
(3) <i>The colonial history of English impacts my current views on the language.</i>	4.88 (0.84)
(4) <i>When speaking English, I would like to sound as British or American as possible.</i>	3.34 (1.28)
(5) <i>I do not use English much outside of the university setting.</i>	4.76 (1.22)

Table 2. Likert-scale item results for *English Learner Identity*

Consequently, in items denoting “English Owner” orientation, Items (7) and (9), representing interethnic unity and endonormative accent preference, respectively, were the only items to score above the 3.5 midpoint but also had the highest degrees of variance among ownership items. In accordance with Park's (2011) language ownership framework, respondents generally displayed a low level of English ownership, from the perspectives of language allegiance (6) and self-perceived language expertise (8), with language use in integrative contexts (10) receiving the lowest mean in the survey (mean_EO_Owner = 2.89; SD = 0.97).

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
(6) <i>The English language is a part of Ghana's national identity.</i>	2.51 (1.33)
(7) <i>English culturally unites Ghanaians from all ethnic groups.</i>	3.78 (1.13)
(8) <i>I feel that English can help me express myself as much as my first language.</i>	2.31 (0.88)
(9) <i>I feel comfortable speaking English in a Ghanaian accent/dialect.</i>	3.82 (0.71)
(10) <i>I often communicate with my friends and family in English.</i>	2.02 (0.34)

Table 3. *Likert-scale item results for English Owner Identity*

A 2-tailed paired-samples t-test was administered between the above EO mean scores. The means of each EO scale's constituent items (*mean_EO_Learner* and *mean_EO_Owner*) were checked for normality of distribution through the observation of skewness and kurtosis scores, histograms, and Quantile-Quantile probability plots (Appendix B2). The t-test revealed a significant difference between the two English identity orientations ($t(159) = -10.86, p.001$), as well as a large effect size of -1.03 (Table 3). The significantly higher *EO_Learner* mean score indicates an overall tendency to adhere towards an English learner identity, and thus an exclusively instrumental orientation of English.

<i>EO_Learner</i>	<i>EO_Owner</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>
<i>Mean, (SD)</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>					
4.61 , (1.14)	2.89 (0.97)	-3.54; -1.43	-10.86	159	<.001	1.03

Table 4. *t-test results comparing mean scores of owner and learner identity Likert-scale items*

4.1.2 LIE-Model Preference

4.1.2.1 Likert-Scale Items

Multi-item scales were also calculated under the categories indicating LIE-model preference. The English-Monolingual LIEMP was the only category in which all five items scored above the 3.5 midpoint. However, Items (11) and (12), both indicating effective language planning through English's ethnic neutrality, had the two highest standard deviations of any multi-scale item in the questionnaire. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test of these items would be a worthwhile investigation into which sociodemographic factors cause such variance. Overall, the participants displayed a very high agreement with English-Monolingual LIEMP, though with admittedly high variance as well ($\text{mean_LIEMP_Monolingual} = 412; \text{SD} = 1.29$).

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
(11) <i>Having English as the only official language ensures a more stable balance between local people.</i>	4.02 (1.33)
(12) <i>English-only medium education means equal chances for all Ghanaian students.</i>	3.97 (1.59)
(13) <i>Only English can keep Ghanaian science and learning in touch with world-wide developments.</i>	4.65 (0.65)
(14) <i>Switching to African languages as a medium of instruction would affect education standards.</i>	3.88 (0.92)
(15) <i>It is not economically practical to develop sufficient teaching materials in Ghanaian languages.</i>	4.07 (0.84)

Table 5. *Likert-scale item results for English-Monolingual LIEMP*

Items corresponding to L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP had more mixed results, with a mean just over the 3.5 midpoint (mean_LIEMP_Bilingual = 3.52; SD = 1.16). The three items with mean scores between 3 and 4 all involve the presence of native African languages in the education domain, be it in general (16) or from the supposed instrumental (18) and pedagogical (19) benefits associated with such incorporation. Additional items complement this controversy by illustrating that the debate may not be one of the traditional exoglossic-endoglossic hierarchical dichotomy (Adegbija, 2000), but rather one of mere economic viability (20). This topic will be contextualised in the qualitative section.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
(16) <i>There should be more opportunities for education (of all levels) in native African languages.</i>	3.24 (1.22)
(17) <i>Exclusively favouring English may increase differences in social class within Ghana.</i>	4.29 (0.91)
(18) <i>African-language curricula would help advance Native African societies.</i>	3.64 (0.87)
(19) <i>It is easier to understand concepts when they are explained in African languages.</i>	3.55 (1.03)
(20) <i>Governments should prioritise investment in curriculum development for mother-tongue instruction.</i>	2.88 (0.98)

Table 6. Likert-scale item results for L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP

As was conducted for the EO section, a two-tailed paired-samples t-test was administered between the Ghanaian participants' LIEMP mean scores. There was no significant difference between mean_LIEMP_Monolingual and mean_LIEMP_Bilingual ($t(159) = -2.45, p = .047$), although the mean for English-Monolingual-LIEMP was higher than the mean for L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP (**Table 7**). The non-significant difference suggested that language owner and language learner identities are not at opposing extremes of an attitudinal spectrum but rather are more complex issues intertwined with sociodemographic factors and the experiences of the students. It was, nevertheless, anticipated that the qualitative phase of the research would reveal the complexities associated with LIEMP among Ghanaian tertiary students en masse (Owu-Ewie, 2017).

<i>English-Monolingual LIEMP (Mean, SD)</i>	<i>L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP (Mean, SD)</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p (2-tailed)</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>
4.12 (1.29)	3.52 (1.16)	-2.33; -0.89	-2.45	159	.047	0.511

Table 7. *t*-test results comparing mean scores of English-Monolingual-LIEMP and L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP Likert-scale items

4.1.3 Relationship between English Ownership and LIE-model preference

4.1.3.1 Bivariate Correlation

A bivariate correlation analysis found that students' Learner EO is significantly and positively correlated at a moderate-to-low level to both LIE model preferences ($r = .403$ correlated with English-Monolingual LIEMP; $r = .229$ with L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP), indicating that, regardless of which education model the participants prefer, they tend to maintain an exclusively instrumental orientation of English. The substantially higher correlation coefficient among Learner EO and English-Monolingual LIEMP reflects that, even though more Ghanaian English-speakers identify as learners, they tend to view English-only instruction as the optimal medium for mainstream education in Ghana. These correlational coefficients also demonstrate similar patterns to those from previous results sections, where English Learner identity was substantially higher compared to Owner identity. The analysis also found a significant negative correlation between English Owner Identity and both LIEMPs ($r = -.326$ correlated with English-Monolingual LIEMP; $r = -.344$ with L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP). The analysis also found a significant negative, moderate-to-strong correlation between the two English identities. English Learner and Owner identities correlate at $-.823$, while the two LIEMP Mean scores correlate at a non-significant $-.086$. These interpretations further illustrate how Ghanaian tertiary students tend to not view themselves as owners of English, despite diverging in terms of LIE model preference. All correlation coefficients have been plotted onto the study's conceptual model in **Figure 5** and are also shown in **Table 8**.

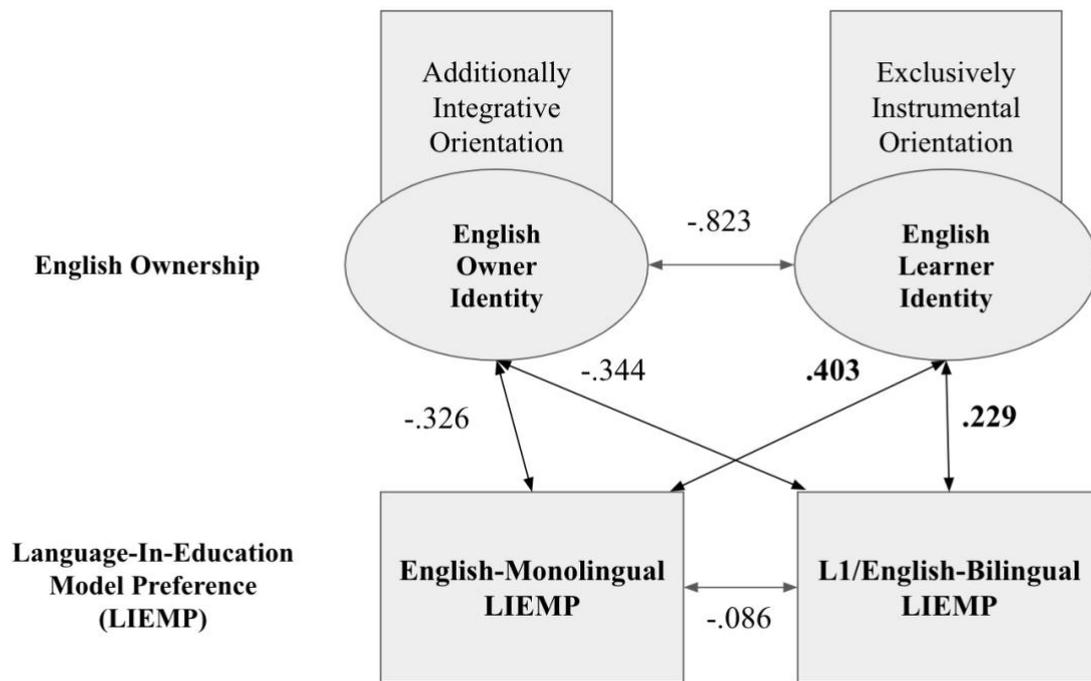


Figure 5. Bivariate correlation results mapped on conceptual research model

	<i>EO_ Learner</i>	<i>EO_ Owner</i>	<i>LIEMP_ Monolingual</i>	<i>LIEMP_ Bilingual</i>
<i>EO_ Learner</i>	1	-.823	.403	.229
<i>EO_ Owner</i>	-.823	1	-.326	-.344
<i>LIEMP_ Monolingual</i>	.403	-.326	1	-.086
<i>LIEMP_ Bilingual</i>	.229	-.344	-.086	1

Table 8. Bivariate correlation results

4.1.3.2 Multiple Regression Analysis

To further analyse potential relationships between EO and LIEMP, linear regression analyses were conducted (See Appendix B.4 for the full regression tables). In addition, demographic information was entered in the form of the study's independent variables: (i) L1, (ii) Age, (iii) Gender, (iv) SES, (v) Region, (vi) Academic Discipline, (vii) Most Spoken Language, and (viii) English Variety Preference, to determine their predictive power over each dependent variable (see Appendix B.4 for assumption testing results). Regarding the selection of categorical dummy variables for presentation in the regression model (Skrivanek, 2009), I chose to present the categorical variable with the positive beta score for each dependent variable; in the case of SES, the Middle tertile was selected as the dummy variable in order to directly present the hypothesised attitudinal dichotomy between Upper and Lower tertiles (Abdulai, 2013).

a. English Ownership

The independent variables explained 32.9% of the total variance for Learner EO and 28.2% for Owner EO. Both models are statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level (**Table 9**). English-Monolingual LIEMP and L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP both significantly contributed to the model predicting EO Learner Identity ($p < .001$), with Monolingual LIEMP making a slightly stronger unique contribution to the model ($\beta = 0.412$) than Bilingual LIEMP ($\beta = .370$), thus supporting earlier findings that students tend to support English-monolingual education, despite proclaiming learner status. Other demographic variables which made significant contribution to predicting EO Learner identity were Akan L1's ($\beta = 0.403$), females ($\beta = 0.288$), potentially linked with culturally gender-driven exonormative English norms (Obeng, 1997), as well as lower SES students ($\beta = 0.185$), though p-values for the latter must also be noted ($p > 0.05$).

Regarding EO Owner identity, the only significant predictors were non-Akan L1's ($\beta = 0.258$), Upper SES students ($\beta = 0.308$), and students from the Southern regions ($\beta = 0.287$) ($p = .000$), while all other independent variables had no predictive power. These predictors potentially corroborate findings from previous research about English-Akan competition for vehicular influence (Darko, 2004) as well as English divergences in development (Owu-Ewie, 2017) and potential language contact through sheer geography (Inusah et al., 2020). It

is predicted that the qualitative data will further explain these ownership phenomena by providing a contextualisation of what other factors are attributed to English ownership, and specifically, reasons behind the disfavour towards L1-accents.

<i>DV</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R Squared</i>	<i>Adj. R Squared</i>	<i>Std. Error of the Estimate</i>	<i>F-Change</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>EO_ Learner</i>	.533	.329	.308	.43087	10.5833	10	.011
<i>EO_ Owner</i>	.492	.282	.219	.52761	7.2284	10	.006

Table 9. Regression Model Summaries for EO as the dependant variable

b. LIE Model Preference

Together, the independent variables explained 48.3% of the variance for English-Monolingual LIEMP and 45.2% for L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP, with both models statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level (**Table 10**). EO Learner identity continued to be a major predictor for the Monolingual model, with other significant beta weights found among non-Akan L1's ($\beta = 0.207$), Upper and Lower SES ($\beta = 0.241$; $\beta = -0.308$), and students from the Northern regions ($\beta = 0.251$). These findings may relate to a pattern in lack of development and resources for effective Bilingual LIE among non-Akan, Lower SES, and Northern sociological lines. Another significant predictor was Science/Business Academic Discipline ($\beta = 0.311$), indicative of previous findings regarding higher instrumental motivations in education by non-Humanities students (Quarcoo, 2017).

Considering L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP, the variables with predictive power were among opposite categories from the predictors of Monolingual LIEMP; Akan L1's ($\beta = 0.289$) and Southern students ($\beta = 0.215$) were more likely to prefer a bilingual model, as were Upper and Lower SES inverting in significant beta weights from the Monolingual LIEMP ($\beta = -0.234$; $\beta = 0.433$). The multiple regression models for LIEMP thus displayed how preferences

in mainstream education models among Ghanaian tertiary students primarily diverged based on L1, SES, and Home Region (though it must be noted that the variables themselves have been categorised under broader macro-dichotomies). These findings will be contextualised in the qualitative interviews.

<i>DV</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R Squared</i>	<i>Adj. R Squared</i>	<i>Std. Error of the Estimate</i>	<i>F- Change</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>LIEMP_ Monolingual</i>	.663	.483	.444	.65841	7.221	10	.027
<i>LIEMP_ Bilingual</i>	.561	.452	.397	.84423	5.869	10	.019

Table 10. Regression Model Summaries for LIEMP as the dependant variable

4.2 Qualitative Results

4.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Four interviews were conducted with participants indicating strong English-Monolingual-LIEMP (N = 2) and L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP (N = 2) to discern what additional factors contribute to different EO and LIEMP orientations. Several significant content categories developed throughout the interviews and were interpreted in accordance with each orientation. The interview transcripts can be found in Appendix C3.

a. EO: Learner Identity

i) Colonialism: Past and Present

All three participants who indicated an English learner identity (B, C, and D) explicitly associated English with Ghana's "colonial masters". This entails that they continue to view English as a foreign language based on colonial trauma and strong loyalty to their L1s.

B: Before the colonial masters came around, we had our own languages. Currently speaking, we have about 50 languages spoken in Ghana, aside from English. So, before these colonial masters came in, the local languages were the ones spoken nationwide.

In contrast to this minimal macro-ownership of English, B, C, and D collectively declared Akan (specifically Asante Twi) a more appropriate language for macro-ownership among the majority of Ghanaians. Even B, the only non-Akan L1 of the three, explained that Akan's (specifically Asante Twi's) cross-SES appeal and indigenous roots make it more suitable as a national lingua franca than English:

B: Well, I would say that, in Ghana, the Asante Twi unites everyone, the educated, the uneducated. When it comes to the English language, only those who have been in school can speak it. (...) Obviously, there's some history rooted in the hierarchy of the Akan dialects and, you know, other language groups in Ghana, but in many ways, Twi is more of a unifying factor than English is. So we may as well just speak this one to communicate rather than use English.

This sense of English as being solely for the nation's elite corroborates C's interpretation of English as merely an extension of Britain's colonial impact on Ghana, a country that, as he explains, remains in a process reminiscent of Wiredu's (2002) conceptual decolonisation theory:

C: Yeah, we can't deny the impact of British colonialism on Ghanaian culture. In fact, speaking good English in our country is actually perceived as intelligence and how you dress and all that. Once you dress like the British, talk like the British, most people perceive you to be highly educated or wealthy. But then gradually, people are finding out the truth about our true identity and our heritage and our culture, which is very beautiful here in Ghana.

This is not to imply that the participants' orientation towards English is entirely negative, but rather exclusively instrumental. For instance, D acknowledges the importance of English in the global market but also believes that the market itself has made Ghana

prioritise foreign languages through succumbing to “neocolonialism” (Mfum-Mensah, 2005: 2):

D: English helps in terms of international diplomacy, selling to others outside. But now, if you look at how people are coming in, it's not only English. Now Chinese is also growing in Ghana. Other languages are coming up. So I feel that we are still under the colonisation of the foreign world.

ii) Variety-Preference: Continued Exonormative Centralisation

All three learner identity participants professed that their ideal standard for English was centralised towards varieties from Kachru's (1996) inner circle, between British (B, C), and American (D) accents. While D explained a popular shift in accent-preference among Ghanaians potentially in line with the LAFA model (Huber, 2008), he explicitly describes this newly preferred variety as ‘American’:

D: For the English accent, especially here in Ghana, we are being trained with British English. But because of the movies and a lot of acculturation that is happening in Ghana right now, currently, our generation normally likes speaking American English. But everyone wants to use a certain accent that will let society recognise that the person really knows how to speak English. So, I think Ghanaians normally speak American English more, compared to the British English.

Other answers potentially denoted that, while Ghanaians may present an overt preference towards BSE, they may simultaneously exhibit a covert partiality to speak GhaE (irrespective of their awareness of such a variety). C explains this overt-covert dichotomy through a hypothetical scenario:

C: Oh, yeah. The average Ghanaian feels attracted by the British accent. Nevertheless, from a society perspective, I'll say that if I speak the British accent in a normal setting, they'll probably see me as somebody who is pretending to be white when I am actually part of the locals. But if you speak

English in, like, a more Ghanaian way, you are likely to mingle among the locals nicely.

This discrepancy between overt and covert attitudes extended to the participants' classifications of GhaPE and SP as languages. Although all three learner identity participants perceived the pidgins as languages, attitudes towards these varieties remain bound to the "controlling centre", (Galtung, 1999) due to their commonly perceived dilution of BSE proficiency.

D: Yeah, I consider Pidgin and the Student Pidgin as languages, but especially when it comes to Ghana, we call Pidgin "broken English". We think the Pidgin is for those who are struggling to speak normal English but can't.

b. EO: Owner Identity

iii) Proficiency Determining Ownership

Participant A was the only interviewee of the sample who professed an owner identity towards English, which also made him an outlier among fellow lower-SES quantitative participants from North Ghana. Nonetheless, his perception of English as a Ghanaian language was relative to the country's inherently multilingual nature:

A: @@ Yeah, I would say that English is A Ghanaian language. Not THE Ghanaian language, but certainly one of them now.

He expands on Ghana's dense multilingualism to assert that it would be impossible for the country's entire populous to own one particular language on a macro-level. He thus believes that Ghanaians should rather claim micro-ownership of specific native and/or popular languages relative to their personal proficiency and regular use:

A: I see English as, like, I speak it very fluently. I use it in my daily life, at the university. And like, there's so many languages spoken in Ghana. Like, maybe my Akan or my Twi is not that fluent, but, hey, that Akan guy may not speak as good Hausa as me, or Kassem as me. So, like (...) who is to say one language, or one person, is more Ghanaian than the other?

c. English-Monolingual-LIEMP

iv) Lack of Native Language Development

It is worth noting that both interviewees who indicated an English-Monolingual-LIEMP (A and B) are non-Akan L1s. This fact adds substantial perspective to their shared perception that their own L1s (and most Ghanaian L1s) are simply lacking the development necessary to facilitate motivational or appropriate educational instruction. Much of B's reasoning came from the contrast between English and indigenous languages in terms of prestige and utility in Ghana's linguistic market:

B: I just don't think people see as much use for most other local languages, because English is already everywhere in science and the media. (...) There are just not as many of those opportunities in languages like Ewe, Ga, or what have you.

A's reasoning focused particularly on the linguistic aspect of L1 development, and how, despite being one of the government-sponsored languages in the NALAP, his L1 remains insufficiently developed to facilitate optimal education. He illustrates this point with how his L1 community was only recently able to develop an autonomous writing system:

A: When I was a child, we were using, in Kassem, the same alphabet in school as like for Dagbani and other languages. Now, this year, we finally have our own alphabet developed just for Kassem, the Goulsse alphabet. So, like, we JUST had our own alphabet developed, and they still want us to immediately start making educational curriculums? We're not ready. Other languages also aren't ready. So I think it would take a lot of time, if at all.

v) Past Failures of L1-MOI Implementation

A's frustration with the almost sudden implementation of his L1 into the NALAP programme extended to his personal experience in the Kassem-English primary curriculum.

He emphasises that, due to its top-down approach, there was a lack of understanding among governments and organisations to appropriately facilitate his community, be it from the standpoint of sufficient resources or appropriate vocabulary development:

A: The government tried to, like, shape the same kind of curriculum around all of those languages. But in Kassem, we still didn't have words for many kinds of technology or for mathematical theories and things like that, and they made NEW words that our parents were totally confused by (...) I can't speak for other programmes, but I can tell you that if the government continues to just develop these things without more collaboration with locals, then this programme will continue failing, and people will just continue wanting school only in English.

d. L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP

vii) Divergence in Theory and Practice

C and D (both Akan L1s) shared an idealistic perception of the L1-incorporated LIE model in Ghanaian education. C's incentive for the model was evocative of Adekunle's (1995) centrifugal motivation theory, as he linked the importance of incorporating indigenous languages into mainstream education to repelling language shift and promoting conceptual decolonisation.

D: Everyone wants their kids to speak English, and so it will shock you that in Ghana now, they find it difficult to speak even their native language. So I think I'd suggest that the curriculum be revised so that the native language will still be of value in Ghanaian culture, as we are still trying to promote, you know, Africa to the world at large.

Participant C, though not an education or linguistics major, even noted the potential pedagogical benefits of L1-incorporated education, claiming advantages reminiscent of Cummins' (2000) interdependence hypothesis:

C: I realised personally that if you teach anybody in Ghana anything in their local languages, they kind of get a better understanding. Even from science and mathematics, we sometimes translate to our local dialect and process it before we understand more clearly.

However, despite praising the theoretical potential of the model, both participants admitted that the practical applications to appropriately facilitate all L1 groups are challenging. C acknowledges that any curriculum must be carefully planned according to the respective community through extensive bottom-up consultation:

C: It's a general problem trying to do the whole curricula, the courses, in the local language. So, it might take a while. It takes a lot of studying of the cultural backgrounds of the different regions and other things to see what language best fits. So, we have to try all those things and get a conclusive ideology. But for now, English is also okay because that's what we're all used to.

D even recognises that prioritising the development of certain L1 groups (particularly his native Asante Twi dialect of Akan) may also lead to peripheral linguistic imperialism within select regions of Ghana (Phillipson, 1992). He thus supports C's view that L1-based curricula should be developed at grassroots levels with the support of regional governments as opposed to a nationally centralised implementation:

D: I think, definitely, there will be an imbalance because Asante Twi will dominate some parts. But I suggest, and I think, that we must have regionally developed programmes. If you have different languages spoken at the regional level, let's say in the northern region, Volta region, and so on (...) If we develop curricula at a regional level, it's going to help in terms of the imbalance aspect.

4.3 Summary of Findings

A synthesis of the results from the survey and the semi-structured interviews indicates that Ghanaian tertiary students held a substantially instrumental orientation to the English language and, thus, an identity as English learners. Interethnic communication and L1-accent preference, however, appeared to be among the theorised characteristics of English ownership that the sample considerably embraced.

Regarding LIEMP, the survey and interview results indicated that language and curriculum development were influential in determining a divergence in model preference between L1 groups and SES groups. Even though other possible sociodemographic differences were interpreted on a macro-level from the data (which should be considered for a deeper micro-analysis in future research), a general relationship was found between EO and LIEMP. This relationship assumes that, while most Ghanaian tertiary students still identify more as English learners, they nevertheless view the language as the best practical choice for a MOI in mainstream education. These findings are explored further in the discussion chapter.

Discussion

This chapter provides a comprehensive interpretation of the study's findings, aiming to address the research questions in a thorough manner.

5.1 Question 1

For the sake of economy, the answers to Question 1 will be explained with context from the sociodemographic factors investigated for the English ownership component of Question 4.

Overall, a higher proportion of Ghanaian tertiary students in the study claimed an identity as English learners rather than owners, thus adhering to an exclusively instrumental orientation of the language. While this quantitative result contrasts with past studies among ESL tertiary students in Asia (Changarajah, 2006; Higgins, 2003) who mostly claim ownership of English, qualitative results strongly corroborate Parmegiani's (2014) results among South African students who linked language ownership explicitly with ethnicity and L1. Indeed, interviewees who claimed a learner identity alluded strongly to perceiving Ghana as succumbing to Adegbija's (1994a) "unseverable colonial umbilical chord" (7) theory, as English's continued global role as the language of modernity and utility makes Ghanaians embrace the language for instrumental purposes, but simultaneously makes them believe in a continued "colonisation of the mind" (Ngugi, 1986; 28) among their general populous. This notion contrasts with the statement that globalisation has made outer and expanding circle speakers capable of English ownership (Norton, 2014; Sharifian, 2014), with the Ghanaian sample rather perceiving globalisation as a source for 'continued colonisation under the foreign world' (C). Such orientation is further exemplified in B's perception of English as "only for the educated" in Ghana, potentially corroborating the regression result that presented Upper-SES participants claiming a stronger owner identity on average. Indeed, the substantial quantity of participants from Middle and Lower-SES groups in this study may also be a significant reason for the student sample expressing a lessened extent of English ownership compared to results from previous attitudinal studies in Ghana (Dako, 1991; Osei-Tutu, 2018), which have often been concentrated in elite tertiary institutions.

However, despite indicating this exonormative view of English en masse, a majority of the sample (61%) indicated an L1-Influenced PEV, and Likert-scale item (9), denoting ‘preference to speaking English in a Ghanaian accent/dialect’, had the highest mean score of all items denoting owner identity. While these quantitative findings supposedly counter recent research suggesting that establishing ownership in English generates a more endonormative linguistic attitude (Rubdy et al., 2008; Vaish, 2005), qualitative inquiry suggested that variety preference among Ghanaians is more fluid and domain dependable. All four interviewees expressed that in interpersonal contexts, a more Ghanaian-influenced accent would be preferred as an intracultural marker, while in educational and professional contexts, the goal is to sound more fluent according to inner-circle norms (be they British, or, recently, American). This contextual divergence is reflective of Kachru’s (1977) seminal study, where his Hindi L1 participants struggled between self-affirmation as competent-English-speakers and the simultaneous sentiment that their cultural identity was being undermined, leading to his coining of the term “linguistic schizophrenia” (17).

Such orientation is further epitomised by the long-established native-centric model in post-colonial African ESL practises, where regional dialects (or qualitatively defined languages like GhaPE and SP) are consistently prohibited in English-monolingual classrooms (Owu-Ewie, 2006; Bronteng, 2020). This institutionalisation of Inner-circle standards may further encapsulate a lack of correlation between endonormative variety preference and English ownership, as well as contextualise the finding that the only interviewee who claimed an ownership identity (A) does so based primarily on self-perceived knowledge and proficiency.

The same interpersonal-institutional attitudinal polarity may also be applied to interpret the findings regarding Ghanaians’ potential macro-ownership of Akan (specifically the Asante Twi dialect) compared to English. Qualitative inquiry presented all three (admittedly South-based) learner-identity participants declaring Asante Twi as a more appropriate lingua franca for the country, with even the non-Akan L1 participant declaring it as more appropriate for interethnic unity than English. Nevertheless, quantitative measures still found most non-Akans to claim a higher ownership of English compared to Akans, as well as an above average mean score for Likert-scale item (1) denoting English as a unifier for “Ghanaians of all ethnic groups”. Participant C (an Akan L1) contextualises this attitudinal divergence by explaining that, while Akan has integrative and vehicular benefits in Ghana, any higher application of the language into prestige domains may indeed spur

interethnic tension, echoing Edu-Buandoh's (2006) argument that English is an effective equaliser for institutional contexts as a means of preventing educational, political, and socioeconomic inequality among indigenous language groups. The potential sociopolitical ramifications of offering a DIL like Akan more regularised power are exemplified through Kenya's 1964 officialisation of Kiswahili, as an attitudinal report by Sure (1998) revealed that, despite the added prestige, most Kenyans continued to simply use Kiswahili exclusively for interpersonal interaction as it does not carry the social value and goods that English carries. Moreover, a more recent survey by Mukhwana (2014) even revealed that the institutionalisation of Kiswahili has led to intolerance among speakers of other urban-present L1s such as Kikeru and Amura, in turn supporting Sarfo's (2011) declaration that "Kiswahili has not united Kenyans" (12). I therefore recommend future studies to directly compare public attitudes between Akan and English from the standpoints of macro-ownership and policy, as such studies would provide fruitful and timely insights into Ghana's attitudinal trajectory regarding the DIL-exoglossic dichotomy.

5.2 Question 2 and Question 3

For economy purposes, as well as my personal interpretation that the results for Question 2 (regarding LIEMP) are appropriately contextualised through results aimed at answering Question 3 (the relationship between EO and LIEMP), these research questions will be discussed in tandem.

The sample presented a predominant preference for an English-Monolingual education model, though items denoting an L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP also received a mixed-to-positive reception overall. These results are relatively consistent with past research where Ghanaian tertiary students substantially preferred English as the sole MOI in mainstream education, despite a simultaneous (albeit minimal) increase in sensitisation to L1-based instruction (e.g., Guerini, 2008; Nyamekye & Baffour-Koudah, 2021).

Interestingly, the bivariate correlation and regression models for Question 3 revealed that self-proclaimed learner identity had an influence on both possible LIEMPs. While non-ownership of English may appear sensible in motivating a stronger promotion of indigenous languages in educational domains (Owu-Ewie, 2015), self-proclaimed learners still tend to

prefer English-only instruction on average. Qualitative responses, particularly from the two self-proclaimed learner interviewees with a L1/English-Bilingual LIEMP (C and D), added depth to this attitudinal conundrum. Although C additionally expressed the potential pedagogical benefits associated with L1-based education, both participants largely based their LIEMP on Akan language loyalty, Ghanaian identity, and subsequent conceptual decolonisation (Wiredu, 2002). These motivations correlate to Adekunle's (1995) centrifugal motivational theory, and further affirm the theories in existing literature (e.g., Agbedor, 2018; Edu-Buandoh, 2006; Kramersch, 2003) that L1-incorporated planning motivations are strongly tied to cultural literacy, development, and identity.

Nevertheless, both C and D concurrently held doubts about the practical attainability of such a model throughout multilingual Ghana, echoing attitudes among A and B, whose reasoning for an English-Monolingual LIEMP was heavily concentrated along the dimension of linguistic feasibility, both in terms of English itself and indigenous languages as a whole. In the case of the former, Ager (2001) claims that economic incentives supersede cultural promotion in public language policy motivations, a statement supported by attitudinal studies among Ghanaian parents (Quarcoo, 2006) and tertiary students (Anokye, 2019) who expressed that they continue to prefer English for institutional practises, viewing it as the only language of utility that can meet their needs for advancement on social, political, and economic grounds.

Coulmas (2006) elucidates this implication of separating L1s and English by domain by claiming that “only a tiny fraction of the languages of the world are adjusted to science, technology, modern education, government, and commerce” (197). Indeed, the lack of instrumental connotation even persists among highly developed and L2-speaker-populated languages like Modern Standard Arabic. Despite being one of the six languages of the United Nations with no principal lexical limitations (Rouchdy, 2013), most upper-SES Arabs surveyed throughout Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (Salhi, 2002; Sirles, 1999) claimed to use the Standard and localised Arabic primarily for religious and national purposes, respectively, while not declaring a strong motivation to use either form across all communication domains in lieu of the post-colonial French language. This continued advocacy of French, and even more recently, English, as the primary codes of education and administration among Francophone North Africa's most educated populations (Crystal, 2003; Belmihoub, 2018; Mwinlaaru, 2022) can be viewed as comparable to the qualitative sentiments among this

study's Ghanaian participants, who maintain an instrumental attachment towards English due to elite closure (Myers-Scotton, 1993) (B) and in spite of a proclaimed ongoing colonisation of the mind (Ngugi, 1986) (D).

In contrast to the feasibility of English, the sample professed a lack thereof among indigenous languages, with Likert item (20) (denoting the endorsement of L1-curriculum development) having the lowest mean score of all LIEMP items. Nonetheless, quantitative regression findings, supported by qualitative interpretations, imply that this complex is especially bound to the participants' L1 background. This matter, along with other sociodemographic factors, will be explored in the discussion of the following and final research question.

5.3 Question 4

Because the factors for EO have been conveniently discussed in the context of the answers to Question 1, this section will only discuss sociodemographic factors pertaining to LIEMP.

Regression results found that Akan L1s substantially supported a Bilingual LIEMP over their non-Akan L1 counterparts. This finding compliments past theories (e.g., Bretuo, 2020; Sarfo, 2011) and studies (e.g., Bronteng, 2020; Ofei, 2021) suggesting a higher average confidence in L1 feasibility among Akan L1s based on comparative developmental capacity. What's more, qualitative inquiry, particularly from the two non-Akan participants (A and B), further revealed a lack of belief in the linguistic feasibility of their respective L1s, both in terms of instrumental utility in the Ghanaian market (B) and sheer lack of language development (A). These findings corroborate Amfo's (2019) belief that African governments en masse tend to pay attention to language policies solely within the education sector, with little attention to formal and semi-formal spaces to which further planning may be applied. Alternatively, federal and local education boards should apply prestige planning alongside acquisition planning to establish a demand for select L1s in Africa's multilingual marketplace, in turn using said demand as an incentive for enhancing the role of indigenous languages in LIE models (Baldauf, 2005; Kamwangamalu, 2016).

However, such planning can only be effective if executed in accordance with the needs and desires of the community in question. As Ladefoged (1992) argues, “It is paternalistic of linguists to assume that they know what is best for the community”, because “acceptance of a status decision does not automatically produce a language practise in compliance with that decision” (810). The regression results of this study serve as an example of this argument because lower-SES and Northern participants expressed a higher English-Monolingual LIEMP, with Participant A (who adheres to both macro-categories) explaining that the lack of local community input in implementing the NALAP proved detrimental to most North-based L1 programmes (particularly his own). These findings are in line with Inusah, Mahama, & Mashoud’s (2020) attitudinal research among Northern Ghanaians towards the NALAP, which also revealed frustration among educators and pupils alike for the programme having been implemented by almost top-down linguistic and academic development, with little regard to the resources or sociolinguistic dynamics of the context in question.

In response to these findings, theorists (Mackey, 2018; Omoniyi, 2003) advise stakeholders to constantly cooperate with L1 communities to define a set of educational and linguistic goals, guided by realistic observations of their available resources and actual language practises, continually learning from and adjusting to both successful and poor attitudinal results through Hinton’s (2001) cyclical process of “PIE: Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation” (51). Within this model, organizations plan what they will do, they implement said plan, they evaluate the results, and the process repeats.

5.4 Study Limitations

Due to its brief duration and limited resource availability, several limitations need to be noted for the current pilot study as well as considered in future research on the subject.

Firstly, it should be noted that the study focused specifically on the attitudes of tertiary students, which is the demographic with among the highest levels of English literacy and contact in Ghana (Quarcoo, 2014). Such comparatively high proficiency and exposure to English could be argued to provide a more innate complacency with English-monolingual education models (even among lower-SES participants), as opposed to, for instance, Ghanaians with lower access to higher educational resources. This is to imply that future

studies should attempt to measure attitudes on an even wider demographic spectrum in order to implement the most appropriate educational models possible in Ghana and beyond.

While this study did incorporate various sociodemographic variables to help contextualise the attitudes within the tertiary student sample, the representation of this sociodemographic variance was admittedly simplistic, as I constrained the sub-categories to broad macro-categories. While these hypothesised macro-categories were justified by trends in the literature review, they also limit the potential insight into the attitudinal variance among different L1 groups, including among speakers of different Akan dialects (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2019)

Future studies should be more exploratory in finding attitudinal trends among specific L1 groups, echoing Glynn's (2010) advocacy for a comprehensive, multivariate exploration that captures "every possible clue" (6) from raw data because researchers never know if what they believe to be the relevant features really are the only essential ones. Researchers in the Ghanaian context should also place particular focus on LIEMP among minority (non-DIL) L1 groups, as their impediments regarding population and resources make their language planning needs especially timely (Taylor-Leech, 2013). Unfortunately, this study did not have an appropriate quantity of minority L1s to warrant a quantitative hypothesis regarding their attitudes.

Further to the study's sample size, the qualitative sample was admittedly too small, with only four participants. Moreover, the interview sample appeared to include students whose attitudes did not corroborate many of the trends found in the quantitative section, namely a Northern, lower-SES participant who claimed an owner identity of English (Participant A) and a non-Akan who personally maintained a learner identity (B). This aspect of the sample is both a strength and a disadvantage, for while it presents the complex multidimensionality of language attitudes in Ghana, a larger quantitative sample would have also potentially helped to contextualise all the study's noteworthy quantitative trends.

The final limitation of note, also concerning the interview process, was my positionality as the interviewee. While I was aware of my outsider status prior to the interview process, my affiliation with the University of Oxford may have also created a sense of social desirability bias among some of the interviewees. Although I purposely used

“English” arbitrary, in order to evade any endonormative or exonormative suggestions, the interviewees may have automatically perceived the English in our conversations exonormatively based on my status. Considering that previous English attitudinal studies with Ghanaian interviewees (Dako, 1991; Asante-Nimako, 2018) have resulted in participants expressing more endonormative sensitisation to localised Ghanaian English (in turn, through another potential social bias), I propose that future research would strongly benefit from employing matched guise techniques to elicit more passive, and, in turn, naturalised attitudes less influenced by the presence of the interlocutor (Kircher, 2015).

Conclusion and Implications

This mixed-methods study used a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews to investigate the English ownership and Language-In-Education model preference (LIEMP) of Ghanaian tertiary students, along with which sociodemographic factors most influence such attitudes. Overall, the findings presented in the study adhere to previous attitudinal studies in Ghana which highlight the complexities in the affective and behavioural dyad towards English and indigenous languages within the nation's sociocultural domains. Results showed that most participants did not claim ownership of the English language, a stance heavily influenced by colonial and neo-colonial trauma, inherently bound L1 allegiance, as well as the continued institutional scrutiny of localised Englishes and vernaculars such as GhaE in favour of Inner-Circle standards.

Nevertheless, most of the sample viewed an English-Monolingual LIE model as the most appropriate option for mainstream education, due in large part to the instrumentality of English in the national and global market, as well the lack of perceived developmental feasibility of indigenous Ghanaian languages. Such attitudes were shown to be especially prevalent among non-dominant L1 groups, as well as participants representative of underdeveloped regions and lower-SES backgrounds.

Although such findings are indicative of a requirement for governments and linguists alike to emphasise prestige planning alongside acquisition planning in L1-incorporated LIE development, they are even more indicative of the need for governments to accommodate such development through communicative input from the L1 group themselves. The qualitative results of this study stressed that policies such as the NALAP, executed through a top-down, monolithic approach to establishing curricula across 11 indigenous languages which varied so significantly in population, development, and community attitudes to such an education model, have ironically increased the belief among certain L1 groups that local languages are not suitable for the educational domain, in-turn opting for English-only exposure.

This study hereby calls for stakeholders, policymakers, and applied linguists, to collaborate with Ghanaian L1 communities through a synthesis of bottom-up attitudinal analyses which lead to appropriate top-down planning strategies. This process would help

ensure that, whichever model is ultimately implemented, it is in accordance with the needs and desires of the community in question (Takam, 2020). It is worth additionally stressing that such attitudinal studies should not focus exclusively on the community's L1, but also their self-perceived relationships with other languages, in order to potentially establish alternative models which appropriately cater to underdeveloped linguistic minorities, such as L2-L3 Bilingual approaches (Benson, 2020), as well as analysing the ever adapting presence of dominant languages such as English and the Akan dialects in Ghana as a whole (Bonney, 2021). This process of LIE model implementation must therefore never be viewed as a static process, but rather a cyclical one (i.e., Hinton's PIE model), for as long as indigenous language groups in Ghana, and post-colonial Africa en masse, continue to adapt through shifts in population, development, and attitudes, so too should the language policy which educates and accommodates them.

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Appendix A. Ethics-Related Appendices

Appendix A1. CUREC Approval

From: Sandra Mathers

Date: Tuesday, 30 March 2021 at 09:36

To: Student CUREC, Hamish Chalmers , Maciej Nowakowski

Subject: Re: MSc Applied Linguistics for Second Language Acquisition/Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching CUREC application for Maciej Nowakowski

Dear Hamish and Maciej

English and French as Lingua Francas: A Comparative Study of Attitudes Among Tertiary Students and Professors in Ghana and the Ivory Coast - approval reference ED-CIA-21-150

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants. I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Please continue to follow all current guidance issued by CUREC during the pandemic, notably COVID-19: CUREC guidance on research involving human participants, and on internet-based research:

<https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/coronavirus>

If relevant please also check the CUREC website for their best practice research guides:

<https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/resources/bpg>

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

With kind regards,

Dr. Sandra Mathers

Senior Researcher
Department of Education
University of Oxford

Appendix A2. Participant Information Sheet

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general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk www.education.ox.ac.uk

Course Director: Dr Hamish Chalmers

English and French as Lingua Francas: A Comparative Study of Attitudes Among Tertiary Students and Professors in Ghana and the Ivory Coast

(CUREC approval ref. ED-CIA-21-150)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**1. Invitation**

I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. Before you decide to participate, it is important to understand why this research is being conducted and what your participation would entail. As such, please be sure to take the time and read the following information carefully. Should you find anything unclear, or simply need further information, feel free to ask someone from the contact list below. Please take time to decide whether you would like to take part in the study.

2. What is the purpose of this research?

This study plans to investigate and compare university academics' attitudes towards English in Ghana, and French in the Ivory Coast, to uncover the extent to which they claim ownership of their country's respective official language. Post-colonial African contexts have been woefully understudied in the field of language attitudes. This is especially unfortunate given recent official and educational shifts in the popularity of English as a lingua franca (ELF) over French as a lingua franca (FLF) across many formerly-Francophone African nations. Moreover, attitude studies themselves tend to only focus on a single aspect of language identity, focusing either on identity, policy or phonology.

By contrast, if one was to synthesise these aspects into one study, participants may be able to express a more complete attitudinal scope. Hence in this study, participants would have the opportunity to express attitudes on their respective lingua franca (common language) among myriad sociolinguistic

aspects. These aspects range from attitudes towards language policy and education, to one's personal accent preference when speaking the language itself.

The results of this study will hopefully add to the current understanding of how both ELF and FLF broaden notions of language ownership, particularly to populations where English and French are not the first language, despite holding a very influential status. This study also hopes to bring new attention to the study of language attitudes in post-colonial contexts, specifically those across Africa, where multilingual societies and everchanging economies are creating new shifts and questions to the sociolinguistic future of the continent.

3. *Why have I been invited to participate?*

You have been invited because you are a student or lecturer from Ghana or the Ivory Coast, aged 18 or above, who is currently studying or teaching at a local university in their home country. You are also regular users of your country's respective official language (English or French). I am interested to uncover how you view the identity and role that your official language plays in your society, and among its other languages.

4. *Do I have to participate?*

The decision of whether or not to participate in this study is entirely yours. You are free to ask questions regarding the research before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to take part, you may withdraw from the study at any time, without providing a reason, through exiting the questionnaire.

5. *What will happen to me if I participate in the research?*

I would like to invite you to participate in a questionnaire survey. The questionnaire consists of 30 questions and should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete. Should you be interested in being further involved as a participant in the study, I would like you to take part in an online interview where you can share your experiences with and attitudes towards your country's official language. The interview will not take more than 45 minutes. Your consent will be obtained for audio-recording during the interview. If you are still happy to participate, you will then be asked to sign a further consent form.

6. *Are there any potential risks in participating?*

There is no risk in participating in this study.

7. *Are there any benefits in participating?*

There will be no direct benefits from you taking part in this research. Nonetheless, your contribution would help to increase knowledge and awareness of language attitudes within Anglophone and Francophone Africa on a wider global scale.

8. *What happens to the data I provide?*

The information which you provide as part of the study is the **research data**. Any form of research data from which you may be identified (e.g., email address, recorded audio) is referred to as **personal data**. This does not include data in which the participant's identity has been removed (anonymous data).

We will minimise the need for personal data in the study as much as possible. The **research data** will be confidentially stored in a secure, encrypted location. All pieces of **personal data** will also be stored confidentially in a secure location, with the researcher being the only person with access to the original files. Your responses in the questionnaire will be completely anonymised unless you choose to take part in an interview (in which case, you will enter your email address). In the case of interview participants, you will be identified in the research by a given code number. We would appreciate your permission to utilise direct quotes. You are assured that your identity will be kept absolutely confidential and your comments would be utilised solely for academic purposes.

My supervisor will have access to the collected data, both research and personal. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may also be given access to data for monitoring or auditing the research.

Upon completion of the research project, all data, including questionnaire responses and interview recordings, will be permanently destroyed.

9. Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller regarding your personal data and will hence determine how your personal data is utilized within the study. The University will process your entered data for the sole purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task performed by the institution in the public interest.

10. Will the research be published?

This research will be written as a master's dissertation. Upon successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the university archives, to facilitate its effectiveness for future research. This dissertation will then be accessible to all members of the department.

11. Who is organising this research?

This research is organized as an independent master's research dissertation from the University of Oxford, Department of Education.

12. Who has reviewed and approved of this study?

This study has been reviewed, and received ethics clearance, by the University of Oxford's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).

13. Further Information and Contact Details

If you have any further questions or concerns, or would wish to discuss the study with someone before or after the research process, be sure to contact:

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY

Tel: +44(0)1865 274024

Fax: +44(0)1865 274027

Email: general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk

Thank you

Thank you for your attention and consideration. I hope that this study appeals to you, and that you would be interested in taking part

Appendix A3. Interview Participant written consent form

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY

Tel: +44(0)1865 274024

Fax: +44(0)1865 274027

general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk www.education.ox.ac.uk**Course Director: Dr Hamish Chalmers****INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM****English and French as Lingua Francas: A Comparative Study of Attitudes Among Tertiary Students and Professors in Ghana and the Ivory Coast**

(CUREC approval ref. ED-CIA-21-150)

Purpose of Study: This study plans to compare and contrast the language attitudes among university-level students and lecturers between English in Ghana and French in the Ivory Coast. The goal of the study is to uncover the outlying attitudes towards European lingua francas in Africa, in turn uncovering what the future may hold for the role of English and French in the continent and region.

	<i>Please initial each box</i>
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the contents of the information sheet for the following study. I have had the chance to ponder the information, raise questions and have had them answered adequately.	
2. I appreciate that my participation in the interview is fully optional, with the ability to withdraw at any time, without providing any reason, and without any consequences or academic penalty.	
3. I acknowledge that any information which I provide in this interview is entirely voluntary, being able to go into as much detail as I would like.	

4. I realize that the data collected during this study may be viewed by designated individuals from the University of Oxford where it is relevant to my participation. I hence give permission for these individuals to access my data from this interview.	
5. I acknowledge that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance by, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).	
6. I am aware of who will have access to my provided data, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data after the project's completion.	
7. I understand how to make a complaint or raise a concern, if need be.	
8. I consent to being audio recorded	
9. I am aware of how the audio recordings will be utilised in research outputs.	
10. I agree to participate in this study.	

dd/mm/yyyy

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

dd/mm/yyyy

Name of Person Taking Consent

Date

Signature

Appendix A4. Poster Advertisement

ARE YOU A GHANAIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT?

DO YOU HAVE OPINIONS ABOUT GHANAIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY?

WE WANT YOUR VOICE TO BE HEARD!

TAKE PART IN THE SURVEY!

SALUT!

HELLO!

SANNU!

EFOA?

AKWAABA!



This study plans to compare and contrast the language attitudes among university-level students towards English and Bilingual Primary Education in Ghana.

The goal of the study is to uncover the outlying attitudes towards English ownership in modern Africa, in turn uncovering what the future may hold for the development of education models in the region.

To conduct the study, we are looking for participants, aged 18 or above, who are (i) Ghanaian nationals, (ii) studying at a Ghanaian University, (iii) were educated under Ghana's transitional bilingual programme in Primary 1-3.

You would be invited to fill in an online questionnaire. The questionnaire should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete.





If you are interested in participating and would like further information, please contact _____, at the Department of Education, 15 Norham Gardens Oxford on _____ or _____.

There is no obligation to participate, and every contribution is totally voluntary.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU!

Feel free to also contact the study researcher at:

 **MACIEJ NOWAKOWSKI**  **@KIDDNOWAK**  **WOLF6086@OX.AC.UK**

Appendix A5. Questionnaires

Appendix A5.1. Pilot Questionnaire



1) Conditional Page

Before filling in the questionnaire, please confirm the following details:

	Please confirm whether the statements are true or false	
	True	False
I identify as being from <u>Ghana</u>		
I speak <u>at least one language</u> in addition to English and/or French		
I am currently studying or lecturing at a <u>university</u> in my <u>home country</u>		

-----page break-----

(Should the candidate select “False” for any one of the three conditions, they will be directed to the following message)

Thank you for willing to participate in this study. Since you do not meet all of the necessary criteria to complete this survey, we will have to end the process here.

Many thanks for your time and interest. We wish you a fine day.

-----page break-----

3) Information Page

To help us in interpreting and classifying your questionnaire answers, you may provide more details about your personal and language-speaking background in the following section.

Each question is entirely optional to answer, and can be left blank. Refusal to answer these questions will not diminish or penalise your contribution to the survey in any form.

1. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

2. Please enter your your age below:

4. Please select the region you identify as being from.
(You may leave blank if you prefer not to say)

- Ahafo Region
- Ashanti Region
- Bono Region
- Bono East Region
- Central Region
- Eastern Region
- Greater Accra
- Northern Region
- North East Region
- Oti Region
- Savannah Region
- Upper East Region
- Upper West Region
- Volta Region
- Western Region
- Western North Region

6. Which language would you say you speak the best?

- Akan (Akuapem Twi)
- Akan (Asante Twi)
- Akan (Fante)
- Dagaare
- Dagbanli

- English
- Ewe
- Ga
- Ghanaian Pidgin English
- Guan
- Hausa
- Kasem
- Nzema
- Other (Please Specify): _____

7. How long have you learnt/ been speaking English?

- Less than 5 years
- 5-10 years
- 10-15 years
- 15-20 years
- More than 20 years

8. What language do you **speak** the most at university?

- Akan (Akuapem Twi)
- Akan (Asante Twi)
- Akan (Fante)
- Akan (Nzema)
- Dagaare
- Dagbanli
- English
- Ewe
- Ga
- Ghanaian Pidgin English
- Guan
- Hausa
- Kasem
- Other (Please Specify): _____

9. What language do you **speak** the most at home?

- Akan (Akuapem Twi)
- Akan (Asante Twi)
- Akan (Fante)
- Akan (Nzema)
- Dagaare
- Dagbanli
- English
- Ewe
- Ga
- Ghanaian Pidgin English

- Guan
- Hausa
- Kasem
- Other (Please Specify): _____

10. What language do you **speak** the most outside of university and home (e.g., markets, restaurants, socials, etc.)?

- Akan (Akuapem Twi)
- Akan (Asante Twi)
- Akan (Fante)
- Akan (Nzema)
- Dagaare
- Dagbanli
- English
- Ewe
- Ga
- Ghanaian Pidgin English
- Guan
- Hausa
- Kasem
- Other (Please Specify): _____

11. Which university are you currently enrolled in?

12. Which division do you belong to?

- Arts
- Business
- Computer Science
- Engineering
- Humanities
- Law
- Medicine/Medical Science
- Natural Science
- Social Science
- Other (please specify): _____

13. What is your current academic status?

- Bachelor's Candidate

- Master’s Candidate
- Doctoral Candidate

- Professor/Lecturer
- Postdoctoral Researcher
- Other (please specify): _____

14. Are you willing to participate in an online interview with the researcher at a mutually convenient time?

- Yes
- No

If ‘yes’, please enter your contact information below:

Email: _____

-----page break-----

We attempted to make this questionnaire as thorough as possible, but perhaps you may have felt that there were some details which we left out. If you happen to have any suggestions, please provide any personal feedback below:

-----page break-----

3) Questionnaire Sections

A. Ownership Identity

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Feelings	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. English is a foreign language	○	○	○	○	○
2. Knowing English is a big clue of someone’s education level	○	○	○	○	○

3. The English language is a part of Ghana's national identity	<input type="radio"/>				
4. I perceive English as being an elitist language	<input type="radio"/>				
5. The colonial history of English impacts my current views on the language	<input type="radio"/>				
6. I believe I possess a native fluency in English	<input type="radio"/>				
7. Being able to speak English is a big part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>				
8. Knowing English means that someone belongs to a modern society	<input type="radio"/>				

Please answer the following questions (in as many words as you like):

9. Which language do you feel is the most symbolic of Ghana as a country?

-

10. If the influence of English was to decline in Ghana, how would this affect you?

-----page break-----

B. Ownership- Variety

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Feelings	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. When speaking English, I would prefer to sound as native (e.g., British, American) as possible	<input type="radio"/>				
2. Having a native-like accent provides more advantages	<input type="radio"/>				

3. The best English language education is one that helps students achieve a native-like accent	<input type="radio"/>				
4. I would prefer to use native pronunciation when speaking to people from other countries	<input type="radio"/>				
5. I would prefer to use my local pronunciation when speaking to local people	<input type="radio"/>				
6. I feel proud of my local accent	<input type="radio"/>				
7. The Ghanaian English accent is a significant part of our cultural identity	<input type="radio"/>				
8. Ghanaians don't have a shared accent, as they speak English with different accents from their first language	<input type="radio"/>				

Please answer the following questions (in as many words as you like):

9. Which type of accent would you personally most like to speak English with?

-

10. Do you think your answer to Question 9 would be similar among most Ghanaians? If not, which accent do you think they would prefer?

-----page break-----

C. Policy

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Feelings	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Having English as the only official language ensures more stable balance between local people	<input type="radio"/>				
2. Favouring English may create differences in class within the nation	<input type="radio"/>				

3. The benefit of English in Ghana is more economic than cultural	<input type="radio"/>				
4. Schools should administer more mixed language use within their curriculum	<input type="radio"/>				
5. The French language should have a bigger place in Ghanaian education and policy	<input type="radio"/>				
6. There should be more opportunities for adult education in native African languages	<input type="radio"/>				
7. Switching to African languages as a medium of instruction would affect the education standards	<input type="radio"/>				
8. An African language (or several) should gain official status in Ghana	<input type="radio"/>				

Please answer the following questions (in as many words as you like):

9. If French was to gain official status in Ghana, would its influence in the country be lower, equal to, or bigger than English? Please explain why.

-

10. Which native African language(s) should gain official status in Ghana? (If you believe that none should, enter "None")

Pilot for Questionnaire 1

Number of cases: 10

A. Ownership- Identity

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.344	8

A. Ownership- Variety

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.473	8

C. Policy

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.492	8

Appendix A5.2. Final Questionnaire



1) Conditional Page

Before filling in the questionnaire, please confirm the following details:

	Please confirm whether the statements are true or false	
	True	False
I identify as being from Ghana		
I have undergone education in Ghana from the primary level		
I am currently studying or lecturing at a university in my home country		

-----page break-----

(Should the candidate select “False” for any one of the three conditions, they will be directed to the following message)

Thank you for willing to participate in this study. Since you do not meet all of the necessary criteria to complete this survey, we will have to end the process here.

Many thanks for your time and interest. We wish you a fine day.

-----page break-----

3) Information Page

To help us in interpreting and classifying your questionnaire answers, you may provide more details about your personal and language-speaking background in the following section.

Each question is entirely optional to answer, and can be left blank. Refusal to answer these questions will not diminish or penalise your contribution to the survey in any form.

1. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

2. Please enter your your age below:

3. Please select the region you identify as being from.
(You may leave blank if you prefer not to say)

- Ahafo Region
- Ashanti Region
- Bono Region
- Bono East Region
- Central Region
- Eastern Region
- Greater Accra
- Northern Region
- North East Region
- Oti Region
- Savannah Region
- Upper East Region
- Upper West Region
- Volta Region
- Western Region
- Western North Region

4. Which university are you currently enrolled in?

5. Which academic division do you belong to?

- Arts
- Business

- Computer Science
- Engineering
- Humanities
- Law
- Medicine/Medical Science
- Natural Science
- Social Science
- Other (please specify): _____

6. Are you willing to participate in an online interview with the researcher at a mutually convenient time?

- Yes
- No

If 'yes', please enter your contact information below:

Email: _____

-----page break-----

We attempted to make this questionnaire as thorough as possible, but perhaps you may have felt that there were some details which we left out. If you happen to have any suggestions, please provide any personal feedback below:

-----page break-----

3) Text-Entry Section

Please answer the following questions in one word:

7. "What language do you use the most in your daily life (outside of the university setting)?"

8. "When speaking English, what accent/dialect would you prefer to speak with?"

4) Questionnaire Sections

A. English Ownership

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. English is a foreign language	<input type="radio"/>					
2. The benefit of English in Ghana is more economic than cultural	<input type="radio"/>					
3. English unites Ghanaians from all ethnic groups	<input type="radio"/>					
4. I do not use English much outside of the university setting	<input type="radio"/>					
5. The colonial history of English impacts my current views on the language	<input type="radio"/>					
6. I feel that English can help me express myself as much as my first language	<input type="radio"/>					
7. When speaking English, I I would like to sound as British or American as possible	<input type="radio"/>					
8. I often communicate with my friends and family in English	<input type="radio"/>					
9. I feel comfortable speaking English with a Ghanaian accent/dialect	<input type="radio"/>					
10. The English language is a part of Ghana's national identity	<input type="radio"/>					

-----page break-----

B. Language-In-Education Model Preference

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

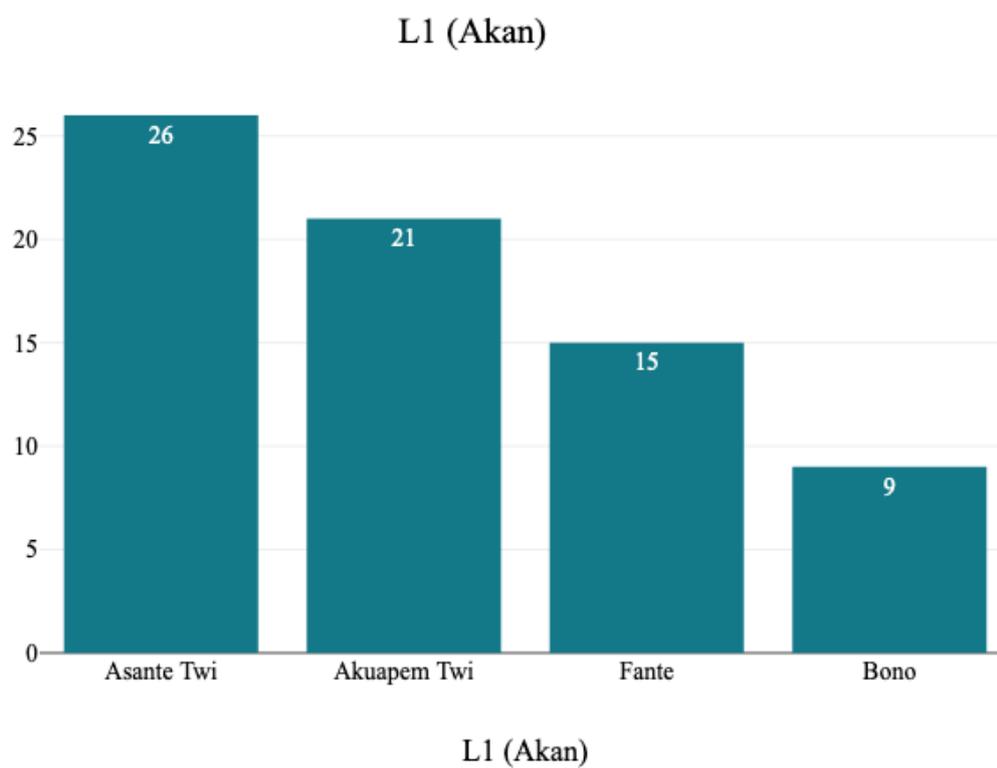
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. African-language curricula would help advance Native African societies.	<input type="radio"/>					
2. Having English as the only official language ensures a more stable balance between local people.	<input type="radio"/>					
3. It is not economically practical to develop sufficient teaching materials in Ghanaian languages.	<input type="radio"/>					
4. There should be more opportunities for education (of all levels) in native African languages.	<input type="radio"/>					
5. English-only medium education means equal chances for all Ghanaian students.	<input type="radio"/>					
6. Exclusively favouring English may increase differences in social class within Ghana.	<input type="radio"/>					
7. Only English can keep Ghanaian science and learning in touch with world-wide developments	<input type="radio"/>					
8. It is easier to understand concepts when they are explained in African languages.	<input type="radio"/>					
9. Switching to African languages as a medium of instruction would affect education standards.	<input type="radio"/>					
10. Governments should prioritise investment in curriculum development for mother-tongue instruction.	<input type="radio"/>					

Appendix B. Quantitative Results Appendices

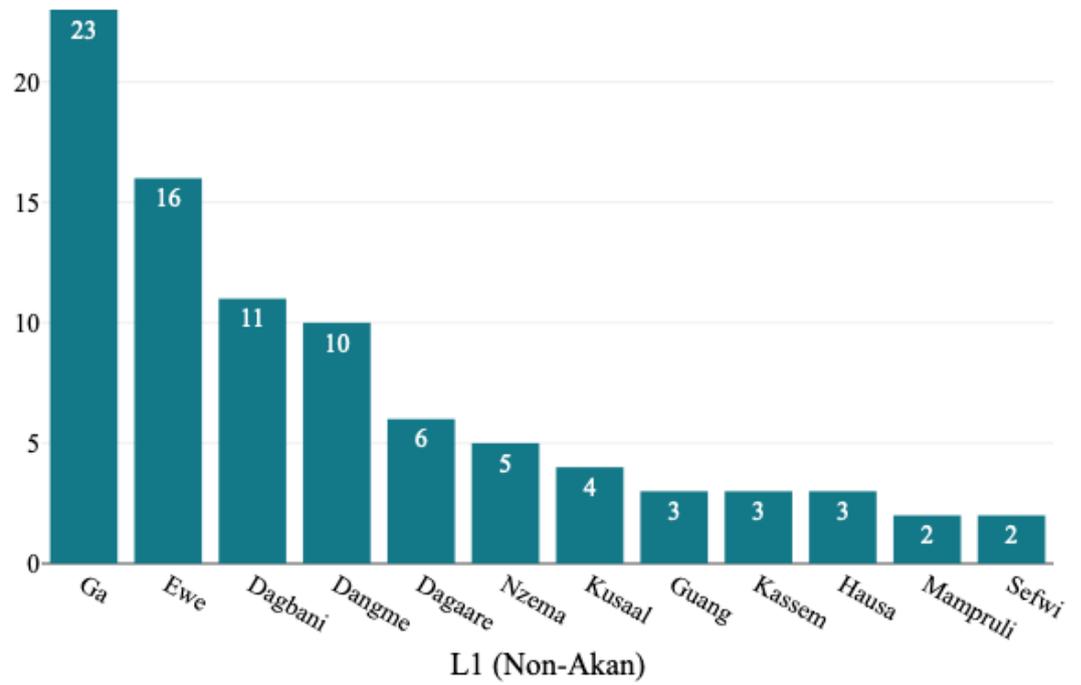
Appendix B1. Participant Demographic Information

B1.1. L1

a. L1 [Pre-Coded]

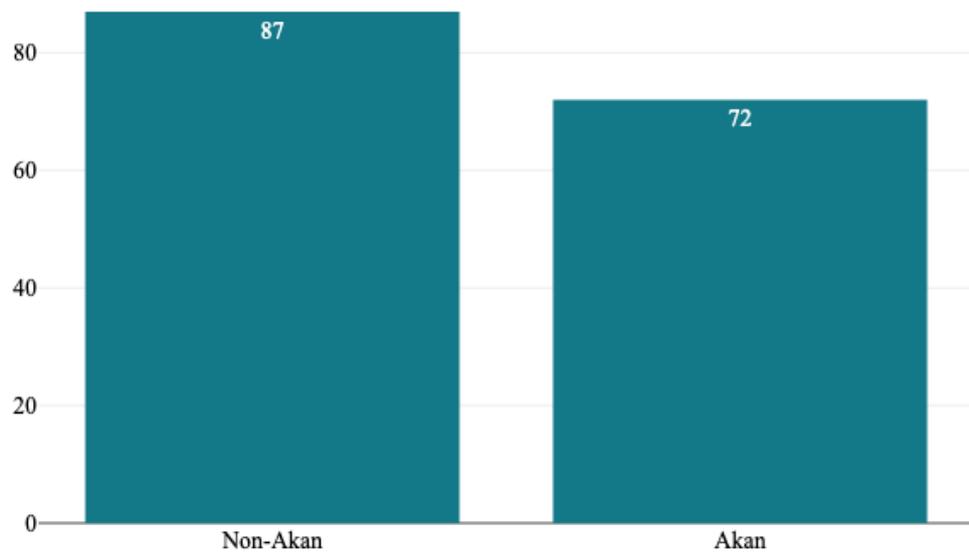


L1 (Non-Akan)



b. L1 [Coded]

L1



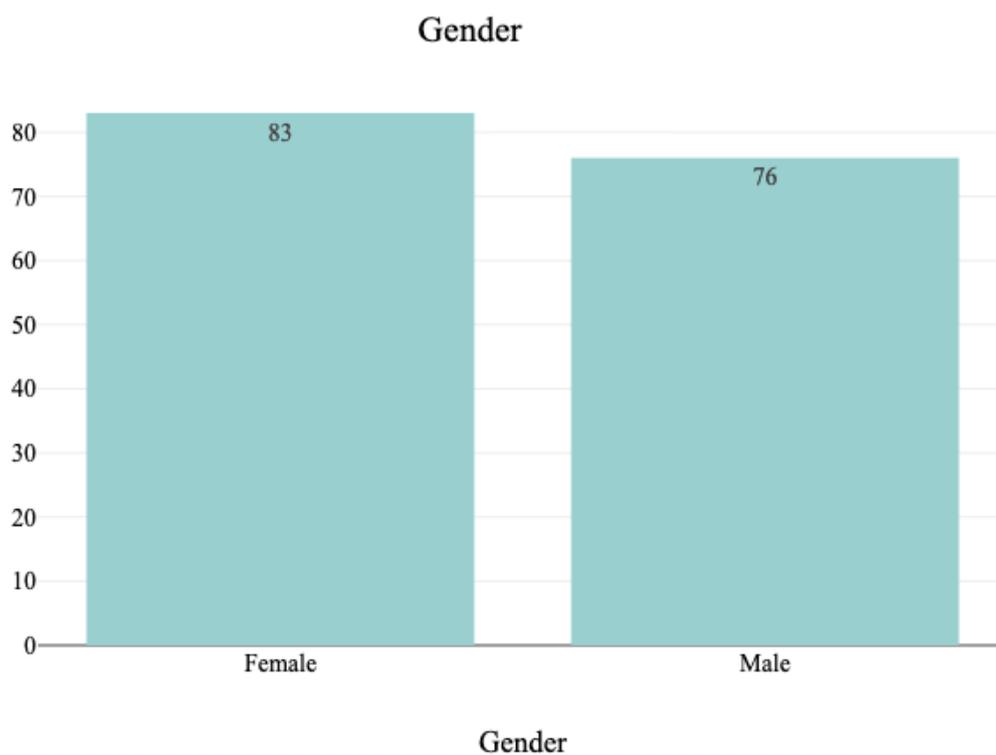
L1

B1.2. Age

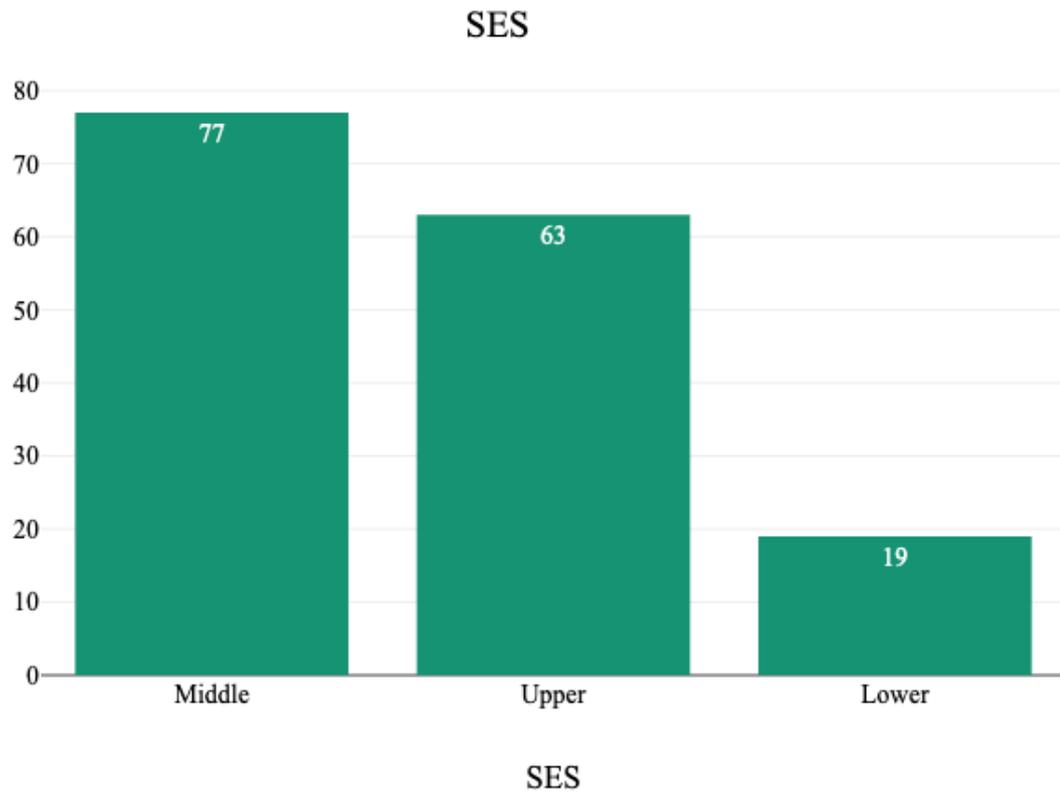
Mean	23.19
Std. Deviation	3.35
Variance	11.07
Minimum	18
Maximum	35
Range	17

B1.3. Gender

Gender	Frequency	Valid %
Female	83	52.2%
Male	76	47.8%
Total	159	100%
Invalid	0	
Total	159	

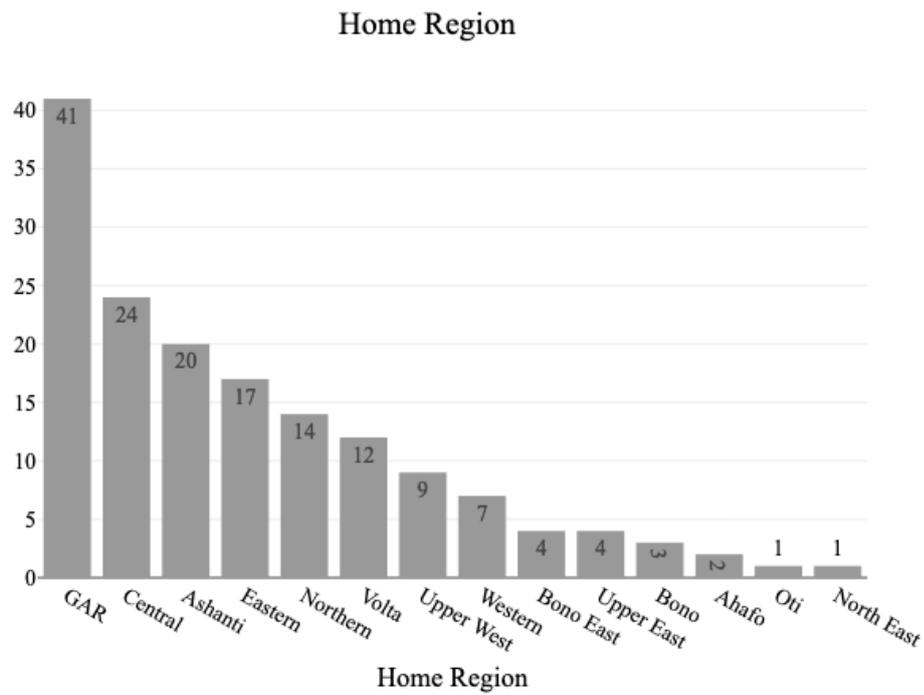
**B1.4. SES**

SES	Frequency	Valid %
Middle	77	48.43%
Upper	63	39.62%
Lower	19	11.95%
Total	159	100%
Invalid	0	
Total	159	

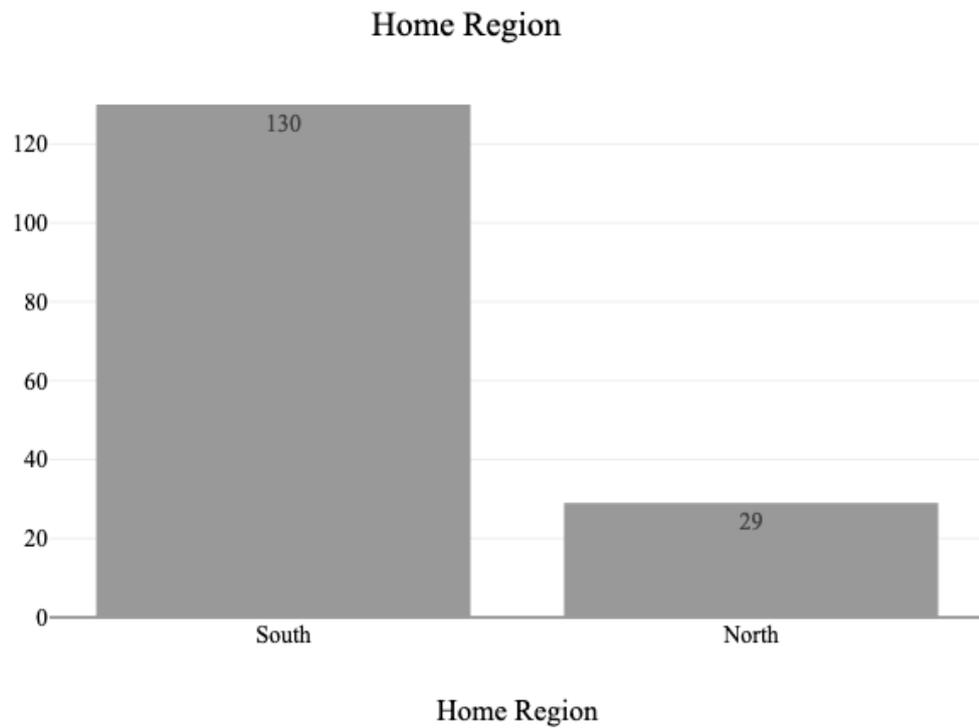


B1.5. Home Region

a. Home Region [Pre-Coded]



b. Home Region [Coded]

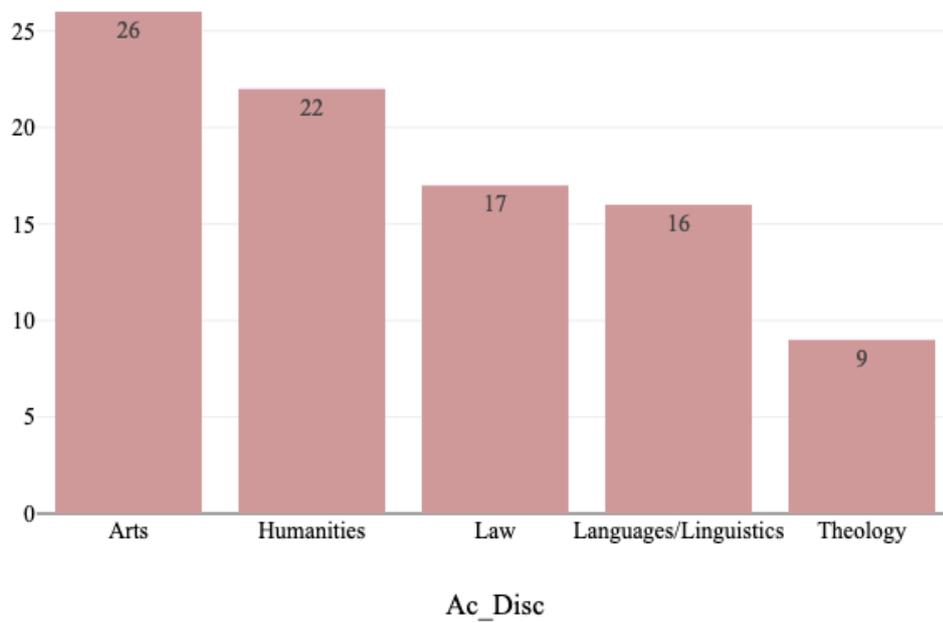
**B1.6. Academic Discipline**

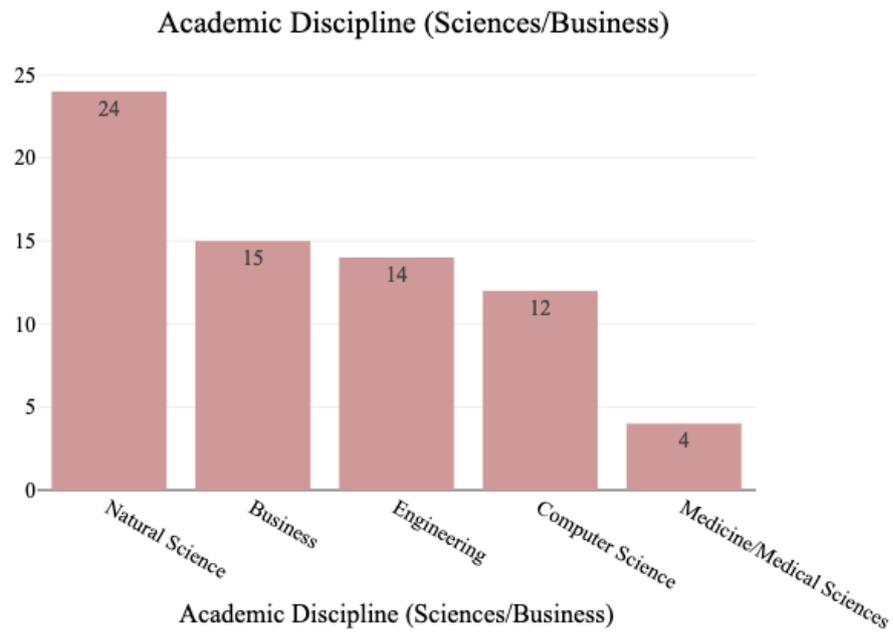
Discipline	Frequency	Valid %
Arts	26	16.35%
Natural Science	24	15.09%
Humanities	22	13.83%
Law	17	10.69%
Languages/ Linguistics	16	10.06%
Business	15	0.09%
Engineering	14	0.09%
Computer Science	12	0.08%

Theology	9	0.06%
Medicine/ Medical Science	4	0.03%
Total	159	100%
Invalid	0	
Total	159	

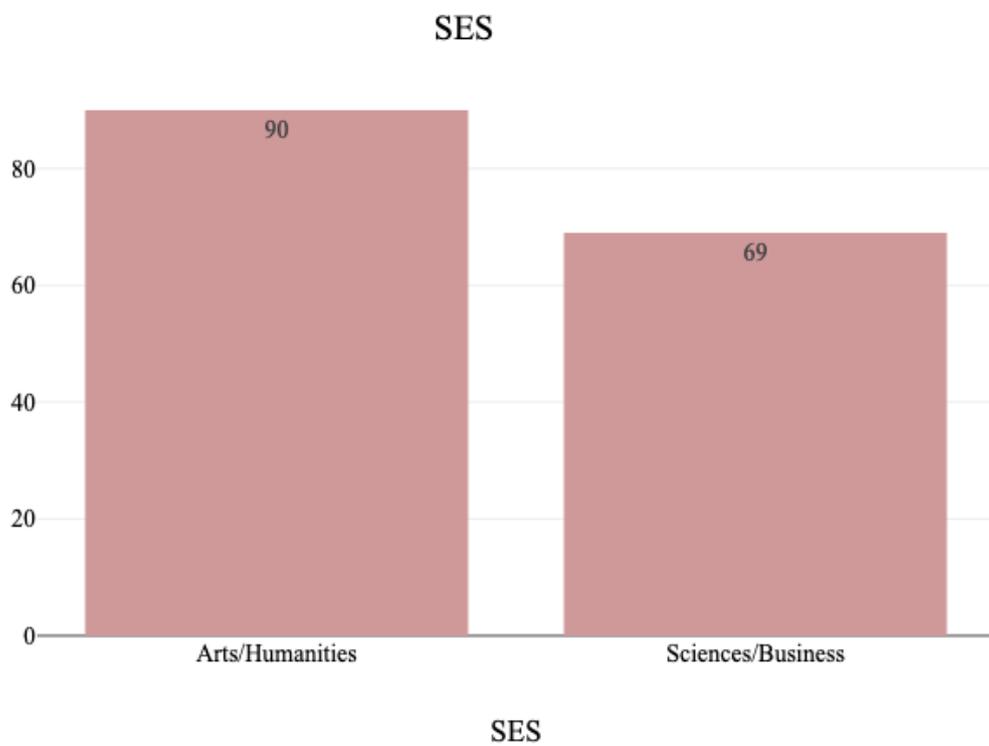
a. Academic Discipline [Pre-Coded]

Academic Discipline (Arts/Humanities)





b. Academic Discipline [Post-Coded]



B1.7. Self-perceived “most spoken language” (MSL) in daily life

MSL	Frequency	Valid %
Asante Twi	22	13.83%
Ga	22	13.83%
Akan	21	13.20%
Twi	16	10.06%
Ewe	13	0.081%
English	12	0.075%
Hausa	11	0.069%
Akuapem Twi	10	0.063%
Dagbani	10	0.063%
Fante	7	0.044%
Bono	7	0.044%
Dagaare	4	0.025%
Nzema	4	0.025%
Total	159	100%
Invalid	0	
Total	159	

B1.8. Preferred English variety (PEV) among participants

PEV	Frequency	Valid %
Ghanaian	64	40.25%
American	38	23.89%
African	33	20.75%
British/English	24	15.09%
Total	159	100%
Invalid	0	
Total	159	

B1.9. List of Universities participants were enrolled in (Alphabetical)

1. Accra Institute of Technology
2. All Nations University, Koforidua
3. Ashesi University, Berekuso
4. Kumasi Technical University
5. Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi
6. Tamale Technical University
7. University for Development Studies, Tamale
8. University of Cape Coast
9. University of Education, Winneba
10. University of Ghana, Legon
11. University of Mines and Technology, Tarkwa

Appendix B2. Distribution normality of dependent variables

	Mean_EO_Learner
<i>Mean</i>	4.6105
<i>Std. Deviation</i>	1.1405
<i>Variance</i>	1.0942
<i>Interquartile Range</i>	1.33
<i>Skewness</i>	-.144
<i>Kurtosis</i>	-.653
<i>95% Confidence Interval of Mean</i>	4.8322; 4.4371

	Mean_EO_Owner
<i>Mean</i>	2.8875
<i>Std. Deviation</i>	.9693
<i>Variance</i>	.5311
<i>Interquartile Range</i>	1.08
<i>Skewness</i>	-.071
<i>Kurtosis</i>	-.822
<i>95% Confidence Interval of Mean</i>	3.1433; 2.4331

	Mean_LIEMP_Monolingual
<i>Mean</i>	4.1216
<i>Std. Deviation</i>	1.2953
<i>Variance</i>	1.1466
<i>Interquartile Range</i>	1.43
<i>Skewness</i>	-.124
<i>Kurtosis</i>	-.228
<i>95% Confidence Interval of Mean</i>	4.4227; 4.0043

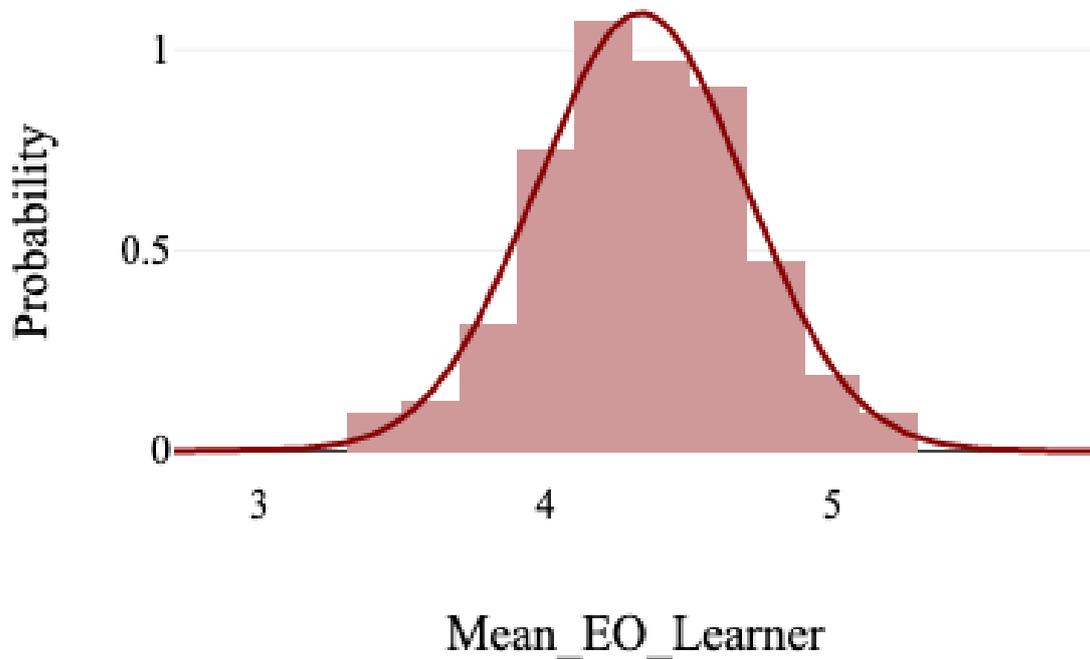
	Mean_LIEMP_Bilingual
<i>Mean</i>	3.5184
<i>Std. Deviation</i>	1.1553
<i>Variance</i>	1.5408
<i>Interquartile Range</i>	1.77
<i>Skewness</i>	-.176
<i>Kurtosis</i>	-.652
<i>95% Confidence Interval of Mean</i>	3.7201; 3.3178

Test of Normality: Shapiro-Wilk

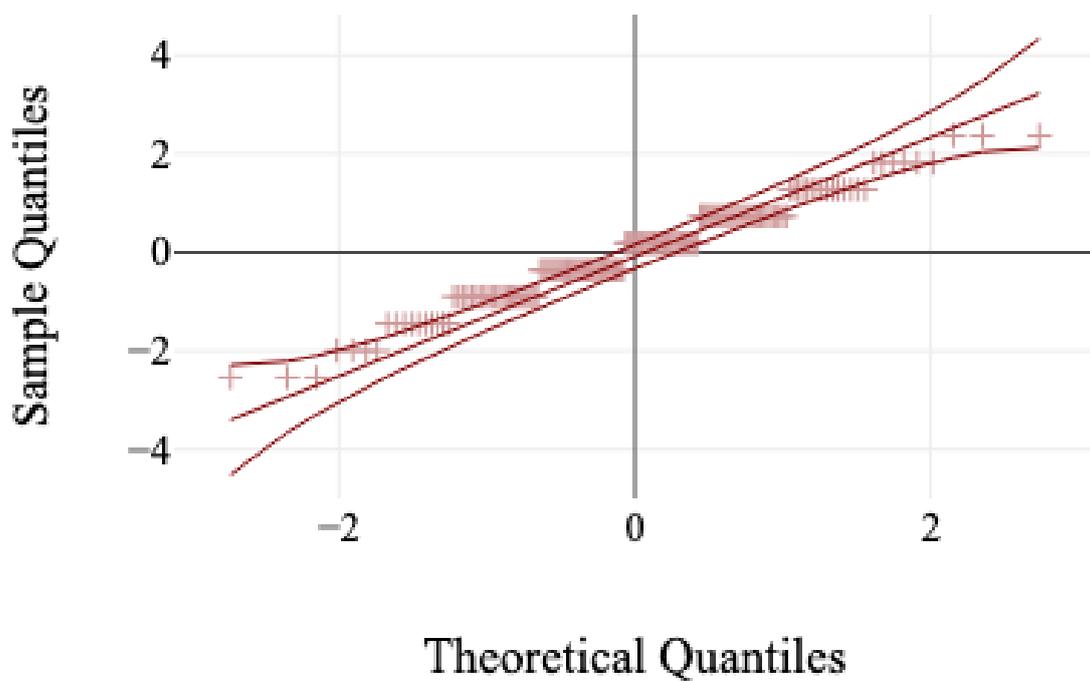
	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Mean_EO_Learner</i>	.982	159	.033
<i>Mean_EO_Owner</i>	.964	159	.027
<i>Mean_LIEMP_Monolingual</i>	.973	159	.012
<i>Mean_LIEMP_Bilingual</i>	.953	159	.096

Histogram and Quantile-Quantile Plot (EO Learner)

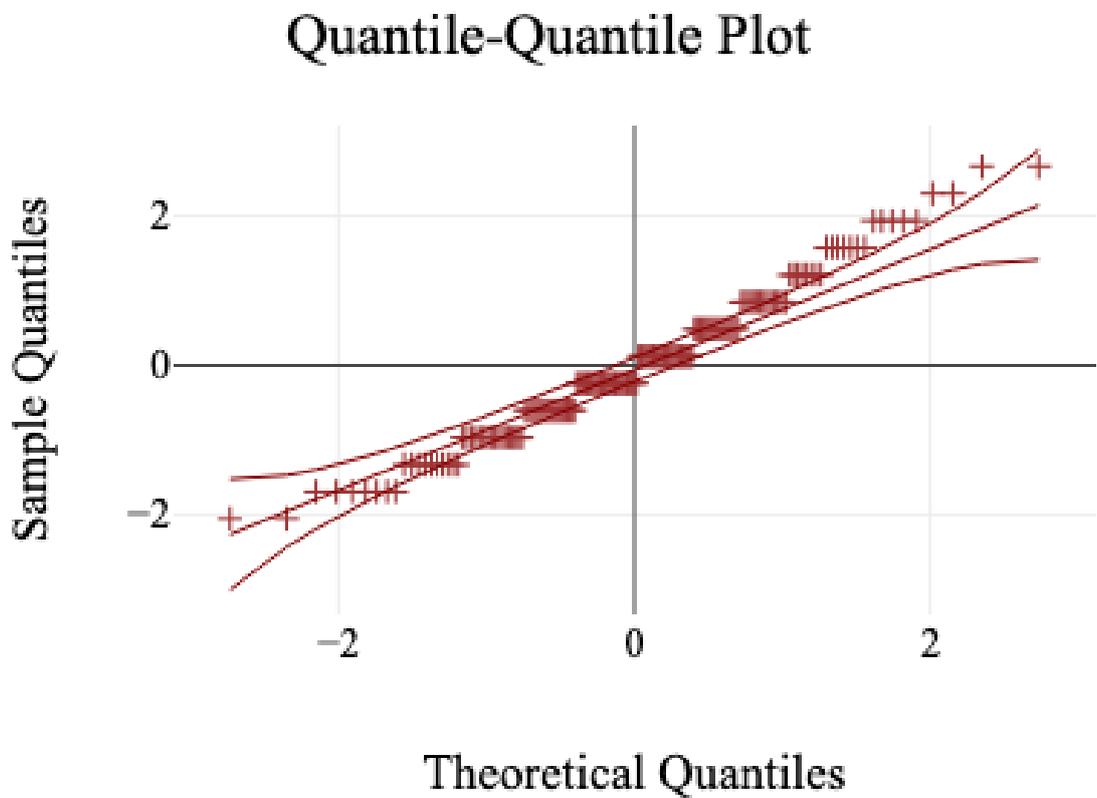
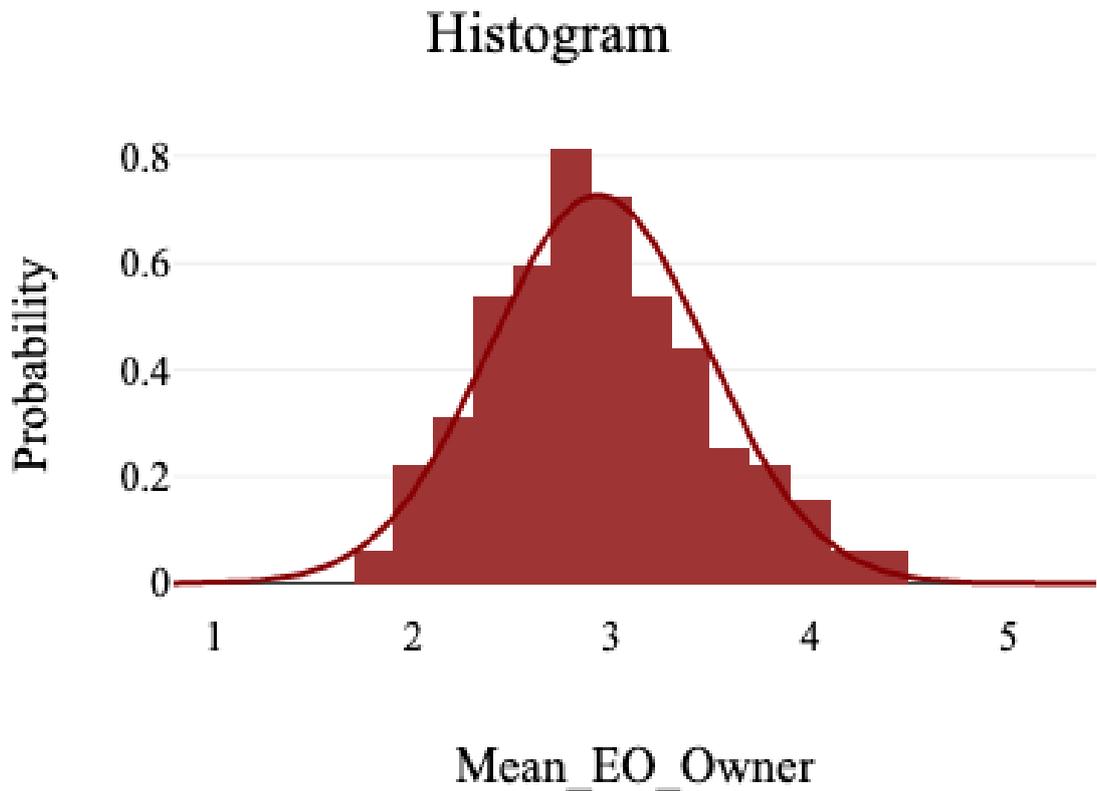
Histogram



Quantile-Quantile Plot

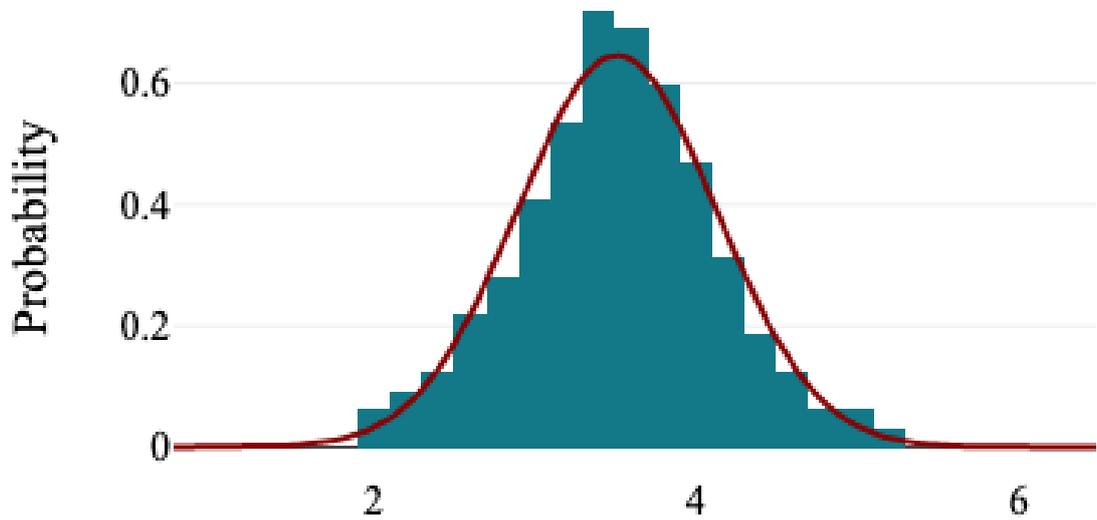


Histogram and Quantile-Quantile Plot (EO Owner)



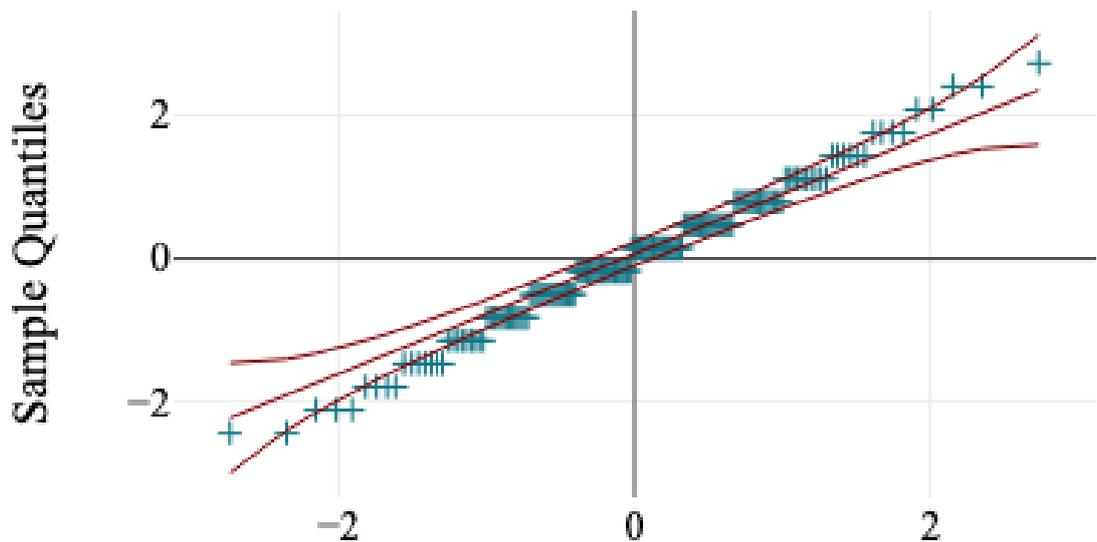
Histogram and Quantile-Quantile Plot (LIEMP Monolingual)

Histogram



Mean_LIEMP_Bilingual

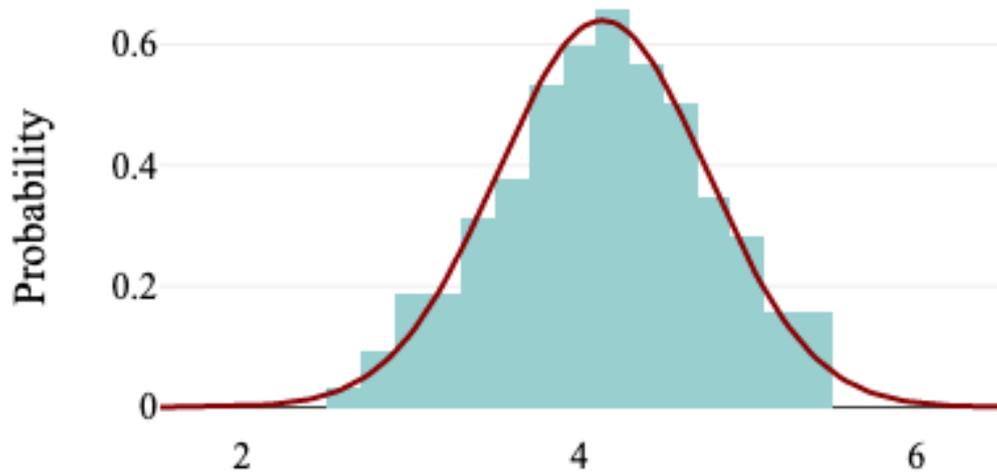
Quantile-Quantile Plot



Theoretical Quantiles

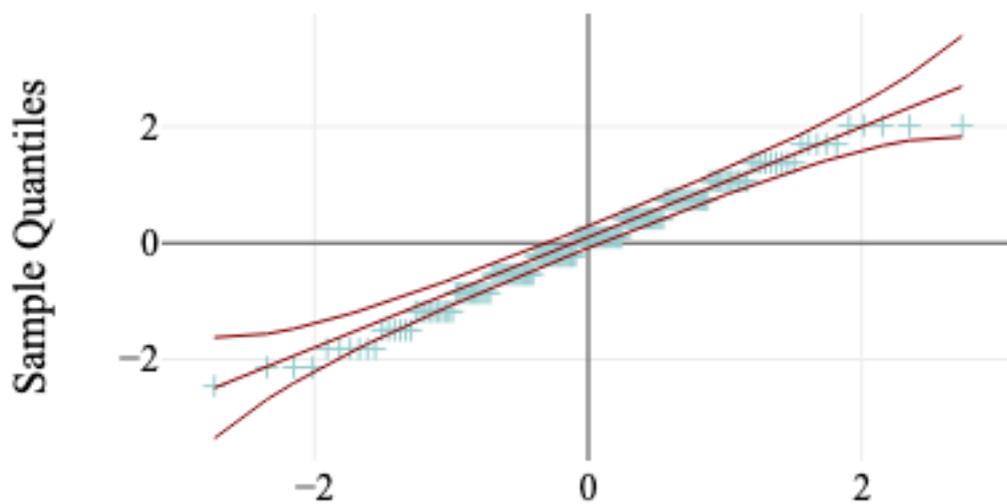
Histogram and Quantile-Quantile Plot (LIEMP Bilingual)

Histogram



Mean_LIEMP_Monolingual

Quantile-Quantile Plot



Theoretical Quantiles

Appendix B3. Cronbach's alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients of constructs measured by multi-item scales

	<i>EO_Learner</i>	<i>EO_Owner</i>	<i>LIEMP_Monolingual</i>	<i>LIEMP_Bilingual</i>
Cronbach's Alpha(α)	.688	.703	.842	.758
Number of Items	5	5	5	5

Appendix B4. Multiple regression analysis results

B4.1. Regression- residuals statistics for *mean_EO_Learner* as dependent variable

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Predicted Value</i>	3.8488	4.9211	4.6105	1.1405	159
<i>Residual</i>	3.7318	2.3461	.0000	1.1842	159
<i>Std. Predicted Value</i>	2.7721	4.7629	.000	1.1501	159
<i>Std. Residual</i>	1.2001	2.1132	.000	1.1933	159

Appendix B4.1.1. Regression coefficients for each independent variable for *mean_EO_Learner* as the dependent variable

<u>Unstandardised Coefficients</u>		<u>Standardised Coefficients</u>				
<i>DV</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
<i>EO_Learner</i>	(constant)	1.733	.774		1.326	.044
	mean_LIEMP_Monolingual	.531	.088	.412	6.229	.016
	mean_LIEMP_Bilingual	.334	.096	.301	4.761	.027
	L1 Akan	.488	.044	.403	1.883	.001
	Age	.061	.032	.046	.803	.013
	Gender Female	.322	.027	.288	2.756	.001
	SES Upper	-.054	.086	-.017	-.744	.044
	SES Lower	.093	.063	.185	1.775	.434
	Region North	.028	.098	.019	.114	.032
	Discipline SB	.044	.033	.033	.278	.001
	MSL Non-English	.094	.061	.076	.866	.029
	EVP L1-Influenced	.043	.022	.012	.645	.066

B4.2. Regression- residuals statistics for *mean_EO_Owner* as dependent variable

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Predicted Value</i>	2.3446	3.0027	2.8875	.9693	159
<i>Residual</i>	2.5532	2.8536	.0000	.6332	159
<i>Std. Predicted Value</i>	2.2187	3.3208	.000	.8300	159
<i>Std. Residual</i>	2.3145	2.9044	.000	.6540	159

Appendix B4.2.1. Regression coefficients for each independent variable for *mean_EO_Owner* as the dependent variable

		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			
<i>DV</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
<i>EO_Owner</i>	(constant)	-2.198	1.337		-2.005	.064	
	mean_LIEMP_Monolingual	-.052	.079	-.027	-3.854	.001	
	mean_LIEMP_Bilingual	-.094	.118	-.081	-4.437	.001	
	L1 Non-Akan	.357	.052	.258	2.441	.001	
	Age	-0.16	.027	-.009	-.886	.033	
	Gender Male	.046	.036	.065	.632	.001	
	SES Upper	.437	.096	.308	4.588	.031	
	SES Lower	-.065	.119	-.048	-.604	.233	
	Region South	.366	.04	.287	1.749	.045	
	Discipline Arts	.044	.077	.029	.442	.021	
	MSL English	.443	.106	.329	5.911	.363	
	EVP IC-Influenced	.062	.054	.066	.721	.188	

B4.3. Regression- residuals statistics for *mean_LIEMP_Monolingual* as dependent variable

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Predicted Value</i>	3.5427	4.3290	4.1216	1.2953	159
<i>Residual</i>	3.4432	4.6217	.0000	.9543	159
<i>Std. Predicted Value</i>	3.4682	4.4034	.000	1.000	159
<i>Std. Residual</i>	2.8400	3.4400	.000	.9842	159

Appendix B4.3.1. Regression coefficients for each independent variable for *mean_LIEMP_Monolingual* as the dependent variable

		<u>Unstandardised Coefficients</u>		<u>Standardised Coefficients</u>		
<i>DV</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>LIEMP_Monolingual</i>	(constant)	2.005	.872		1.548	.039
	mean_EO_Learner	.303	.107	.255	3.024	.008
	mean_EO_Owner	-.091	.129	-.048	-.602	.001
	L1 Non-Akan	.311	.066	.207	2.562	.001
	Age	0.62	.045	.044	.537	.027
	Gender Male	.046	.044	.065	.632	.016
	SES Upper	.336	.081	.241	3.665	.039
	SES Lower	-.418	.125	-.308	-5.822	.397
	Region North	.235	.077	.251	2.343	.025
	Discipline SB	.348	.063	.311	5.264	.001
	MSL English	.246	.133	.233	6.231	.472
	EVP IC-Influenced	.075	.092	.055	.721	.203

B4.4. Regression- residuals statistics for *mean_LIEMP_Bilingual* as dependent variable

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Predicted Value</i>	2.8471	3.9822	3.5184	1.1553	159
<i>Residual</i>	2.5397	2.4451	.0000	.9943	159
<i>Std. Predicted Value</i>	2.9302	3.9505	.000	1.1231	159
<i>Std. Residual</i>	2.8731	2.5662	.000	.9642	159

Appendix B4.4.1. Regression coefficients for each independent variable for *mean_LIEMP_Bilingual* as the dependent variable

		<u>Unstandardised Coefficients</u>		<u>Standardised Coefficients</u>			
<i>DV</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
<i>LIEMP_Bilingual</i>	(constant)	1.643	.988		1.805	.074	
	mean_EO_Learner	.323	.084	.218	3.088	.009	
	mean_EO_Owner	-.344	.055	-.321	-5.127	.043	
	L1 Akan	.302	.079	.289	3.541	.001	
	Age	-0.85	.032	-.053	-.646	.003	
	Gender Female	.066	.061	.035	.433	.001	
	SES Upper	-.318	.087	-.234	-3.231	.001	
	SES Lower	.568	.106	.433	-5.705	.154	
	Region South	.366	.082	.215	2.493	.022	
	Discipline Arts	.127	.061	.089	.543	.038	
	MSL Non-English	.327	.166	.219	2.601	.455	
	EVP L1-Influenced	.084	.031	.056	.433	.183	

Appendix C. Qualitative Results Appendices

Appendix C1. Semi-Structured Interview questions/arrangement

Warm-Up Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hello. Thank you so much for taking part in this interview. So, first off, how old are you, and where are you from in Ghana? • So, you are a student? What are you studying? • Are you enjoying your studies?
English Ownership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you view English as a Ghanaian language? If not, what places do you identify it with? • Would you say the English language unites all Ghanaians? Are there languages that do it better? • Does British colonialism still play a part in how you perceive the English language? • How often would you say you use English in your day-to-day life outside of the university setting? • What are your thoughts on the pidginized form of English in Ghana? Would you say that most Ghanaians prefer to speak pidgin or more traditional English? • Would you say that Ghanaians prefer to speak their more “localized” English, or that people mainly try to emulate the British or American varieties? What about yourself in particular?
LIEMP Preference
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you believe that the English language is important for Ghanaian society overall? • Is the importance of English mainly economic, or are there other aspects?

- What do you think of a multilingual nation like Ghana having one official language? Do you consider this system fair or unfair?
- Do you think that native African languages should also gain official status in Ghana? If so, which ones?
- What do you think of providing more mainstream education (such as university courses) in native African languages?

Final Thoughts

- Is there anything you would like to add?
- Is there anything that you expected me to ask but I did not?
- Do you have any final questions regarding this study?

Appendix C2. Transcription key

Meaning	Symbol	Additional Comment
Pauses		
Hold (Micropause)	(..)	Brief silence, break in phonation
Pause, untimed	(...)	Pause of minimum 0.2 seconds
Sequencing		
Overlap	Over [lapping]	Overlapping dialogue
Vocalisms		
Laugh	@	One laughter pulse/particle
Laugh During Utterance	@yes, @no	Marks laughter during the utterance
Metatranscription		
Unintelligible	##	One hashtag per syllable
Stress	<u>UNDERLINED</u> CAPS	Emphatic word stressing
Vocalism	(COUGH)	Wide-ranging notations (SNIFF), (AHEM), etc.

Appendix C3. Interview transcripts

Interview Transcript A:**English-Monolingual-LIEMP**

Date: 22/5/2021

Interviewer: I

Interviewee: A

I: Awesome. So without further ado, I think we could get started. So, first question about you is how old are you and where are you from in Ghana?

A: Okay, so I am 19 years old, and I am from Bolgatanga, or Bolga, as we call it in the Upper East Region of Ghana. But currently I'm studying and living in Tamale.

I: Great. So that means you're basically from the very north of the country, yes?

A: Yeah, can't get more north than where I am @@@. Just on the border with Burkina Faso. And also, my group, my tribe, they are between that border on Ghana and Burkina Faso, so yeah. But right now, I'm in Tamale which is the main city in the north, but not as north as where I'm from, so yeah.

I: Wonderful. So, you are a student? What are you studying?

A: Yeah, I'm currently in my first year. I am studying Ecology and Conservation.

I: Good for you. And are you enjoying your studies?

A: Yeah, quite a lot. I like it, because it's a mixture. Like, a lot of biological studies, but also putting that stuff into policy and such, it's very interesting. So (...) yeah, @@ I enjoy it @ @ @.

I: Very cool. Okay, so, you look very keen, very ready, and I think we can now start with the first question, then. So (...) do you view English as a Ghanaian language?

A: Ah, @@, I like the way you asked the question, because I really think that's it. @@ Yeah, I would say that English is A Ghanaian language. Not THE Ghanaian language, but certainly one of them now.

I: Ah, okay, so it's like one of many. Great. Could you expand on that?

A: Um, yeah, sure. Of course. Yeah, like you said, it's one of many. But for me, I view it as like, it's something that has become a part of our society now in Ghana. I think many Ghanains might not agree with me, because of the colonisation history, but I think that we have also moved forward from this, and now we have so many Ghanaians who speak English, and it's, in my view, the one language that we ALL have. And even from like the personal view.

I see English as, like, I speak it very fluently. I use it in my daily life, at the university. And like, there's so many languages spoken in Ghana. Like, maybe my Akan or my Twi is not that fluent, but, hey, that Akan guy may not speak as good Hausa as me, or Kassem as me. So, like (...) who is to say one language, or one person, is more Ghanaian than the other?

I: That's very interesting. So, because of the fact that Ghana is so multilingual, there's many languages that can be considered "Ghanaian languages". Is that correct?

A: Yeah, exactly. We have like 80 languages here in Ghana, and obviously, not everyone can speak all of those languages @ @ @. I think English is now a part of Ghanaian society. The same way that, like, Hausa, it's another language that is not native to Ghana, it's an African language, but it's from, like Nigeria and Niger and those places. But we, in the Muslim community in Ghana use that so-called FOREIGN language @@ as a communicative tool. So think that this whole multilingual thing, and having that personal

balance between local and foreign origin languages, it's all part of the Ghanaian experience. The African experience, in fact. As a matter of fact.

I: That's so interesting. So, considering that there's so many languages in the mix, would you say the English language unites all Ghanaians? Are there languages that do it better?

A: (UM), Honestly, I can't say there's just one. If you understand what I mean. Like, definitely in the south of Ghana. Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, cities like that, the Akan or Twi is definitely number one, as far as, like, all people are concerned. But it really all depends based on who you are or where you're from, because in the north, it's like Dagbani, or Hausa among the Muslims especially. Like, honestly, we in Ghana, and Africa, are very much multilingual by nature, so I think it's unfair to say one language is THE Ghanaian language. But English is also not the case, just because it's mainly for educated people. So yeah, it really all just depends.

I: Thank you for that. Now, speaking of English, this one is kind of about the past and present. Does British colonialism still play a part in how you perceive the English language?

A: Yeah, I mean, still a very big one, to be honest. Like, in the modern day, I think we need to go past that. But at the same time, the language is still being used today, and who are the native speakers of the language? It's the colonial masters @@@. So I think that the colonial past will never go away, especially because all of the prestigious things in Ghana are the colonial things. The British left their mark in the good and the bad, but I think that it would be more sentimental for those people in the South. Here in the North there was much less activity by the British, but the legislature and the education that was brought here was impacted by the British very heavily, so I think that needs to be taken into account as well.

I: Right. And, as you've said, so many of the prestige domains have to do with the English language, but I'm just curious, you being a university student, how often would you say you use English in your day-to-day life outside of the university setting?

A: Not very much, to be honest. Like, I live in Tamale now, and I speak Dagbani, the local language here. And I speak Hausa as well, so the most prominent languages, I know already. If I didn't know them, or if I meet someone who doesn't speak those languages, I would maybe use English, but that's rather seldom. Outside of the university setting, I would say definitely online. I use social media, like Facebook, Instagram, those platforms, I have them in English, and when I connect to people I use English. But in the daily life, like, the market life, family life, it's Kassem, or Hausa, or Dagbani. And if I go to the south, I would use English, though, or maybe the 4 or 5 phrases in Akan that I know @@@

I: @@@@ great. Okay, speaking of the south, so, I know you're a northerner, but I still want to know your views about this. What are your thoughts on the pidginized forms of English in Ghana? Would you say that most Ghanaian students prefer to speak pidgin, or Student Pidgin, or more traditional English?

A: Yeah, I mean, as you've said, the Pidgin, like the NORMAL Pidgin is more of a custom thing in the south. In the south of Ghana. But I will also say that, like, the Student Pidgin is growing in the north of the country, in the university cycles. It's generally like an Accra thing, you know, like anything that starts in Accra is automatically cool, so the rest of the country always wants to copy it, emulate it @@@. It's like New York for America, or London for UK. You know what I mean? @@

So, like, the Student Pidgin is cooler, because it's like, its a sign you can use to show that you're educated, but also you are still cool. You are with the cooler crowd and all those things. I think there is a coolness to it, but the Student Pidgin is really only used in between courses, or like, when you're hanging out during break time, but within the classrooms it is always the British English that is used. It must be. I think that it's another one of those examples, like, we use different languages in different settings in Ghana. Every language has its role. So Pidgin is for the informal setting, but ENGLISH English is for the formal stuff @@.

I: Great. Well put. So, like you said, different varieties or different languages for different settings. That kind of connects to this next question, which has to do with

English variety preference. So, would you say that Ghanaians prefer to speak their more localised English, or that people mainly try to emulate the British or American varieties? What about yourself in particular?

A: (HMM) I think that this depends truly on the person. Like, there is a lot of attractive qualities to the British English. Like, from media, and the fact that we always see it as the educated, classy English. But I know that many times, it's like Ghanians mostly speak with an accent borrowed from their native language. Me, personally, I don't think that there is one Ghanaian accent, I think it's more like, just a Akan accent in English, or Kassem accent in English, you know what I mean? Like, maybe there is a thing like African accent, but Ghana is so multilingual, I don't think we have a uniform thing. But yeah, I think that Ghanaians like to speak with their own accent in the informal setting, kind of like when you speak the Pidgin or the local language in its local form, it's usually in the informal setting. But if I am in the classroom, or like, a big government thing, then I am very much wishing to speak more like British, because that is the standard we are used to for those settings. So I really think it depends on the person.

I: Right. A lot of these choices are bound to a setting, as you've said. Now, carrying on from that, because of Ghana being so multilingual, so rich in native languages and dialects, What do you think of a nation like Ghana having one official Language, in this case English? Do you consider this system fair or unfair?

A: I think it's complicated, but I think it's fair enough. I just don't think that all of the original Ghanaian languages are equal enough to be represented in unison in like parliament or all of those things. Twi would make the most sense, based on the population, but I think that English is okay because it's neutral. It's not representative of a certain group or a certain people. It just (...) is. @@@ if that makes sense. And it's not the British guys speaking the English in the parliament, it's still, like, us Ghanaians. So there's no idea for me of English being this imposing thing. I actually view it as definitely a positive.

I: Very interesting. So the ethnic neutrality of English is a positive in your eyes. So, what is your view towards, hypothetically, any native Ghanaian languages being implemented as official languages?

A: Yeah, I don't know. I think it would be good for like, a feeling aspect, or a feeling of prestige, and all of those things. But I also just feel like it doesn't really have any true impact. You know what I mean? Like, in Zimbabwe, I think they have like 20 official languages, but everyone just @uses English anyways @@. So I really believe it would be more symbolic than anything else.

I: Right. There needs to be some practicality to the implementation. That makes sense. In that case, in terms of promoting native African languages in prestige settings, what do you think of providing more mainstream education or medium of instruction, in native African languages?

A: (OOF) (...) Yeah, I mean, I think that, in many ways, there has been this idea for many years now, and we have that programme, the NALAP programme for the primary level, where young people in the grades 1-3 are educated in a system where one of our 11 national languages is implemented. And one of those languages is the Kassem language, my native (UM) my mother tongue. Now, I think that really, using the Kassem language alongside other languages like Akan, Ga, Ewe, all those languages, it was kind of like, it would make sense if all of those languages were developed on the same level, but they're NOT. And I can say this as a Kassem speaker. Our language was one of the ones which was not sufficiently developed. Like, vocabulary, like even words for transportation, or technological devices, we just use the English for it anyways, we didn't have words for any of that, just because our society is, in many ways different from the modern world. And that's the thing, English is a modern language for the modern world. That's why it's more appropriate for education, at least for our community, because it represents advancement. And we still haven't advanced the Kassem to the point where it can be as advanced, or even close.

Let me give you an example, just on how the language itself is continuing to develop, (UM) (...) When I was a child, we were using, in Kassem, the same alphabet in school as like for Dagbani and other languages. Now, this year, we finally have our own alphabet developed just for Kassem, the Goulse alphabet. So, like, we JUST had our own alphabet developed, and they still want us to immediately start making educational curriculums? We're not ready. Other languages also aren't ready. So I think it would take a lot of time, if at all.

I: I see. So it's because of the fact that these native language are unequal in development, based on many significant factors, that you would say, English-only programmes would be the most fair, because it means everybody is on the same playing field, so to speak?

A: Exactly. Because none of the Ghanaian languages are created equal @@ if you get what I mean. Like, even the government, it's centered in Accra, and all of the resources are in the big cities where it's mainly English and Twi being spoken, maybe Ga, or like the other languages. And that's also what I think is the case, because I just don't trust the government in Accra, where there is no Kassem speakers, or very few Kassem speakers, I don't think they can really be trusted with implementing a curriculum that makes sense. You know what I mean?

Because, I was actually, when I was in my second year or primary school, it was the first year of the Kassem instruction programme, that NALAP programme. So I will give you some of my experience from that.

I: Yes, please, by all means!

A: Okay @@. I mean (...) there was very little resourcefulness, from how I remembered it. Like, we had a lot of English books, but in Kassem, we had so few books, usually it was just the teacher with the book. So, already, you can see an inequality there. Just by resource. But then, even the way the language was used in the classroom, we all just thought it was strange, like, the vocabularies used were not the same as what you hear in the daily life. And for like, advanced things, like airplane, or something like that, it just used the English anyways @@@, so it was really unprepared overall, to tell you the truth.

And that kind of connects to the whole problem, I think. Because (...) The government tried to, like, shape the same kind of curriculum around all of those languages. But in Kassem, we still didn't have words for many kinds of technology or for mathematical theories and things like that, and they made NEW words that our parents were totally confused by (...) I can't speak for other programmes, but I can tell you that if the government continues to just develop these things without more collaboration with locals, then this programme will continue failing, and people will just continue wanting school only in English.

I: Wow, that was very in-depth. Thank you so much for that. But, how about this, let's say they actually had an initiative where it was local governments and local stakeholders helping to develop local curricula and the local language WITH the community. Do you think that, if it was handled more appropriately, there could be room for a Kassem-English programme, or any kind of local language programme at all?

A: I like the question. And, you know, it's a good vision to have ideas like that, but personally, I think it's too much work. We are doing something that is a risk there, because if it was up to the people, like, yes, the people wish to see Kassem in mainstream. They want to see Kassem on a big stage. But, also, at the same time, I think that they just want to advance in society themselves, or really, the best way to advance our people in society is through a good education, and, rather than catering it, we need to keep up with the rest of the country and just keep going in English, because English is the key to all of this.

(...) you know, like, in Africa, we are very multilingual, and, like, the different languages serve different purposes. So like, I speak Hausa. It's like a popular language among the Muslim communities in Ghana, and Nigeria, other countries in the region. I use Hausa in the mosque, or in the Muslim markets, but I can't see it in the school. You know? To me, it's one language here, one language there. Simple as that.

All of that development of a Ghanaian language, it would be hard to attract people to it. But, I guess you can never say never.

I: Right, so it's kind of like, it would be difficult to convince many people that this would be the right way to go in the first place. I see. Great. Now, in that case, how do you see the future of English in Ghana? And local languages as well?

A: (HMMM). I think in Ghana, English will continue to be the official language. It will still hold the power, the academic power, the scientific power (...) all of that, because it is the language of the world. The global language. I think Ghanaians will continue to speak it and use it normally in those power sectors. And I think that, even if there are not the same prestige or access to those fancy things like education or other things that English has among the local languages, I think local languages will still prevail. It's good to develop

them, they will develop. Like I am very happy about the new Kassem alphabet, but I think that implementing those things into education, like, formal education will take lots of time, and it will be difficult. But the language will continue to have speakers and users, and it will still have a place in society. Every language has its role in African life, so I think that this will not change.

I: Right, so you don't think there will ever be any shifts, or takeovers, like, English becoming more and more localised and maybe even becoming the first language of some Ghanaians.

A: No. I don't think there will be any takeovers of that sort. I think Ghanaians are too proud @@@. I think that English will always be important, and maybe some people may do that as individuals, but on a big level, I think most Ghanaians are very proud of their mother tongue. It represents their tribe, their culture, their values. And they've survived to now. Even after colonisation and all of that. I think Ghanaians will always keep a place for that.

I: Wonderful. Thank you so much for all of that. And that was really my last BIG question, so, now I'll give you the floor @@. (UM) Is there anything you would like to add?

A: (UH) (...) No, I don't think so @@@. I guess if I have to say anything it's just that I'm very happy to be able to talk about Ghana to this big stage. This world stage to Oxford University and to yourself as well. I just want to thank you for this opportunity.

I: @@ Amazing. Well, I am very gratefu that we had someone like you to come in and provide such succinct input. Really fantastic. And, well, without further ado, that concludes the interview. So, yeah, let me just say again, thank you very much for taking part. It was especially fruitful.

A: Oh, great. Yeah, I just hoped I could help a bit with this, and just put in some input like you said.

I: You really did a great job indeed. Okay, I wish you a fine rest of the day. Thanks again for taking part.

A: Oh, you as well. Thank you.

Interview Transcript B:**English-Monolingual-LIEMP**

Date: 24/5/2021

Interviewer: I

Interviewee: B

I: And we are recording. Okay, so thanks so much for taking part in this interview. So just to get us started, how old are you and where are you from in Ghana?

B: I'm 24 and I'm from the Volta region in Ghana.

I: Right, so the southeast.

B: Yes, correct.

I: Fantastic. And what do you study?

B: I am currently reading for a BS in Tourism Management and during my national service I happened to work with the Institutes of Education, so I have like a, generally, a social science background .

I: Great. So, I guess we'll dive into the big questions now. So, first and foremost, do you view English as a Ghanaian language?

B: No, I do not.

I: You do not. Okay.

B: Should I just go ahead and explain? [@@@

I: @@@] Yes, absolutely. I was just about to ask. May you expand on why?

B: @@@@ Okay, sure. Before the colonial masters came around, we had our own languages. Currently speaking, we have about 50 languages spoken in Ghana, aside from English. So, before these colonial masters came in, the local languages were the ones spoken nationwide. There's one particular language that is, it runs through all the regions. That is the Ashanti ethnic group. Everyone is able to speak this language is because it's the only local language that everyone speaks and is able to communicate with each other better. And then the colonial masters came along (...) and a few other things came along (...) and now English is widely spoken everywhere. I don't think it's, I mean, when it comes to, when it comes to students' business internationally and just education worldwide, English is the only mode to which, you know, teachers communicate. But then over here, as citizens, we don't really think English is our native language or, you know, the national language in the country.

I: Mm-hmm. Okay. Well, thank you very much for that. Very in depth. And you kind of answered a couple of the following questions automatically from that great answer but if I may,

B: Oh, I'm sorry! @@@

I: Yeah, no, @@, @it's a good thing, we can expand on it even more with the following questions. So you obviously, going back to the first answer, believe that English is not a Ghanaian language. Now you kind of alluded to who you associated with, but what places do you identify English with in particular?

B: Okay, yeah, so United Kingdom, United States of America. Yeah, basically those two countries (...) Oh, yeah, Australia. Yeah.

I: So, kind of what you're alluding to here, the countries obviously that you listed or places where it's not only the official language, but it's kind of the first language of

everybody living there, or it's the main language of not just education, but also daily life, right?

B: Exactly. It covers everything there. And here, it's not a first language among anyone so it's hard to say it's really ours, you know?

I: Sure. So, you talked about Asante Twi, obviously a very important language in Ghana. Now, the question here, of course, is that Ghana, as you said, is extremely multi-ethnic. Would you say that the English language unites all Ghanaians, or are they more united by Asante Twi?

B: Well, I would say that, in Ghana, the Asante Twi unites everyone, the educated, the uneducated. When it comes to the English language, only those who have been in school can speak it. (...) Obviously, there's some history rooted in the hierarchy of the Akan dialects and, you know, other language groups in Ghana, but in many ways, Twi is more of a unifying factor than English is. So we may as well just speak this one to communicate rather than use English.

A lot of the time there's another language called, you know, it's a fusion of English and it's called Pidgin. But that is mostly for some people who, you know, have not been in classrooms before. They don't know how to speak the English properly. So they use this, you know, form of language to communicate with the youth, I mean the older generation.

I: Thank you once again. I was very interested in the way that you described Pidgin, because there's very often a version of it in West Africa, obviously you've got it in Sierra Leone, in Nigeria, you've got that same kind of Pidgin in many ways. It's very similar, obviously, to the Ghanaian variety. And I'm wondering, because the way that you described it is kind of like a variety of English that's kind of a lower English, a broken English, some might say. But in other contexts, do you think some people might even see Pidgin as a separate language altogether, or do you view it as a variety of English?

B: I feel a lot of people see it as a language for people to communicate with. But then when it comes to West Africa, a lot of the countries in West Africa have their own kind of Pidgin. So, they are learning new words, they are trying to form sentences with these words and you know, when sometimes you don't know certain words in the English language or in a particular language you are learning, you tend to create certain, you know, weird words, you know, to be able to explain what you mean. Over time, people started understanding each other in that language. And the broken English or the pidgin, it's the varieties of them everywhere. Nigeria has their own, Ghana has their own, probably Sierra Leone and the rest also have their own. But, yeah, it's not really an internationally known language or claimed as an internationally registered language. But yeah, over here it's considered a language as well. Because people can communicate very well with each other and understand each other too.

I: Okay. Okay. Right. I guess in some ways, there's kind of a dividing line between sort of what the legislation says and what you kind of feel internally.

So, for example, going to the idea of Pidgin, internationally, it's not recognized as a language, but you internally kind of feel that it is. Kind of like how in the Ghanaian context, there's only one official language, which is English, but you don't see it as a Ghanaian language personally.

Very interesting. So, kind of going into sort of English use, I guess you can say, how often would you say you use English in your day-to-day life outside of the professional setting?

B: Okay, because I'm still within the university community, still among fellow students, yeah, every day, most of the time. If I were to be in a home setting, really, once I'm out of the business setting or academic settings, not the English, it would be my local language. So, over here at University I would say, every day. Well, here is the thing, there are times when you chat upon someone and then you go straight to speak their assentatory, but other times when you are communicating with students and you know, you want to communicate better, you want to put an idea across where they can understand, yeah, you go with the increase. Because sometimes there are a few people that still struggle to understand the authenticity.

I: (MHMM) Okay. Sure, so it kind of depends on the person, depends on the background, depends on whether like what is the spoken language between the two people speaking I guess, and it's kind of a normal everyday thing. Great, so, next question; Would you say that Ghanaians prefer to speak their more localized accent of English or that people would like to kind of try to emulate a British or American spoken accent?

B: (HMM) I think, generally, it's like, Ghanaians like to speak with the normal, like, African accent. I think we prefer that more, because it's just, like, genuine. It's authentic. But I also think that the more educated people are, the more they would prefer like a British accent. It was always like the British accent that was the most attractive in the past. And it is still the standard in the classroom settings and by teachers and all of those things.

But also, a lot of Ghanaians, outside of the classroom setting, they start to try and speak with American accents too. It's like, a guy will put on his American thing usually to show that he is cool or something, to impress a girl @@ (..) so yeah, I think this one truly depends on the setting and the person.

I: Okay, great. The last one of this particular section, I don't think I need to even ask it, but I will anyways, but you already kind of gave a great answer for it.

B: Oh, @I'm sorry! @@

I: No, no, it was a great answer! And let's see if we can build on it. SO the question is, "Does British colonialism still play a part in how you perceive the English language"?

B: @@@@. Yeah, so I definitely answered this one already @@@. But if I am to continue, I do think that the older generation feels it more. There was more of a sense of Ghana being invaded and taken over by the colonial masters and they enforced their language on us, and all of those things, and the older generation certainly has more ill feelings in that regard. But the younger generation, they see English through media, they use English in the schools, they kind of make it their own in some way. I don't think they

view it as a Ghanaian language, necessarily, but I do think that they see it as a more cool, modern thing, compared to the older generation.

I: So it's generational. Okay. Very interesting. So, we kind of talked about the ownership of English in Ghana. Now we're going to move into the idea of policy, so putting it into practice. So first of all, is the importance of English mainly economic and academic, or are there further aspects to the benefit of English?

B: Yeah, it's absolutely more economic. It's about getting the job, it's about advancing in society. Like, English is the same for all people in the world, not just in Ghana. That's also why I don't view English as a Ghanaian language, because the globalisation and all of those things, the colonial past in Africa, all of those factors make EVERYONE speak English, or want to use English. So, we are no different than Nigeria, or Liberia, or the other countries, because we speak English, it's a foreign language, but it is one that helps us to advance.

I: Right. So, you kind of see English as being only beneficial for government, media, education, not so much in kind of an interpersonal unity between people in Ghana, in a way to unite all people?

B: Yeah, exactly. We use English because it is the key to advancing in the world, and even in Ghana, in Ghanaian life. If it was not about the money aspect, I don't think anyone would learn any other language @@@ apart from their own. I mean, there's so many languages in Ghana, like, 50 languages or so, but English is still the most dominant one because of the global reasons (...) and economic reasons.

I: Great. So in that case, what do you think of a multilingual nation like Ghana having one official language, English (...) do you consider the system fair or unfair?

B: Yeah, I think it is unfair, to be honest. I think that there should be more of a presence for Asante Twi. I don't think it should be all African languages, but if Asante Twi was symbolically there, it would make sense, because it would be representative for everyone.

I: That's very understandable. I kind of asked this question before, but it kind of relates to this kind of in a policy way. Do you think that if, for example, let's say Asante Twi, the most spoken variety of Akan, because obviously it's the Akan languages that kind of dominate Ghanaian society. But would there not be some kind of a feeling of alienation from example the Akwapem speakers or the Fante speakers like, "oh hold on, why not our Akan dialect for example?"

B: Okay, so, in many ways, it's kind of like, obviously, there's some history rooted in the hierarchy of the Akan dialects and, you know, compared to other language groups in Ghana, but in many ways that's kind of justified because it's like this language is more of a unifying factor than English is. So we may as well just speak this one to communicate rather than use English.

I: Okay, great. This connects very closely to the final big question of this section, which I think that we could potentially expand on if you're able to. What do you think of providing more mainstream education, such as university courses, secondary school courses, in Native African languages? Because obviously there is the primary school system where the first three years of primary school are in one of the national languages and then you move on to being just in English. Do you think that there should be more mainstream education in further levels in these national languages?

B: Hmm (...) to be honest, I don't think so. I just don't think people see as much use for most other local languages, because English is already everywhere in science and the media. (...) There are just not as many of those opportunities in languages like Ewe, Ga, or what have you.

And like, we already have the programmes in English, but if we don't understand something, our teacher just tells us in the local language, so it's like, every language already has its role. So I think it just makes more sense to just, like, go with the flow and let every language do its thing. Because many people wouldn't find use to study in the local language, just because of the opportunities attached to it.

I: Sure, so you're saying that each language has its role, not only in the school setting, but just in (..) Ghanaian life. So, because of that, the prestige of English means that it makes the most sense to have education specifically in English.

B: Exactly. And I also think that the selection process for which languages should be the instructional language would be difficult, because developing curriculums and all of those things in the Ghanaian languages would be tough. I just don't see it happening for all 50 languages. At least not equally.

I: I see. What about a curriculum specifically in Asante Twi, then? It's a local language, but it's a bigger one, spoken by many people.

B: (UM), yeah, that one is difficult. I guess, maybe it could work, but I just think that the Asante Twi, or any of the Akan languages, is going to be seen as attractive for the education, the official education. It's like I said, it's like, the Twi is already spoken by people in regular life, so there is no big need to develop your understanding of it for the workplace or for the bigger stages in life. I just think that because English is that important to the educational world, it is more useful and practical than the Asante Twi in that setting. If that makes sense.

I: Absolutely, it's about viability, in your mind, which makes sense. Thank you very much for that. So, in that case, my final question, my last burning question, what do you think the future holds for the linguistic dynamic in Ghana? What's the future of English going to be like in the country? The future of Twi? Of Ewe? Of indigenous languages?

B: Yeah, like, in many ways, it is the fact that Ghana is sort of at a, like a (...) what's the word (...) a CROSSROADS when it comes to languages, because we speak English (...) a language of the colonial masters, the language of the colonial past. But it's also the fact that we kind of need English. That's the dilemma here. @@@ We need English because of this globalizing world. And in many ways, although we kind of embrace Asante Twi and the local languages, we also don't think that that practically they may definitely have a place as languages of instruction or, you know, kind of officially placed in more official statuses.

But I do think that it will be very similar to what it's like now where kind of every language has its role. I use English here, I use Twi between different people, I speak Ewe with other Ewe people, every language has its role and we just (...) go with the flow, like I've @said before.

I: Okay. Okay. Great. So, from what I understand, you're saying that the English language will inevitably grow in Ghana in terms of just the number of people who speak it, but this will not exactly kill off the presence or the motivation of people to still preserve their local languages.

B: Yeah, I think that the languages can't just be preserved by the system, it also has to be by the people. The community needs to preserve it more than anything. So, yeah.

I: Fantastic. So, yeah, that concludes the really burning questions. So, is there anything you would like to add? Or just say anything that's on your mind?

B: No, don't think so, @@. But I really had fun with this. It was interesting to share.

I: Oh, that's lovely. I enjoyed it as well, truly. Great, that means we are officially done with the interview. Thank you so much for taking part.

B: Oh, thank you so much. And thank you too.

Interview Transcript C:**L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP**

Date: 26/5/2021

Interviewer: I

Interviewee: C

I: So, great. Thank you so much for taking part in the interview. First and foremost, could I get your age and where you are from in Ghana?

C: Yeah, great. (UM) I am 26 years old. And (...) although I come from Nakrome, I live in Cape Coast, so that's where I live right now. And Cape Coast is also in the central region, so I've been in the central region almost all my life. My father is Asanti. My mother is Ga. Ga is those from Accra. Asante is those from Kumasi, so that should be the Greater Accra Region and Asante region.

I: Fantastic. So we look very forward to hearing your perspectives on things. So the first big question relating to the English language and answer this in any way that you you feel suit. Do you view English as a Ghanaian language and why?

C: Well, for the most part of things, English is spoken here by most people, but I think we have a lot of different languages in Ghana. So the most common language used by Ghanaians to me is not English. We learn English on a formal note in schools, but I feel English is not a Ghanaian language. I feel it got adopted from the Europeans who came around here during the colonial period (...) The so-called colonial masters.

Because our indigenous languages, we never spoke English, but for educational reasons and educational purposes, English has come to stay. So if you should ask me, is English a Ghanaian language? I would say most people speak it, because majority of the populations are now schooled. But for the fair answer of it being a Ghanaian language, I would say no.

I: Right. So, obviously the origins of English are nowhere near Ghana. Obviously, the Akan language, the Ga, the many different northern languages, those are the native languages. But of course, as you mentioned, there seems to be kind of an upward trend of English being used simply for the schooling reasons, for educational purposes, for the instrumental benefits of English. But in terms of ownership of the language, would you say that Ghanaians would see themselves as English owners or just simply English learners or speakers, just because they happen to speak English?

C: I don't think Ghanaians will feel they own the English language. We see English as a language brought to us by the colonial masters, but we would readily embrace our local languages. Nevertheless, English is said to be our national language because for the sake of unison, (UM) English cuts across the whole Ghana. But our indigenous languages differ from one another. So that's how can we adapt it, as I use the word early on, the English language, but I don't think personally, I don't know. But we don't feel English is our language, as in OWNED by us.

We see it as more of a European language which we come to speak. So we are more of English learners or English speakers than people owning the language.

I: Very interesting. So the English language is kind of like a tool in many ways to sort of create sort of a unison, as you've said. Now, relating to language unity. That is a perfect segue into our next question, which is that? Would you say that the English language unites organs or does a good job of uniting all Ghanaians in some respect, or are there languages that do it better?

C: Oh, yeah. On the unison in question, English does unite us. Number one, most of our local languages are more connected to ethnic groups. So the more you speak an ethnic group's language, it's like if I speak, for example, Twi or Ga, and you speak the same language, automatically, I'm drawn to you. But what if there's a language barrier? So with English, we are able to break that language barrier.

So whether you speak Twi or whatever, because you attend a school and you have some form of formal education, you happen to know the English language more than any other

language in Ghana. So if I relocate to, let's say, the northern part of Ghana, where none of my native languages are spoken, it's likely I would be using English to communicate over there, and that would cause communication gaps to be closed up so that we can communicate. So I think on a communication level, it brings unison, basically.

I: Right. So, on a wider scale, it does provide good kind of communicative implications and does provide a certain sense of unity. I'm curious to know, because in so many cases, asante tree is kind of like that 'lingua franca' as we call it in the linguistics world, it's the language that sort of is sort of the most spoken native language within Ghana. Do you think that Asante Twi compared to English, provides sort of a competitive nature in terms of providing better unity across the country? Or, as you've said, does the north south divide and kind of the relations between akan groups and nonakan groups? Does that kind of prevent asante chief from being that true lingua franca that English kind of is?

C: Okay. I think Asanti Twi has its place, and most people in the south especially tend to speak the Asanti Twi and its related languages. Nevertheless, Asanti Twi is taught formally by the schools that are within the sectors where Asanti Twi is spoken. So it creates competition only within sectors where it is spoken. But when you go outside those sectors, most of the schools in fact, every school in Ghana speaks English as their first language.

So we tend to be more Anglophone than the Twi because the Twi is not formally taught in other schools. We happen to learn Twi because we are either born as Asantis, born within Asanti regions, or we happen to probably go there to live or trade with them. So it's either spoken by migration or by birth or sometimes out of curiosity, somebody learns it. But if it was taught formally, like how English was taught, I'm sure it would even grow faster than the English language, because Twi is really spoken by most Ghanaians, actually. But the truth of the matter is, because it's not formally taught, people wouldn't learn it or speak it as the English is.

I: Really fascinating. So obviously, there is a very big regionalism to all of this, and that's really fascinating. One last little question, because this one little topic is so much to unpack. You said that if Asante Twi was to be taught all over Ghana, so, like,

even like, you know, northern regions, the Northwest, Northeast, the Oti region, all of those places, if it was to be taught formally, then people would be very much on board, and the language would grow even more. So does that mean that generally there is a very positive perception of the Ghanaian people towards the Asante tree language? Obviously, the Ashanti people embrace it. It's their culture. It's their birthright. That's their blood. But your other half is Ga. So what's the Ga perspective on the Asante language and the Ashanti people? Or the Ga perspective? Is it that positive that they would be very willing to all learn it?

C: Okay, well, I should definitely say this. Ghana has come a long way with its democracy and trying to unite the different ethnic groups. But before the British came on board, before the 1844, the bond of 1844 by the Fante chiefs, the Asantis were ruling by war. So they would conquer a city or a territory, and then when they conquer that territory, they would kind of imbibe their culture. They would introduce their language to those people.

So the Asantis were actually conquering territories. So when the British came, the competition actually became British and Asanti. So that when the Asantis were defeated at a point, they couldn't conquer certain territories. Those are the territories that would still want to keep up with their local languages. But with languages that had their Asantis conquering, you would have them succumbed.

It's not as though whether they think positive of it or not, they would actually have to speak their tree language because they are an Asanti territory. Nevertheless, when it comes to other ethnic groups like the Ewes, like the Northern people, like the Ga's, because of that history of war behind the years before our independence or before the British colonization, there is still that tribal rivalry as historic factors. Right now we might be living at peace, but because of those historic factors, you might be scratching wounds. If you go and force another person's language on another person, and because we want to live at peace as a nation, we wouldn't push that. I hope you get it.

Yes. Would be like trying to bring back memories of a territorial war zone agenda. So if the guns were probably having arrival towards their Santis and they have finally got in their freedom because now we are under a democratic government, and you finally bring out a

rule with the gun, the average guy is supposed to now learn Twi by force, you would probably bring in trouble. Nevertheless, they give a general in the educational system, they give a general will, so they give you options to choose. So in Accra, where we have an integration of different regions coming together to form a crowd, we have schools that teach Twi, but it's not forced.

Like how English is a mandatory language. In that sense, our Ghanaian languages are written according to what the school voluntarily chooses to start be. That's why I'm saying if it was mandatory, it will probably be studied by most people. Nevertheless, because of this cultural differences, tribal differences, you would want to be careful in introducing that.

I: You kind of touched on it a little bit. But I want to see if there's anything that you would like to maybe express more about this. Does British colonialism still play a part in how you perceive the English language today?

C: Yeah, we can't deny the impact of British colonialism on Ghanaian culture. In fact, speaking good English in our country is actually perceived as intelligence and how you dress and all that. Once you dress like the British, talk like the British, most people perceive you to be highly educated or wealthy. But then gradually, people are finding out the truth about our true identity and our heritage and our culture, which is very beautiful here in Ghana.

Nevertheless, the English language was taught by the British, both the colonial masters and later on by the missionaries, was introduced as an educational system. So the educational system was tabularasa, and it's still tabularasa in some places, but we are trying to gradually apply what we learn here. So we've come a long way. Nevertheless, there has been challenges trying to curb or bring us back to the point where we are actually seeing our own native languages as the best of languages. Most people would prefer speaking good English than to speak a good local language.

Nevertheless, on research, most teachers say that children who speak their local languages well before they enter preschool from home are likely able to speak good English at the end of the day than children who don't speak any local language or mother tongue language at all and enter into preschool. So we have that challenge. But gradually, people are trying to learn how to speak their local languages because they realize that it's also really important to do so.

I: So there is kind of more of an understanding that regionally, different rules may apply, different kinds of attitudes may apply towards certain languages. Speaker Now, my next question is kind of more from sort of a standpoint of practice, just purely practical. How often would you say that you use English in your day to day life outside of the workplace setting? Maybe the formal setting, sort of just in an informal kind of situation.

C: Yeah, you're welcome. The English language, how often I use it with the language in itself, as I said, it's a formal language, so anything formal, from preaching ceremonies to talking to people on an official note, phone calls, you're mostly using English on a daily note. Nevertheless, at home, where I'm talking to my parents and my siblings, I use a local language. And sometimes in public places, like you might go to the marketplaces and other places where you might find people who are more of not really educated from the English perspective.

So they really understand the local dialect. People would call them illiterate, but they are just not formally schooled. They have some form of education, but they are not formally schooled. So people who are not formally schooled would actually prefer using the local languages, either Twi or depending on where you are in Accra, you would want to learn some one or two Ga languages because you might meet a marketwoman who never knows anything about Twi but would prefer a Ga communication. But with the English, it's used almost every day in Ghana, so it's what people are more used to.

So you would want to speak English more with somebody who doesn't understand your local language. That makes the English language a language I would often use on a normal day. But if I'm home, I'm with my siblings. We speak three. We speak the local language throughout.

I: Right. That makes a lot of sense. You know, you look at Nigeria, you look at Sierra Leone, countries like that, just like Ghana, there was kind of a history of pigeonization. Obviously, you live in the central region, so I'm sure that you're familiar with this. The idea of creating the pigeon dialect, which, of course, in Nigeria became super popular. There's actually people who speak it as a native language. Same with Sierra Leone, where Creole, which is a pigeon, has also become extremely popular. In Ghana, Not as much it seems, but what are your thoughts on the Ghanaian pigeon? How is it perceived? And would you say that pigeon is a language unto itself, or is it kind of a form of English in some respects?

C: In Ghana, we speak Pidgin too, but it's mostly popular among the secondary school cycles where the secondary school or senior high school. Right now, senior high school, yes, is more popular among the senior high school and the tertiary students. But outside that, you would probably get the pigeon speaking people to be those who have probably graduated from the Tertiaries, who have now grown up and all.

It's well spoken by mostly males. Females speak it, too, but mostly preferably spoken by males, unlike Nigeria, where it is very popular and all that in Ghana is a selected few. And I'm giving the category senior high school tertiary students more than just the general public. And with the general public, if you should hear somebody speaking Pidgin, the person should have probably passed through the cycle. Nevertheless, the illiterates have a way of going about it, too, so that they can speak through the Pidgin language and communicate.

I: So would you say in that case personally, because it is obviously a mix, as you've mentioned, is pigeon like a form of english to you, or is it more like its own separate language?

C: Okay, so Pidgin is not an official (...) language here. It has its own (...) it has its own trends over here. It's used to communicate amongst a particular group of people. So it's popular and it's frowned upon by the educational societies because they feel it affects the English essay writers. For example, people normally write essays in English and include some pigeon terms, which, for example, in Pigeon we say galline for walking. And people have different terms for it, though. Nevertheless, we use Pidgin to communicate on a normal day as guys who meet at parties rap in Pigeon and all that, people even act movies in Pidgin.

I: And then also connected to that sort of moving from dialects into just kind of accents and pronunciation. I'm curious to know, would you say that Ghanaians prefer to speak English with a more localized accent? So like a Ghanaian accent, like Ghanaian phonology? Or do you think that people mainly try to still emulate that British accent you talked about, how emulating British dress and so on and so forth, historically was seen as kind of the goal, the mainstay. But now also, it might be that because of globalization, maybe American English, like the American accent, is seen as more sought after. Which of those three accents kind of more Ghanaian, more British, more American? Which of those three do you think is the most attractive or sought after by Ghanaians to speak? Which one would they prefer, in your opinion?

C: Oh, yeah. The average Ghanaian feels attracted by the British accent. Nevertheless, from a society perspective, I'll say that if I speak the British accent in a normal setting, they'll probably see me as somebody who is pretending to be white when I am actually part of the locals. But if you speak English in, like, a more Ghanaian way, you are likely to mingle among the locals nicely.

So if you speak like the British, even in your local looks, you are treated like a British

around here. And probably you might be paying extra fares for tour guides and for things that are supposed to be free for the locals, something like that.

I: So the first one kind of covering things on a macro level. We kind of touched on this, but this is more from a direct policy standpoint. What do you think of such a multilingual nation like Ghana having one official language? There's obviously eleven national languages, but that's not on the same prestige as the official language, which, of course, is English. Do you consider this system fair or unfair? And why?

C: Well, to make things clearer over here, if we don't have a language that unites us or helps us in communication, we might probably have a lot of issues here, not just with unity, but with trading with communication, with a lot of things, in fact, newscasting and other things. We even have a television station, a lot of them actually, that would actually speak cheat throughout, or speak a predominant local language throughout. (UM) Nevertheless, those stations are watched by those who understand those languages, and it's quite bias. But with English, everybody somewhere, somehow has an idea what you are saying. So on a policy note, why not use something we are comfortable with and yet encourage us to speak our local accents than to bring out a local language which others might frown upon, than to accept a language they have already accepted?

So English is already accepted by most of the cultures and tribes in Ghana already. So it's easier to make English a language policy in Ghana than the other languages. Once you try using the other languages for a policy, you might as well want to psych people towards it and make people understand reasons why you are doing it. If those understandings are not clear, you might as well not achieve your goal of uniting us. You might rather end up stepping on the toes of other tribes of which the government would avoid, because our democracy and our peace is well cherished as Ghanaians.

So I think English as a policy wouldn't be a bad idea. Nevertheless, it has its advantages. But looking at the advantages, I was acute towards using English as a policy and Ghana having one language, and that would to me be English. Nevertheless, we would have to encourage our locals to speak their local languages, because what is a nation and a culture without this language?

I: The idea of creating that balance right between kind of at that official level, maintaining something that everybody can kind of side with and from a more deeper intrinsic level, like beyond the scope of policy, just kind of promoting the local languages. Not so much from that official standpoint, but just promoting it from a grassroots level. Not everything has to be necessarily promoted from these standpoints of government to actually be put into fruition, right? So it's really like if we are to promote native languages or local languages, it should be from the grassroots and not necessarily from a governmental level. Is that correct?

C: Yes, That's it. EXACTLY so!

I: Fantastic. And that kind of connects in many ways to the second to last big question that I want to ask you today. You very, very concretely. Kind of touched on the way that education policy works specifically at the primary level, because the way that it kind of works, from how I understand it, is that from primary one to primary three, um, the children are educated, actually, in a local language, one of the national languages. And then slowly the transition goes into English being the only language of instruction. So rather than just acting as a course, but just language of instruction, from primary to secondary to tertiary, obviously.

C: Yeah, actually, that would have been the best. I realised personally that if you teach anybody in Ghana anything in their local languages, they kind of get a better understanding. Even from science and mathematics, we sometimes translate to our local dialect and process it before we understand more clearly.

But that's maybe also problematic because you might as well be struggling to get English names, or chain names for some English words and some English objects. For example, the Archimedes principle explained in English when you are explaining it in Twi, you'll probably get an understanding, but probably you might be getting certain words over there in signs or whatever in the English language that is not probably readily translated in the local dialect. So that becomes a problem.

So then, if we are starting people with the local languages, I believe you would want to consider getting the locals to do the local translation of most of the things, if not all, what is being taught in the courses. And even on an instructional note, as you rightly said, from the English to the local language on an understanding note. Or else you might be creating another problem of getting what is said in the English being translated into the Twi. For example, the Bibles that were translated from English to Twi were translated. Using theological scholars along with the locals, so that it wasn't something they said and imposed as a Fante or Twi word on the locals.

But the locals understood it from their English perspective and translated it into their language and there'll be another work altogether. It's actually a lot of work to be done. And from our educational side, I think we are still developing structures over here. And although we have gone a long way in our academic levels, we are still struggling with curriculums and other things. So I wouldn't think it's something that governments want to jump upon improving now.

I: So from a practical standpoint, it will be very difficult for governments to actually cater to all of these groups at one time. So maybe if I can kind of put your very clear answer into summation, theoretically, it makes sense to have more and more of a presence of local languages in mainstream education in Ghana. However, it will take a lot of time and a lot of development. And so for the time being, monolingual education or instruction in English might be the best way to go. Is that correct?

C: Yeah. So actually we have some local schools who do their instructions in the local language. It's a general problem trying to do the whole curricula, the courses, in the local language. So it might take a while. It takes a lot of studying of the cultural backgrounds of the different regions and other things to see what language best fits. So we have to try all those things and get a conclusive ideology. But for now, English is also okay because that's what we're all used to.

I: So we've been able to discuss the past, the present. But what does the future hold for Ghana?

C: English seems to be a promising language here in Ghana. Nevertheless, in some regions they prefer the local language to the English language, especially in the Asanti kingdoms and some few others because of a strong cultural background. Nevertheless, the fact that they speak the local language doesn't mean they don't speak English or write English. Probably they will speak the local language amongst themselves, but they write the examinations and school in English. So that still makes English a little bit of or makes it a dominant language in Ghana.

And when it comes to cultural simulation, I think a place like Cape Coast and some few other places where colonization had a lot of impact. We have the Cape Coast Castle and other places observing the natives of the land. The English language has had a lot of impact on the local language in that whenever they speak the local language, you hear a little bit of English in their local language.

That shows that they are more interested in speaking the English, including those who haven't even been to school before. They speak some one or two English languages even in their local language. That doesn't mean they see themselves as British or English people. They just love to speak the English language within their languages, so English could be spoken. But when it comes to their culture or their personality of the people, it's quite difficult to change the identity of a person (AHM).

I: I mean, it's kind of a great summation to this whole thing that clearly, from what you've said, English has a role, it has a presence, it has a future in Ghana. People accept it. They accept the aspects of English for their lives, their careers and things of that nature, but they don't necessarily embrace it from a cultural integrative standpoint. And that's okay. Every language seems to kind of have its role. It has kind of a good standing in Ghanaian society to kind of use this language for this purpose, that language for that purpose. And not everything has to be necessarily integrated to be used in good standings. So, obviously, a lot of the planning, the policy planning, the educational planning, may have to be a bit more regionalized, because obviously, as you said, that there's an asymmetry in terms of the kinds of models that people in Ashanti region might have from people in Volta region and so on and so forth.

C: Yeah, yeah, exactly right. We need to find a way to maintain the balance between all of our people. Because, in my view, we all deserve to preserve our cultures and our languages, of course.

I: Very profoundly said. So, yeah, that that concludes the the interview. Officially. I just want to thank you so much for your insights, your answers, the way that you were just able to so naturally direct us and paint these pictures of the real situation in Ghana from the historical context to the relationships between different ethnic groups, to even, ah, the scientific measures and the political measures that would be have to be implemented or considered to actually put certain policies into practice. I mean, it was really so in depth and I just want to thank you for that.

C: Thank you as well. It was an absolute pleasure to talk about my country on the world stage. It's always a pleasure for that. God, family, and country, always.

I: Do you have anything further to add, perhaps?

C: No, I believe I have said plenty! @@@

I: @@ And well appreciated! @@ Many thanks once more.

Interview Transcript D:**L1/English-Bilingual-LIEMP**

Date: 29/5/2021

Interviewer: I

Interviewee: D

I: Awesome. So without further ado, I think we can get started. So, first question about you is how old are you and where are you from in Ghana?

D: Okay, I'm 23 years old and I'm from Kumawu, and it's located in the Ashanti region. The Ashanti region? Yes, please. Yeah.

I: Great. So you are an Asante Twi speaker. In that case.

D: Yes, I am a PURE Ashanti!

I: Pure Ashanti. Fantastic. Great to know. So great. That means that you'll have a lot of definite insights. So the first big question is, do you view English as a Ghanaian language? And why?

D: Oh, okay. I like the question! Um, to be honest, especially my point of view, I don't consider English to be a Ghanaian language because before the arrival of the Europeans, we had our own languages that we were speaking. I don't actually support English or I don't agree to the fact that in part or English should be a Ghanaian or English is a Ghanaian language because especially Ghana. We have more than 80 languages in Ghana. Then English being a foreign language, it looks like an alien language of the colonisation. It reminds me of when we've been ruled by the British Empire.

I: Thank you so much for that answer. Yeah, you kind of talked about the very multilingual aspects of Ghana, and that also could also, in many ways, connect to sorts of the idea of a foreign language kind of acting as a neutral amplifier between peoples. Would you say that the English language in some way, in that case, unites Ghanaians in any way? It could create a connection between people from different tribes.

D: To be to be honest, I agree with you very much that English, you know, the English language unites Ghanaians. Because Ghana, being a multilingual country, there has been a lot of case in parliament that they want the , because Ashanti is how do you call it, is the most spoken language in Ghana. And then it's spoken by more than 9 million people in Ghana out of 30 million. And then, mostly everywhere you go in Ghana, if you understand Twi, if you're able to speak the Akan language, the Twi, that is the main one, the Twi, you fit everywhere in Ghana. So people were trying as much as possible to make their account language or the Twi language, be the mother language or be the national language.

But, you know, for ethnic tribes and conflicts of interest, everyone wants their language to be the national language. And because of that, I support that English being the language that we all understand and is not limited to a certain tribe. I think English, it unites Ghanaians, but to some extent, because people also have different ideas that English is not a mother tongue. So we have to feel free to speak about the language that we have, the mother tongue.

Like, we embrace English, but we don't want to accept that as part of our culture because we see English as a foreign culture, and then, you know, majority of Ghanaians really like English, but just not in the cultural way.

I: That's extremely interesting, and that's kind of at the root of what makes this topic of English in Ghana and in post colonial Africa so gripping. Right. My question is this

because you look at other countries in west Africa where English is an official language, like, for example, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, they kind of embraced the pigeonized version of English. And of course, in Ghana, especially in the central region, there is the pigeon. And they kind of use that as a springboard to kind of say, 'this is OUR English'. This is the way that we're able to own the English language. But is it kind of the case in Ghana that they sort of embrace the pigeonized version of English? Or do they prefer that when they do speak English, they speak more of, the classically "PROPER" English?

D: Okay. When it comes to Ghana, ours is different from Nigeria because, as you said, Nigerian, they embrace the Pidgin English. But in Ghana, we embrace the original English, the British one. And sometimes you also blend in the American English part. So someone who speaks Pidgin English, mostly the Pidgin English is normally speaking in the how is you call it, the majority of the investors, you hear this pigeon English. But Ghanaian, per se, we speak the normal English, the British English that we all want. So Pidgin English is normally embraced in Ghana.

I: So it's kind of like, in many ways, Pidgin is there. Pidgin is used colloquially by students, by people, but it's not necessarily a very intrinsic unifying factor, you would say, among all Ghanaians.

D: Yeah, I consider Pidgin and the Student Pidgin as languages, but especially when it comes to Ghana, we call Pidgin "broken English". We think the Pidgin is for those who are struggling to speak normal English but can't.

Personally, I don't consider Pidgin as an English, but I think it's also a form of imagined language that is also coming up, and it's getting its roots from the English language, but it also has its own way of format, just that it blends English and other culture together or other languages together. So, yeah, basically that's why I think that Pidgin is not English, but it's just a new form of language that is also coming. And I don't want to call it English per se.

I: Fantastic and now kind of moving from dialect into sort of the field of accents, like particular pronunciation of things. What would you say Ghanaians would prefer to speak English with in terms of an accent? Would they prefer to speak up to the standard of British English or maybe American English in the globalized world? Or do they like to just speak like Ghanaians with a Ghanaian accent or an accent that's similar to their first language?

D: Okay, so, for the English accent, especially here in Ghana, we are being trained with British English. But because of the movies and a lot of acculturation that is happening in Ghana right now, currently, our generation normally likes speaking American English. But everyone wants to use a certain accent that will let society recognise that the person really knows how to speak English. So, I think Ghanaians normally speak American English more, compared to the British English.

I: Very interesting. Now, you sort of answered this question already. But if you want to just expand on it a little bit, that would also be cool as well. Does British colonialism still play a part in how you perceive the English language?

D: Yeah, absolutely. I think the colonization that happened in Ghana still plays part of how Ghanaians we perceive English, because Ghanaians, we are expected to speak the British English, but still, especially for us here, generally accepted that we have to speak the British English. But as I already said earlier on, we want to blend Ghanaian into it. That is what we want to do right now. We want to blend the British and then American English together.

So especially one of the things that we normally do is that the British English is not as fast as compared to the American English. American English very fast. But you hear that Ghanaians are speaking very slow in terms of how the British speak their English. But in academia, it's purely British English, and it's because of how we were being colonized, and that because that has also been the accepted form of English that we must speak. So, I

think, yeah, it has really played a lot of lot as compared in terms of how we perceive English in Ghana.

I: Thank you so much for that. Now, kind of speaking of use based on different contexts, obviously it's English only in university settings. But I want to just ask you, how often would you say you use English in your day to day life outside of the workplace or university setting? Just like in normal everyday life?

D: To be honest, English is spoken at the educational institutions mostly for investors; even for the second cycle, that is the secondary schools and then the primary schools and the basic schools, they don't normally speak English, even though they use English to teach the children. But after class or during the break time, you hear the students speaking Twi, or their mother language. So English is normally speaking at the office places? The office places and then education institution. And afterwards, mostly we prefer to speak our normal language or mother tongue.

But sometimes normally you hear people speaking English when people from different tribe are how do you call it, communicating. So that's when you normally hear English outside the workplace or outside the educational institution, within the society. But how do you hear English being spoken outside or being spoken at the markets or other places? We prefer to speak at mother tongue, but for English we see English to be an official thing. Yeah.

I: That's very interesting because it kind of goes back to the idea of English sorts of acting as kind of a middle ground between people of of different tribes. Obviously, it could depend maybe on the two tribes that are involved. The two people that are involved, obviously, what language they might pick. Do you think that, for example, there are certain dynamics where English would be the most appropriate? What I mean is, for example, let's say that it's an Ashanti person and a Ga person or an

Ashanti person and an Ewe person. In those cases, would people be more comfortable with speaking Asante Twi, or would English be more appropriate in that situation?

D: Okay, this one normally is when you have people from a absolutely different tribe. Because in Ghana, we have especially the account language. For the account language, we have the Twi, we have the Fante, we have the Akuapem Twi. How do you call it? We have the Bono.

Yeah. So when you meet your people within the Akan society or within the Akan tribe, the language sounds similar, even though it's different, but it sounds similar. So it's very hard for you to hear people speaking English when they meet. When I can meet an Akan, but when I can meet an Ewe, their language is very different as compared to the Ashantis. So normally when you meet an Ewe or mostly Northern part of Ghana, so, you know, the Ashanti is the Southern part of Ghana.

Mostly, when you meet a Northerner and someone from the Southern sector of Ghana, when they meet, that's when you hear more of the English, because the Northerners are more far from the Twi language. Even if you go there, some of them speak Twi, but it's hardly for them to learn the Twi language. Sometimes they understand the Twi, but they can't speak back. So the most appropriate language for this case will be English.

And sometimes, how do you call it? When a certain different tribe also meets another different tribe, the language changes. And then, because it's become very hard, sometimes it becomes very hard for you to understand the person. Then we use English. So basically that is the issue.

I: Right. So it's quite multidimensional. There's different layers to it. And, of course, depending on the region, depending on the background, and certainly based off of different language groups and how those different groups view a language group, it can all completely change. So that's a great kind of opening into starting the conversation about that kind of passing on now into the idea of policy, like all of these

attitudes being put into practice. The one big burning question here is, what do you think of a multilingual nation like Ghana having just one official language? Do you think that this system is fair or unfair?

D: To me, I think it's unfair because, especially, we use English as our national language. I see that it captures or it covers all other tribes and nations. It makes us lose the culture or the authenticity of Ghanaian culture. Because I'm a tourism student, I'm currently doing my Masters in Tourism. And then we embrace the African culture, but we're using English.

Even though it's using English or having one ##, let me speak from two different angles. English helps in terms of international diplomacy, selling to others outside. But now, if you look at how people are coming in, it's not only English. Now Chinese is also growing in Ghana. Other languages are coming up. So I feel that we are still under the colonisation of the foreign world.

I: That's a very powerful statement right there. The idea of still being colonized under the grip of the foreign world. So, in many ways, you would say that the importance of English is mainly economic and kind of beneficiary for Ghana outside of its borders. But its benefits within Ghana's borders are much less so.

D: Yeah, exactly my point. So I do support that English is very good in terms of international diplomacy outside Ghana, but I don't support the fact that English should be the national language within Ghana, because that's not normally embraced in Ghana. Aside from education. Yes.

I: Okay. So English definitely can have a role in Ghana, but not so much kind of a national role that's owned by the Ghanaian people. Very clearly stated. Thank you for that. So in that case, because there's so many native languages in Ghana we're talking

about, people don't even know if it's in the hundreds. But which particular languages should gain official status in Ghana?

D: Yeah. So, for me, I believe that the Twi language should be the official tongue in Ghana, because Twi has been spoken by the majority in Ghana. And then if you understand Twi without even if you're not able to speak English and you can speak Twi everywhere in Ghana, you can fit in, but hardly for you to speak different language and then you visit another place, it becomes very hard for them to hear you. So I believe that the Twi language should be pushed. This notion has been pushed many times in the parliament, but because of political gain and all the policies behind all these states, they don't want to accept it. But to be honest, even if you ask anyone, everyone will tell you that Twi is widely spoken by most Ghanaian people. To be honest here.

I: So in your opinion, if if Ashanti Twi was to be officialized, kind of alongside English, and if there was, like, a dual status there, as you know, the two official languages, that would be generally seen as a positive move among most Ghanaians. Maybe not all, but most.

D: Yeah, exactly. Maybe not all, as you rightly said, but definitely the most. And in terms of policy and everything, we focus on what the majority are saying. If you are practicing democracy, definitely it means on the majority decision. So I think, yeah, it will benefit the most.

I: Great. And you've been fantastic so far, Manuel. And we have one big question left, and this one kind of goes from the status and the use of English to kind of the status and the use of native Ghanaian languages. So what do you think of providing more mainstream education in native African languages? So, to clarify, this means not just teaching these languages as courses, but rather using them as the language of instruction. So all of the courses from all levels are taught in English, obviously in university, in secondary school, in primary school, from one to three, I believe it is. There are courses taught in the national languages depending on the region, and then

they move into English only. So what do you think of, for example, kind of developing the curricula so that in schools there is more and more of a presence of teaching in the native language for kids?

D: Okay. Our current curriculum that we use from Primary to ####, from the kindergarten to Primary to JHS and to the secondary school, we have some mandatory language that you have to speak, especially in the busy schools. Depending on your background or your region, you are supposed to do a certain language. So if you are in Ashanti, Twi becomes a requisite. It becomes a core course for you to learn if you're in Accra, the Ga language. But for the Accra too, they also blend.

So Accra, they speak the Ga, but in their curriculum, it's either English or Twi. So it's part of it, but I think it's not enough. There must be more shifts or the focus should be more on the native language because we are trying as much as possible to let our kids speak English from infancy. But it's very good point that we start to also blend it. The one that they've been learning is sometimes not much as compared to the English language because if you have nine courses and then only one native language, then it becomes very difficult.

Currently, how will you even hear the kids or the children or the kindergarten basic schools, children speaking the native language? Everyone wants their kids to speak English, and so it will shock you that in Ghana now, they find it difficult to speak even their native language. So I think I'd suggest that the curriculum be revised so that the native language will still be of value in Ghanaian culture, as we are still trying to promote, you know, Africa to the world at large.

I: Okay, so you're very much for developing the curriculum to be taught in native languages, supposedly in the recognized national languages, because that will be a bit more convenient logistically. But would there be kind of an automatic imbalance in terms of the development based on the resources that different groups have? So, for example, you're an Ashanti man, and the Ashantis generally have a lot more economic possibilities, a lot more resources than, for example, people from other

groups, as well as just more speakers. So would there not be kind of an imbalance in terms of how the curriculums are worked? And is there a certain solution that you might think of?

D: Okay, so @I really like the question, to be honest. But for the first question, I think, definitely, there will be an imbalance because Asante Twi will dominate some parts. But I suggest, and I think, that we must have regionally developed programmes. If you have different languages spoken at the regional level, let's say in the northern region, Volta region, and so on (...) If we develop curricula at a regional level, it's going to help in terms of the imbalance aspect.

And then we structure the curriculum in terms of the original level. So if you are in this region, this is the kind of language that you are going to, how do you call it? You're going to learn, you understand or you're going to study. This will bridge the gap of the Imbalance. Of course, every region will feel that, yeah, this is their language, but definitely it's going to take time, but that is the best way that is going to help.

But even if it's still doing the regional level, definitely there will be imbalanced. And then you can't control more than 80 languages spoken in Ghana. So I still stick to my point that we should use the original one. And then in the original level, we teach the one that is supposed to be taught in every region. And in the end, the children will be able to cross or they will be able to understand and speak their language.

But also better off, I think, as we also go in, we must also have some optional languages that we can learn, optional native languages that you can learn, especially in the universities as well. You can learn Chinese, you can learn Spanish and other languages. In the university club. We have a Spanish club. We have a Dutch club.

We have a Chinese club and all this stuff. So I think all these things will be the gap of the imbalances that will happen when we try to, you know, incorporate the native language in our curriculum.

I: Interesting. So yes, it will be a very, very interesting future to look at, but I'm just glad that we were able to get the insight into how people are feeling now. This concludes my line of questions, but is there anything you would like to ask or add?

D: Oh, no. I just want to thank you for the opportunity, the chance to sit down and speak on the matter of Ghana, and Ghanaian languages, it is certainly an honour.

I: And you've been an excellent person to interview for this. Thank you so much for taking part.

D: Thank you very much.

