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The Use of Ghanaianisms in Aidoo's *Changes*, Djoletto's *Money Galore* and Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice*

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Abstract:

What is linguistically appropriate and acceptable in one geographical area may be proven a linguistic misfit in another geographical location. This is always evidenced in second language situations where the second language seems inadequate in expressing the culture and belief systems of the people. The result is for the people to resort to localized lexical items or to 'bend' some of the foreign lexical items so as to let them acquire meaning quite different from their original or dictionary meaning. The Ghanaian creative writer (GCW) does this by Ghanaianising the lexical items by means of indigenization, pidginization, transliteration, code switching and other means. The work sets out to find out Ghanaian lexical items known as Ghanaianisms in Aidoo's *Changes*, Djoletto's *Money Galore* and Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice* by categorizing the lexical items under the creativity category, interference category and deviation category. Each category has local classification markers out of which the various Ghanaianisms are grouped. The findings are that creativity category carried the greatest number of Ghanaianisms followed by interference category and finally deviation category. Taboos influenced the tilting of English lexical items to acquire meaning according to the Ghanaian culture. Also, GCWs use Ghanaianisms not for lack of vocabulary but for the sake of self-identity and avoidance of circuitous expressions.

Key words: Ghanaianisms, Money Galore, linguistic misfit, Changes, Ancestral Sacrifice, creativity category, interference category, deviation category

1. Background of the Study

The greatest asset to a nation is its language. This language is not only a vehicle for the history of a nationality but a part of history itself. The national language, that is English, cannot be said to be Ghanaian; yet, we cannot denounce it due to its role in education and its ability to unify the diverse linguistic groups in Ghana.

Annan (1969) cited in Gbedemah (1975:58) demonstrates the unification role of English as follows:

Our greatest heritage from the erstwhile colonial administrator is his language. Even at home the English language has become a unifying gift. It enables the Grushie and the Ga or the Ewe and the Dagomba to share views and jokes over a bottle of beer at the night club or at the community centre or while watching a football match in a brotherly atmosphere without a tinge of tribal consciousness."

But the outstanding question is: Do the lexical items employed by Ghanaian creative writers (GCWs) carry equivalent semantic meaning as that of the English? An affirmative response will mean the culture of Ghana and that of the English are the same. If they are not, then the culture of Ghana will shape the writings of GCWs. These lexical items which are peculiar to Ghana are termed Ghanaianisms. This work examined the uses of Ghanaianisms in three novels by Ghanaian creative writers (GCWs)

Ghanaian creative writers write, taking into consideration their identity and their desire also to remain intelligible to the external world. Their works illustrate "contrasting self-identification" unifying and separatist functions.

Fasold (1987:4) quoting Garvin and Mathiot (1956) concludes: "A person can be bilingual and have control of a second language and still feel 'unified' with speakers of his first language and 'separated' from speakers of his second language." This, the Ghanaian writer demonstrates through indigenization, hybridization, nativisation and changes of words to suit the Ghanaian cultural context.

2. Statement of the Problem

The lexical items of a second language cannot adequately express the ideas of another culture. The Ghanaian novelists, whose second language is English, cannot vividly portray their ideas without borrowing lexical items to compensate the cultural and linguistic diversity or tilting the second language to fit into the cultural context of its new home. Apart from Dako (2003) research into Ghanaianisms employed in the Ghanaian media, little has been done on the use of Ghanaianisms in the writings of Ghanaian creative writers. The focus of this research is to find out how GCWs employ lexical items peculiar to Ghana (Ghanaianisms) in their writings using Ama Ata Aidoo's *Changes*, Amu Djoletto's *Money Galore* and Akosombo Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice*.

3. Literature Review

The linguistic peculiarities of African nations coupled with the inheritance of their colonial masters' language have given birth to a variety Bokamba (1983) refers to as Africanisation of English. Kachru (1983) talks of Indian English. These varieties have their basis in what may be termed cultural differences. The linguistic needs of one culture may not be adequate in expressing the ideas of another culture. Kachru (1983:57) explains: "... one must understand that what is linguistic medicine for one geographical area may prove linguistic poison for another area." The development of different varieties is attributed to bilingualism. Kachru (1983:57) states: "Indianised, Ghanaianised, or Lankanised English is nothing but languages in contact."

Furthermore, the ardent desire for political emancipation and the consciousness of nationalism awakened the spirits for a variety of English. Bangbose (1976), Bokamba (1979), Jerbil (1986) and others have advocated a model known as Nigerian English. The use of endonormative variety of English by African students for examinations finally resulted in the creation of West African Examination Council (WAEC) to cater for Anglophone countries in West Africa. This move in the fifties recognized the cultural differences between Britain and its formal colonies.

To illustrate the inadequacy of English vocabulary for the West African situation, Bokamba (1991:502) states:

The English vocabulary of West Africa, like that of any area, has special words for local flora, fauna and topography. In addition, the special elements of West African culture and institutions have ensured the adoption of further numerous items. This, more than grammar, is said to give West African English (WAE) its distinctive "flavor" because it reflects the sociolinguistic milieu in which English is spoken.

These morphological processes indicated by Bokamba (1991) include:

- English words with an extension of meaning; *away match* which means a sexual affair with any woman apart from one's wife.
- Semantic shift
- Coinage
- New combinations
- Outdated words and
- Borrowings

Dako (2001:26) reflects on the Ghanaian situation as follows: "... the language had to adjust to the socio-cultural reality of the country, and that therefore English in Ghana has some lexical items peculiar to it." These peculiar lexical items shade the meaning of the words and the intended message from the outsider. However, the linguistic needs of Ghanaians and the protection of their culture are paramount. The GCW has to abide by the socio-linguistic situation of Ghana.

Ghanaian creative writers who employ their characters from an environment quite different from the language they use to carry their message cannot clearly divorce the lexical items that can vividly depict the culture of the people who become the vehicle through whom the message is conveyed. The Ghanaian culture and institutions dictate the choice of lexical items and how they must be used. Hence, the local flora, fauna and topography of Ghana contribute immensely to the sort of Ghanaianisms found in the works of Ghanaian creative writers' works. What is linguistically appropriate in one cultural context may be proven a linguistic misfit in another culture. The African context, and for that matter the Ghanaian, cannot be ignored by creative writers whose ideas are African (Ghanaian) couched in a borrowed language (English).

Ulli Bier (1958) beautifully summarises the linguistic dilemma of the African writer as follows;

The West African poet writing in a European language finds himself in a difficult position. He is almost bound to be nationalist and more often than not he is actively concerned partly with criticism and rejection of European values - and yet he has to use a language to express this same rejection.

The Ghanaian creative writer is squarely faced with the linguistic dilemma. Should he use lexical items that are entirely English? Will these lexical items be able to effectively express the linguistic needs of Ghanaians? An answer in the affirmative assumes that the culture of Ghana is the same as the English culture. It is unrealistic to avoid the use of local lexical items in the expression of cultural-specific ideas.

3.1. The Bilingual / Multilingual Writer

I have chosen the craft of writing and my entire linguistic creed ... is simply to find a suitable medium. I find the English language is that kind of medium. It needs to be modified to suit my purpose,

Narasimhaiah (1978: 406).

The opening quotation above depicts the Indian writer who is torn between two worlds - the world of his origin from where his ideas, themes and characters emanate and the world from where his ideas are unfolded through language.

The ambivalence of the bilingual/ multilingual writer is not limited to the Indian; the African writer equally faces it. The following is a representation of the African writer:

For me, there is no choice. I have been given this language (English) and I intend to use it. (I hope that) ... the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English still in full communication with its ancestral home but altered to suit my African surroundings,

(Achebe, 1962:62).

Naipaul, an Indian, unequivocally conveys the plight of the bilingual/multilingual writer in English as follows:

It is an odd, suspicious situation an Indian writer writing in English for an English audience about non-English characters who talk their own sort of English I cannot help feeling that it would have been more profitable to appear in translation.

What is worthy of concern about all these writers cited above is the difficulty of expression arising from cultural differences between the second language and that of the first language. The result is the incorporation of localized items to express ideas that seem elusive or offensive when English lexical items are to be employed. The maintenance of the tag of double identity — non-native and native — can only be possible by integrating local lexical items to the language they see as the appropriate medium for their ideas to be expressed.

The bilingual/multilingual writer has taken advantage of the flexible and adaptable nature of the English language to maintain his identity through the integration of local lexical items. This, however, does not take away the dilemma he faces. The linguistic schizophrenia of the bilingual / multilingual writer continues.

4. Textual Evidence of Ghanaianisms from Selected Books

This section looks at the Ghanaianisms that are used in Ama Ata Aidoo's *Changes*, Amu Djoleto's *Money Galore* and Akosombo Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice*. Bamgbose (1983) model of Africanisation is used in an attempt to explore Ghanaianisms in the selected books.

The approach Bamgbose (1983) used was creativity approach, interference approach and deviation approach. These three approaches and local variety markers are used in the classification of Ghanaianisms from the selected books. Some local variety markers are adopted from Sey (1973) and Dako (1991).

The Ghanaianisms are grouped under three (3) categories – creativity category, interference category and deviation category. The following categorization processes are used under each of the categories:

Creativity category (CC): Coinage, borrowing/code switching and indigenization;

Interference category (IC): Proverbs/transliteration and pidginization; and

Deviation category (DC): Deviant collocations, analogical distortion and question patterning.

4.1. Creativity Category

Coinage

“One thing the Ghanaian is good at is simply turning English down on its head,” (Aidoo 1991:34). She continues: *Trust the Ghanaian again. They had decided to create out of ‘overwhelmed’ and ‘flabbergasted’ a new word (flabberwhelmed) to describe an emotional state which they had decided the English were not capable of experiencing and therefore had no expression in their language for.*

Since the emotional state is quite unique and has to be expressed in a new experience situation, words such as *flabberwhelmed* and *vroom* are used by Aidoo in *Changes* and Djoleto in *Money Galore* respectively.

Table 1 presents the distribution of coined Ghanaianisms employed by the authors of the selected books.

Author	Frequency of coinage
Aidoo	9
Djoleto	8
Nyantakyi	0
Total	17

Table 1: Coined Ghanaianisms

4.2. Indigenization

You know in our custom, there is nothing like that. Oko's ‘sisters’ children are Ogwanowa's sisters and brothers. Are we Europeans that we should want to show divisions among kins?(Aidoo; 1991:67).

“She was *dawn* good the other day.”

“He can't do a *dawn* thing.”

“She can't steal a *match* on me.” Djoleto (1975: 124)

Dawn and *match* have to undergo semantic shift so as to meet the linguistic culture of the Ghanaian. Both words refer to ‘sex’ which is uneasy to mention in the Ghanaian society. Another instance of indigenization is found in Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice* as follows: “She wants to know whether you *weed* on *Tuesday*.” *Weed* equally alludes to a sexual act which is said to be forbidden on Tuesday considered as a sacred day. Indigenization (Ghanaianisation) has to occur so as to make the message linguistically acceptable and fit for the Ghanaian society that considers the mention of sex a taboo.

Indigenization is made use of by the authors as shown in table 2:

Author	Frequency of indigenization
Aidoo	17
Djoleto	21
Nyantakyi	1
Total	39

Table 2: Indigenised Ghanaianisms

4.3. Lexical Borrowing (LB)/Code Switching (CS)

Lexical borrowing is the process of integrating a foreign word or phrase to a matrix language whilst code switching is a complete switch over from one sentence to another sentence of a different language. In other words, borrowing is intra-sentential whilst code switching is inter-sentential. The two are treated together because writers rely on them for the same purpose – a better and clearer way of expressing ideas. “They just had ‘tuo’ together,” (Aidoo,1999:115) is an instance of borrowing. Code switching on the other hand is indicated in Nyantakyi (1998:16). *Eye ampae, Okwantrkwa se obema won tama a tie ni din*. The process of lexical borrowing (LB) and code switching (CS) are used to express linguistic situations that seem elusive or circumlocutory when an English lexical item is to be used. An example from Djoleto (1975:85) suffices. “I have brought you some palm oil and okro stew with snail, *wele* and pig trotter inside, and *banku*. *Wele* is a dried treated animal skin used as meat. *Banku* is a meal prepared from fermented corn flour. The integration of the localised lexical items, which the English have no expression for, do not hinder the flow of the language but rather gives it an easy direct flow with a different (Ghanaian) identity. The selected authors make use of lexical borrowing (LB)/code switching (CS) as indicated in table 3.

Author	Frequency of LB/CS
Aidoo	18
Djoleto	36
Nyantakyi	51
Total	105

Table 3: Borrowed/Code switched Items

5. Interference Category (IC)

The interference category approach attempts to trace Ghanaianisms to the influence of Ghanaian languages on the second language. Proverbs/transliteration and pidgenisation are the classification markers under this approach.

5.1. Transliteration/Proverbs

The weight of speech in Africa is measured by its proverbs. Any speech without proverbs is too banal, empty and regarded as senseless. Achebe (1958) reiterates this as follows: “Proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten.” These proverbs are sometimes difficult to translate without them losing their value; hence, transliteration (word for word translation) comes in to maintain the value and weight of the proverb. One of such transliterations is shown as follows: “There is no trouble here. You are the path walker” (Nyantakyi, 1998:50). The phatic function of language in the Ghanaian context is quite removed from the English situation. Relying on British English (BE) to express the feelings of Ghanaians speaking their own language in their own way will be inappropriate; hence, transliteration. Some instances are illustrated by Aidoo and Djoleto as follows:

“There was trouble lying in the bush,

You went and dragged it into your house.” (Aidoo, 1991:47)

“Now you see my friend, you scratch my back, I scratch your back, you understand?” (Djoleto, 1975:146)

The characters within the texts represent the voices of the Ghanaian speech community. The problems of the Ghanaian community can only be felt if the ‘borrowed’ language is made to pay the linguistic price worthy of the Ghanaian culture which is reflected in its language.

Table 4 presents how proverbs/transliteration are frequented.

Author	Frequency of Transliteration / Proverbs
Aidoo	12
Djoleto	8
Nyantakyi	31
Total	51

Table 4: Proverbs/Transliterated Items

5.2. Pidginization

The oldest lingual franca used by Africans and the Europeans for the purpose of trade was pidgin. A number of factors contributed to the use of pidgin as a lingual franca. First, pidgin has limited vocabulary and simple grammar. Second, the simple syntactic structure makes it user friendly for people who have not been to school to learn the complicated syntax of British English (BE). Finally, the multilingual situation of Africa compels people to find a way of breaking the barrier/frontier of communication. The result is the ‘broken’ form of the colonial master’s language. This form goes in line with the local languages.

Pidgin is found in the works of GCWs. An instance is illustrated in Djoleto’s *Money Galore* as Bukari, a watchman, tries to communicate his concerns of security to his master, AbrahamKofi Kafu, Minister of Social Welfare and Pedagogy.

Master, dis our house iday for place people tink say everybody day dere ibi moneyman. So the tief iwant come here no fear big sticki. Ibi dis one when he see den his hear comot! You see now maswter? Any way, master, now you be gofment. Like you want me use pissly, you go fitbringam. Then I go leave this one for my room. No be so, master? (Djoleto,1975:98)

Another instance of pidginization is seen in *Ancestral Sacrifice* when Ataala, a hunter and northerner, communicates with other characters.

“Ibi true say my child die?” said Ataala.

“Yes, yes. The gods punished her because she fed her children with the new yam.”

“But that be bad. The child be mine too. If Faate make children chop yam, ino be Faate way the gods go kill? Why the gods punish Ataala too?” (Nyantakyi 1998:116)

Pidgin, though not readily welcomed by educated Ghanaians, is well appreciated by all when used to bridge a communication lacuna. This is demonstrated by Abraham Kofi Kafu and his security man. Though Kafu himself does not use pidgin in his conversation, he does not despise Bukaris’s pidgin.

Table 5 shows the distribution of pidginization in the selected works.

Author	Frequency of Pidiginisaiton
Aidoo	0
Djoleto	16
Nyantakyi	15
Total	31

Table 5: Pidginized Items

5.3. Deviation Category (DC)

This approach involves a comparison of observed Ghanaian usage of English with Standard English and labeling the difference as deviation. The schemes used under this approach are analogical distortions (AD), deviant collocation (DC) and question patterning (QP). The following are the distributions of their occurrences.

Analogical Distortions

Analogical distortion is a grammatical phenomenon where a structure assumes a pattern quite different from BE or AmE. An instance is the use of stative verbs progressively. An instance of such usage is found in Djoleto (1975:114). Salamatu, one of the characters in *Money Galore* addresses Kafu, the Minister as follows: “I have been wanting to tell you all along, but each time we meet something makes me forget.” This structure, though one may say colloquial, departs from Standard English (SE) because of the progressive use of the ‘want’ which is common in all Ghanaian languages. It should have been *I always wanted to tell*

The syntac-semantic relations in African languages depart from the English language. In an attempt to convey the linguistic realities of the African, GCWs end up conveying the sentiments of their characters through the reality of analogical distortion. Table 6 presents the distribution of AD by the selected authors.

Author	Frequency of AD
Aidoo	2
Djoleto	5
Nyantakyi	0
Total	7

Table 6

5.4. Deviant Collocation

The use of one word necessarily calls for the use of another word that agrees in terms of semantic features and syntax. Any word that does not collocate due to its semantic features with another is wrong collocation. This category of deviant collocation is only seen in Aidoo’s *Changes*. She states: “...who swallowed more than one woman.” *Wallow* semantically should have the semantic features + mouth, + animate and others. However, *swallow* in the context refers to a man who had sex with many women. This deviant collocation has to occur so as to adjust to the linguistic ambience of Ghana. The frequency of DC is presented in table 7.

Author	Frequency of DC
Aidoo	6
Djoleto	0
Nyantakyi	0
Total	6

Table 7: Deviant Collocation

5.5. Question Patterning

The formation of questions in Ghana usually departs from the structural formation of interrogative sentences in the English language. Below are examples of QP:

“This is the custom, no?”

“True, true?”

“Yes?”

The above neither conforms to the ‘wh-’ type of question nor the ‘yes/no’ type. The distribution of QP is shown in table 8.

Author	Frequency of Question patterning
Aidoo	3
Djoleto	0
Nyantakyi	3
Total	6

Table 8

6. Analysis and Interpretation

In the search, a look was taken at lexical items that are peculiar to Ghana and shade the meaning from the outsider. These lexical items – Ghanaianisms – come to stay through some linguistic processes. The categories used here to classify the Ghanaianisms found in the selected works and their classification markers are as follows:

Creativity category (CC) - coinage, indigenization and borrowings,

Interference category(IC) – Proverbs/transliteration and pidginization, and

Deviation category (DC) – analogical distortions, deviant collocation and question patterning

Below is a summary of the approaches and the classification markers under each category.

Creativity Category (CC)	Number
Coinage	17
Indigenisation	39
Borrowing /Code Switching	51
Total	107

Table 9

Interference Category (IC)	Number
Proverbs / Transliteration	51
Pidginization	31
Total	82

Table 10

Deviation Category (DC)	Number
Analogical Distortion	7
Deviant Collocation	6
Question Patterning	6
Total	19

Table 11

- **Grand total of Ghanaianisms- 208.**

Figure 1 shows the percentages of the three approaches

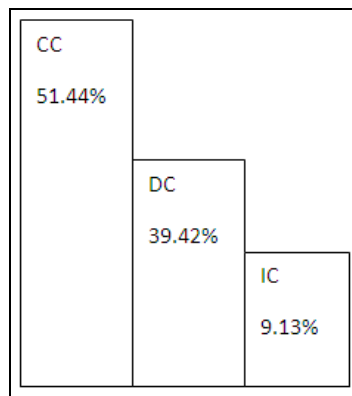


Figure 1: Percentages of Ghanaianisms from selected works

From figure 1, CC carries the greatest number of 107 Ghanaianisms representing 51.44%. IC is second with 82 Ghanaianisms with a percentage of 39.42 and DC being the least with 19 Ghanaianisms of 9.13% being IC. The figures indicated that a creative writer using a language alien to his culture will devise means to communicate his ideas clearly by borrowing local items, coining new words to suit his culture, as well as indigenizing foreign items to serve his linguistic needs and purposes. Borrowing/code switching dominates under CC. The 51 items out of 107 signal that a language culturally alien can hardly cover the linguistic needs of another culture, especially one that is bilingual/multilingual such as Ghana whose culture is far removed from the language that is used for administration, education, law and business.

Cultural borrowing/code switching as a linguistic mode is more practical and economical and avoids circuitous expressions as indicated by Dako (2002). Words such as *banku*, *wele*, *Batakali*, *Akpetashi* cannot be adequately replaced by the use of any other expression in English. These cultural borrowings are from food (*banku*, *wele*, *shito*, *fufu*), clothes (*batakali*, *parapata*), religion (Maria Kronkrom), appellation (Daasebre, *Kokokyinako*, *Nana Koo Barima*) and other cultural concepts. This is in line with Huber and Dako (2004) findings. These cultural specific borrowings retain their original spelling forms. Example, *Akpetashi*, a strong alcoholic drink has /kp/ as consonant clusters that never occur in that order in English.

Indigenization, a classification marker under CC, has 39 items. All indigenized items are English lexical items that have acquired meanings different from what they originally have. This leads to semantic shift which may elude the outsider.

The outsider may see this as a deviation but in contact literature, we see that deviation acquires meaning at each level and reveals itself like a spectrum. The lexical deviation acquires meaning at the sentential level, and a deviant sentence is meaningful in relation to their sentences (Kachru, 1983). An instance of an indigenized item from the selected works is “away match”, which in the Ghanaian context means sexual act. It seems deviant to the outsider, but to the Ghanaian who has indigenized it to suit his context and environment acquires meaning at not only the sentence level but the context in which it is used.

Cultures vary and so does language, a denominator for assessing a society and its cultures. Hence, indigenization is only a reflection of the Ghanaian society, culture and belief systems. It is therefore appropriate to claim that English lexical items that acquire meaning according to the Ghanaian usage are Ghanaianisms.

The last classification marker under CC is coinage. Coinage is a morphological process whereby new words are created out of a prevailing situation that has never been experienced before. From the selected books, coinage has 17 items: 9 from Aidoo’s *Changes*, 8 from Djoletto’s *Money Galore* and none from Nyantakyi’s *Ancestral Sacrifice*. *Ancestral Sacrifice* has a theme of cultural conflict. This might prevent the characters who are Ghanaians from coining words that are seen as “weapons” against their culture. Borrowing and transliteration are much used by the characters in *Ancestral Sacrifice*. Love and politics, the main themes in *Changes* and *Money Galore* respectively are full of emotions. To express feelings that the characters who are Ghanaian feel the English have no expression for and are not capable of experiencing coin words to express their emotions. All coined items found in the selected works for the research are of English origin. These coinages retain their grammatical forms as from the words the coined items are formed. For instance, the coined word “flabberwhelmed” (Aidoo, 1991: 145) is created from the two words “flabbergasted” and “overwhelmed”. The original words are in the past participle form but used as adjectives.

The coined word maintains the same form and class as the original words from which the new lexical item is coined.

IC ranks second with 82 Ghanaianisms representing 39.42% of the said category. The classification markers under this approach are proverbs/transliteration and pidginization with 51 and 31 items respectively.

Proverbs are very much cherished in a conversation especially when such conversation involves elders. To effectively feel the efficiency of proverbs, which are drawn from the context and in African languages, the proverb must be rendered in word for word translation – transliteration. Proverb/transliteration has 51 items just as borrowings/code switching under CC.

The acts of borrowing and transliteration are marks of self-identification through language use. It reflects the situation of the Ghanaian writer who desires to be with his people from where he is nurtured and his ideas emanate. Habits, as indicated by Lado (1957), play a role in proverb/transliteration under the interference category. Proverbs come as a result of habits formed and are transferred holistically in any conversation without he speaker realizing that it is said word for word or transliterated.

Pidginization, a classification marker IC, is not so much associated with the educated Ghanaian speaker of English. This does not mean a complete absence of pidgin in Ghana. The 31 items confirm that pidgin exists in the speech of Ghanaians no matter how much despised by the educated Ghanaians. The over forty languages in Ghana make English the preferred language that unites all the tribes and despite pidgin being not easily used by the educated Ghanaian, it is much appreciated as a lingua franca that brings Ghanaians who have no common mother tongue and who are of different educational levels (Criper, 1971). This is portrayed in *Money Galore* as we see Bukari, a watchman, with low or no education communicating his concerns about security matters to Kafu, the Minister of Social Welfare and Pedagogy. The Minister, Kafu, who does not speak pidgin with his watchman, welcomes the ideas conveyed to him through pidgin. The same is true of Ataala who is a hunter in *Ancestral Sacrifice*. Ataala uses pidgin with Mrs. Little and Rev. Sister Debbie, who collaborated with him to search Bob Little in the Sacred Forest. Other characters who do not have the same L1 with Ataala converse with him. Ataala uses pidgin whilst the other characters avoid the use of pidgin. Pidgin in Ghana is usually used by those whose education is low and is usually associated with professions that do not require much education.

The phonology, spelling, pronunciation and grammar of pidgin have similar characteristics with Ghanaian languages. These similarities might be as a result of the low education of the characters in the texts used. An example suffices.

“So the thief i want come here no fear big sticki.”

The use of /t/, a voiceless alveolar plosive instead of voiceless dental fricative /θ/, is an indication of transfer of habits from the Ghanaian languages that lack the dentals. In addition, ‘sticki’ reflects the pronunciation and spelling of Ghanaians who have little or no education. Kirby (1998) reflects this pronunciation and spelling in his book *A North American’s Guide to Ghanaian English* as he spells bucket as “bokiti”.

Another confirmation is the use of pidgin by the characters. No female character uses pidgin. The palm wine trader does not use pidgin. The palm wine trader in *Ancestral Sacrifice*, a professional whose level of education is expected to be low, does not use pidgin. Dako (2003) assertion that male students in most secondary and tertiary institutions speak what they call pidgin is in line with what has been illustrated in the selected works. However, Criper's assertion that English is less 'Ghanaianised' by Northerners and that Northerners speak better English seems not to be in line with what Djoletto (1975) and Nyantakyi (1998) portray in their creative works.

Those who speak pidgin and do the unprofessional jobs are Northerners.

It is contrary to what we see in Aidoo's *Changes* where Ali, a Northerner, and his wife and family members speak good English.

6.1. Use of Proverbs in the Various Texts

The distribution of proverbs/transliteration is shown in table 12.

Author	Number of proverbs	Percentage
Aidoo	12	23.52
Djoletto	8	15.69
Nyantakyi	31	60.78
Total	51	100

Table 12: Proverbs/transliteration

From the above, there are more proverbs in *Ancestral Sacrifice* when compared to *Changes* and *Money Galore* combined. It is not surprising that proverbs are more prevalent in *Ancestral Sacrifice* because the characters involve elders and traditional leaders who are protecting their customs. The foreigner, Rev. Sister Debbie, finally joins the community in using their wise sayings. The conversation between Rev. Sister Debbie and Mrs. Little shows the use of proverbs by the foreigner.

"He who is cutting the path does not see it crooked behind him," said Debbie.

"Well," said Debbie. "I did not know you are now deep into local wise sayings." Nyantakyi (1998:75)

The above conversation between Rev. Sister Debbie and Mrs. Little further illustrates the importance of proverbs in African context as stated by Achebe (1958) that : "Proverbs are palm oil with which words are eaten." The use of proverbs by the three authors and considering the total number of proverbs/transliteration (51) tells us that proverbs are necessary ingredients in Africa.

DC has 19 items representing 9.13% of the three categories. The distribution comprises 7 analogical distortions, 6 deviant collocations, 6 question patterning as classification markers. The small figures here indicate that the Ghanaian speaker of English really fears stigmatization when it comes to errors in grammar (Sey, 1973). The love for Standard English by Ghanaians is indicated by this small percentage of 9.13. This usage can also be attributed to style. This style is nothing but an attempt to portray their identity as Ghanaians through language; one they can lay claim to. Table 13 is a representation of the distribution of DC in the works of the various authors.

Classification markers	Author/Number of Items			
	Aidoo	Djoletto	Nyantakyi	
Analogical Distortion	2	5	0	
Wrong collocation	6	0	0	
Question patterning	3	0	3	

Table 13: Deviation Category

As indicated above only Aidoo covered all the classification markers under DC whilst Djoletto and Nyantakyi covered one each: analogical distortion 5, and question patterning 3 respectively. Deviant collocation has the same number with question patterning; only one author – Aidoo – made use of them. This shows that deviant collocation is least featured in educated Ghanaian English and creative writers' works.

An educated Ghanaian is more likely to form a question according to the Ghanaian way as a result of habits, more likely to deviate in analogical distortion due to progressive forms because of difference in concepts than being a victim of deviant collocation. The number of deviant collocations from Aidoo's *Changes* might be because of the traditions associated with marriage in the Ghanaian culture. It might also be due to emotions that are associated with love, a theme in *Changes*.

Generally, deviation is not so prevalent in educated Ghanaian English though serialization of deviant structures has been done (Criper, 1971; Sey, 1973). Deviation is expected in countries where English is a foreign language. It has to adapt to the culture of the host. In sum, "language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary markers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its basics broad and low, close to the ground" (Watt Whitman, *Slang in America*, 1885, quoted in Philip Howard, 1984).

7. Discussions

The research set out to find out the use of Ghanaianisms in Aidoo's *Changes*, Djoletto's *Money Galore* and Nyantakyi's *Ancestral Sacrifice*.

The models through which Ghanaianisms are derived are classified into three categories: creativity category (CC), interference category (IC) and deviation category (DC). CC, which comprised of coinage, borrowing/code switching and indigenization dominated with a total number of 107 items. This figure represents 51.44% of a total number of 208 Ghanaianisms from the works used for this research.

One might argue that it is because the works used are by creative writers.

The truth exists in this line of thought but the fact that Ghanaians can turn the English language to suit their cultural environment remains. They 'beat' and twist the language to serve their linguistic purposes.

Cultural taboos play a major role in their creativity. If there is no lexical item that is suitable to preserve the cultural taboos, the creative writer has to use the already existing words but with meaning that is applicable to the Ghanaian situation. Words such as 'match', 'eat,' do not have the same semantics as they are in the land of the English. Many of the tabooed items are related to sex. Self-identification is also a factor that calls for the use of borrowed items. The borrowed or localized items maintain their phonological features as well as their grammatical categories.

All indigenized items, however, are of English origin. The indigenized items maintain their grammatical features but the semantics change. The change in semantics may be considered as deviation. To the outsider it is but to the insider it is not because every word is interpreted within a sentence and every sentence in the light of context. The context that necessitated the use of the local items is geared towards self-identification. The Ghanaian has to 'Ghanaianise' those foreign items and they are no deviations for they are interpreted in the Ghanaian context and culture.

Proverbs, it must be said, are integral part of African speech; Ghanaians not left out. The proverbs in the selected books are mostly drawn from Ghana. To project and portray the real values of those proverbs, transliteration becomes the better alternative. The word for word translation violates the syntax of the English language. This violation is due to the position of the Ghanaian creative writer who thinks and dreams in one language but translates those ideas and dreams in another language. The Ghanaian creative writer desires to be with his people of whom he writes to portray their belief systems; yet, the language he uses to convey the message is not of his people and must be in touch with its ancestors.

Another finding was the grammatical nature of Ghanaianisms. It was found out that all words that are of Ghanaian origin are in conformity with Ghanaian languages. In terms of function, Ghanaianisms act the same way as words of Standard British English (SBE). The role of the noun as subject, object, complement and others for all Ghanaianisms under the noun category is not different from SBE. Hence, the syntax of English in Ghana is the same with Standard British English.

Adverbs are formed through the reduplication of adjectives. This is due to the scarcity of adverbs in African languages as indicated by Bamgbose (1983). The adaptability of the English language has made it possible for the creative writer to preserve his language; yet, fitting the localized items into the syntax of the English language without much oddity.

8. Conclusion

Language is culture-specific. In a nation where a foreign language is used to express the culture of the people of that nation, the process of acculturation and deculturation has to occur. Acculturation is the adorning of a foreign language with elements of local language. Deculturation on the other hand is the act of stripping off meanings of words that do not fit the context and culture of the host of the language in use. These acts shade the meanings of certain lexical items from the outsider. The introduction of the localized items results in a new variety of language because people of different cultures use the language variously to express culture-specific needs.

Furthermore, the need for self-identity will continuously bring forth new words that are nationalistic and ethnically oriented and Ghanaian creative writers must of necessity employ Ghanaianisms to show their origin and demonstrate their nationalism.

Crowley (1997) declares:

It wouldn't be any good if we all spoke the same. We like to know where they come from. Very often when an ethnic group switches from one language to another, people develop ways of marking their ethnicity through their new language.

Ghanaians have to mark their identity through lexical items; hence Ghanaianisms. The difficulty of adopting a particular Ghanaian language as a national language may continue to be nagging problem, but the avoidance of Ghanaianisms in English in Ghana will forever be a mirage. The day Ghanaianisms are absent in the writings of creative writers of Ghana, the day our souls are lost as Gbedemah (1975) quoted the poem sent to Ghana parliament in 1971 in reaction to the use of a particular Ghanaian language as a national language.

*If we lose our tongue,
We lose our soul.*

Ghanaianisms are symbols of uniting Ghanaians as a people; weapons for projecting, protecting and preserving the culture of Ghanaians, as well as liberating the "imprisoned" souls and minds of Ghanaians, who need a language of their own (lingua franca) for the purpose of identity and national development.

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10. Appendix A

Key:

A = Adioo (1991)

D = Djoleto (1975)

N = Nyantakyi (1998)

Number(s) in brackets after any of the abbreviated letters refer(s) to page of the selected texts: *Changes, Money Galore and Ancestral Sacrifice*.

11. Interference Category (IC)

11.1. Proverbs/Transliteration

If the animal sees you and won't bite you, it will not show you its teeth. N. (

If we sit down and put our hands between our legs, everything will be wrong.....

I think we must cut the snake's head while it is still young.

If corn eyes will grow bigger, it starts from germination.

Let's think good thinking and stop talking about his manhood. N. (14)

'But listen good, ' Awo Yaa Ako had warned. N. (15)

If nothing goes to touch the palm branch, it does not rattle. N (15)

Laziness does not deliver a good child, and if you sit at one place, you sit on your own thing. N. (

... if life were not hard to live, the chicken would cover its rectum with a red bandana. N. (19)

If someone slaps your skull, he's only telling you to strengthen your neck.

...the telling of stories refreshes the mind as bath refreshes the body. N. (20)

The spirit that gives yam to the child in the bush will provide hoe for digging. N. (20)

We scare away the wolf before we advise the goat. N. (33)

...but if the deer does not attend the durbar, its skin goes. N. (42)

...it is he who owns the ting that eats it and not the one who is hungry. N. (48)

There is no trouble here. You are the path walker. N. (50)

If a naked man offers to give you a cover-cloth, do listen to the name. N. (53)

He who is cutting a path does not see it crooked behind him. N. (75)

If the eye does not see, it is not ugly. N. (93)

If a visitor lives with you for a while, and he has to leave, he either leaves a debt for you to pay or a gift for you to have. N. (94, 95)

He who has seen old not see twice, and it is only the fool who testicles are trampled twice. N. (95)

You do not take the feathers off a bird and ask an elder to identify it. It is as cruel as pushing an old woman and pretending to worry about where she would fall. N. (107)

If the rain will fall the wind will take lead. N. (110)

I pile on what Baamuhene has said. N. (110)

If we seal up our ears and disregard this dangerous warning, we will seriously be bringing a serious curse on the entire village. (110)

We must not cut a walking stick and make it longer than our height. N. (110)

"What the animals have eaten, let them eat and go," she said. It is what is left we protect.

N. (117)

A custom in its proper place must never be titled. N. (120)

...it is as much a mistake to scratch an itching foot outside the shoes, as it is to try to beat the moon with a pole. N. (141)
 ...our age-old philosophy that it takes a whole village to raise a child must learn from this young hero's death. That is why our culture functions better on "I, m because we are and we are because I am". N. (141)
 ...because she has turned his head with soothing.
 There was the problem lying in the bush. You went dragged it into your house. A. (47)
 Now everyone was just laughing at her behind her back. A. (58)
 The seniority too. A. (93)
 Ali sat and listened polite faced or repentance. A. (101)
 How can one go about eating the heads of cow, and also manage to maintain that he is afraid of eyes? A. (102)
 Who is a good man if not one who *eats* his wife completely, and pushes her down with a gulp of alcohol? In our time the best citizen was the man who *swallowed* more than one woman, and the more the better. A. (106)
 The *product* of my womb *product*, it was just being a wife. A. (107)
 ...it seems necessary for women to be *swallowed* up in this way. A. (107)
 But what was the last time you wiped any shit from her bottom? A. (110)
 They just went to her bedroom and started *eating* one another up. A. (117)
 ..who shares meat does not eat bones... A. (120)
 As a rule, I don't carry all my eggs in one polythene bag. D. (23)
 He *broke* the journey at Winneba Junction. D. (29)
 I wouldn't be surprise if she put love medicine in your food and drink. D. (103)
 ...when I do the donkey work?
 Ofori Nortey's heart jumped.
 Now you see, my friend, you scratch my back, I scratch your back, you understand? D. (146)
 The child that does not want its mother to sleep does not sleep either. D. (151)
 Chop money. D. (23)

11.2. Pidginization

You de sabi Faate house? N. (115)
 Make you no lie for me? N. (116)
 I de look for Faate... N. (116)
 Make you show me Faate house. N. (116)
 But that be bad. The child be mine too. N. (116)
 If Faate make children chop yaw, inobe Faate way the gods go kill? Why the gods punish Ataala too? N. (116)
 But what bad Ataala do? N. (116)
 You no sabi Faate past husband Ataala from Suhyen? N. (117)
 You say Faate be you friend? N. (117)
 I go drink am here. N. (117)
 You sabi where Faate and my children go? N. (117)
 The gods kill our child and the chief go punish Faate again? N. (117)
 Why? I go talk foolish to the chief. N. (117)
 Master, this one self tiefman fearam bad! D. (98)
 Only police say make we no use gun or pissly. D. (98)
 The short one for tiefman bottom he go fit run for him house before he die there self, so policeman no come and halahala you. D. (98)
 ... ibe true you de talk? D. (98)
 Even if ino kill you at once self, the poison iday for the arrow go kill you some time D. (98)
 Master, dis house iday for place people tink everybody day dere ibi moneyman. D. (98)
 So the tief iwant come here no fear big sticki. Ibid is one when he see den his heart comot! D. (98)
 You see now master? D. (98)
 Anyway, master, just now you be gofment. D. (98)
 Like you want me use pissly, you go fit bringam? D. (98)
 Then I go leave this one for room. D. (98)
 No be so master? D. (98)

12. Creativity Category (CC)

12.1. Coinage

I don't careism. A. (34)
 SWI – Satisfied Wives International A, (45)
 Harmasttan A. (62)
 Armstrong A. (62)
 Offs A. (120)
 Jolof A. (121)

Pesewa A. (153)
 i-too-can-play-a-very-good-boy-voice
 flabberwhelmed A. (145)
 why not make it slow, slow; quick, quick; slow? D. (23)
 No, no, my short D. (39)
 He seems to get limitless joy from the vroom alone. D. (67)
 Never mind that Anson said matter of factly. D (73)
 Then talk, talk. D. (84)
 There was a brrr-o-o-o-m! D. (136)
 ...and then boom! Boom! A whole wall collapsed, burying the doctor underneath. D. (136)\
 Righto, Man! D. (156)

12.2. Borrowing/Code switching

Joeemi shirt D. (18)
 Kenkey D. (25)
 Akpeteshie distillers D. (29)
 Asafo companies D. (32)
 The Gaos who sold grains had not washed for a week. D. (39)
 Aha-a-a! D. (39)
 Tchaa-a! D (39)
 Thank you osofo. D. (43)
 Baya D. (51)
 Kpanlogo D. (51)
 Bukom Brass Band. Popularly known as BBB. D. (51)
 He was dressed in jumper, rich kente and joromi. D. (51)
 Yen Ara Asase Ni D. (53)
 Bo, bo; bo, bo! D. (53)
 I have brought you some palm oil and okro stew with snail, wele and pigrotter inside, and banku. D. (104)
 Patapata shirt D. (85)
 Patapata max-robe D. (105)
 I will get the Bukom boys to whip you. D. (107)
 I'm an Asere! D. (109)
 Java prints D. (111)
 Only kontomire and palm oil. D. (114)
 Adzeii! Aagbemi eii! D. (117)
 Zeleen D. (117)
 Hei, hei, hei? D. (130)
 I'm broke Osofo. D. (132)
 Atukpa! Tiafi hee! D. (136)
 ... and hey presto! No problem, no problem Osofo. D. (144)
 Omye s-mling wha-at! D. (180)
 A-a-ah! D. (180)
 Ha-a-a! See, hwe! D. (180)
 Man nnye rough kwaraa, atseaa? D. (180)
 Heie, kooyo! D. (181)
 Allah, kai I! Allah, kai! Wallai! D. (181)
 Ah-h-h!
 Alhaji A. (47)
 Mallam A. (58)
 Allah A. (58)
 Nyenyefo mpo wo ne nkaeda having to have a burdensome child because one day you will miss her. A. (77)
 Nim tree A. (79)
 Kenkey A. (79)
 Dokon-na-kyenam A. (79)
 Eh, ei! A. (91)
 Kola pits A. (99)
 Yes Mma, ye Autie. A (104)
 They just had tuo together. A. (115)
 Abe nkwan _palmnut soup A. (121)
 Mana_ Mama_ mother A. (121)
 Kokompe engineers A. (151)
 ... she got gorgeous adires from Nigeria...the cutest matroshkas for Ogyaanowa. A. (153)

...that the marriage was 'comot, kaput, finished, kabisa.' A. (155)

Batakali N. (7)

Fofo juice N. (10)

Buei! Buei! Buei! N. (13)

Nkran dakono, shito and kenkey N. (16)

Eye ampae. Okwatrekwa se obama won tama a tie ne din. N. (16)

Fufu N. (16)

Asesedwa N. (18)

Akwansrafo N. (41)

Kokokyinako Nana koo Barima N. (41)

Oseeee yeeeeeee! N. (42)

Okyeman oooooooooo! N. (42)

Agya waadwoa! N. (45)

Asem ben ni? N. (46)

Ago! N. (50)

Nadwuna nah we. N. (54)

Na wo de akoso N. (54)

Abosompom N. (66)

Nsamanpom N. (66)mohhwe N. (71, 72)

Okyeman! N. (73)

Yenhwe mma ensei N. (73)

Kokohwehwe Bob bra! N. (77)99)

Mama Dan, mema woaha N. (91)

Me-ggy-wo-so. Wo-ho-te-sen? N. (91)

Ye-su-ne-na? N (91)

Asoagyei9 borough head N. (94)\

Tigareso borough head N. (94)

Agya ba N. (94)

Babo borough N. (94)

Gyaase borough N. (94)

Abosoboo ho N. (99)

Ago! I N. (99)

Bra! N. (Adowa N. (100)

Dwenesa N. (100)

Kente N. (101)

Rasta N. (101)

Kwaku Ananse eeee

Mene wo beko Tamaleeeee. N. (105)

Da yie N. (106)

Fufu N. (109)

Onipa nye! N. (109)

Fontonfrom drum N. (110)

Baamuhene N. (110)

Botwe gyae, Botwe gyae. N. (124)

Okyaaale, Okyakya! Okaale, Okyakya! N. (124)

Maria kronkron N. (133)

Maria kronkron

Bo mpae yen, Amen

Yehowa nyira wo N. 9136)

Tioooo tie! . N. (140)

Tioooo tie! Nana kasa. N. (140)

12.3. Indigenization

I mean your *cut*. D. (7)

Barman D. (28)

Second-hand D. (35)

You can't dig life in a school compound. D. (45)

The doctor chap is in her full grip, Kafu. D. (46)

Some removed their cover-cloth to fan him like a chief. D. (46)

We hear some of them are as broke as a stranded Lebanese. D. (49)

It was an unnecessary marathon. D. (87)

Someone who finds the totality of me, his conception of me, the idea of the *inexpungeable* from his mind. D. (92)

I mean you want someone who can *intellectualise* you and gloss over your physical presence. D. (92)
 A herbalist managed to break into her cocoon and destroyed the inside. D. (93)
 I don't think so. Say three bedrooms, lounge and dining-room, kitchen and *conveniences*. D. (97)
 She had on an enchantingly fresh hair-do called 'Guarantee'. D. (105)
 Is a woman's place a *Labour Exchange*? D. (107)
 No nonsense, you *swine*. D. (109)
 She can't *seal a match behind me*. D. (129)
 Missis has warned me against it. D. (129)
 I'm *broke*, Osofo. Very *broke*. D. (132)
 She was *dawn good* the other day. D. (144)
 Really nice and *wholesome*. Gosh! D. (144)
 How can I meddle in the affairs of *big* people? D. (157)
 He can't do a *dawn thing*. D. (167)
 ...whose *eyes have not jumped over her eyebrows* with too much education and too much money of his own...
 Love? ...love?...Love is not save, my lady Silk, love is dangerous. It is deceitfully sweet like the *wine from a fresh palm tree at dawn*.
then you might as well take an *insurance policy*. A. (51)
 He looks good enough to *eat*. A. (52)
 And *curfew* was how students described the hours of the night, when according to the rules, men and women students were not to be seen together. A. (56)
 ...caught the little *bird* in her trap,... A. (62)
 Oko's sisters' children are Ogyaanowa's *sisters and brothers*. Are we Europeans that we should want to show division among kin? A. (67)
 Already, *games* were developing in the relationship... A. (73)
 That she has become an occupied *territory*. A. (102)
 ...*away matches* A. (101)
 The question *hit* Ali with the force of a *fully loaded timber truck that was rolling down the Kwahu mountains towards Nkawkaw*. A. (103)
 According to Esi, it was his mother, his other *mothers*, his *sisters*. A. (105)
 So kola was broken and gin was poured in libation and a little of it drunk by Esi's people. A. (112)
 A real tough *bird* A. (140)
 She wants to know whether you *weed* on *Tuesday*. N. (14)

13. Deviation Category (DC)

13.1. Analogical Distortion

The Asafo Company was in full attendance with their flags... A. (32)
 I have handled it when it was brand new and I have trained it. D. (100)
 I have been wanting to tell you all along. D. (114)
 They say a long time back A. (107)
 ...how it was far yesterday. A. (107)

13.2. Deviant Collocation

And then he was inside her, feeling his way into a cave that was warm, of uneven surfaces, wet and dangerously inviting. A. (83)
who swallowed more than one woman. A. (106, 107)
 ...started eating one another. A. (117)

13.3. Question Patterning

True, true? A. (83, 84)
 y-e-s? A. (92)
 Besides you had a husband of your own, no? A. (106)
 Yes, Nana? A. (108)
 This is the custom, no? A. (108)

14. Appendix B

14.1. Popular Ghanaianisms And Their Meanings As Used In The Selected Works

- I mean your **cut**. (D. 7) = An illegal percentage usually taken out of a contract usually known as 10%.
- **Barman** (D. 28) = An attendant at a drinking bar or at a restaurant
- **Second-hand** (D. 35) = A used car or clothing. The clothing is popularly known as 'aboloni wawu'
- The doctor's chap is in her grip, Kafu. (D. 46) = any person /fellow
- Some removed their cover-cloth to fan him, (D.46) A piece of cloth used by women to tie around their waists.

- **Broke** (D. 48) = when one has no money
- **Marathon** (87) = Series of events that pile on each other/events that look unending
- **Break into** = to have carnal knowledge of a woman
- **Conveniences** (D. 97) = Toilet and bath
- **Mothers** (A. 102) = one mother's sisters or father's sisters
- **Brothers** (A. 102) = one uncles/aunts' sons
- **Sisters** (A. 102) = one uncles/aunts' daughters
- **Weed on Tuesdays** (N. 14) = have sex on sacred days.
- Yes to a negative question is rather in the negative
- No to a negative question is rather in affirmative
- **Polythene gag** (D. 23) = A black rubber used as a basket.
- **Chop money** (D. 23) = Housekeeping money
- **Donkey work** = Tedious work with little or no reward
- **Comot** (D. 98) = go away
- **Off(s)** (A. 120) = holiday
- **Pesewa** (A. 153) = The lowest denomination of Ghana currency/no money
- **Kenkey** (D. 25) = A meal prepared from fermented corn, stirred
- **Apkpeteshi** (D. 29) = a strong local gin
- **Banku** (D. 85) = a meal prepared from fermented corn, stirred.
- **Wele** (D. 85) = well treated hide of a cow used as meat
- **Kontomire** (D.14) = Green leaves of cocoa yam used for stew
- **Mallam** (A. 58) = A spiritualist in the Islamic religion
- **Alhaji** (47) = A title for a moslem who has gone to Mecca
- **Allah** = (A. 58) – God
- **Nim tree** (A. 78) = A tree with bitter leaves usually used for treatment of malaria
- **Mma** (A. 104) = mother
- **Auntie** (A. 104) = aunt
- **Mama** (A. 121) = 121
- **Batakali** (N. 7) = A northerner dress (smock)
- **Fufu** (N. 16) = A meal prepared form cassava or yam
- **Agoo** – (N. 99) = A call for permission usually to enter into someone's room or house
- **Bra!** (N.99) = A response to agoo permitting someone to enter