

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

Kofi Agyekum

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

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

1.0. Introduction: Radio, Language Change and Decadence

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

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

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

1.1. Language Change

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

Veisbergs (2010) further opines that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. Linguistic Purism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 Negative Aspects of Purism

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

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

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

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

1.4. Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1. Phonetics and Morphophonology. Wrong Pronunciation of Akan Words

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

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

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

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

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

Other lexical items that are mispronounced include:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ngyedia (shady trees) -----> nnyedia

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

ndwom (songs) -----> nnwom

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Lexicon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6d. *Ama w□ sika.* ‘Ama has money.’

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

Unfortunately, some broadcasters and the Akan youth say

6f. *Ama nw□ sika* Ama has no money.

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

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

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

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

(c) Use of tautology

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

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

(i) Peace FM News 24th May 2017:

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

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

Aban adi dwumadie ahodo□ pii w□ afe yi mu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The expression *[nya akwannya]* is tautologous.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d). Misuse of kinship terms.

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

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

(i) Adom FM 15/11/17

A female broadcaster X said

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

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

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

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

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

(d2) Dwumadie, ‘activity, programme’

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

12.* *YEw* *nnwumadie* *pɪi* *Kwasiada*

We have activities many Sunday

‘We have many activities on Sunday.’

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

3.0. Taboo Expressions and Over Embellishment of News Items

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

3.1. Use of Bare Taboo Expressions and Using Indirection

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2. Rampant use of Simile in News items and Jokes

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

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

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

15. *WohwE barima anantu a, abob̯̯asE apoka*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.0. Misuse of Right Semantic Lexicon

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

(a) The use of *dwane*

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

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

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

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

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

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

(b) Akɔbadie

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

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

A female broadcaster AAA said as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

(c) Misuse of the Expression Kasabom

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

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

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

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

(

i) Peace FM Friday 22/12/2017

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(i) Adom FM 26th Nov. 2017

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(e) The term *Temanmufo*□

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

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

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

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

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

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

(f) The expression *ne Koko Apae*

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

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

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

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

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

(g). Direct Translation of English Phraseology

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

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

Sukuu KwankyerEfo□, ‘Director of School’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30b *Nwomasua AsoeE KwankyerEfo Panin*

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

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

'The Chief Director of the Ministry of Education'

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

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

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

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

The most appropriate expression should have been

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(The late) Opanin Kwasi Donkor lamented as follow:

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

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

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

English Gloss:

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

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

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

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

(j). Code-mixing and Switching:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(k). Overstretching of Terminology

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

35a. Internet: *amansan ntentan = IntanEEt*

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

6. Recommendations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

References

- Agyekum, K. (2018). *Akan body part expressions: A cognitive semantics and pragmatic approach*. Accra: Adwinsa Publications.
- Agyekum, K. (2010a). Ghanaian radio and the Akan language: Unplanned language planning and development. *Issues in Political Discourse Analysis* 3(2). 1-21.
- Agyekum, K. (2010b). *Akan kasa nhyehyɛɛɛ*. Accra: Dwumfour Publications
- Agyekum, K. (2009). 'Language shift: A case study of Ghana.' *Sociolinguistics Studies* 3(3): 381-403.
- Agyekum, K. (2003). *Akan Linguistics: Terminology and Metalanguage*: Ph. D Thesis University of Ghana, Legon.
- Boadi L. A. (1976). 'Mother tongue education in Ghana.' In Ayo Bamgbose (ed.), *Mother Tongue education: The West African experience*. Pp. 83-112. London. Hodder and Stoughton
- Cru, J. (2006). Shifting language ideologies among young Maya professionals: Overcoming purism in Yucatán, *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, 4 (2), 111-132.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dolphyne, F.A. (1988). *The Akan (Twi-Fante) language: its sound systems and tonal structures*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press
- Donkor, A. (2017) Personal communication on Christmas Greetings
- Downing, A. & Locke, P. (2006). *English Grammar: A University Course*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge Ltd.
- Garret, P. B. (2006) Language contact and contact languages. In A. Duranti (ed.) *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* 46–72. Malden: Blackwell.
- Kamwendo, G.H. (2004) 'Your Chitumbuka is shallow. It's not the real Chitumbuka: Linguistic purism among Chitumbuka speakers in Malawi.' *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 13(3): 275–288.
- Li, W.C. (2004). Conflicting notions of language purity: the interplay of archaising, ethnographic, reformist, elitist and xenophobic purism in the perception of Standard Chinese. *Language & Communication* 24: 97–133.
- Muysken, P. (2011). 'Code-switching' R. Mesthrie (eds.) New York: *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics* Pp 301-314. Cambridge University Press

- Saussure, F. (2006). *Course in General Linguistics*. Chicago and La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company.
- Sijs, N. Van Der (2004). The role of purism in language development - historical and political aspects. In Dónall ó Riagain & Thomas Stolz (ed.) *Purism: Second helping. Papers from the conference on "Purism in the age of globalization"* Pp 1-24. Bremen, September 2001
- Thomas, G. (1991). *Linguistic purism*. Longman: London
- Trudgill, P. A. (2003). *Glossary of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (2000) *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. 4th edition. London: Penguin Books.
- Veisbergs, A. (2010). Development of the Latvian language, purism and prescriptivism. *Linguistic Studies in Latvia 18 (1)*: 7-32
- Wardhaugh, R. (2006) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th Edition. Malden: Blackwell Publishers
- Wexler, P. (1974). *Purism and language*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.