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Gordon S.K. Adika

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Introduction to Special Issue

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic which has affected various aspects of our society profoundly, the School of Languages at the University of Ghana organised a conference to examine the impact of this crisis on various aspects of human endeavours. This special issue of the *Legon Journal of Humanities* contains double blind reviewed selected papers that were presented at the conference. Three of these selected papers focus on the critical interrogation of human responses to crises as reflected in literature, language and cultural studies while two focus on roles that language choice plays in the domains of television and audio-visual advertisements, respectively.

The first article, entitled “Crisis communication at the onset of the Covid 19 pandemic: “A case study of the Ghanaian president’s fourth update on coronavirus”, examines the role of crisis communication in the early stages of the pandemic, analysing a crucial address to the nation by Ghanaian President Nana Akufo-Addo. Through detailed linguistic analysis, the study demonstrates how the president’s language and communication strategies reflected the political context and potentially influenced public behaviour.

In the second article, “Fighting a global pandemic and local stigmatisation; War metaphors in presidential update speeches and their effect on attitudes to COVID -19 (Patients) in Ghana”, the authors examine the Ghanaian president’s use of war metaphors in his address to the nation during the pandemic. The study explores the potential impact of these metaphors on the attitudes and practices of the Ghanaian public and how these communication strategies may have inadvertently contributed to stigmatisation and further spread of the virus in the community.

The third article, “Les défis de l’évaluation du français langue étrangère en ligne: le cas de l’Université du Ghana”, is set against the backdrop of the pandemic-driven shift from

in-person to distance learning and digital examinations and examines the factors that affect the effectiveness of the conduct of online assessments for students of French at the University of Ghana. The study also proposes solutions to overcome the challenges.

The fourth article, “Promoting Ghanaian languages: the role of telenovelas”, examines the important role that telenovelas play in the promotion of Ghanaian languages by their broadcast through voice-overs in local languages. The study highlights the impact of this phenomenon on language use, language acquisition and glocalization of global mass media in shaping informal education and literacy development in Ghana.

The last article, “Language Blending in Tanzanian Adverts: English, Swahili, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*” analyses the use of code-switching in audio-visual advertisements in Tanzania. The study focuses on the motivations for language mixing and its impact on the target audience and shows how three languages; English, Swahili, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*” code-switching are blended strategically to attract customers from different linguistic, economic, and sociological backgrounds.

By exploring these diverse themes, the papers in this special issue contribute to interdisciplinary research through the exploration of the complex relationships between crises, human responses and cultural expressions. Through the lens of literary, linguistic and cultural studies, they help deepen our understanding of the complex dynamics that emerge in times of crisis and their lasting impact on human societies.

Guest Editors

Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie
Promise Dodzi Kpoglu

Crisis communications at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic: A case study of the Ghanaian president's fourth update on coronavirus

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic was a testbed for crisis communication, leading to recommendations on how to meet communicative goals and several individual case studies. This paper contributes to the latter by engaging in a detailed three-level analysis of an early, pivotal address to the nation by Ghana's president Nana Akufo-Addo. In terms of infection rates and deaths, Ghana has been much less severely impacted by the pandemic than other countries, making it worthwhile to look at the role of official communications. This study investigates how the president addressed the public at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, in what ways the linguistic features of his address reflected the specific political context, and what potential impact his language use had on the behaviour of the public. Findings show that linguistic and, to a lesser extent, visual elements represent the president as powerful, authoritative, but somewhat detached from the audience. However, this is balanced by direct appeals to the same audience, whose cooperation he seeks to win rather than enforce. This balance reflects the political and socio-cultural context of the text, as further evidenced by comments on the address on Akufo-Addo's Facebook page.

Keywords: Covid-19, crisis communication, Ghana, language use, legitimization

Introduction

In this paper, I analyse a public address by Ghanaian president Nana Akufo-Addo, which he delivered in March 2020. At the start of the pandemic, he had proclaimed various measures to contain the virus, like calling on citizens to stay at home, explaining contact tracing and requiring people to wear masks; the address analysed here was selected because in it, the president announced the most severe Covid 19-related restrictions to date. It therefore marks a pivotal moment in the Ghanaian government's crisis management, with potentially far-reaching consequences for public health. My focus is on what tools of crisis communication he uses to inform and convince the public and what linguistic form these take.

To this end, I apply a three-level framework of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010), which starts with a data-driven text analysis at the micro-level to see what tools from crisis communication the speaker has used and how he employs language and, to a lesser degree, visual features to represent actors, events and entities, and to position himself in relation to his audience. Findings from the textual analysis are then interpreted with recourse to the meso-level of the discourse practice context, asking who produced, distributed and received the text and under what conditions. Finally, the macro-level of the wider socio-political context allows the analyst to understand how features of the text are influenced by factors such as culture and system of governance.

Whether measures to control the spread of Covid-19 are successful depends on compliance by the general public. The address analysed in this paper therefore has the two-fold purpose of informing and persuading the audience, and it is important to analyse what crisis communication tools and language features the speaker employs to meet these purposes. Understanding the possible consequences of his words has implications for the linguistically oriented study of crisis communication beyond the case study presented here.

At the time the address was delivered, the first two deaths from Covid-19 had been confirmed in Ghana. This led to the government imposing a ban on gatherings and international travel, while the Bank of Ghana implemented financial measures. As of 21 March 2023, 44 people per million had died of Covid-19 in Ghana. Although countries around the world recorded Covid deaths differently and more or less exhaustively, one list (Mathieu et al., 2020) sees Ghana as 209th among the world's countries and territories, i.e., indicating remarkable success in crisis management. Nevertheless, the measures and communication by the Ghanaian government have attracted a mixed response, ranging from a cautiously positive evaluation (Zhang et al., 2020) to criticisms about misusing presidential addresses on Covid-19 for election campaign purposes and about neglecting rural communities and minority indigenous language (Nyarko et al., 2021).

In view of these different evaluations, this paper will seek to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How did Nana Akufo-Addo address the public at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic?

RQ2: In what ways do the linguistic features of his address reflect the specific political context?

RQ3: What potential impact did his language use have on the behaviour of the public?

Covid-19 communications have been studied for several individual countries, and there are a few multi-country studies as well (see section 2, Crisis communication and Covid-19). The present study engages in a detailed linguistic and legitimization analysis of one pivotal address to the public.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows: in the next section, I review the main tenets of crisis communication and how it relates to Covid-19, both in general and in terms of what we know from case studies of individual countries. In reviewing the latter, the focus is on democracies, including Ghana's. That

section is followed by an introduction to the data and the methods to analyse them. The penultimate section presents the findings of the analysis, while the research questions are answered and conclusions drawn in the final section.

Crisis communication and Covid-19

Crisis communication: goals and tools

According to Coombs (2019, p. 156), crises can be divided into three clusters depending on how much responsibility an organisation has for them. In what he calls the “victim cluster”, the organisation (here: government) finds itself having to manage a crisis that is not of its making, such as a natural disaster or indeed a pandemic. In the “accidental cluster”, only low responsibility can be attributed to the organisation; examples are accidents and harmful products due to technical errors, e.g., faulty personal protective equipment for healthcare workers. In the “preventable cluster”, however, the organisation does bear responsibility for crises, due to human error or misdeeds of its members.

Whatever type of crisis an organisation deals with though, the objective of its communication should be to “ensure the physical safety and psychological well-being of stakeholders affected by the crisis” (Coombs, 2019, p. 137). In the case of a global pandemic, those stakeholders are the general public, and it is the task of the World Health Organisation and national governments to keep citizens safe from infection while preventing negative mental health consequences of measures such as lockdowns. Governments also need to cushion the economic and social effects of the restrictions they impose. For Covid-19, the scope of the crisis, and hence crisis communication, was huge, ranging from preventing the spread of the virus to pivoting healthcare systems and workers to dealing with sometimes large numbers of cases and deaths. In addition, officials had to communicate non-medical interventions such as travel bans, develop test-and- trace systems and later vaccine rollouts, and

confront mis- and disinformation (the so-called “infodemic”). In analysing a central public address by the Ghanaian president, this paper focuses on the role of crisis communication strategies and related language features in informing citizens about restrictions and persuading them to comply with them.

Crisis communication needs to be effected through available, accessible and appropriate channels, considering the media use, literacy and language proficiency of various parts of the population. Moreover, communication teams during a crisis need to consider what type of spokesperson may best convey a message. For example, the Taiwanese president, Tsai Ing-wen, made sure to have the media present when she was vaccinated against Covid, while the director-general of health in New Zealand, Ashley Bloomfield, became an almost cult-like figure in his country (de Bres & Dawson, 2021). In Italy, the government appointed General Francesco Paolo Figliuolo as Covid commissioner, who appeared in public wearing military fatigues, thus embodying the WAR metaphor that was so popular in the early stages of the pandemic (Olza et al., 2021).

At the beginning of the Covid-19 crisis, a positive effect of the WAR metaphor may have been to convey the severity of the situation and make drastic measures more acceptable to the public (Castro Seixas, 2021, p. 4). Indeed, perceiving a threat to be severe and relevant to oneself are two factors needed in making sure that people engage in behaviours to control the danger. In addition, the addressees of crisis communication messages need to believe that they can act to reduce the threat and that proscribed or recommended actions will be effective (Coombs, 2021, p. 992). Within these parameters, the Covid-19 pandemic presented various demands on crisis communication. According to published recommendations (Coombs, 2021; Hyland-Wood et al., 2021), messages needed to convey the threat and discredit low risk beliefs, e.g., by choosing communication channels used by young people. At the same time, however, communication also had to persuade the public that measures taken by the

government work and that everyone can contribute to them. In this respect, particular behaviours had to be established as social norms.

Crucially, messages had to be short, clear and simple, not least because people were likely to receive them in a state of heightened anxiety. Further, communicators are required to be credible, which explains why health officials such as chief medical officers or scientific advisors took part in press briefings in many countries. Another demand on communicators was to balance empathy, i.e., showing understanding for people's concerns, with honesty, including about uncertainty being inevitable during a developing pandemic. Lack of certainty breeds disinformation and conspiracy theories; these continue to be rife for aspects of Covid-19 such as vaccination, meaning that communication must also debunk such beliefs. A pandemic is a long drawn-out and dynamic context – a marathon rather than a sprint, as many politicians put it (Collins and Koller, forthcoming) –, which can lead to message fatigue, a phenomenon that calls for creativity and variation (Pérez Sobrino et al., 2022). Finally, any crisis communication, including on Covid-19, needs to acknowledge diverse audiences and their specific needs by choosing the right media mix, engaging community leaders (e.g., through the National Commission for Civic Education in Ghana), accounting for different languages and levels of (health) literacy and numeracy, and tailoring messages to how severe an impact a community faces.

The following sub-section reviews case studies from Europe, New Zealand and Africa to see how crisis communication guidelines have been applied in both official and unofficial messaging.

Covid-19 case studies

Several studies on individual countries have applied a crisis communication lens to describe, assess and interpret government communication during the Covid-19 pandemic. For

example, Christensen and Lægreid (2020) identify a paternalistic communication strategy in how the Norwegian government met the task to “formulate and communicate a convincing [message] and enabling understanding of what has happened and what should be done” (p. 715) at the beginning of the pandemic. Their particular interest is in the government’s reputation management, i.e., how policy makers convey that they are competent and effective as well as compassionate and honest. In the context of a “transboundary mega crisis” (ibid., p. 716), the reputation of the communicator is important, as a good reputation is linked to legitimacy for, and trust in, measures to contain the spread of the virus. Looking at press briefings by ministers and health officials along with media interviews and articles, the authors, writing in summer 2020, state that the Norwegian government was effective in controlling the pandemic. They relate this to a form of crisis communication “characterized by rather clear, timely and repeating messages and [advice] ... informed by expert knowledge and delivered by credible political and administrative executives and experts” (ibid., p. 725). Three important factors were a) the public’s high pre-pandemic trust in the government, which further increased in the early weeks of the pandemic, b) frequent appeals to solidarity, and c) a collaborative approach which saw central government work with opposition parties, central and local government, and public and private sectors alike. Despite some disagreement between policy makers and experts and notwithstanding some unpopular measures, the government’s paternalistic communication strategy was largely successful.

Given its low rates of viral transmission, the crisis management of New Zealand has attracted much media and scholarly attention. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern’s communication strategy during the first two months of the pandemic, i.e., March and April 2020, is the focus of a content analysis of her statement to the nation, statements in parliament, daily briefings, press conferences, live broadcasts on Facebook

and podcasts (McGuire et al., 2020). The New Zealand government imposed lockdowns and international travel bans early on, and the prime minister's communication during the first three weeks of March 2020 was realised through formal genres, "focus[ing] on a proactive decisiveness and reassurance to the public that expert advice ha[d] been taken" (ibid., p. 368). Right from the start, Ardern emphasised shared responsibility, "the importance of unity and ... strong communitarian values" (ibid., p. 370). This communicative strategy was encapsulated in the phrase 'team of five million' to refer to New Zealand's population and backed up by all members of the government and public service workers taking a 20 per cent pay cut. Starting in late March, Ardern added more dialogic and informal media channels, taking part in live broadcasts on Facebook to update citizens and answer their questions. Like the Norwegian government (see above), New Zealand's prime minister emphasised social solidarity and set store by kindness and compassion. In late April, some restrictions were eased but the public was reminded why it was still important to comply with the remaining rules to continue to keep transmission of the virus very low. Overall, Ardern's "person-centred approach" (ibid., p. 372) shifted from early decisiveness to positioning herself as being on one level with other New Zealanders.

While the works reviewed so far engage in the analysis of content and communication strategies, Hunt (2021) employs corpus-assisted discourse analysis to study the language used in the televised addresses to the nation by the South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, between March and December 2020. Those addresses, metaphorically referred to as 'family meetings', were afterwards uploaded to the state broadcaster's YouTube channel and the president's Facebook page. In contrast to Ramaphosa's use of media more generally, there was no interaction with the public or journalists. Nevertheless, his language use minimised both power asymmetry and social distance between himself and citizens, not least through the

FAMILY metaphor, by means of which Ramaphosa cast himself as “a protective authority figure in the form of a father” (ibid., p. 4). Metaphoric references to ‘family’ were particularly frequent in the openings and closings of his speeches as well as in their “cohortative” section, which serves to “secure compliance by constructing a shared nationhood, a unity of identity and of purpose” (ibid., p. 7). Interestingly, this section became longer as the crisis continued, perhaps to counter “pandemic fatigue” (Bernard et al., 2021, p. 6). By contrast, the section providing news and statistics had an informative function and as such featured lexis related to the disease and pandemic, along with comparisons with other countries. This was followed by announcing new measures. Although the function of that section was to direct or even command, Ramaphosa avoided verbs such as ‘prohibit’ or ‘ban’, preferring ‘call upon’ and ‘encourage’, or opted for nominalisations and passive voice “to play down power differences between state and citizenry, and to replace them with a relationship of care and protection” (Hunt, 2021, p. 6). The author moreover establishes that the first-person plural pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ were used with higher frequency in Ramaphosa’s Covid-19 addresses to the nation when compared to both general written South African English and speeches by his predecessors. A slight majority of the uses of ‘we’ referred to the South African government, especially in the sections of the speeches providing news and numbers or new measures, where the focus is on what the government did and decided. First person plural pronouns were used to refer to South Africa in the cohortative parts of the president’s addresses and were mostly followed by modal verbs indicating what the nation will, can and must do. This inclusive ‘we’ sits alongside noun phrases like ‘our country/people/society/nation’ and ‘our efforts’ as well as uses of ‘let us’ “to emphasise group membership ... and spur individuals on to act in concert with others in the interests of their country” (ibid., p. 11). Hunt (2021) concludes that “[b]y positioning himself as one with the rest of the country, Ramaphosa increases the sense of

unity in the group” (p. 10) while at the same time issuing quasi-parental guidance. She interprets this discursive reduction in power and distance as an attempt to ensure compliance despite social control measures, e.g., curfews and travel bans, being associated with the apartheid past of South Africa. South Africa is thus an example of how crisis communication is influenced by “individual countries’ histories, their collective memories and traumas and national traditions of governmental rhetoric” (Wodak, 2021, p. 326).

Not all communication during a public health crisis comes from official channels. While it is important that citizens further disseminate public communications privately, unofficial messaging bears the risk of misinformation. In contrast to malignant disinformation, misinformation is inadvertent and often well-intended. In the Nigerian context, for example, fake news on Covid-19 was mostly shared for altruistic reasons (Apuke and Omar, 2021), because people wanted to warn or inform friends and family. However, the panic that doing so can cause undermines the efforts of governments and health care officials, who, while needing to convey a sense of threat, also have to reassure the public. In their online survey of just under 400 social media users in Nigeria, Apuke and Omar (2021) found that seeking information was another motivation to engage with Covid-related misinformation on social networking sites and messaging services. This is indirectly corroborated by a survey of 200 young social media users in the Greater Accra region in Ghana (Eyifah, 2021): more than 80 per cent of respondents turned to the government’s and health service’s social media platforms for information, but also reported challenges with finding sufficient, reliable and non-contradictory information.

No such problems have been identified for a different form of unofficial crisis communication, namely songs (Thompson et al., 2021). As a communication channel for public health messaging, music has been used across the African continent to inform about HIV/AIDS, Ebola and Covid-19 alike. In a

thematic analysis of 28 songs by Ghanaian artists, Thompson et al. (2021) show how the musicians educate the public about the symptoms of Covid-19 and inform their audience about safety and preventive measures. Indeed, public health guidelines were the most frequent theme, followed by the notion that the disease needs to be taken seriously, its infectious nature and the need for a collective effort to overcome it. Acknowledging that the pandemic triggers difficult emotions while still inspiring hope were additional themes, as were calls to prayer and verbally expelling the virus. Together with the fact that the lyrics came in a variety of languages – mostly English, Ghanaian Pidgin English, Akan, Ga and Dagbani –, songs and other forms of edutainment thus have “relevance for the development of culturally appropriate health messaging” (Thompson et al., 2021, p. 10).

Finally, Berrocal et al. (2021) note that the Covid-19 pandemic has led to official crisis communications in which heads of government worldwide constructed in-groups, out-groups and affiliated groups in line with their country’s historical and geopolitical context. In their analysis of the statements by 29 presidents and prime ministers from Europe, North and South America, Asia and Africa, delivered within two weeks of the WHO’s official declaration of a pandemic on 11 March 2020, the authors set out to “test how this macro-event has been translated into local micro-events” (ibid., p. 2). They observe that solidarity was a central concept, between individuals and between groups – and, one could add, within groups – as well as between government and citizens. Crucially, solidarity could both bolster and contrast with nationalism. Next to constructing the Covid-19 virus as an enemy through the WAR metaphor and as a threat through spatial proximation (Cap, 2013), out-groups were non-compliant members of the public, as they were presented as violating in-group solidarity, norms and values. Those spreading disinformation could also be cast as out-group members as could, in some cases, people

who questioned government policy. In-groups, “discursively constructed by means of personal and possessive pronouns, noun phrases, and metonymic references” (Berrocal et al., 2021, p. 7) were the nation, often referred to metaphorically as a team (see also McGuire et al., 2020). The values associated with these ingroups were responsibility, generosity and solidarity. More specific in-groups were often healthcare workers as well as national medical and scientific experts. Lastly, transnational solidarity was invoked in many speeches by constructing certain other countries as affiliated groups; these could be neighbouring countries and/or those severely affected by the pandemic or, conversely, managing it particularly well. The authors conclude that “the crisis situation has not only strengthened national geopolitical identifications but has also reinforced pre-existing geopolitical alliances in terms of affiliated groups or in-groups” (Berrocal et al., 2021, p. 9).

The above literature review has summarised what we know about communication during health crises in general and what insights have been gained through studies of individual governments’ communication strategies. The next section will introduce the data against their background and the analytical parameters used to further contribute to understanding the language aspects of Covid-19.

Data and methods

By the end of March 2022, Ghana’s president Akufo-Addo had given 28 televised addresses to inform citizens about measures taken against the spread of the coronavirus causing Covid-19. These updates were arguably the most important part of a communication strategy that also involved press briefings by ministers along with the director of the Ghana Health Service, a dedicated website, social media campaigns and English-language billboards (Antwi-Boasiako & Nyarkoh, 2021; Nyarko et al., 2021). Citizens further spread announcements and updates through messaging services (Tandoh, 2021). As was the case for

the South African president (Hunt, 2021), the addresses were afterwards uploaded to the national broadcaster's YouTube channel as well as Akufo-Addo's Facebook page. The address analysed in this paper was delivered relatively early in the pandemic, on 27 March 2020. By then, the WHO had declared Covid-19 a global pandemic (11 March) – a declaration that prompted Akufo-Addo's first address to the nation on the same day – and the first two (imported) cases were discovered in Ghana a day later. By mid-March, public gatherings had been banned and visitors from abroad were no longer permitted to enter Ghana. On 21 March, the first death from Covid-19 in Ghana had been reported, leading to the closure of beaches and borders and the disinfection of markets. On the day of the fourth update, which is analysed below, 137 cases of the disease were recorded, including the first outside the Accra region, and Parliament enabled a bespoke fund.¹ In his fourth address, Akufo-Addo announced the most severe restrictions to date, namely lockdowns in the cities of Accra and Kumasi. While this means that the address marks a pivotal point in the government's crisis management, the success of the measures relies on compliance by the public. It is therefore important to analyse what crisis communication tools the speaker uses and how he realises them linguistically in order to understand the potential impact of his words.

The analysis of the selected address follows the tri-partite model of discourse analysis proposed by Fairclough (2010; see also Koller, 2012). Its three levels and guiding questions for the analysis are represented in Figure 1.

¹ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_COVID-19_pandemic_in_Ghana_\(March%E2%80%93July_2020\)#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_COVID-19_pandemic_in_Ghana_(March%E2%80%93July_2020)#)

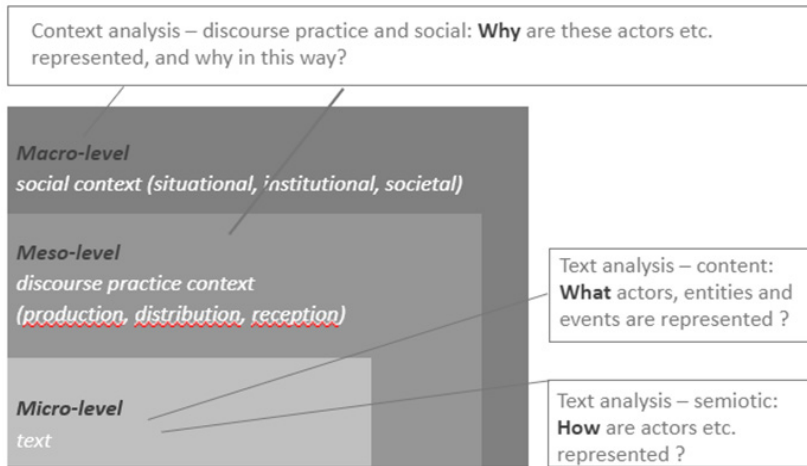


Figure 1: Levels and guiding questions of discourse analysis (adapted from Fairclough, 2010, p. 133)

Starting at the text level, the analysis in the next section will focus not so much on the content of the address but identify if and how Akufo-Addo uses language and, to a lesser extent, visuals to realise the seven tools of crisis communication outlined above: convey a threat, convince the audience that the announced measures work, be clear, be credible, balance empathy and honesty, be creative, and acknowledge diversity in the audience. That part of the analysis helps answer the first research question (How did Nana Akufo-Addo address the public at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic?). Drawing on and supplementing previous studies, I first give an overview of the different parts of the address and their respective communicative purpose, before identifying the linguistic features that realise the crisis communication tools. This is done in a data-driven way, i.e., rather than starting with a pre-defined set of analytical parameters, the text is examined for all relevant features, including some that may not have been anticipated (Norris, 2019, p. 123).

The analysis then proceeds to the meso-level of the discourse practice context. This part of a discourse analysis asks who produces what kind of texts, who distributes them and via what medium, what audiences a text is designed for and who can receive it under what conditions. Certain conditions give some discourse participants preferred access, or block access, to means of production and distribution on a large scale. Moreover, speakers are endowed with a greater or lesser degree of credibility and power. An additional focus will therefore be on how the speaker positions himself vis-à-vis his audience, especially through speech acts and legitimation strategies. That part of the analysis draws on speech act theory (Austin, 1962) and on taxonomies of legitimation developed for political discourse (van Leeuwen, 2007; Reyes, 2011). The latter comprise the following strategies:

1. Authorisation: reference to tradition, custom and law, experts and role models
2. Moral evaluation: reference to positive values
3. Rationalisation: reference to the goals that are seen as valid
4. Mythopoiesis: narratives whose outcomes reward (punish) (non-)legitimate actions
5. Emotions: eliciting emotions in the audience, especially fear
6. Hypothetical future: reference to possible outcomes if an action is (not) taken
7. Altruism: constructing the speaker as acting in the interest of others

Legitimation serves persuasive purposes and as such is highly relevant for instances of crisis communication in which the audience needs to be convinced to comply with a course of action.

The second research question (In what ways do the linguistic features of [Akufo-Addo's] his address reflect the specific political context?) relates to the macro-level of how

the address reflects the wider cultural and political contexts in which it was delivered. As the three levels of text and contexts are interrelated, the analysis of the macro-level context also needs to be taken into account to interpret the findings of the textual analysis. Questions at this level ask about the situation in which a text is embedded, any institutional factors that impact on it and details of the social formation and what roles it allocates to people. Finally, the third research question asks what potential impact Akufo-Addo's language use has on the behaviour of the public. The second and third research question are both interpretative and as such will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

Analysis

Structure of the address

Nana Akufo-Addo's fourth update on the Covid-19 crisis in Ghana was broadcast at 11pm on 27 March 2020. It lasted around 21 minutes and ran to 2,314 words. After greeting his audience and stating the topic of his address, the president reviews the Covid-19 situation in Ghana. This is followed with another informative section on measures taken so far, before he argues why additional measures are now necessary. These are then announced in a long and detailed informative section. For the remainder of the address, Akufo-Addo alternates between persuasive sections in which he appeals for compliance and informative sections on, briefly, the consequences of non-compliance and, in more detail, financial relief, before closing his address. Just over 60 per cent (61.45) of the address is informative, while 20.4 per cent have a persuasive function, with the remainder accounted for by the opening and closing and one argumentative section.

Micro-level analysis: Language and visual features

The president opens with the greeting 'Fellow Ghanaians',² and this phrase is repeated throughout, functioning

² Throughout the analysis, shorter quotes from the public address will be reproduced within single quotation marks, while longer quotes are numbered and indented without quotation marks.

as a discourse marker to start a new section. (In fact, the phrase took on a life of its own, being used as a hashtag on Twitter to metonymically refer to the president's updates.) In doing so, he echoes fellow presidents Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa (Hunt, 2021, p. 6) and Alassane Ouattara of Côte d'Ivoire, as well as the then heads of government of Austria, Italy and the United States (Berrocal et al., 2021, p. 8). While such demonymics, i.e., references to the citizens of a country, help build national solidarity, they exclude people of other nationalities living in the country. Elsewhere, new sections start with adversative or cause-effect conjunctions to develop an argument ('However, prevailing circumstances mean that stricter measures have to be put in place'; 'So ... I have imposed ... restrictions on movement').

In terms of pronoun usage, it is worth distinguishing between informative and persuasive sections. As shown in Figures 2a and 2b, the pronouns that Akufo-Addo used most frequently when passing on information are first person singular ones ('I', 'me', 'mine/my'), followed by inclusive 'we' (and 'our', 'us'), 'you' and exclusive 'we'. It has been observed that "[s]tronger group identity, where behavior is about 'we' and 'us' rather than 'I' or 'you', will make more public-spirited responses likely" (Lunn et al., 2020, p. 5). Indeed, the inclusive 'we' is most often used in persuasive sections, before 'I' and 'you', with exclusive 'we' again coming last. Overall, it is noteworthy that the overall occurrence of first and second person pronouns per one hundred words is three times higher in the persuasive than in the informative sections (9.32 compared to 3.16), suggesting that the speaker is doing more interpersonal work when appealing to the audience to comply with restrictions.

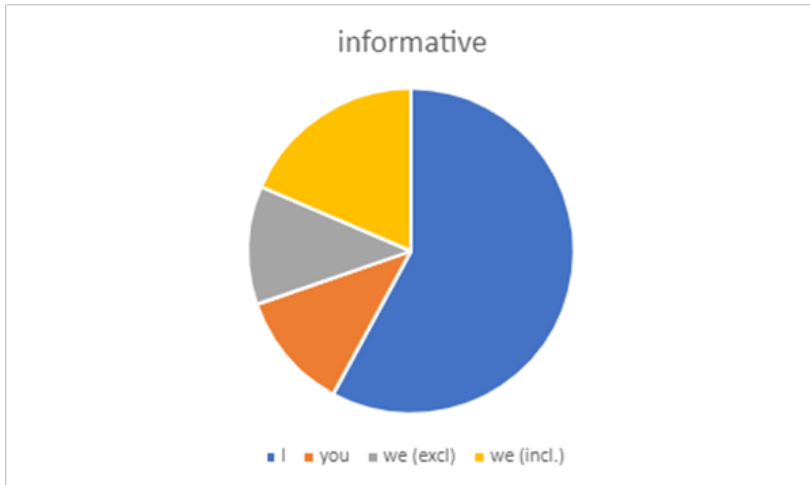


Figure 2a: Akufo-Addo's pronoun use in informative sections of his address, based on occurrence per one hundred words

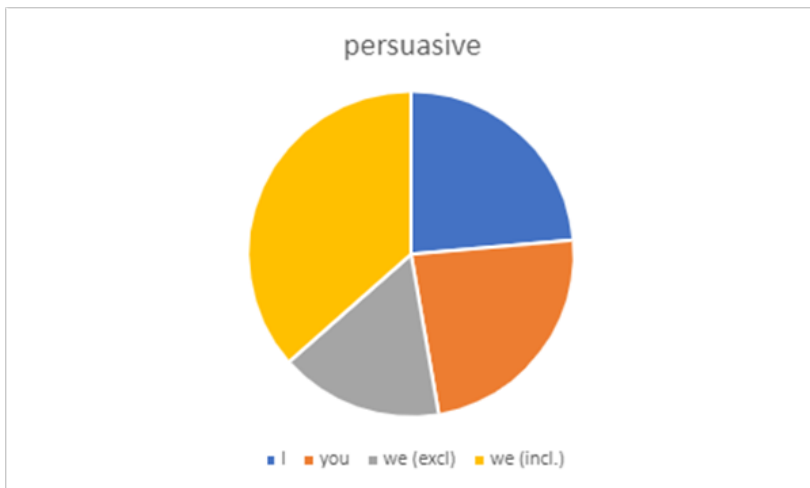


Figure 2b: Akufo-Addo's pronoun use in informative sections of his address, based on occurrence per one hundred words

Qualitatively, the speaker presents himself as active throughout, only once acting on himself ('I dedicate myself to the service and well-being of you') and otherwise acting either on the audience (e.g., 'I am urging all of you to bear with these additional measures') or on other officials, or engaging in actions without a goal (e.g., 'I am confident that Ghanaians will comply'). The exclusive 'we', referring to the government, is likewise almost always active, but, in contrast to the speaker, mostly in material processes, which make an impact on the physical world, e.g., acting, using, providing. Together, these two patterns cast the president as exerting power through his words and the government implementing his decisions and orders. The inclusive 'we', which "represents the speaker as a central in-group member speaking on behalf of the whole group" (Berrocal et al., 2021, p. 8), features as a beneficiary of the government's actions and God's blessings.³ Where the wider in-group is presented as active, it is mostly in what it is (united, together) than in physically impacting on the world. The least active group is the audience ('you'), who is mostly positioned as the recipient of the president's verbal processes (e.g., 'I assure you', which is repeated three times) and otherwise discouraged from defying the Covid-19 restrictions.

Akufo-Addo makes ample use of deontic modality in his address to convey obligation. Indeed, this type of modality is predominant in both the informative and the persuasive parts of the speech (Figures 3a and 3b).

³ The deeply religious nature of Ghanaian society is reflected in formulaic phrases from religious discourse throughout Akufo-Addo's address, e.g., 'God richly bless them', 'by the mercies of God'.

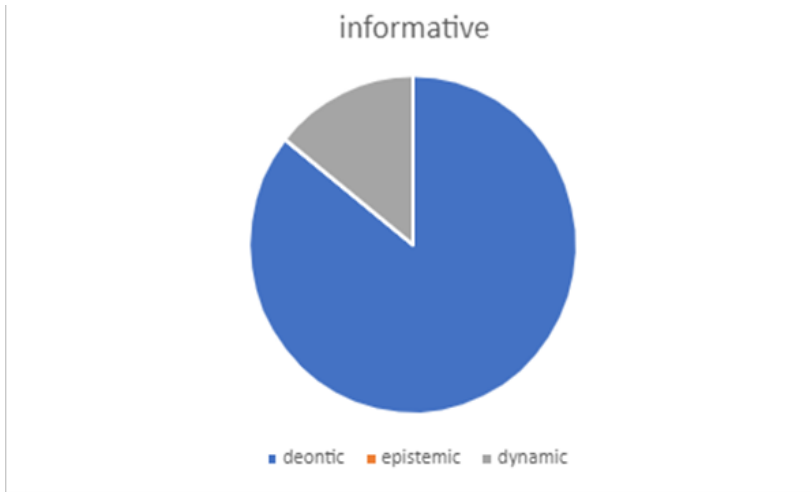


Figure 3a: Akufu-Addo's use of modality in informative sections of his address, based on occurrence per one hundred words

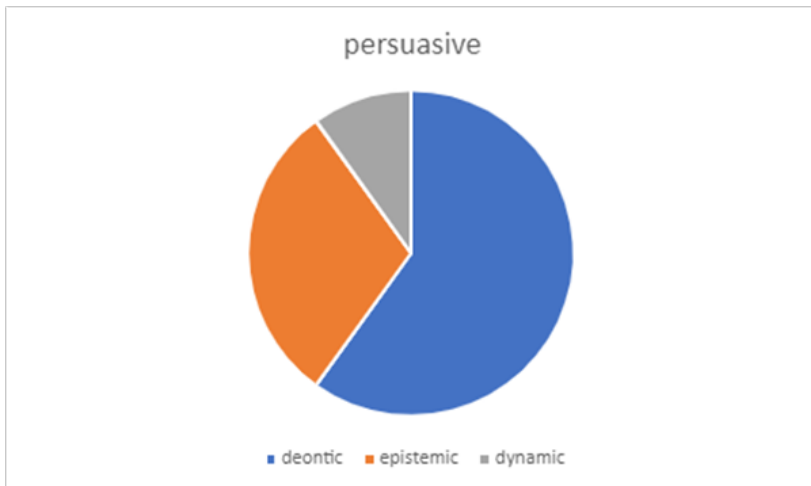


Figure 3b: Akufu-Addo's use of modality in persuasive sections of his address, based on occurrence per one hundred words

In the informative sections, deontic modality markers account for 86 per cent of all modality, followed by dynamic modality, i.e., references to ability, at a mere 14 per cent. In comparison, the percentage of deontic modality markers in the persuasive parts of the address is 60, followed by epistemic modality, i.e., expressions of likelihood, at 30 per cent and dynamic modality at 10 per cent. As with pronouns, we can see that Akufo-Addo uses more modality markers overall when trying to persuade the audience (2.12 per one hundred words compared to 0.98 for informative sections), thereby emphasising interpersonal meanings. Deontic authority rests overwhelmingly with the president and is directed at the audience and other members of government (e.g., ‘I urge all of you ... to be reminded ... that the frontline of the fight against Coronavirus is your front door’, ‘The Minister for Finance has been directed by me to prepare ... a Coronavirus Alleviation Programme’). In the informative sections, deontic modality can also be presented as an agentless rule (e.g., ‘Riders of motorbikes are not allowed to carry any additional person’), whereas the persuasive parts feature obligation directed at the inclusive ‘we’ (e.g., ‘we must be united in our determination’). Epistemic and dynamic modality are mostly found in appeals to the audience, where they function to either paint hypothetical futures (‘should the virus continue to linger for the rest of the year, the effects on our economy would be dire’) or convey self-efficacy (‘We can defeat this virus’).

The attentive reader will have spotted a few instances of the WAR metaphor in the preceding paragraph, which is indeed the most frequently realised one in Akufo-Addo’s fourth update. However, it is restricted to the persuasive parts of the address, where it can function to alert people at the early stage of the pandemic, make them take action and – possibly – create solidarity. In the context of Covid-19 though, the problem is that the required “action” is not to do something; some uses of WAR metaphors can therefore discourage restraint where such behaviour would lead to better health outcomes (Hendricks et

al., 2018). In addition, the WAR metaphor has the potential to increase anxiety and divide a society, which may be why the president reminds his audience that '[t]he enemy is the virus, and not each other'.

The linguistic analysis of Akufo-Addo's address has shown him as an active leader imbued with the authority of his office. This image is reinforced through the visuals and music of his televised update, which begins with a lead-in of almost a minute during which the national anthem can be heard. Viewers first see the presidential emblem and then follow the path of an airborne camera moving slowly towards the presidential palace. The movement becomes faster and the image blurred as the camera seems to move through a corridor in the palace. The lead-in ends with a stylised image of the palace and the line 'President addresses the nation'. The image then cuts to Akufo-Addo standing at a rostrum between the national and presidential flags, with the low angle of the now stationary camera reinforcing his status and the medium long shot creating some distance between him and the audience (Figure 4). While delivering his address, he looks directly at the viewer, a "demand gaze" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2021, p.117) that complements the deontic authority he invests himself with in his language use. He does not gesture during the speech – perhaps so as not to interfere with the sign language interpreter – and only leans forward slightly when greeting his audience. The insignia of the nation and his power are again invoked in the final 15 seconds, during which the camera slowly moves away from the palace and the closing bars of the anthem are played.



Figure 4: Still from Nana Akufo-Addo's address to the nation, 27 March 2020

This set-up is reminiscent of the Covid-19 “family meetings” convened by South Africa’s president Cyril Ramaphosa (Hunt, 2021, p. 2), except that Akufo-Addo wore shirts with West African patterns rather than formal suits for his updates.⁴

In sum, linguistic and visual elements, especially patterns of agency, speech acts, modality, symbols and camera angle work together to represent Akufo-Addo as powerful, authoritative and somewhat detached from the audience. However, that position is balanced by direct appeals to the same audience, whose co-operation the speaker seeks to win rather than enforce.

Meso-level analysis: The speaker's self-positioning

The text under analysis was, if not written, then certainly commissioned by the speaker, making him both its principal and its animator (Goffman, 1981), i.e., the person in whose name the speech is delivered and the person to deliver it. Coming from the president of Ghana, Akufo-Addo's words are imbued with authority, and he enjoys immensely privileged access to discourse distribution: his updates on the Covid-19 pandemic were broadcast on national television before they became available on social media channels. While a countrywide

⁴ For an example, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LegaUR1A0Jg>. Ramaphosa announced a national lockdown in the same week as his Ghanaian counterpart gave the update analysed here.

broadcast ensures a broad reception, its timing at 11pm has been criticised as being too late to reach a maximum number of Ghanaians. As a result, later addresses were moved to an earlier time in the evening (Antwi-Boasiako and Nyarkoh, 2021, p. 1181), while press briefings were always held in the morning (Tandoh, 2021, p. 59). Finally, a televised address is an example of a monologic genre, with citizens' reactions being limited to comments on the subsequent online video.⁵ Nevertheless, the speaker positions himself in relation to the audience to achieve interpersonal goals.

While most of the address at hand is informative, the persuasive sections show a higher density of interpersonal markers such as pronouns and modality. The appeals also include several legitimization strategies that position the president as reliant on the audience's acceptance of, and co-operation with, the restrictions, and thus complicate his position of power. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the final persuasive section, in which the president pleads with the people in the indigenous languages Akan and Ga.⁶ Legitimation even spills over to otherwise informative sections. Thus, he introduces information on previous measures as follows:

- (1) Fellow Ghanaians, the oath of office I swore on 7th January, 2017 demands that I dedicate myself to the service and well-being of you, the Ghanaian people. It is my job to protect you, and I am determined to do just that.

Here, it is the president who is under obligation, namely, to act for the benefit of the audience. Measures curtailing the freedom of the public are thus legitimated through moral evaluation and altruism (van Leeuwen, 2007; Reyes, 2011). When arguing for and announcing the partial lockdown, Akufo-Addo invokes the authority of the Ghana Health Service and

⁵ All but one of the comments available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0WljbO7yHok&t=3s> are positive, and many repeat the request to comply with the lockdown restrictions. The one exception is a factual question.

⁶ My thanks go to Dr Gladys Nyarko Ansah for translating this passage.

the law, respectively. On occasion, appeals are developed in persuasive sections and carried over to the beginning a subsequent informative part:

- (2) Fellow Ghanaians, I am urging all of you to bear with these additional measures. They are being done in the interest of all of us. They are, hopefully, only for a short while. These additional measures, together with those earlier announced, are what will help us defeat the virus. And, we must be united in our determination and efforts to overcome this challenge.

In this appeal, the president uses a performative speech act ('urging') that puts the audience under obligation but recognises that compliance can only be sought, not forced. Other speech acts include announcing, assuring, directing, ordering and thanking. Due to its semantic profile, the verb 'bear' in example (2) implicitly acknowledges hardship, and the measures are further justified as being beneficial for the in-group ('in the interest of all of us', 'will help us') and minimised as being time limited. The appeal is completed with a call for unity. Similar themes re-occur at the beginning of the next informative section:

- (3) Fellow Ghanaians, we are in this together, and Government will stand by you. We are aware that there will be discomfort and difficulties for all of us over the next couple of weeks. As a responsive Government, we will continue to implement bold measures to mitigate the impact of the Coronavirus on businesses and households and ensure that job losses are minimised.

An appeal to solidarity among the in-group ('we are in this together') echoes the earlier appeal to unity and while hardships are now made explicit, they again pertain to all of the in-group. However, the inclusive 'we' alternates with third-

person references to the government that interacts with the audience ('stand by you'), making for a lesser or greater distance between the government and those it represents.

Another persuasive strategy used by Akufo-Addo is to create a national in-group. This is not only realised through the repeated phrase 'Fellow Ghanaians', but also by appeals to a shared patriotism ('The love of country is deeply embedded in all of us') and self-reliance during the pandemic, and by setting the nation apart from others:

- (4) [W]e cannot afford to copy blindly and do all the things some other well-developed countries are doing. There is no one-size-fits-all approach to this pandemic. We have a unique situation in our country, and we must take it into account in dealing with the disease.

Throughout the address, the speaker strikes a balance between enacting authority and seeking to persuade. That balance is tipped towards the former when the president invokes fear, for example, by referring to negative hypothetical futures (e.g., 'if we act now purposefully, we have a chance of preventing an escalation of our numbers') that can be averted by adhering to the restrictions. Occasionally, there are even veiled threats to those who are not 'the overwhelming majority' but refuse to follow social norms: 'I am confident that Ghanaians will comply with [the measures], and the security services will not have to intervene, with extraordinary means, to enforce them.' Since negation is frame-preserving, the second clause evokes the very intervention that is declared unnecessary. Earlier in the address, the speaker had affirmed the consequences of non-compliance: 'Anyone ... who is found to be flouting them will be dealt with fully in accordance with law. The security services have been clothed with the necessary power to enforce these measures'. While the overall aim of government communications was to 'spread calm, not fear' of Covid-19, the president partly relied on fear of law enforcement to secure compliance.

Macro-level analysis: the wider context

As mentioned above, Akufo-Addo's public address on 27 March 2020 came at a point in the pandemic when infections were rising. In reaction, the government decided on the most severe restrictions so far to avoid a possible public health disaster of the kind that had already been witnessed in other parts of the world at that time. Uncertainty and anxiety would have been high, making clear information and reassurance two central goals of official crisis communication. Institutionally, a nationwide address by the president is an example of asymmetrical communication from one speaker to a potential audience of millions, delivered as a monologue and invested with authority. Powerful though he may be, the president is bound by a democratic system of government. Indeed, Ghana was the first African colony (south of the Sahara) to gain independence and is often celebrated as "a vibrant multiparty democracy, [with] some of the most robust liberal-democratic institutions on the continent" (Paller, 2019, p. 12), especially since the start of the Fourth Republic in 1992. However, the diverse socio-cultural fabric of the country also includes strands of "traditional views of authority" (ibid.), together with a rather formal public discourse that sets store by symbols of power and appreciation. Within that context, Akufo-Addo is part of an elite family of politicians and son of a former president. This privileged background may further contribute to a certain elevation of himself. Finally, he is the leader of the centre-right New Patriotic Party, whose liberal-conservative ideology is more likely to uphold than question tradition.

The final section summarises the findings of the three-level analysis, answers the research question and provides an outlook on further research.

Discussion and conclusion

Crisis communication scholars have recommended seven tools for use during the Covid-19 pandemic (Coombs, 2021; Hyland-Wood et al., 2021); namely, convey a threat,

convince the audience that the announced measures work, be clear, be credible, balance empathy and honesty, be creative, and acknowledge diversity in the audience.

Checking the language use in the Ghanaian president's fourth update on coronavirus against those recommendations, it can be said that he manages to convey the threat inherent in the situation during which he gave the address. He does so by invoking a negative hypothetical future and drawing on the WAR metaphor. However, the latter also shows that the speaker has a fine line to tread between communicating how serious the situation is and increasing fear in his audience. He seeks to ward off any fatalism by assuring citizens that the government's measures work. Importantly, he also conveys a sense of efficacy, using language features such as pronouns and modality to suggest that everyone can help in the effort against Covid-19. Grammatically, however, this is at odds with the fact that the audience is the least active group in the address. It should also be noted that the long and detailed address, while clear, is the opposite of a short and simple message. It may have been more advisable to stick to the key points to be communicated and open channels for further detail, e.g., online platforms and community leaders.

On the plus side, President Akufo-Addo represents himself as an active, credible authority both linguistically and visually. In addition, he refers to the dual authority of the Ghana Health Service and the law; law enforcement is even invoked in veiled threats to ensure the public's compliance. However, the asymmetrical communication of the updates, along with the president's elite background, risk turning credibility into aloofness. Countering that risk is the fact that the speaker conveys both empathy and honesty by acknowledging, at least implicitly, the hardship that the anti-Covid restrictions will bring.

A study of all the updates could establish how much variety and creativity featured in later addresses to counter "pandemic fatigue", while a broader study across different

communication channels could establish if different parts of Ghana's diverse society were accounted for (see Nyarko et al., 2021 for a critique). In his fourth update at least, the president does use indigenous languages for his key message, but otherwise seems more intent on creating a national in-group to overcome political partisanship during the crisis.

This leaves the question what potential impact the president's language use can have on the behaviour of the public. While it is notoriously difficult to establish a causal relation between public discourse and people's (lack of) compliance, a brief look at the comments on Akufo-Addo's Facebook page next to a video of the address allows for some insights.⁷ One caveat is that comments are likely to be from followers rather than detractors of the president and indeed, most of the comments positively evaluate the address, congratulating the president and wishing God's blessings upon him (see also footnote 5). Deferential forms of address like 'Excellency' and 'Daddy/Papa' chime with his self-presentation as powerful yet protective. As one communications expert put it, the presidential addresses during the pandemic conveyed the impression that "the father of the nation was with us" (quoted in Tandoh, 2021, p. 56). Although there are a few comments lambasting the president for incompetence and corruption, most criticism is prefaced by positive appraisal and framed as a 'humble request'. Importantly, positive comments also reiterate the appeal to follow the Covid-19 measures, even if commenters express some concern that not everyone may do so. A comparison with how the address was received by followers of Samuel Ofose-Ampofo, the leader of the oppositional National Democratic Congress, could show in how far compliance is partisan.

This paper has focused on only one, albeit important, public address by Ghana's president, and much remains to be done to get a more complete picture of Covid-19 crisis communications in the country. Nevertheless, the detailed,

⁷<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1354287184756321>

multi-level analysis presented here adds depth to comparable case studies and will hopefully serve as a model for future work.

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Fighting a global pandemic and local stigmatisation: War metaphors in presidential update speeches and their effect on attitudes to COVID -19 (Patients) in Ghana

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Abstract

Ghana's President has used WAR-framed metaphors in announcing and explaining both the notion of COVID-19 and the measures his government outlined to curb its spread. This paper explores the potential effects the various conceptual mappings in the WAR-framed communication by the President had on the general public in dealing with a global pandemic in a local context. This is achieved by linking the mappings in the WAR-framed communication to the attitudes and practices among the Ghanaian public. Data were drawn from 8 presidential COVID-19 updates between March 15 and May 31, 2020. Findings indicate that the use of WAR-framed communication successfully evoked fear among the general population. However, this transcended the virus to COVID-19 patients (and their families), provoking a cause of action among the general public to fight not only the virus but also COVID-19 patients (and their families). This appears to have caused stigmatisation of COVID-19 patients, and led to a situation where COVID-19 positive patients

became unwilling to declare their positive status and thus caused further community spread.

Keywords: COVID-19, communication, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, WAR metaphor, stigmatisation, global pandemic.

Introduction

Corona Virus Disease, COVID-19, is an acute respiratory disease. This disease is caused by a new strain of a deadly virus that has recently infected many people across the world. In Ghana, the disease had infected over 48 thousand people with 320 deaths and 620 active cases as of November 3, 2020 (ghanahealthservice.org). COVID-19 has generated much worry among world leaders and people across the world. News of the virus first broke when an unidentified flu-like but fast-killing and fast-spreading disease was reported in the Wuhan province in China in November, 2019 (Ellis, 2020 February 4). Reports from authorities in Wuhan indicated that by the time the deadly nature of the virus was known and reported, it had spread widely among humans. Many myths about the nature and mode of spread of the virus circulated in the media through official and other social media platforms (Bolsen et al., 2020). Nevertheless, it was not until January, 2020, that the World Health Organisation (WHO) for the first time declared COVID-19, as a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC). On the 12th March, 2020, however, the Director-General of WHO, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, declared the disease a pandemic:

The WHO has been assessing this outbreak around the clock and we're deeply concerned about the alarming levels of spread and severity and by the alarming levels of infection. We have therefore made the assessment that COVID-19 can be characterised as a pandemic. Pandemic is not a word to use lightly or carelessly. It is a word that if misused, can cause unreasonable fear

or unjustified acceptance that the fight is over leading to unnecessary suffering and death (WHO webpage, 2020).

Since the Director of the WHO declared COVID-19 a pandemic using the WAR frame, “the unjustified acceptance that the fight is over”, as indicated in the excerpt of his above, other world leaders have run the WAR metaphor in conceptualising and communicating different aspects of the pandemic to their general publics. For instance, whereas Donald Trump, the President of USA, called himself the “war time president”, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Gutierrez, declared that “we are at war with a virus”. Again, while Governor Andrew Cuomo, Governor of New York, declared that health professionals are the soldiers in the fight, the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, has described health workers as ‘frontline workers’ at different times.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) opine that metaphors are a cognitive phenomenon in our everyday thinking and speech. They added that how people think, understand and talk about the world around them is influenced by metaphors that they receive consciously and unconsciously. Following their publication, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has been applied to many studies to examine the use and impact of metaphor in various social contexts. Metaphor has since been established to provide ideological and conceptual structures for communication. Nevertheless, Musolf (2017, p.13) observes that the ideological bias of metaphors does not always determine their impact but their real consequences are visible only in hindsight and are dependent on the uptake by their audience. In health communication studies that focus on metaphor, as observed in Koller et al. (2008); Semino et al. (2017), it is believed that the use of metaphors in conceptualising DISEASE causes and persuades people to understand and react appropriately. In these studies, DISEASE has been metaphorically conceptualised in terms of many source domains including JOURNEY and WAR/

BATTLE. Even though WAR metaphors are common in social and political life in general, the metaphorical conceptualisation of DISEASE as WAR appears to be dominant health discourses (Otieno et al., 2016).

The ubiquitous nature of WAR metaphors across discourses has led to theorising the effects of WAR metaphors on language users in the literature. In this regard, there are two main lines of the argument. On the one hand, WAR metaphors are believed to have the ability to cause the audience to construct vivid pictures of opposing concepts and are reliable and readily available to the speaker (Flusberg, 2018, p.25). On the other hand, they are believed to cause negative reactions in terms of attitudes towards the source domain. For instance, “critics suggest that war metaphors are misleading at best, and harmful at worst, resulting not only in increased political and cultural polarisation, but in risks to personal and social well-being as well” (Flusberg, 2018, p.6). Also, Hartmann-Mahmud (2002); Larson (2005); Wiggins (2012); Cespedes (2014); Simons (2015); and Huckins (2016) are of the view that the WAR metaphor should not be used since it affects people negatively when they hear about it in any form of communication. In the spirit of the second line of argument, this paper submits that the use of WAR metaphors in Ghana’s presidential COVID-19 update speeches produced a negative emotion (fear/panic) that caused stigmatisation of COVID-19 patients instead of the desired expectation. The effect of this among the general public seemed to have jeopardised the nation’s efforts at stopping the spread of the virus.

The paper reviews empirical data from the COVID-19 update speeches delivered by the president of Ghana between March 2020 and May 2020 in order to identify the specific conceptual mappings of the WAR metaphor that characterised Ghana’s official communication of the global pandemic. Again, based on Shutova et al.’s (2013) argument that “besides making our thoughts more vivid and filling our communication with

richer imagery, metaphors also play an important role in our cognition” (p.1218) and how we form our attitudes, the paper explores the attitudes that the WAR metaphor and its mappings evoked among the Ghanaian public as observed in their practices. In this regard, the paper examines public discourses where the attitudes and emerged practices of the general public about COVID-19 virus/disease and its infected patients are discussed in order to determine the effects of the WAR metaphor on the general public.

Metaphor and Communication

In Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) definition of conceptual metaphor, the systematic structuring of one conceptual (target) domain in terms of another (source) domain is believed to be achieved through conceptual mapping, i.e., the projection of aspects of a source domain unto aspects of the abstract domain. Through this process, speakers are believed to be able to cause listeners to act in a particular way by creating a reality which the listener can relate to. It is also believed that the appropriate use of metaphor can add emotional weight to what is being discussed by evoking shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener. In this regard, metaphors are said to have the potential to self-fulfil what the speaker intends to use them for - where the speaker and the listener try to reach a common ground through their shared knowledge of the source domain and its link to the target domain (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011/2013). Thus, the use of metaphors may influence attitudes towards a particular subject either positively or negatively because it brings concreteness to abstract subjects as observed in Landau et al. (2018); Prashast et al. (2020). The potential ability of metaphors to evoke emotions has been studied by many scholars including Citron and Goldberg (2014); Horton (2007); and Thibodeau et al. (2016). According to Flusberg (2018), there have been many publications in recent years with focus on the WAR metaphor not only in public discourse but also in health/disease discourses.

It has been argued that the use of WAR metaphor appears ubiquitous in illness/disease communication because it helps in the expanding and bettering of our conceptual knowledge or schema (Ortony, 1975; Hendricks and Boroditsky, 2016; Thibodeau et al., 2017; Gibbs, 1994; 2017; Flusberg et al., 2018). In other words, there seem to be very good reasons for the use of war metaphors in illness discourses as they appear to have the ability to catch the listener's attention and evoke strong emotions which enable people draw on their existing schema to form opinions.

This notwithstanding, other researchers have argued that the use of war metaphors in disease/illness communication is limiting in many ways especially when the “enemy” seems to be winning and people are dying from the illnesses. For instance, Gaguon and Holms (2008) have argued that HIV/AIDS as a disease has not received a positive response because of the [in]appropriate use of metaphors such as WAR metaphors. Again, Chakraborty et al. (2020); Prashast et al. (2020) have drawn attention to the extreme danger in using the WAR frame in communicating information about COVID-19 because the frame calls for a total mobilisation against a human enemy. In this regard, the use of WAR metaphor in disease/illness communication may be akin to Hopson's (2000) argument as cited in Nyakoe and Adams (2017), that when language is selectively used, it “can trivialise an event or render it important; marginalise some groups and empower others; define an issue as an urgent problem or reduce it to a routine one” (p.78).

One of the earliest studies to highlight the use of metaphors in illness/disease communication was Susan Sontag (1978) which compared the language that characterised tuberculosis (TB) and cancer discourses. While she observed in her 1978 work and subsequent works (1981/1999) that it is difficult to avoid the use of metaphors in communication, she argued that using “military metaphors contribute to stigmatising certain illnesses and, by extension, of those who are ill” (1981/1999, p.99). In a similar

vein, Gwyn (1999, p.207), as cited in Demjén and Semino (2016, p.392) have argued that “the military metaphor provides us all (and the mass media in particular thrive on this) with an identifiable evil that is all too easily transferred onto the persons who are subject to the illnesses themselves”.

In discussing the effect of the WAR metaphor on COVID-19, Prashast et al. (2020) submit that the war narrative has made India’s response to the pandemic problematic on varied fronts. This contributed to the stigmatisation of patients, and instability within the healthcare system leading to the neglect of non-Covid patients. Similarly, Boyte and Throntviet (2020) point out that the use of war metaphor in COVID-19 communication sparked attacks on people suspected to be carriers of the virus and caused xenophobic attacks on Asian Americans in the US. Similarly, Chen (2020) reports that stigma and unjustified hostilities against minorities and COVID-19 patients abound because of the use of WAR metaphors. In addition, Craig (2020) revisits Sontag’s argument and concludes that the rhetoric of the discourse of the pandemic must be reassessed as it has lethal implications.

Thus, the use of WAR metaphor to conceptualise disease in health communication may produce both positive and negative reactions. For instance, in the case of COVID-19 and its treatment, the use of WAR metaphors may evoke power in health workers as they are seen as soldiers and the treatment regimes as weapons, and even empower some patients to recover as they are seen as a part of the fight. However, the use of WAR metaphors may also create enemies out of patients who may be seen, and/or see themselves as victims.

Methods

The study combined corpus methods and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to analyse the data. Using Microsoft word and a manual search, sentences that contained single word metaphors expressed by the verb or other items as prescribed

by Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) as described in Pagglejazz Group (2007), were selected from the corpus that was built from the selected speeches. Identified metaphorical linguistic expressions were then tabulated, analysed and interpreted qualitatively. Again, these metaphors were interpreted in relation to the context within which the metaphors occurred as well as other facts and statistics contained in the selected texts. Inferences were then drawn from the extra linguistic texts, for instance, government interventions and people's reactions (as reported in the news), to bring a comprehensive interpretation to the data.

The data were mainly sourced from 8 selected speeches out of the 18 COVID-19 update speeches presented by the President of Ghana from the onset of the pandemic in the country till the beginning of the phased easing of the lock down and other restrictions. The choice of these 8 speeches was informed by the fact that they were delivered within the period when Ghana for many years after the 1979 coup d'état and 1981 coup was experiencing restrictions in free movement for the first time. The period is significant in terms of Ghana's history when it comes to freedom of movement, a constitutional right of the sovereign people of Ghana. While the first speech merely announced two cases of the pandemic that were recorded in the country, the second speech did not just announce an increase in the case count (four new cases) but also declared "war" on COVID-19. Consequently, we pitched our data collection period from the President's second COVID-19 update speech. The other speeches take us through the period of restrictions and partial lockdown to the lifting of the partial lockdown and a phased easing of restrictions. These speeches were delivered between March and June 2020. Each of the selected speeches ranged between 600-3000 words.

The speeches gave total updates of the pandemic as pertains to Ghana, including its spread, prevention and public health measures in response to the pandemic. Government's

interventions as well as collaborations with the Ministries of Health and Information, and the Ghana Health Service were also covered in the updates. Because these speeches address all issues pertaining to the pandemic in Ghana, they are a rich source of data for identifying how COVID-19 was conceptualised in the country, at least officially. The texts were downloaded from the Ghana Health Service Covid-19 update webpage.

In line with the MIP approach to metaphor identification (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), the selected speeches were thoroughly read and metaphorically used words as well as their source domains were identified. Then we determined the lexical units in the text-discourse. For each lexical unit in the text, we established its contextual meaning or attribute in the situation evoked by the text. We also took into account words that collocate with the particular lexical unit. This was done to determine if the lexical unit had a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit. If the lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, we established whether the contextual meaning contradicts that of the basic meaning but can be understood in relation to it. A lexical unit was therefore identified as metaphorical if its contextual meaning contrasted with the basic meaning but could also be understood in comparison with it.

To answer the question of whether or not the president's speeches, particularly the WAR-framed metaphors they contained potentially had any effect on people's attitudes and behaviour, we conducted a small-scale level survey on the University of Ghana campus. There were 63 voluntary respondents aged 18 years and above. There were thirty (30) males and thirty-three (33) females. Of the 63, three (3) had had only Basic education, seven (7) Secondary education and fifty-three (53) had had tertiary level of education. Respondents were asked four (4) main questions including how excerpts (audio versions) of the

President's addresses/speeches they were compelled to listen to made them feel. A sample questionnaire is attached as appendix A. The responses are incorporated into the analysis section below.

Findings and Discussion

On the whole, the data revealed that the president of Ghana, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, in the face of the pandemic, uses the strategic logic of real military confrontation as invoked by other presidents such as Donald Trump of the US, Boris Johnson of the UK and Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus of WHO to talk about his position on ensuring the safety of all Ghanaians in the face of the global pandemic. Musolff (2016) points out that “the strongest evidence of conceptual framing occurs and emerges from the corpus sample in the form of whole data bases being shaped by a metaphor” (p.17). In the 8 selected speeches on COVID-19, Nana Addo used 12 different linguistic units that belong to the WAR domain in 42 instances to describe different aspects of the pandemic. As illustrated in table 1 below, the linguistic units (of WAR) with the highest frequencies are: *fight*, *defeat*, *battle* and *combat*.

Table 1: List of metaphorical linguistic units for the conceptual metaphor DISEASE IS WAR

Verbs	Frequency	Nouns	Frequency
<i>defeat</i>	9	<i>war</i>	1
<i>fight</i>	12	<i>frontline</i>	1
<i>combat</i>	5	<i>enemy</i>	2
<i>attack</i>	1	<i>battle</i>	7
<i>battle</i>	1	<i>forefront</i>	1
<i>win</i>	1		
<i>confront</i>	1		

Examples 1-6 below are tokens from the corpus that illustrate how the president, Nana Akufo-Addo framed the entire official government communication on COVID-19 on a WAR metaphor:

(1) I have, first of all, to tell you how proud and privileged I am to be your President, not just *to fight for you, but also to fight with you*, and to help shepherd our country out of this crisis.

(2) However, *this fight is not yet over, and we are by no means out of the woods yet.*

The fight against Coronavirus has served as a humbling reminder of the things that matter, the things that cannot be bought, and the things that, all too often, go unappreciated, as a result of the stress of daily life.

(3) *As we continue to battle this pandemic*, it is imperative we plan to restore Ghana onto a sound economic footing, and create a path towards growth and transformation.

(4) *We have to win this battle. We have to defeat the virus.*

(Update 7: 19th April 2020)

(5) The truth is that *this will be a long war, broken up into several battles.*

(Update 8: 26th April 2020)

(6) Fellow Ghanaians, ultimately, *the Battle is the Lord's*, and, with faith in Him, we will emerge from this greater than before.

Update 10: 31st May 2020)

Based on the abundant use of war vocabulary in the president's speeches, we concluded that the president, Nana Addo, conceptualised COVID-19 in terms of WAR. We identify the conceptual mappings and discuss those that are highlighted, citing tokens from the corpus to exemplify them.

COVID-19 IS A WAR

Source Domain (WAR)	Target Domain (COVID-19)
Enemy/invading/attacking force	Virus (its host?)
Master Military strategist	Government/President
War strategies	Public Health measures
Battle ground	Public space
Soldiers/warriors	Ghanaians
Frontline soldiers	Health workers
Defence force	Hygiene protocols
Weapons of defence	PPEs / lock down/stay at home
War casualties	COVID-19 patients/victims

Corona Virus is an attacking/invading force or Enemy

In announcing the confirmed COVID-19 cases (which were imported) in Ghana, the president, Nana Addo, conceptualised the virus as a powerful enemy who has invaded the nation and who should be fought fiercely as illustrated in examples 8-10 below:

(8) “I have come into your homes, again, this evening to provide an update, as I promised, on the measures taken by *Government to combat the Coronavirus pandemic.*”

(Update 2: 15th March 2020)

(9) “I have put the health workers and the security services, including *the Police Service and the Armed Forces, on standby, to co-ordinate a rapid response of human and logistical resources*, if necessary, to cordon, impose a curfew, trace, test, and treat infected persons in the affected community.”

(Update 7: 19th April 2020)

(10) *We will not let our guard down, as the fight against this virus has to progress. We will pursue vigorously our strategy*

of enhanced 3Ts, i.e., tracing and testing to allow us identify infected persons, and isolating and treating them. It is the surest way to root out the virus. (Update 8: 26th April 2020)

The use of war vocabulary such as combat, guard, fight and pursue, together with the invocation of the nation's security forces, i.e., military and police in the president's update speeches clearly sets a war tone in dealing with COVID-19, a global public health situation in Ghana.

Government/President is Master War Strategist

In declaring WAR on the virus/disease which he conceptualised as a powerful force/enemy that has invaded/attacked the country, Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the president of Ghana and the chief of defence of the country, presented himself as the master military strategist in the WAR as he outlined the nation's combat readiness. For instance, he invoked the powers vested in him as the nation's chief of defence to impose restrictions similar to that of a curfew in a war situation as part of measures in "fighting" the invading virus as illustrated in example (11) below:

(11) "So effective 1am on Monday, 30th March, some forty-eight hours from now, *I have imposed, pursuant to the powers granted the President of the Republic, under the Imposition of Restrictions Act, 2020 (Act 1012), restrictions on movement of persons in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA, which includes Awutu Senya East), and the Greater Kumasi Metropolitan Area and contiguous districts, for a period of two (2) weeks, subject to review.*" (Update 5: 5th April 2020)

By invoking the constitutional power as the master military strategist, people in areas that were described as epic centres were restricted in their movement at certain times of the day. In this exercise, both the military and police were mobilised to enforce the restrictions on movement -they were

given the mandate to arrest and prosecute people who violated the restriction orders. This is how ‘fierce the fight’ against COVID-19 was.

Public Health Measures are War Strategies

Once the president acknowledged the invasion by the virus and announced himself/his government as the master military strategist, he outlined his strategies (public health measures) to win the war. First, the battle ground (public space) was established (example 12).

(12) For the next two weeks, I urge all of you, especially residents in the affected areas of Greater Accra and Greater Kumasi, to be reminded every day, *that the frontline of the fight against Coronavirus is your front door. If you cross it, you and your family will likely be infected.* So, please, stay at home.

Like real war situations, war leaders outline their strategies to win the war. The strategies that were announced by Nana Addo to ‘win the battle against the virus’ included defensive, offensive and communicative strategies. In this regard, public health measures, included movement restrictions (e.g., stay at home, internal travel ban), restrictions on social/public gatherings, (e.g., school, church, mosque, funerals, conferences, parties, weddings, sports, festivals), and external travel ban (air/sea/land border closure). While the aforementioned strategies are preventive in nature, Nana Addo also announced strategies that were curative in nature. Other strategies, included, compulsory quarantine, testing, contact tracing and treatment, what Nana Addo called the 3Ts, were both preventive and curative. What these strategies had in common was their framing in military language as illustrated in examples 13-16 below:

(13) However, it has become necessary to take additional measures to stem the spread of the virus, and protect the lives of our people. We must do everything within our power to contain

the spread of the virus. *The Ministry of Health is mobilising new and retired healthcare professionals to augment our preparedness in dealing with a possible surge in infections.*

(Update 3: 25th March 2020)

(14) *To enhance command and control, more senior officers have been deployed at the operational level, and each member of our security services participating in the exercise has been handed an aide-mémoire highlighting, essentially, the guidelines for the operation.*

(Update 4: 5th April 2020)

(15) *Fellow Ghanaians, it is vital that we protect the lives of our frontline health workers, who are risking their lives every day to battle this virus.*

(Update 8: 26th April 2020)

(16) *We will pursue vigorously our strategy of enhanced 3Ts, i.e., tracing and testing to allow us identify infected persons, and isolating and treating them. It is the surest way to root out the virus.*

(Update 8: 26th April 2020)

Ghanaians are Warriors/Soldiers, Health Workers/Security Services are Frontline Soldiers

In conceptualising the space outside the front door of every Ghanaian as the battle ground, the president was framing all Ghanaians as warriors/soldiers while health workers, immigration officials, customs officials, the law enforcement agencies as front liners. They were framed as front-line warriors/soldiers in the war against COVID-19, the invading/attacking enemy. Examples (17-23) below are instantiations of this conceptualisation from the data:

(17) *I applaud the efforts and courage of Ghanaians in the forefront of the fight against the virus – health workers, immigration officials, customs officials, civil aviation officials,*

airport staff, port health officials, police and military personnel, and other essential service providers – for the yeoman's work you are doing. Our nation is deeply in your debt.

(Update 3: 25th March 2020)

(18) Fellow Ghanaians, *it is vital that we protect the lives of our frontline health workers, who are risking their lives every day to battle this virus.*

(Update 8: 26th April 2020)

(19) I have, first of all, to tell you how proud and privileged I am to be your President, not just *to fight for you, but also to fight with you*, and to help shepherd our country out of this crisis.

(20) However, *this fight is not yet over, and we are by no means out of the woods yet.*

The fight against Coronavirus has served as a humbling reminder of the things that matter, the things that cannot be bought, and the things that, all too often, go unappreciated, as a result of the stress of daily life.

(21) *These are the blessings of normalcy that we are fighting to restore*, blessings that we must hold onto with a deeper sense of appreciation, once this pandemic has passed.

(Update 6: 9th April 2020)

(22) *As we continue to battle this pandemic*, it is imperative we plan to restore Ghana onto a sound economic footing, and create a path towards growth and transformation.

(23) *We have to win this battle. We have to defeat the virus.*

(Update 7: 19th April 2020)

Hygiene Protocols are the Weapons of defence against COVID-19

In his COVID-19 update speeches, Nana Addo has often stated that his strategies are anchored in science and data. Scientific studies on the corona virus suggest that the virus spreads through droplets of an infected person, and that even though there is no known cure for COVID-19, hygiene protocols, such as washing of hands with soap and under running water, and the wearing of personal protective equipment (PPE), for example, nose/face masks/shields, and gloves as well as use of alcohol-based sanitizers could protect one against being infected. Interestingly, these hygiene protocols and PPE became the weapons needed to disarm and defeat the virus in President Nana Addo's WAR framed COVID-19 update speeches. Examples 24-26 are tokens from the data that illustrate this conceptualisation.

(24) It is vitally important that each one of us, in all parts of the country, *continues to observe the social distancing and enhanced hygiene protocols, for they are the weapons of our defence against the virus.* (Update 4: 5th April 2020)

(25) *To defeat the virus, and get there, we have to accept that we have to wash our hands, maintain good hygiene, refrain from shaking hands, wear our masks, and practice social distancing in all of our engagements* (Update 7: 19th April 2020)

(26) The Ghanaian people have largely embraced *the principles of social distancing, the wearing of masks, and the enhanced hygiene protocols, which are our most effective defences against the virus.* (Update 10: 31st May 2020)

COVID-19 Patients are War Casualties

In every war there are often some casualties suffered on both sides. In Nana Addo's war-framed update speeches,

people infected with COVID-19 were seen as war casualties as illustrated in example 27:

(27) The health workers, who are working day and night to care for *the stricken*, must continually be in our prayers. Their efforts will be in vain if we, at home, do not support them.

(Update 8: 26th April 2020)

While there were not many instantiations of this conceptualisation in the data, its import seems to be far more reaching than the frequency of use. According to Flusberg (2018), the use of war metaphors in conceptualising diseases can lead to fear, the politicisation of the disease and other unintended consequences such that after a while, people begin not to be too bothered about the consequences of the disease. In what follows, we look at the effect that the WAR-framed presidential updates had on the Ghanaian citizens, particularly with regard to their attitude towards COVID-19 patients.

Effects of WAR metaphors on people's attitudes

The first update speech on the pandemic was delivered by the President on 12th March 2020 when there were no confirmed cases in Ghana. The first two (imported) cases of COVID-19 were confirmed on 15th March 2020 and that occasioned the President's second update on the same day. In the president's second update, he called on Ghanaians to adhere to government interventions and other attempts at curbing the spread of the virus. These measures included the closure of all schools and a ban on all religious and other social gatherings, e.g., church, mosque and funerals. By the fifth update when partial lock down was imposed on the people in the country, the President had used metaphorical expressions that instantiate all the mappings in the WAR-framed metaphor discussed in this paper.

Soon after the presidential updates began, there were stories in the media about how persons who had recovered

from COVID-19 (and their families) were stigmatised in their communities. There were reports which suggested that some recovered COVID-19 patients and families were either attacked or avoided (ostracised) in their communities. Interestingly, the number of confirmed cases continued to surge through community spread around the same time. By the tenth update on 31st May 2020, the country had recorded over 10,000 confirmed cases with over 80 deaths as reported by the President. The nation was gripped with fear. Why were infections spreading despite government's measures to 'fight/combat' the virus and its spread? This was when we began to question the potential impact the WAR-framed communication may be having on the attitudes, perceptions and actions among the general population.

Our hypothesis was that the WAR metaphor appeared to have succeeded in creating an enemy out of not only the virus but also its hosts, COVID-19 patients, and leading to actions (among the general population) that did not support government's effort to 'fight' the pandemic. For instance, for fear of stigmatisation by their friends and neighbours, some COVID-19 positive patients refused to go into isolation or indeed, follow other public health protocols. A point in case is a report in the media of a state minister engaged in public political activities without observing the outlined public health protocols even though he had tested positive for COVID-19. Indeed, it was reported in the media that he had infected several of his close work associates one of whom had died of COVID-19. Following these reports, the government and other NGOs began anti-stigma campaigns that ran alongside the COVID awareness creation and prevention. For instance, in his seventh update, President Nana Addo stated the following with concern:

(28) I have noticed, with great concern, the stories of some persons, who have recovered from the virus, now being confronted with another problem, i.e., stigmatisation. This is not right, as it will rather drive people away from getting screened, tested, and treated. The stigmatisation of recovered persons must

stop, because if the virus did not end their lives and livelihoods, the stigma from members of their communities should not... *The enemy is the virus*, and not each other.

(Update 7: 19th April 2020)

The President's explicit description of the virus as the enemy suggests his recognition that the citizens had failed to correctly interpret his conceptual mapping of who the enemy is in his war-framed updates. In other words, his call on Ghanaians to see the virus as the enemy and not the patients is evidence that the WAR-framed communication on stopping the spread of COVID-19 had not achieved the desired expectation. Instead of fighting the virus, people were (and still are) fighting both the virus and its host, COVID-19 patients. Despite the president's clarification of who the real enemy is in this fight during his seventh update, the interpretation of both the virus and COVID-19 patients as the 'enemy' in the COVID-19 fight did not cease. It rather led to labelling, stereotyping, and discriminating against and even stigmatisation of not only persons infected with or recovered from the virus but also their families, and sometimes associates.

One such recovered patient, Mr. Frederick Debrah, shared his story on TV3, one of the most watched television stations in Ghana. Though his story won him some admiration for winning "the fight against COVID-19", it also exposed him to public ridicule. Following his story on TV, a news team from another TV station, Citi News team, visited his home for further interaction during which period he made the following revelation:

"I even wish, maybe, I could go back to the [quarantine] camp again. People have seen the face of my family on television and so on, so now when you go out to buy things, it becomes difficult [because of the stigma]. The stigma in the area, when [my wife]

goes to buy something or she sends the children to buy something, is becoming a difficult thing for us. We have almost run out of everything in the house.”

In other COVID-19 stigmatisation reports, some recovered patients had been rejected and ejected from their rented homes and their children had been prevented from playing with other children in their shared (compound) homes. In some extreme cases, whole communities had come against COVID-19 recovered patients as reported in several news media, such as DW News (2020). Again, on May 14, 2020, the Association for Catholic Information in Africa, AICIA, published an article in which Catholic Professionals in Ghana were warning of mental issues amidst COVID-19 stigmatisation surge (ACI Africa, 14th May 2020). The article reported and recounted several stories and episodes where COVID-19 recovered patients and their families, as well as families of persons who had died of COVID-19 were being marginalised and/or ostracised by their communities. In some cases, even health workers, e.g., nurses, suffered stigmatisation, e.g., taxi and uber drivers refused to pick them as passengers because of their possible interaction with COVID-19 patients. There are even stories about patients of COVID (or not) who could have been saved either by friends or even health workers were left to their fate to suffer or die because they exhibited symptoms similar to those of Covid-19. There was the sad story of a secondary school student who died in school, which is only a few kilometres away from a university hospital because his friends and teachers who feared that he had the virus refused to send him to hospital. (See <https://www.dw.com/en/ghana-covid-19-survivors-stigmatized/av-53418720> for more COVID-19 stigmatisation- related stories in Ghana).

The stories about stigmatisation of COVID-19 recovered patients and their families became so widespread in the country that it became an issue of concern that attracted a lot of media and government attention. In his 14th update speech, the President

shifted his focus from fighting the virus as the enemy to fighting stigmatisation of COVID-19 patients as the enemy in the fight against COVID-19:

(29) *Our fight against the stigmatisation of persons, who have contracted COVID-19, continues in earnest.* Those engaged in this anti-social act should stop, as stigmatisation drives away people from getting screened, tested and treated”.

(14th update speech).

Soon, there was a vibrant campaign in the country against the stigmatisation of patients of COVID-19. The anti-stigmatisation campaign became more intense when celebrities and prominent members in the society who had recovered from the disease openly declared their status and became brand ambassadors for the *#StopTheStigma campaign in Ghana*. For instance, on July 18, 2020, Charles Nii Teiko Tagoe, a presidential staffer who had recovered from the disease shared the following post on his Facebook page: “It is unimaginable what one has to go through for the 14 days living with covid”.

In trying to test the hypothesis – whether or not the President’s WAR-framed communication contributed to stigmatisation of patients of the virus – we analyse the responses from the small-scale survey we conducted on the University of Ghana campus. First, majority of the respondents (66.6%) said they heard about the COVID-19 in 2019, long before the President began his addresses in March 2020; only 27% said they heard about it in 2020. The rest gave invalid dates, e.g., January 2019 when COVID-19 was not known. Again, of the 63 respondents, 29 (46%) said they heard about COVID-19 from one social media platform or another; 19(30%) heard about it from TV; 9(14%) heard about it from other sources, e.g., friends, family, 3 (4.7%) heard about it from the radio; 1(1.5%) newspaper, and 2(3%) heard about it from multiple sources. What this means is that potentially, misinformation about the pandemic may have been spread on social media.

To further test our hypothesis, we played excerpts (audio versions) of the President's WAR-framed addresses to respondents individually and asked them to tell us how they felt about the virus. From the responses, 35 (55.5 %) of respondents indicated that the President's speech created fear in them with explanations such as shown in the brackets (*he is adding to the fear we already have; it's scary; I am afraid of the virus; it [the speech] creates extremely scary images; Words like 'fight' creates fear in me; It [the speech] causes panic; I am scared because he said COVID-19 was going to be a long battle*). For the remaining 44.5% of respondents, the President's speech either created more awareness (provided more factual information) or simply made the disease real to them.

Finally, when we asked respondents to tell us how they would behave around a COVID-19 positive person, 32(50.7%) indicated that they would adopt an avoidance posture (*I will avoid them; prevention is better than cure; I will not allow them anywhere near me*); 6 (9.5%) of the respondents said they would be indifferent because they know how to protect themselves from being infected; 11(17%) indicated that they would be empathetic towards COVID-19 positive patients because either they themselves or family have had the virus at one point or another (*I will feel sorry for them; I feel pity for them but not stigmatise them*). Finally, 14(22%) of respondents indicated that they would take practical steps (keenly observe all the protocols) to ensure that the infected person does not spread the virus to them. It is important to note that some of our respondents already knew about COVID-related stigmatisation in the country and made direct/indirect references to the phenomenon in their responses.

Thus, while it is plausible to argue that these acts of stigmatisation may have arisen from misconceptions, it is not easy to say what the source of this misconception was exactly. Again, while some may be quick to blame it on misinformation and lack of proper understanding of COVID-19 issues, we would like to suggest that this line of argument may not be tenable. In

our opinion, the fear of the virus (and its host) does not appear to have emanated from lack of understanding of the nature of the virus. Instead, the fear of the virus emanated from the WAR-framed communication about the disease that conceptually mapped the virus to an enemy that had to be fought ‘fiercely’, as the President said. While the president’s WAR-framed communication appeared effective in creating the expected fear (of the virus) among the public, his selective use of language which identified some elements in the mapping process (VIRUS IS ENEMY) but not others (COVID-19 (recovered) patient), the public conceptually maps this unmapped element (covid patient) to the closest element, the virus since the patient plays host to the virus. Again, since the target enemy (the virus) is less clearly delineated, it appears conceptually more reasonable to identify the patient, a palpable being that can be fought physically as the enemy.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the conceptual mappings that were highlighted in Ghana’s WAR-framed presidential COVID-19 update speeches and how the conceptualisation of the mappings appears to have affected the attitudes and actions of the Ghanaian public in dealing with a global pandemic in their local context. We have argued that while conceptualising COVID-19 as WAR helped the general public to properly understand the deadly nature of the novel virus by creating fear among the population, it appears the fear was not only of the virus but also of infected persons and their families. The paper therefore concludes that WAR metaphors may not be effective for crisis communication such as communication about a pandemic. This is because metaphor interpretation is potentially ambiguous - conceptual elements in a source domain may be mapped unto more than one element in the target domain (as when ‘enemy’ is mapped unto both virus and its hosts). In such situations, the metaphor can create negative (undesired) effects.

In Ghana, the ambiguity in the WAR-framed communication on COVID-19 appears to have resulted in acts of stigmatisation, marginalisation and discrimination against COVID-19 (recovered) patients and their families who were wrongfully conceptualised as the ‘enemy’, a situation which may have led to community spread of the virus as infected persons denied or refused to declare positive status or practise public health measures for fear of stigmatisation.

Research findings suggest that because WAR metaphors tend to be very conventional both in culture-specific contexts and across cultures, many people tend to have schemas to support the mappings required to link the salient conceptual structures in source and target domains to create a particular shared meaning. In this regard, Hauser and Schwarz (2015) have argued that war metaphors make persuasive arguments. However, because war metaphors tend to evoke schemas of prototypical war situations as polarity, e.g., us vs them, or ally vs enemy, and a fight or flight situation, they appear not to be effective in disease communication. For instance, Bates (2020), argues that:

by locating the ENEMY as a Chinese virus, Trump not only activates a gratuitously xenophobic rhetoric, but also risks harming international research, information, and trade relationships that may be necessary for responding to SARS-CoV-2. Naming SARS-CoV-2 a Chinese virus also distracts attention from a shared ENEMY to reinforce divisions between the United States and the People’s Republic of China. (p.17)

Again, conceptualising DISEASE as WAR may, on the one hand, trigger emotions of threat, fear, panic and even violence (marginalisation and stigmatisation). On the other hand, stigmatised patients of the disease may regard themselves as failures or carry guilt for getting infected. Hauser and Schwarz (2015) argue that in such situations, depending on what the

concept of war the metaphors have evoked, some people may become adamant in testing for a disease since being infected could mean irresponsible behaviour on their part. The use of war metaphors in disease communication often brings with it the burden of identifying who the enemy is and the resources required to go into combat. In the case of Ghana's presidential COVID-19 update communication, the invisible enemy, the virus, is given a palpable representation in humans (COVID patients) which leads to their stigmatisation and marginalisation undesirable conditions for dealing with a global pandemic in a local context. This paper, therefore, agrees with earlier research that called for the use of alternative metaphors in communicating disease and other public health concerns of a pandemic nature. We also recommend the use of interviews and other ethnographic instruments to explore public narratives on the effects of WAR metaphors in disease/illness communication.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Fighting a global pandemic and local stigmatization: war metaphors in presidential update speeches and their effect on attitudes towards COVID-19 (patients) Ghana.

A. Background: Tick where applicable

Sex:	Male	Female
Age grouping:	18 -29, 30-49, 50+	
Education:	Elementary / Secondary / Bachelor's Degree / Master's Degree / or Higher	
Occupation:	Manual Labour / office work / Sales or service / Health Sector / Student, Educational sector / Unemployed / Others,	

B. Responses

- i. When did you first hear about COVID- 19?
- ii. Through what media? TV Radio Newspapers Social media
- iii. Listen to the audio and respond appropriately: After listening to the audio by the president on COVID-19, how do you feel about the virus?
Why?
- iv. How will you behave around someone who has the virus?
Why?

Les défis de l'évaluation du français langue étrangère en ligne : le cas de l'Université du Ghana

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Résumé

L'étude s'ambitionne d'analyser les défis des évaluations semestrielles en ligne chez les étudiants en licence au département de français à l'université du Ghana. L'évaluation joue un rôle primordial dans le processus de l'enseignement/apprentissage en éducation. Aujourd'hui, l'évolution des technologies, ainsi que l'arrivée de la pandémie de Covid-19 depuis plus de deux ans, a provoqué un changement du système scolaire où les cours en présentiel sont transformés à une formation à distance (FAD) et où les évaluations numériques sont plus privilégiées. Au moyen d'un questionnaire destiné aux étudiants via *Google docs*, les données nécessaires ont été collectées pour une analyse des difficultés rencontrés par les étudiants lors des évaluations en ligne. Les résultats soulignent beaucoup de facteurs dont : le type d'outils numériques utilisés à l'usage inapproprié du système LMS de l'université. L'étude propose aux étudiants de suivre une formation adéquate sur l'usage de LMS Sakai et de s'engager dans une autoformation afin de surmonter les défis relevés.

Mots clés : défis, évaluation, outil numérique, enseignement/apprentissage, formation à distance

Abstract

The study aims at analysing the challenges of online semester assessments administered to undergraduate students in the French department at the University of Ghana. Assessment plays a vital role in the teaching/learning process in education. Today, the evolution of technologies as well as the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic for more than two years has caused a change in the school system where face-to-face lessons are transformed remotely and where digital assessments are more preferred. By means of a student questionnaire via Google docs, the necessary data were collected for an analysis of the challenges faced by students during online assessments. The results highlight many factors from the type of digital tools used to the inappropriate use of the university's LMS system. The study proposes an initial adequate training for students by the authorities on the use of LMS Sakai and student self-study engagement in order to overcome the challenges encountered.

Keywords: challenges, evaluation, digital tool, teaching and learning, remote/distance learning

Introduction

L'évaluation des cours et la promotion de l'évaluation des cours sont des composantes importantes d'un système de valorisation de l'enseignement qui contribuent à la qualité de l'expérience des étudiants. L'évaluation des cours est un outil important de rétroaction pour les professeurs; c'est dire que lorsque le professeur évalue les apprenants après un cours, le résultat de cette évaluation donne une opportunité au professeur de voir le progrès de son enseignement et de prendre des mesures appropriées pour améliorer ses actions didactiques. C'est un acte pédagogique pratiqué au quotidien par les enseignants et faisant partie de la réalité scolaire actuelle (Chapuis, 2011). Les formes d'enseignement et d'évaluation qui s'effectuaient en présentiel dans les amphithéâtres connaissent une révolution aujourd'hui. Ces formes se sont métamorphosées de même que les infrastructures et les outils pédagogiques. En effet, l'arrivée imprévisible de la pandémie de Covid-19 aujourd'hui, oblige presque toutes les institutions publiques

comme privées à s'adapter à l'usage du numérique dans leurs fonctions quotidiennes. Ainsi, les institutions de l'enseignement supérieur au Ghana, y compris l'université du Ghana, adoptent l'enseignement/apprentissage et l'évaluation à distance via différents LMS (Learning and Management System).

L'université du Ghana (désormais UG), pour sa part, utilise le système dénommé Sakai pour le processus d'enseignement/apprentissage numérique. Les cours théoriques et pratiques sont dispensés et toutes les évaluations semestrielles de l'année universitaire 2020/2021 ont été faites sur Sakai. Les cours, les forums de discussion entre enseignants-étudiants et les évaluations formatives et sommatives s'effectuent par le biais d'internet et des outils numériques (smartphones, ordinateurs, tablettes etc.). Est-il possible de partager la question de Lahire (1997) que le numérique change-t-il les « manières d'étudier » ? Les étudiants devaient donc s'approprier les ressources offertes par les établissements d'enseignement supérieur et dans ce contexte, Sakai. Cependant, nous avons constaté que la performance des étudiants de français lors des évaluations écrites de fin de semestre sur Sakai laisse beaucoup à désirer. Autrement dit les examens semestriels faits en ligne par ces derniers ne produisent pas de bons résultats. La réflexion sur la qualité de leurs performances écrites nous amène à poser quelques questions.

Questions de recherche

1. Qu'est-ce qui explique la mauvaise performance des étudiants lors des évaluations semestrielles écrites en ligne ?
2. Quel enseignement ont-ils reçu? À distance ou en présentiel?
3. Les étudiants disposent-ils des outils numériques appropriés pour effectuer un apprentissage à distance ?
4. Les étudiants maîtrisent et s'approprient-ils vraiment des ressources offertes par l'université pour écrire des évaluations semestrielles en ligne?

Objectif

Partant de l'hypothèse que la non-maîtrise des ressources numériques contribue à la mauvaise performance des étudiants. Cette étude cherche à analyser les opinions des étudiants de la dernière année de Licence (L4) par rapport aux difficultés rencontrées à l'évaluation écrite à distance via Sakai dans une classe de français langue étrangère (FLE). Il s'agit ici des étudiants de niveau intermédiaire (B1/B2) selon le classement du Cadre Européen Commun de Reference pour les langues (CECRL, 2001).

Pour atteindre cet objectif, cette étude présente le contexte de la recherche partant de la notion d'évaluation scolaire en général, de l'intérêt croissant des outils numériques aux apprentissages et de l'évaluation des acquis en ligne.

Enseignement, apprentissage et évaluation scolaire *Enseignement/apprentissage de FLE à UG*

Au Département de français de l'Université du Ghana, Legon, la langue française est enseignée du premier cycle au troisième cycle. La langue française est principalement le moyen par lequel les professeurs enseignent et c'est par ce même code que les étudiants démontrent ce qu'ils ont appris. L'acquisition de cette langue est l'objectif pédagogique principal de l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de français langue étrangère. Le programme d'enseignement au département est reparti en unités d'enseignement (UE) obligatoires à tous les niveaux. En troisième et quatrième années viennent s'ajouter des unités d'enseignement facultatives telles que la didactique du français langue étrangère (dénommée FLE), le français des affaires, l'introduction à la linguistique française et la littérature au choix des étudiants. La Grammaire française & traduction semi-spécialisée I et II, la Littérature française et francophone II, et les interactions orales basées sur des textes sélectionnés constituent les unités d'enseignement obligatoires pour les étudiants en quatrième année. Quelle que soit l'unité

d'enseignement suivi, les étudiants sont évalués soit à l'écrit soit à l'oral pour apprécier leurs compétences acquises selon la description de chaque unité. Ainsi, l'oral et l'écrit constituent les deux codes que les enseignants et les étudiants de FLE utilisent la plupart de temps pour communiquer au département surtout en classe.

L'enseignement, l'apprentissage et l'évaluation dans le département ont été en grande partie en présentiel jusqu'en 2020. C'est pendant les périodes de Covid-19 où les institutions ont dû migrer vers la formation à distance que l'Université du Ghana commençait à utiliser Zoom meeting, Microsoft Team, et autres systèmes de gestion de l'apprentissage comme Sakai. Ce nouveau mode d'enseignement et d'apprentissage pose des défis initiaux aux enseignants aussi bien qu'aux apprenants, et ces défis, par extension, interfèrent dans les processus d'évaluation des acquis par des étudiants.

Concept de l'évaluation scolaire

La qualité de l'enseignement/apprentissage et ses différentes évaluations scolaires demeurent le noyau important d'une éducation de qualité. Pourtant, le nombre et la qualité des évaluations, des pratiques pédagogiques et le mode d'évaluation sont confrontés à travers le monde à de graves difficultés systémiques liées à la pandémie sanitaire du Covid-19 qui a presque converti le système présentiel de l'éducation en une formation à distance. Dans l'enseignement/apprentissage classique traditionnelle, l'enseignant dispense ses cours et effectue des évaluations en présentiel avec les étudiants sauf pour des devoirs de maison. Les contenus de chaque unité d'enseignement au niveau universitaire sont enseignés dans les salles de classe afin de préparer les étudiants à une évaluation semestrielle encore appelée évaluation scolaire.

Sur la notion de l'évaluation scolaire, Chapuis (2011) conçoit que l'évaluation est un concept répandu ayant déjà fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches en sciences de l'éducation

et, plus largement, en sciences humaines. Il soutient que certains chercheurs se sont par exemple penchés sur la question de l'objectivité de la notation, démontrant par différentes expériences l'aspect subjectif des notes et le caractère souvent aléatoire de la réussite ou de l'échec qui en découle. Dans cette perspective, Piéron (1963) propose une étude sur la docimologie et la définit comme l'étude systématique des examens qui met en valeur les modes de notation, la variabilité interindividuelle et intra-individuelle des examinateurs, les facteurs subjectifs, etc. En effet, certaines recherches ont par exemple montré qu'une même copie obtenait des notes très différentes d'un enseignant à l'autre, ou parfois avec le même enseignant, à quelques mois d'intervalle. Bressoux & Pansu (2003) soutiennent l'idée de Chevillard (1992) selon laquelle la note a une fonction didactique de transaction car ce dernier admet que l'attribution d'une note n'est pas un acte de mesure mais un moment essentiel d'un processus plus large, celui de la négociation didactique.

L'évaluation donne généralement des informations essentielles sur le travail et les compétences des apprenants aux enseignants d'où son caractère de classement, de sélection et d'orientation des apprenants en fonction des résultats et des moyennes obtenus. *A priori*, l'évaluation scolaire semble être une action plutôt réglementée et institutionnalisée mais, du fait qu'elle peut avoir des conséquences importantes sur l'avenir des apprenants, elle se trouve également au cœur des enjeux relationnels et affectifs majeurs, ne laissant jamais totalement indifférents les protagonistes de l'école. Faisant partie intégrante de l'éducation, l'évaluation se situe même au cœur de tout processus d'apprentissage (CERI, 2008), car quel qu'il soit, on s'attache toujours au résultat de l'apprenant dans l'enseignement. Par conséquent, tout comme le souligne Porcher (2004, p.79) l'évaluation est : « la clé qui permet de contrôler tout un système d'enseignement ». Elle comprend, selon Dietel et al (1991), toute méthode utilisée pour mieux comprendre les connaissances que possède un étudiant, soit pendant le programme d'apprentissage

ou à la fin d'une séquence d'apprentissage. Si bien que la notation peut devenir une source de manipulation, de marchandage, de bricolage ou d'arrangement ; elle demeure le reflet d'une négociation portant notamment sur le niveau et les savoirs que l'enseignant souhaite faire acquérir aux élèves. Selon Chevallard (1992), cela explique pourquoi les notes ne peuvent avoir une moyenne ni trop haute (maintenir un certain niveau d'exigence) ni trop basse (rester crédible), de même que leur dispersion ne peut elle-même être ni trop grande (ne pas se retrouver avec des niveaux trop différents dans la classe. De façon générale, il y aurait une tendance à surévaluer les bons élèves et à sous-évaluer les élèves réputés faibles si par exemple une même épreuve de français est corrigée par un certain nombre d'enseignants.

Pour Perrenoud (1998), la réussite et l'échec scolaires sont des réalités socialement construites, dans leur définition globale aussi bien que dans l'attribution d'une valeur à chaque élève, à travers des pratiques d'évaluation qui suivent, pour une part, des échelles instituées et qui relèvent, pour le reste, de l'arbitraire de l'enseignant ou de l'établissement. Perrenoud (idem) avoue que les notes n'ont donc rien d'objectif et sont vues comme des représentations fabriquées par l'école, qui définit des formes et des normes d'excellence, fixe des seuils et des niveaux et distingue, en fin de compte, ceux qui réussissent et ceux qui échouent. Même si cette assertion de Perrenoud reflète la réalité scolaire, les notes d'évaluation demeurent quelque chose d'intérêt capital pour les étudiants surtout au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur. Les étudiants se servent de ces notes d'évaluations pour mesurer leur progrès sur l'échelle des mentions à la fin du programme d'études, ainsi, une faible note obtenue à une séance d'évaluation peut avoir un impact négatif sur l'étudiant.

Tout comme des institutions de l'enseignement supérieur, l'Université du Ghana conduit des évaluations des acquis des étudiants chaque semestre. L'université dispose de différents types d'évaluation y compris les évaluations formative et

sommative. D'une part, l'évaluation formative constitue de 30 à 40% de la note finale semestrielle de l'étudiant. Cette évaluation prend en compte la participation des étudiants en classe, des présentations ou des séminaires effectués par ces derniers, des devoirs de classe ou des projets à réaliser selon l'unité d'enseignement, des examens de mi- semestre. D'autre part, l'évaluation sommative qui est de 50 à 60%, tient compte des examens de fin de semestre. Notons que des examens de mi- semestre sont communs à tous les cycles (du cycle 1 au cycle 3) alors une semaine du chaque semestre est allouée pour ces évaluations intermédiaires qui étaient, jusqu'à l'arrivée de la Covid-19, en présentiel.

À l'heure actuelle, l'enseignement/apprentissage prend des formes variées : présentiel, distance et hybride à cause des intérêts croissants des outils numériques. Cependant, dans le contexte de cette étude, seule l'évaluation semestrielle écrite en ligne est en compte.

Cadre conceptuel

L'évolution de l'usage des outils numériques

Le contexte de cette enquête est marqué par l'évolution de l'usage du numérique à l'aide de différents outils tels que l'Internet, le smartphone, la tablette pour des buts divers y compris le but pédagogique. Dans cette perspective, l'UNESCO (2013) résume l'apport des TIC dans l'éducation en ces termes :

Les TIC peuvent contribuer à l'accès universel à l'éducation, à l'équité dans l'éducation, à la mise en œuvre d'un apprentissage et d'un enseignement de qualité, au développement professionnel des enseignants ainsi qu'à une gestion, une gouvernance et une administration de l'éducation plus efficaces. (UNESCO).

Les chercheurs comme Robitaille et Maheu (1993) mettent en relief le développement des pratiques enseignantes et

l'identité professionnelle. Ndibnu & Kaiza (2018), en s'inspirant de Varga et Caron (2009), reviennent sur la conservation des acquis scolaires, les réseaux sociaux et la construction des passerelles entre les plateformes de formation publiques et les environnements technologiques privés. En fait, Le web 2.0, par sa constante évolution, offre une opportunité ou plateforme de choix pour l'enseignement des langues et l'autonomisation des apprentissages par les apprenants. Dans ce sens, les chercheurs comme Béch   (2012), ne manquent pas de souligner les nombreux apports de l'int  gration des TIC pendant les cours. Les   tudiants peuvent    tout moment lire, relire, voir,   couter et s'exercer sur les plateformes LMS, utiliser les forums et chats pour collaborer et interagir avec leurs camarades et leurs tuteurs. Des plateformes naissent pour am  liorer la formation des   tudiants en FLE ou en TICE, surtout, ceux qui d  sirent compl  ter ou accro  tre leurs connaissances. La croissance de la formation par internet est largement li  e au progr  s des technologies pour des services scientifiques et didactiques qui impliquent les   valuations des formations.

L'  valuation des acquis en ligne

L'  valuation peut   tre tant en pr  sentiel qu'   distance    travers le num  rique. Le num  rique qui se r  f  re parfois « en ligne » couvre une gamme de r  seaux (internet, Facebook, YouTube, etc). Au cours de ces derni  res d  cennies, l'  valuation en g  n  ral et plus pr  cis  ment des langues, a connu une   volution rapide sur le plan num  rique. Parlant du num  rique, il recouvre    la fois les sciences et technologies de l'information et de la communication (informatique,   lectronique, t  l  communications). Le p  rim  tre du num  rique est donc plus large que celui de l'informatique et modifie les activit  s humaines et sociales. Ainsi, le num  rique offre et peut offrir beaucoup de possibilit  s par rapport    l'enseignement/apprentissage. Il peut servir    dispenser et    suivre un programme de cours    distance,    acc  der et    partager des informations

scientifiques, travailler en collaboration et participer aux conférences parmi tant d'autres. Des chercheurs (Michaut, 2017; Guibert & Michaut, 2011) relèvent que la multiplicité des matériels connectés (ordinateur, smartphone, tablette, etc.) et des ressources numériques peut conduire les étudiants à adopter des usages différents de ceux prescrits par l'institution ou par les enseignants : se servir d'un smartphone comme calculatrice ou pour envoyer des messages textes (SMS), télécharger les cours produits par d'autres étudiants plutôt que prendre des notes durant les enseignements ou encore plagier des documents. Pour soutenir le point de vue de ces chercheurs, nous pouvons ajouter que la mauvaise maîtrise, la pratique inadéquate et/ou le manque de compétence des outils numériques peut également engendrer des conséquences néfastes sur la performance des apprenants si les examens sont effectués en ligne. Comme l'affirme Audet (2011), les environnements d'apprentissage en ligne, maintenant courants, incluent tous des outils de soutien à l'évaluation et à la réalisation d'activités en réseau et en stimulent, en conséquence, l'usage. En fait, l'évaluation en ligne est surement favorisée par le développement rapide même de la formation par l'internet.

L'étude de Meunier et al. (2007) sur les avantages et les inconvénients que présentent le numérique auprès des étudiants québécois met en exergue la collaboration avec les collègues étudiants, la communication facile avec les enseignants, et la recherche supplémentaire sur les notions discutées en classe. Cependant, Fusaro et Couture (2012) postulent que les étudiants et les enseignants utilisaient peu les outils « collaboratifs » tels que wiki, blog, journal de bord etc. mais ils se contentaient des outils technologiques « standard » comme des courriers électroniques, des outils de traitement de texte etc. Dans leur étude, Dahmani et Ragni (2009) cherchent à mesurer l'effet des technologies de l'information et de la communication (désormais TIC) sur la performance des étudiants en Licence. Ils indiquent que l'usage de l'Internet a une influence contrastée sur la performance des résultats aux examens.

Dans leur étude, Amadiou et Tricot (2015) énumèrent le but, l'attente de réussite, le sentiment de contrôle exercé sur l'apprentissage aussi bien que le sentiment de compétence dans le domaine comme des variables psychologiques qui influencent la motivation des étudiants. De cette assertion, il convient de dire que les étudiants doivent avoir ce sentiment de compétence non seulement dans la matière évaluée mais aussi dans la manipulation des outils numériques utilisés par l'institution pour pouvoir passer des examens à distance. Le manque de cette compétence technologique peut conduire à une mauvaise performance lors des évaluations à distance. Toutes ces études portent sur les étudiants d'un pays développé (le Canada-Québec). Il est difficile de trouver des études sur les évaluations scolaires à distance dans le contexte ghanéen ; ce qui sert de motivation à réaliser ce travail sur l'impact des évaluations semestrielles sur les étudiants du niveau 400 au département de français à l'UG.

Méthodologie de l'enquête

Le lieu d'enquête de cette étude est précisément le département de français de l'université du Ghana. C'est l'une des universités publiques du Ghana. La licence couvre une période de quatre ans. Le département est composé de quatre niveaux (niveau 100, 200, 300 et 400) et de diverses unités d'enseignement (UE). La population cible de cette étude est le niveau 400, c-à-d la quatrième année de Licence. Ces étudiants sont en fin de cycle. Un questionnaire a été adressé aux étudiants en ligne via **Google docs** entre le 25 et le 28 juin 2021. Sur les 300 étudiants de français au niveau 400, 96 ont répondu au questionnaire. Le cadre du questionnaire était tel que le répondant ne peut pas répondre à la question suivante si la présente demeure sans réponse. Cet échantillon représente 32% des étudiants en 4^e année de Licence en FLE à l'université du Ghana. Nous avons choisi d'administrer le questionnaire et de collecter les données au travers **Google docs** puisque tous les cours et les

examens semestriels de l'année 2020/2021 s'effectuent via les outils numériques. Soulignons que la diffusion du questionnaire sur les différentes plateformes WhatsApp des étudiants et son remplissage n'ont pas été sans difficulté.

L'étude s'appuie sur la méthode quali-quantitative pour aboutir à son objectif. D'une part, la méthode qualitative nous a servi à expliquer les opinions partagées des étudiants concernant leurs expériences des évaluations semestrielles face à l'usage du Sakai. D'autre part, la méthode quantitative a servi à analyser les données statistiques obtenues du questionnaire par les répondants.

Présentation et analyse des données

Information sur le profil des répondants

Cette partie se consacre à la présentation des données sociodémographiques des participants. Les informations personnelles des répondants ont été présentées dans cette partie.

Tableau 1 : Répartition des répondants par sexe

Sexe	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Femme	82	85.4
Homme	14	14.6
Total	96	100

Le tableau 1, ci-dessus montre que le pourcentage des étudiantes de sexe féminin (85,4%) dépasse largement celui de sexe masculin (14,6%). L'enquête a donc regroupé un nombre inéquitable des étudiants au niveau des sexes.

Tableau 2 : Répartition des répondants par âge

Âge	Fréquence	Pourcentage
16-20	3	3.1
21-25	91	94.8
26-30	2	2.1
31-35	0	0
Total	96	100

Le tableau 2 ci-dessus indique qu'il y a 96 étudiants au total qui ont participé à l'enquête. En ce qui concerne leur âge, nous avons constaté que l'âge des étudiants varie de 16 à 30 ans. Il est à noter que la plupart d'entre eux, ont entre 21 et 25 ans, ce qui constitue 91 étudiants soit 94,8 %. Les enquêtés de 16 à 20 ans sont 3, représentant 3,1% et 2 étudiants sont dans la tranche d'âge de 26 à 30 ans soit 2,1 %. L'âge d'un apprenant de FLE est pertinent parce que cela joue un grand rôle dans l'enseignement/apprentissage d'une langue étrangère.

Information sur des outils numériques et des sources d'internet utilisés par les répondants

Cette section porte sur les différents outils déployés par les étudiants qui suivaient les études en ligne.

Tableau 3 : Outils numériques utilisés par des étudiants aux examens en ligne

Outils numériques le plus utilisés à l'examen	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Smartphone	69	71,9
Tablette	3	3,1
Ordinateur portable	24	25
Total	96	100

La question posée dans ce tableau 3, cherche à savoir les appareils numériques utilisés par les étudiants pour faciliter leur participation aux examens en ligne. Selon les réponses données par les participants, 69 répondants, soit 71,9% utilisent des Smartphones tandis que 24 étudiants, soit 25 % se servent des ordinateurs portables. Néanmoins, 3 étudiants, soit 3,1 % utilisent des tablettes à l'examen semestriel en ligne.

Tableau 4 : Sources d'internet utilisées par des étudiants pour se connecter à LMS (Sakai) au campus de UG

Sources d'internet	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Le Wifi de UG au département/campus	29	32,2
UG LAN au département/campus	1	1,1
Le Wifi de UG à la cité	51	53,1
UG LAN à la cité	15	15,6
Total	96	100

A cette étape, les opinions des étudiants sont sollicitées concernant les sources d'internet utilisées la plupart du temps pour se connecter à LMS (Sakai). Selon le tableau 4 ci-dessus, 51 étudiants, soit 53,1% confirment qu'ils utilisent la plupart du temps le Wifi de UG à la cité pour se connecter à LMS, alors que 29 étudiants, soit 32,2% indiquent qu'ils emploient souvent le Wifi de UG au département et sur campus pour se connecter à LMS (Sakai). Par contre, 15 étudiants, 15,6% indiquent qu'ils utilisent UG LAN à la cité pour la connexion à LMS (Sakai). Seul(e), un étudiant(e), soit 1,1 % signale l'utilisation de UG LAN au département et sur campus pour se connecter à LMS.

Tableau 5 : Evaluation de la source d'internet à UG par les étudiants pour se connecter à Sakai

Vitesse d'internet	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Très mauvaise	17	17,7
Mauvaise	17	17,7
Moyenne	42	43,8
Bonne	15	15,6
Excellente	5	5,2
Total	96	100

Ici, les opinions des étudiants sont sollicitées concernant la vitesse de la source Internet UG qu'ils utilisent pour se connecter à Sakai. Selon le tableau 5 ci-dessus, 42 étudiants, soit 43,8%, affirment que la vitesse d'internet pour se connecter à Sakai est *moyenne*, alors que 15 répondants, soit 15,6%, stipulent que la vitesse d'internet est *bonne*. En plus, 5 étudiants, soit 5,2% ont de l'opinion que la vitesse d'internet pour se connecter à Sakai est *excellente*. Cependant, 17 répondants, soit 17,7%, sont d'avis contraire, pour eux la vitesse d'internet de UG pour se connecter à Sakai est *très mauvaise* et 17 étudiants, soit 17,7% aussi intiment que la vitesse d'internet pour se connecter à Sakai est *mauvaise*.

Information sur la formation relative à l'usage des outils numériques

L'enquête cherche à comprendre si les étudiants ont une formation pratique par rapport à l'utilisation des outils numériques d'apprentissage.

Tableau 6 : Participation des étudiants à la session de formation sur les outils d'apprentissage en ligne organisée par l'UG

Formation sur les outils numériques de l'UG	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Oui	13	13,5
Non	35	36,5
Pas au courant	48	50
Total	96	100

Dans le tableau 6 ci-dessus, la moitié des étudiants enquêtés (48), soit 50%, indiquent qu'ils ne sont pas au courant de la formation sur les outils d'apprentissage en ligne sur Sakai organisé par l'UGCS (University of Ghana Computing Systems), Alors que, 13 étudiants, soit 13,5 % affirment qu'ils ont participé à la session de formation sur les outils d'apprentissage en ligne sur Sakai organisé par l'UG. Par contre, 35 étudiants, soit 36,5 % signalent la non-participation à cette session de formation offerte.

Tableau 7 : Fréquence d'utilisation du Sakai par les étudiants

Fréquence d'usage du Sakai	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Chaque jour	15	15,6
Cinq fois par semaine	68	70,8
Quatre fois par semaine	7	7,3
Une fois par semaine	6	6,3
Total	96	100

D'après les données du tableau 7 ci-dessus, 68 étudiants, soit 70,8%, indiquent qu'ils utilisent Sakai durant le cours de FLE, 15 étudiants ; soit 15, signalent l'utilisation quotidienne de Sakai en cours de FLE, alors que 7 étudiants ; soit 7,3%, disent qu'ils utilisent Sakai trois fois par semaine en classe. Néanmoins, 6 étudiants, soit 6,3% confirment qu'ils n'utilisent le Sakai qu'une seule fois par semaine pour le cours de FLE.

Information sur l'application des outils numériques pour passer un examen

Cette sous-rubrique présente les opinions des étudiants par rapport à la maîtrise des technologies pour passer l'épreuve d'examen semestriel.

Tableau 8 : Evaluation de la passation d'examen en ligne par les étudiants

Evaluation des passations d'examen en ligne	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Bien	20	20,8
Assez bien	57	59,4
Passable	17	17,7
Pauvre	2	2,1
Total	96	100

Le tableau 8 révèle les compétences des étudiants par rapport à l'application de la technologie dans l'apprentissage et la passation d'examen du FLE en ligne. Les statistiques dans ce tableau indiquent les différents niveaux des compétences des apprenants. La majorité, soit 59,4% des répondants ont une connaissance *assez bien* dans la manipulation des tâches d'apprentissage en ligne pouvant les aider à l'examen. Seul deux étudiants, soit 2,1 % ont une connaissance inadéquate dans l'apprentissage numérique et/ou dans la passation d'examen.

Tableau 9 : Opinion des étudiants sur le temps alloué pour les épreuves de français à l'examen

Deux heures de temps allouées pour les épreuves de français à examens sont suffisantes	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Oui	22	22,9
Non	74	77,1
Total	96	100

Le tableau 9 montre qu'une majorité des répondants, soit 77,1%, indiquent que le temps alloué pour les épreuves d'examens ne sont pas suffisantes, tandis que 22 répondants, soit 22,9% trouvent que le temps alloué pour les épreuves de français est suffisant.

Tableau 10 : Difficultés rencontrées par des étudiants à l'examen en ligne (Sakai)

Difficultés à l'examen en ligne (Sakai)	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Oui	77	80,2
Non	19	19,8
Total	96	100

D'après le tableau 10, 80,2% de répondants conçoivent qu'ils rencontrent des difficultés lors des examens en ligne, tandis que seule 19,8 % ne trouvent aucune difficulté aux examens en ligne sur Sakai.

Tableau 11 : Les type de difficultés rencontrées

Type de difficultés	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Temps alloué	40	51,9
Problèmes de connexion internet	13	16,9
Ralentissement d'internet entraînant un retard de téléchargement des fichiers avant les délais	24	31,2
Total	77	1010

Nous avons remarqué que 40 répondants, soit 51,9%, indiquent que le *temps alloué* lors de la composition des examens en ligne constitue un défi, alors que, 13 répondants, soit 16,9%, signalent plutôt des *problèmes de connexion internet*. En plus, 24 répondants, soit 31,2% indiquent que le ralentissement d'internet entraîne un retard de téléchargement des fichiers avant les délais de soumission.

Tableau 12 : Suggestions des étudiants pour améliorer l'examen semestriel en ligne pendant la période de COVID-19

Suggestions pour améliorer l'examen en ligne au milieu de la pandémie de COVID-19	Fréquence	Pourcentage
Il faudrait consacrer plus de temps aux examens	66	68,8
Examens en présentiel seraient les meilleurs	10	10,4
Clarté des consignes par rapport aux questions d'examen devraient être plus compréhensible	5	5,2
Bonne connexion du réseau pendant les examens	15	15,6
Total	96	100

En ce qui concerne les suggestions de la part des répondants pour l'amélioration des examens en ligne pendant la période de COVID-19, 66 répondants, soit 68,8% suggèrent qu'il faudrait consacrer plus de temps aux examens, alors que 10 répondants, soit 10,4% pensent que les examens en présentiel seront mieux que les examens en ligne. En plus, 5 répondants, soit 5,2% proposent la clarté des consignes par rapport aux questions d'examen en période de la Covid-19, tandis que 15 répondants, soit 15,6% ont de l'opinion qu'une meilleure connexion du réseau internet au campus pourra améliorer en période de cette crise sanitaire.

Discussion et propositions

La discussion des résultats présentés nous permet de bien comprendre et apprécier la situation numérique de la

didactique de langue surtout du français langue étrangère auprès des étudiants de la quatrième année de l'université du Ghana. Les résultats révèlent que les femmes constituent la majorité d'étudiants en FLE et la plupart des répondants ont au-delà de 20 ans. Cette information préliminaire suppose que les femmes ont plus de passion ou un fort désir pour l'étude des langues ; ceci confirme déjà l'assertion de Tosuni (2017) que les filles manifestent une plus grande motivation pour l'étude des langues étrangères que les garçons. Etant donné que la grande partie des participants est très jeune et que la jeunesse s'abonne aux réseaux sociaux, l'on aurait pensé que l'application des technologies dans l'enseignement/ apprentissage numérique ne poserait aucune difficulté à ces étudiants. Cependant, cette perception est très loin de la réalité.

Il est important de souligner qu'un bon nombre d'étudiants ne possède pas d'ordinateur portable, ainsi plus de la moitié utilise le smartphone. De plus, le problème de réseau et la vitesse du réseau limité constitue une entrave pour la majorité surtout pendant l'examen semestriel en ligne. Cette difficulté peut être attribuée au fait que seule une minorité d'étudiants a participé à la formation tutorale offerte sur l'usage de LMS Sakai qui est utilisé à l'université du Ghana. La non-participation des étudiants à cette formation pourrait être due soit au manque d'information de la part de l'institution, soit une attitude de laisser-faire des étudiants concernant les cours et les examens en ligne. Cette attitude des étudiants confirment l'idée que les limites d'une formation font partie de contraintes contextuelles de tout processus d'apprentissage (Mastafi, 2014 ; Unesco, 2011 ; Zhao & Bryant, 2006). Notons que l'étudiant désireux d'apprendre dans ce monde numérique doit être prêt à se donner à une autoformation même en dehors des cours magistraux. D'ailleurs, comme beaucoup d'étudiants n'utilisent pas régulièrement le LMS Sakai, il serait sans doute difficile pour ces derniers de bien l'utiliser à l'examen semestriel.

Bien que les étudiants soient compétents par rapport aux tâches d'apprentissage en ligne et que les consignes de l'examen soient compréhensibles, les questions posées mêmes semblent un peu difficile selon le rapport des enquêtes. En plus, les participants rencontrent des difficultés aux examens semestriels en ligne concernant les temps alloués aux épreuves individuelles. Nous pouvons attribuer cela au fait que les étudiants démontrent une maîtrise insuffisante de l'usage numérique pour des tâches académiques voire des examens ; ce qui s'aligne avec l'hypothèse de Fusaro & Couture (2012) que l'ordinateur est, selon eux, plutôt utilisé pour réaliser des exposés ou des textes écrits que pour préparer un examen. Toutes ces difficultés susmentionnées par des étudiants contribuent énormément à la mauvaise performance aux évaluations semestrielles. En réalité, la performance des étudiants en 4^e année en grammaire et traduction semi-spécialisée en ligne au second semestre a été très faible par rapport à leur performance dans la même matière en présentiel au premier. La présence de telles difficultés chez les étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur à l'ère numérique nous ramène à partager l'avis de Leroux et Nolla (2022) sur une émergence de pratiques évaluatives qui intègrent les technologies numériques afin de répliquer, d'amplifier et de transformer l'évaluation des compétences des apprenants.

Pour améliorer ou faciliter les examens semestriels en ligne, les participants pensent qu'un temps maximum doit être alloué à chaque épreuve en tenant compte de la vitesse de connexion du réseau disponible à l'institution. Si bien qu'on évolue en numérique, il serait souhaitable de modèles d'évaluation semestrielle tenant comptant des paramètres de connexion et surtout face à un grand effectif d'étudiants dont l'utilisation simultanée de l'internet réduit la vitesse du réseau. Outre, les questions des examens en ligne doivent être plus compréhensibles du fait que l'enseignant ne sera pas présent pour éclairer les consignes si besoin.

L'étude propose enfin que les étudiants participent à la formation offerte par l'université sur l'usage de LMS Sakai et s'engagent en autoformation pour un enseignement/apprentissage automatisé qui pourrait permettre leur participation facile aux examens semestriels.

Conclusion

L'évaluation des étudiants en ligne est susceptible de transformer non seulement le processus d'examen de fin de semestre et les façons d'évaluer, mais aussi notre vision de l'évaluation dans l'apprentissage. Dans cette étude, nous nous sommes données comme objectif d'analyser les défis des évaluations semestrielles en ligne chez les étudiants en quatrième année de licence au département de français à l'Université du Ghana. Une enquête descriptive et une approche quali-quantitative ont été utilisées pour traiter le sujet. Les informations ont été collectées auprès de 96 participants au moyen de questionnaire via *google docs*. Les résultats révèlent que la majorité (71,9%) des participants utilise les Smartphones comme l'un des outils numériques pour composer les examens de fin de semestre en ligne. Un bon nombre d'étudiants, soit 53,1% indiquent qu'ils utilisent la plupart du temps le Wifi de UG en cité pour se connecter à LMS Sakai pendant les examens semestriels en ligne. Cependant, de nombreux participants suggèrent que pour améliorer des examens numériques, il faudrait consacrer plus de temps aux épreuves. Alors qu'une minorité de répondants pensent que les examens en présentiel seront mieux que ceux dispensés à distance. Pour eux, non seulement le problème de connexion d'internet leur empêche de finir des épreuves mais aussi ils n'ont pas de maîtrise adéquate sur l'application des outils numériques pour passer des examens en ligne. De plus, certains enquêtés pensent que la bonne connexion du réseau internet au campus pourra aider à améliorer la passation des examens semestriels en ligne. Il y a une admission des difficultés lors des examens en ligne. Ces

difficultés sont largement attribuées au temps alloué aux examens et à la mauvaise connexion d'internet qui entraîne un retard de téléchargement des fichiers avant les délais de soumission. Il est indicatif que les étudiants ne souhaitent pas utiliser le numérique pendant les examens semestriels. Cette façon de penser ou cette orientation des étudiants mérite une étude complémentaire pour déceler leurs véritables intentions dans ce monde émergeant des technologies où l'enseignement/apprentissage se transforme en numérique.

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Promoting Ghanaian languages: The role of telenovela series

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Abstract

Telenovelas have become an attractive form of entertainment for many Ghanaians largely because of the use of local Ghanaian languages as voice-overs during telecast. The question that arises is – Does the telecast of telenovelas in a local language play any role in the promotion of Ghanaian languages? Using focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, we explored the role of Telenovelas with voice-overs in the promotion of Ghanaian languages among residents of some communities in Accra, Ghana; specifically, Lapaz, Osu and Gbawe Mallam communities, University students and market women. Findings show that due to low English literacy levels, voice-over telenovelas were preferred among residents in Lapaz community and the market women. A privately-owned television station, Max TV, emerged as the station with a wider audience due to its innovative broadcasting strategy of voice-over Telenovelas using the Ghanaian (Akan) language. Overall, the telenovelas appear to be promoting the Akan language by exposing viewers to lexical knowledge, facilitating the acquisition of

new vocabulary items, and shaping children's learning of Akan. This paper, therefore, unearths the significance of glocalization of telenovelas in the promotion of local languages in Ghana.

Keywords: Telenovela, Ghanaian local language, glocalization, promotion, voice-overs

Introduction

Telenovelas originated from Latin America and have attracted large viewers from across the globe, transcending age, gender, social class and community (Asiamah & Ofori-Birikorang, 2018). The word “telenovela” is derived from the Spanish word “Tele” meaning distance and “Novella” meaning story (Stavans, 2010). The stories are crafted in interesting ways to attract a wide viewing audience. Telenovelas have made their way into Ghana and many Ghanaians delight in viewing them. It all started in the mid-nineties, when the state-owned television known as Ghana Television first showed a Telenovela of Brazilian origin titled ‘*Isaura*’ (1996). Thereafter, a private Television called TV3 provided Ghanaians with Mexican Telenovelas like ‘*Esmeralda*’ (in 1997), ‘*Acapulco Bay*’ and ‘*Maria de Los Angeles*’ (in 1998). Since the first telecast of a Telenovela, it has become a popular programme and has been aired on almost all state-owned and private Ghanaian Television Stations (Hlormenyor, 2017).

With a multiplicity of different TV Stations, Ghanaians have viewed many Telenovela series which include *La Usurpadora* (1998), *Rosalinda* (1999), *The Revenge* (2002-2003), *Second Chance* (2005-2006), *Storm Over Paradise* (2007-2008), *Cursed by the Sea* (2009-2010), *Teresa* (2010-2011), etc. In most cases, the main character's name is taken for the title because viewers tend to have peculiar attachments to them. For instance, a Telenovela named ‘*Brothers*’ (season one started in the year 2020)¹ became popularly known among its viewers as ‘*Cardo*’ (the name refers to the main character in the series). It is quite interesting to see Ghanaian viewers caught up in traffic

¹ Season 2 of brothers is now being telecast on Max TV.

watching the Telenovela on their mobile phones because they just cannot afford to miss an episode. This reflects an addiction to Telenovelas among some Ghanaian viewers.

To Hlormenyor (2017), Telenovelas often carry different storylines such as love and marital relationships that often appeal to their viewers, generating their desire to watch the next episode as one ends. Apart from the storylines which attract viewers in Ghana, the use of a Ghanaian language via voice-overs has made it a popular programme, widening the viewership to include a larger population of mainly illiterate or semi-literate Ghanaians. It must be pointed out that the local language translation using voice-overs was initiated by an Akan-speaking television station called United Television (UTV) during the telecast of the Telenovela titled '*Wild at Heart*' which was popularly called '*Maricruz*' based on the name of the main character (Hlormenyor, 2017). Other Ghanaian TV Stations such as Adom TV, Obonu TV, GTV and MAX TV followed this new broadcast strategy and popularized the Telenovelas. The use of voice-overs in Twi, according to Dsane-Laryea (2019), has led to the coinage of a new television programming lexicon, "*Twinovela*" (a combination of the language "Twi" with the lexical item "novela") among viewers.

The use of the Ghanaian language through translation has not only led to the indigenization of the content of the Telenovelas but also reflects the localization of a foreign cultural artefact which has gained a global status through broadcasting. Such indigenization and linguistic adaption of a foreign programme content reflect how the world has become a global village (globalization) where transmission of culture, in this case, the Telenovela via broadcasting has become so widespread that it has been adapted to suit the viewer's local context. The process involved here is what has come to be generally known as "glocalization". Glocalization, that is, global mass media often portrayed in a local context, gives people a better sense of identity as well as a familiar lens through which to view global

media. Globalisation suggests that people need a local context to understand or appreciate global phenomena. The globalisation of media consumption and the need for glocalisation reflects the cultural similarities and differences people across the world share. This interplay of the global and the local is necessary to find an appropriate meaning for the Telenovela series (Dsane-Laryea, 2019).

Against this backdrop, this paper explores how the indigenization and glocalization of these foreign Telenovelas in the context of their prevalence affect the promotion of local languages in Ghana. To this end, the paper attempts to answer these questions: Which TV station is the favourite of voice-over Telenovelas of viewers? What are the reasons for watching Telenovelas telecast in Ghanaian languages? Has the indigenization and glocalization of Telenovelas promoted Ghanaian languages?

Methodology

Using a qualitative exploratory research design via in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), data were collected from Telenovela viewers from three communities in Accra, two major markets and two universities. Accra was chosen as a study site since it is the capital of Ghana and its residents have access to television and can access the different television channels to watch these Telenovelas. Within this study site, we purposively selected seven communities where there appeared to be community interest in Telenovelas, based on the researcher's observation. These communities include Lapaz, Osu and Gbawe Mallam. Lapaz, as an urban area in Accra is one of the most popular and busiest commercial areas. It is densely populated and has many households consisting of compound houses². Many residents of this area are seen watching Telenovelas throughout the day³. Osu Community, known for its

² Compound house is a Ghanaian English phrase meaning a multi-household house.

³ People tend to congregate at the homes of those who possess television sets or at shops to watch the Telenovelas.

busy commercial, restaurant and nightlife activities, is located about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of the central business district, Accra. Gbawe Mallam is a peri-urban community located on the main Kaneshie-Winneba Highway. In addition to these three communities, Makola and Agbogbloshie markets (two major markets in Accra) were also selected for interaction with the market women. To further get diverse views for the study, two universities, University of Ghana (UG) and University of Education, Winneba, (UEW) students were also sampled for the study.

Two FGDs were conducted in each of the three communities, totaling six. The FGDs were conducted in the homes of frequent Telenovela viewers. The homes chosen were households with at least three families residing on the compound. Two members from each family were selected to participate in the FGDs. The FGDs comprised 8 members per group. The homes selected in these three communities were based on researchers' frequent visits to these communities and observed that these homes were frequent viewers and addicted to Telenovelas with voice-overs. In the two selected markets, in-depth interviews were conducted with market women who were frequent viewers of Telenovelas. These women were identified through the snowball technique. Eight in-depth interviews were conducted in each market following the argument of Guest et al. (2006) that in studies of more heterogeneous samples, 12 interviews will suffice. To this end, we had 16 participants interviewed as data saturation was reached after the 14th interview, at which point no new concepts emerged from subsequent interviews (Patton, 2014). Our sample size was also deemed adequate as sample size determination is guided by the criterion of informational redundancy, that is, sampling can be terminated when no new information is elicited by sampling more units (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To get further insights and diverse views into the research goal, four FGDs were conducted among university

students who were interested in Telenovelas with voice-overs. These viewers were identified through the snowball sampling technique. Two FGDs were conducted in each University among first and final year students. Eight (8) members per group from these Universities (UG and UEW) participated in these FGDs.

Two data collection instruments, namely FGDs and in-depth interviews, were used to strengthen the reliability and validity of the study. As argued by Yin (2011) data triangulated from different sources add to the study's credibility and trustworthiness. In exploratory qualitative research designs, the views of participants are sought more closely, so that insight can be gained into their thoughts in relation to the question of interest (Smith & McGannon, 2018). In this regard, an interview guide was developed based on the study's objectives. The guide was delineated into four sections namely: participants' background, favourite Telenovela TV stations watched, reasons for watching voice-over Telenovelas and views on whether or not voice-over Telenovelas promoted Ghanaian languages.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all COVID-19 protocols were observed during the data collection in terms of maintaining social distance and wearing of masks. The interviews were conducted from September to November 2021. Participants made themselves available at their own convenience. The interview sessions lasted about 30-45 minutes. Verbal consent was obtained from participants before interviews commenced, and anonymity was also guaranteed by the decision to use pseudonyms. The interviews were conducted in both English and a Ghanaian local language that participants felt at ease with. This approach of using both English and a local language was adopted to make participants feel at ease to answer the questions without having to worry about expressing themselves in English when one is not that capable. These FGDs were recorded based on the consent of the participants. The English language was the option chosen by the university students as it is the major language of instruction across all universities and all participants

could easily communicate in it. The university students' FGDs were conducted online via zoom and were also recorded. The online was opted for by the university students as that made it easier for them to join wherever they were during the interview session which was conducted in the evening (between 7pm and 8pm) on a weekend. The evening and weekends were deemed appropriate as these were the times these students were less busy with academic work and available for the FGDs. In all 128 participants (see Table 1) were used for the study.

Table 1: Sources of data collection

	Female	Male	
FGD 1			
• Lapaz	4	4	
• Osu Community	5	3	
• Gbawe Mallam Community	5	3	
Total	14	10	24
University of Ghana			
• First year	4	4	
• Final Year	7	1	
Total	11	5	16
University of Education			
• First Year	7	1	
• Final Year	6	2	
Total	13	3	16
FGD 2			
• Lapaz Community	5	3	
• Osu Community	7	1	
• Gbawe Mallam Community	6	2	
Total	18	6	24

University of Ghana			
• First year Students	6	2	
• Final Year Students	6	2	
Total	12	4	16
University of Education			
• First Year Students	7	1	
• Final Year Students	7	1	
Total	14	2	16
In-depth Interviews			
• Agbogbloshie Market	8	-	
• Makola Market	8	-	
Total	16		16
Total			128

Study Participants' Background

Perceived to be of interest to women, Telenovelas have, however, also caught the attention and interest of men, particularly in the communities of Lapaz and Gbawe Mallam and students in the university. More than half ⁴ (82 out of 112) of our participants were females with the remaining being male participants (30). The average age of our participants was 28 with the youngest participants being 18 years and the oldest being 50 years old. About 39.1% of the study participants were married, 42.9% were single, 11.7% were in co-habiting unions and 6.2% were separated. Our analysis also shows that apart from the 64 university students having tertiary educational backgrounds, about 31.2%⁵ of participants from the selected communities and 25% (i.e. 4 out of 16) of market women had tertiary education. The analysis showed that (47.9%)⁶ of the viewers from the

⁴ That is 73.3%. The total (112) here excludes the market women (16) interviewed. The total figure (112) here includes the interviewees from the three communities and university students.

⁵ That is 15 out of 48 participants.

⁶ That is 23 out of 48 participants.

communities and the markets (50%)⁷ have secondary education (see Table 2). This suggests that Telenovelas have attracted all irrespective of educational background.

Table 2: Demographic information of participants

Personal Information	Number
<i>Gender</i>	
• Male	30
• Female	98
<i>Total</i>	128
<i>Level of Education</i>	
<i>Tertiary Education</i>	
• <i>Students</i>	64
• <i>Market women</i>	4
• <i>Three Communities (Lapaz, Osu, Gbawe Mallam)</i>	15
<i>Secondary Education</i>	
• <i>Market women</i>	8
• <i>Three Communities (Lapaz, Osu, Gbawe Mallam)</i>	23
<i>Basic Education</i>	
• <i>Market women</i>	4
• <i>Three Communities (Lapaz, Osu, Gbawe Mallam)</i>	10
<i>Total</i>	128
<i>Marital Status</i>	
• Married	50
• Single	55
• Co-Habiting	15
• Separated	8
<i>Total</i>	128

⁷ That is 8 out of 16 participants.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Data from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis following the six delineated phases (Braun & Clarke, 2019). These steps were followed in analysing the data collected from the field. Given that the research focused on three thematic areas (favourite voice-over Telenovela TV station, reasons for watching voice-over Telenovelas and role of voice-over Telenovelas in Ghanaian language promotion), it was necessary to thoroughly examine the data repeatedly and code segments of the data as well as develop themes that addressed the objectives of the study. The FGDs and interviews were therefore transcribed verbatim to get a sense of the data, assess the completeness, and identify new themes not initially considered in the interview guides. Then initial codes that reflected the study objectives were generated and sorted into themes creating meaningful units as well as identifying extracts from the data that reiterated the themes. Next, the initial codes and themes generated were reviewed as we re-read the transcripts and extracts associated with the codes that were collated. We then developed conceptual themes that relate to the study objectives. Based on the interview guide, themes coding categories were identified. Finally, descriptive quotes were selected, and extracts were used to represent the interviewees' views on the study's focus. All the participant identifiers used in this study are pseudonyms.

Discussion of Findings

After analysing the interviews of study participants, four central themes emerged and were supported by ten sub-themes (see Figure 1)



Figure 1: Emergent themes and sub-themes

Figure 1 shows the final thematic map generated from the interview data analysed. The four main themes (*Broadcasting strategy*, *Stress Releaser*, *Education*, and *Proficiency*) supported by nine sub-themes will be discussed in the next section.

Broadcasting Strategy

In Ghana, many private Television (TV) stations have emerged apart from the state-owned TV station known as Ghana Television (GTV). These new TV stations include United TV (UTV), ADOM TV, TV3, Obonu TV, METRO TV, MAX TV, Kessben TV among others that have programme line-ups consisting mainly of voice-over Telenovelas. In the bid to answer our main goal of the study, it was expedient to

explore the favourite Telenovela TV stations watched among our participants. Our finding shows that MAX TV, UTV and ADOM TV are popular and well-known voice-over Telenovela TV stations among interviewees. However, from the narrations, more than half (69.5%)⁸ of the participants prefer MAX TV, one of the private TV stations in Ghana that predominantly telecasts Telenovela in Akan (using Twi and Fante dialects). MAX TV's broadcasting strategy (one of the central themes) supported by two sub-themes (Telenovela line-up and Advertisement) were the reasons that emerged from the data for its preference and wider audience.

MAX TV has coined a term known as '*double double*' (repetition of episodes) which tends to influence their broadcasting strategy. MAX TV, therefore, telecasts its Telenovelas throughout the day during weekdays as the station repeats previous episodes during the daytime. It also has omnibus sessions during weekends for all those who missed any of these series during the week to catch up and fill in the missing story. The participants argued that their preference for MAX TV is because of this innovative strategy. They opined that though the Telenovela programme line-up is not loaded, interesting advertisements shown during the programme make their station quite unique.

Telenovela programme line-up

Participants' interaction shows that the strategy used by MAX TV, in terms of the continuous line-up of their Telenovela in 'craving' order makes it quite appealing. Telenovelas shown follow *each* other with interesting storylines that urge viewers to watch episode after episode. During the interviews, there were three particular Telenovelas that were ongoing known as 'Double Kara' (*but referred to as 'Kara'*), 'Brothers' (*but referred to as 'Cardo'*), and 'The Heiress' that were of immense attraction to viewers. These three Telenovelas shown on MAX TV, could be a

⁸ That is 89 out of 128 participants.

contributing factor to the preference for the station by most of the market women and families of the selected communities. These voice-over Telenovelas provided them with the opportunity to join in the conversation and express their views about the series. Such conversations according to participants make one not to be ‘left out’ of the ‘Telenovela world’. A participant echoed: *‘you know we discuss these episodes and sometimes even argue about what will happen in the next episode. If you don’t watch Telenovela you end up being left out of these conversations’* (Market woman, Agboghloshie market).

Advertisements

Interviewees opined that their preference for MAX TV was not only because the station aired all its Telenovelas in the local language, but also because it does not show too many advertisements during the Telenovela programme. And the few it shows are interesting. Accentuating this, a participant said: *‘MAX TV is doing well, they show many Telenovelas in Akan, you know they have nice adverts and that’s why I like that station* (Market woman, Makola Market). Another participant narrated thus: *‘I like MAX TV, not many adverts during its transmission you know, and they repeat their interesting episode so you don’t miss anything’* (Female Student, UG).

Following MAX TV is UTV, another Ghanaian private TV station, the first station in Ghana to telecast Telenovelas in the Akan language and, as indicated earlier in the paper, uses a combination of Twi and Fante dialects which attracted many viewers including the illiterate and semi-literate. The findings showed that about 17.9%⁹ of the participants mentioned UTV as their favourite Telenovela station. They argued that UTV is the station that excites them with its good storylines and panel discussion after the episode. Therefore, they learn a lot from the discussion. A participant echoed: *I like the way ‘Alagege’ (host of the discussion at UTV) asks the questions and even attempts*

⁹ That is 23 out of 128 participants.

to summarize the episode before the next episode is shown (Female, Gbawe Mallam). Another participant said: 'UTV Telenovela is nice and I enjoy them, I have heard of the other stations but I think I have gotten addicted to UTV programmes so I prefer UTV' (Female, Lapaz).

ADOM TV, was the third preference among participants. According to Hlormenyor (2017), it is well-known and one of the topmost private stations that telecasts Telenovelas in Ghanaian language which attracts high viewership. ADOM TV became popular due to an Indian Telenovela titled '*KumKum Bhagya*' which was aired in the Twi and Fante dialects of Akan.

From these findings, it appears MAX TV has overtaken UTV as the most preferred station for Telenovelas. UTV has been touted in the literature as being famous and highly preferred among Telenovela viewers in Ghana on account of its telecast of Telenovelas in the local language (Hlormenyor, 2017). This implies that the innovative broadcasting strategy adopted by MAX TV has worked.

Reasons for Watching Telenovelas Aired in Ghanaian Language

One of the study's aims was to explore why study participants will opt for Telenovelas aired in Ghanaian language. From our analysis, two main themes (stress releaser and education) emerged from the data with 6 sub-themes supporting these themes. These themes and sub-themes are discussed in detail below.

Stress Releaser

Studies have shown that Telenovela releases stress among their viewers, hence the reason for watching them (Dsane-Laryea, 2019; Adia, 2014). This was evident in the study as participants argued that watching these Telenovelas in a local language eases stress as it is full of fun, humour and entertainment.

Fun and Humour

From the perspective of the majority (75%)¹⁰ of market women, the reason why they watch Telenovelas in the local language is to ease their stress after a hectic day. For these women, Telenovela is for relaxation and fun after a hectic day in the market. These women pointed out that, local names are given to these foreign characters and sometimes the humour attached to the translation of the story makes it full of fun. A market woman reiterated: *‘I feel like watching something in the evening for relaxation after a hectic day, I choose Telenovela, you know the way they speak Twi and sometimes the exaggeration makes me relax’* (Market Woman, Makola Market). About 21.3% of the students also echoed this same view of the market women and narrated that after a hectic day of lectures and learning, they sometimes watch these series to ease off some stress. However, these students pointed out that when school is in session, they watch these series during the first few weeks of the semester, but when studies get tougher in the semester and examinations approach, they catch up with the omnibus series during the weekend. A student at UG thus narrated: *‘you know as they translate, they create jokes which makes it full of fun too, so we prefer to watch’* (Female Student, UG).

Entertainment

The male participants were of the view that watching these Telenovelas entertain them and their families and, in the end, release their stress after a hectic day. This is because they sit together as a family to watch and with the humour created, they are entertained and do not really feel like going out in the evenings to join their friends. For instance, in Lapaz community, most of the males who participated in the focus group discussions watch Telenovela with their spouses or families at a set time for their evenings’ entertainment which tends to make them relax. A man thus said: *‘As a driver, I join my wife and children as they*

¹⁰ That is 12 out of 16 market women interviewed.

watch, I do not know all the storyline but just to laugh and relax, I come home to join them to watch it instead of being with my friends' (Male, Lapaz).

Education

Education was the second central theme that emerged from the data as we explored the choice of Telenovelas in the local language. The majority (i.e., 72.9%)¹¹ of the study participants watch these Telenovelas because they learn about love and marriage lives, get insight into foreign cultures, and are updated on global fashion trends.

Learn about love and marriage life

Kwode et al. (2020) and Adia (2014) have argued that the majority of Telenovela telecasts on Ghanaian TV stations are about love and marriage relationship. Our interaction with the study participants shows that more than half of the students (70.31%)¹² and viewers selected from the studied communities (79.1%)¹³ watched these series because they learn and gain much insight about relationships with respect to love and marriage life. A student echoed: *'Most of the storylines are always about love life, they are romantic, you know, as I am young, I think it makes me know more about love life' (Male Student, UEW)*. The same view was expressed by another student who thus: *'It is interesting, how the love life is portrayed in foreign countries as you watch and try to compare your relationship' (Female Student, UG)*. A young resident female participant also said: *'Telenovela stories are beautiful, it is full of love and romantic matters that I do learn from, sometimes I tease my husband with some of the characters who tend to be romantic and ask him to imitate them and treat me as such' (Female, Osu Community)*. This informal education about love and marital life was found to be predominant among participants

¹¹ 70 out of 128

¹² That is 45 out of 64 students interviewed.

¹³ That is 38 out of 48 participants interviewed from the communities.

who were young (ages between 18 and 30 years), a reflection of youthfulness along with the perception of love life as very romantic and beautiful, a phenomenon which is not particularly part of the Ghanaian culture.

Interestingly, the majority (75%)¹⁴ of women do not watch Telenovela to learn more about love life. They argued that these series are foreign and thus portray love and marriage in a manner different from our Ghanaian culture. They contend further that such romantic love relationship is not a norm in the Ghanaian setting, hence they rather get insight and education about the nature of love and marriage life of the countries of origin of these Telenovelas.

Among these market women, voice-over Telenovelas make them understand life issues from different perspectives as sentiments are expressed during their discussions of these series. A market woman accentuated this and said: *‘People voice out their sentiments and make me to understand marital life issues better’* (Market woman, Madina Market). About 31.2% of residents in the selected communities shared this same view of the market women as a man narrated thus: *‘we know such beautiful love do not exist here, it is for the white people you know. They can do it, you know what I mean like kissing all over the place to express their love’* (Male, Osu Community).

Foreign Culture Exposure

The responses from study participants also revealed that watching these Telenovelas give them insight into foreign cultures, especially about love and marital life. This view was expressed among majority (83.3%)¹⁵ of Telenovela viewers in the selected communities (Lapaz, Gbawe Mallam and Osu) as well as among the market women. According to these participants, the Telenovela storylines inform them about the manner and exhibition of love and marital life in the country that the series originated from, consequently they get much insight into that

¹⁴ That is 12 out of 16 market women interviewed.

¹⁵ That is 40 out of 48 viewers interviewed from the communities.

country's culture. This obviously sets up paradigms for comparison: the foreign culture on one hand, and the Ghanaian culture, on the other. Panel discussions that take place after an episode as well as conversations that ensue between viewers in the market after an episode aired the previous day provide the opportunity to viewers appreciate further the cultural differences. A market woman thus narrated: *'We get to know the culture of these countries which informs the discussion afterwards, you know during the discussion, they compare our culture with theirs' (Market Woman, Makola Market)*. Another male participant from Gbawe Mallam echoed: *'we get to know more about the white people and how they handle their love culture, you know and sometimes our wives try to compare us with them (sighs)...., some of their ways are not our ways and we cannot be like them' (Male, Gbawe Mallam)*. However, less than one-third (29.68%)¹⁶ of students also expressed this same view of being educated about foreign cultures with respect to love and marriage life. A student from UEW simply said: *'I get to know more about the way they handle their love lives in other countries like Mexico and Spain (Male, Student, UEW)*.

Learn about global fashion trends

According to Antwi et al. (2016) and Kwoide et al. (2020), Telenovelas provide the opportunity for viewers to be informed about the latest global fashion trends. This was evident in the study as majority (55 out of 64)¹⁷ of interviewees particularly university students pointed out they watch these series to learn more about new fashion trends worldwide. For these students, the characters are beautiful and are often clustered in beautiful outfits, hence they sometimes follow a particular character in the series and make choices when buying a dress and making their hairstyles. A UG student reiterated: *'I sometimes buy a dress by following a particular style a character wore in the series I*

¹⁶ This is 19 out of 64 students interviewed.

¹⁷ That is 85.9%.

watched' (Female Student, UG). Another student said: 'Did you see the hairstyle used for Andeng's (a character in a Telenovela titled A Love to last) wedding, I just love it and style my hair as such' (Female student, UG).

Telenovela and Ghanaian Local Language Promotion

On the contribution of Telenovelas to the promotion of Ghanaian local languages, 75% of market women and 62.5% of residents in the selected communities, as well as 31.2% of students agreed to a large extent that Ghanaian language is being promoted. In this regard, we further explored which of the Ghanaian languages is being promoted. The narration of the study participants showed that the Akan language (especially the Twi and Fante dialects) is at the top of the list as the main local language being promoted. In Ghana, there are five major indigenous languages (Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagaare and Dagbani) (Dakubu, 1996) with English as the official language. The Akan language has been noted as a popular language spoken (Tindi & Ayiku, 2018) in Accra and this might be the reason why the TV stations decided to indigenise and glocalise Telenovelas using the Akan language (Twi and Fante dialects). Majority of the market women argued that not many of the Telenovelas are aired in the other Ghanaian languages. Only one TV station called Obonu TV, shows some Telenovelas in the Ga language which has not attracted higher viewership, probably due to the Twi and Fante dialects being used by most of the TV stations. A market woman said: *'I feel Twi and Fante are being promoted to an extent as children and non-Twi speakers are beginning to learn new vocabulary and understand the language'* (Market woman, Agbobloshie Market). A university student also pointed out: *'Not many Telenovelas are aired in Ga so the Ga language is not promoted if I may say, there is a new Telenovela in Hausa on GTV now, but not popular as not many people watch it. The Akan language appears to be on top'* (Female Student, UG). The interviewees of the three communities selected shared the

same views expressed by the marketwomen as they also claimed Telenovela contributes to the promotion of the Akan language. A participant narrated thus: *‘Many people watch the Twi Telenovela because they understand it, unlike the English ones. I believe that Twi is being promoted due to Telenovela (Female, Osu Community).*

However, about 29.6% of students interviewed argued that the Akan language is not being promoted properly as there is more to the promotion of a local language. These TV stations sometimes do not consider the entire syntax, phonology, and phonetics dimensions of the language as they translate the Telenovelas. A student explained that: *‘Translating Telenovelas into a local language does not successfully promote the language as the syntax, the phonetics and phonology aspects are important to help you to learn the language better’ (Male Student, UG).* More than half (62.5%) of the students have a different view as they opined that airing Telenovela in a local language does not necessarily promote the language, it just increases the number of viewers as more illiterate and semi-literate people get the opportunity to watch foreign programmes (such as Telenovela) since they can easily comprehend the storylines, which they might not have been able to do had the translation not been done. This finding may suggest that illiteracy (in English) contributes to the preference for watching voice-over Telenovelas.

The interviewees were further asked about various ways in which the Ghanaian language is being promoted. The responses of participants generated one main central theme (proficiency) with two sub-themes (lexicon knowledge and shaping children’s local language learning) and these are discussed in the next section.

Proficiency

Our study findings show that proficiency with respect to lexicon knowledge and shaping children’s local language learning were ways that contribute to the promotion of Ghanaian languages.

Lexicon Knowledge

Interestingly, the responses of participants revealed that even native Akan speakers tend to learn new vocabulary and get further insight into the phonetic and morphological aspects of the language based on watching these voice-over Telenovelas. This was accentuated in the study as an Akan female interviewee revealed: *'I am able to learn some words which I previously did not know of' (Female, Lapaz Community)*. A few students (28.1%) explained that with the airing of Telenovelas in local languages, some foreigners and non-native speakers of Twi have through that learnt and tried to speak Twi. A student narrated: *I quite remember some foreigners came to Ghana and tried to speak Twi as they watched the Telenovela (Female Student, UG)*. Another student reiterated: *I am not a native speaker of Twi, so Telenovela gives me the opportunity to learn more vocabulary of Twi to enhance my communication (Male Student, UEW)*.

Some interviewees also explained that through the local language-based Telenovelas, they have been able to learn new vocabulary. Another market woman reiterated: *'Frequent watching of a Telenovela in a particular language will help you to learn the language if you do not understand it' (Market woman, Makola Market)*. This finding was also evident in the study carried out by Antwi et al. (2016). From these utterances, lexicon knowledge is gained by these viewers, as they begin to improve on their use of the Akan language.

Shaping Children's Language learning

A Telenovela viewer made the following revelation: *'My children now speak Twi because of these series, I do not speak Twi with them, we speak Ewe, but now due to these series you see them speaking the Twi as they play with their friends' (Male, Lapaz community)*. A market woman also pointed out that: *'It helps me and my children to learn Twi, the children ask me the meaning of the Twi words as they watch and I get excited as it helps me to teach them the language which they should have*

been nurtured with' (Market woman, Agboghloshie market). These revelations suggest that Telenovelas are facilitating the learning of Twi by children.

Conclusion and Implication

The study investigated voice-over Telenovelas and their role in the promotion of Ghanaian languages. This was done using multiple data sources (focus groups and interviews) from diverse Telenovela viewers (residents of some communities in Accra; that is, Lapaz, Gbawe Mallam and Osu communities; market women and UG and UEW students in Ghana) to answer the three main objectives of the study; namely, the favourite voice-over Telenovela TV station, the reasons for watching voice-over Telenovelas and the role of these Telenovelas in the promotion of Ghanaian languages. Findings from the study suggest that voice-over Telenovelas appeal to all irrespective of gender, age and educational background. From the study, private TV stations have attracted the illiterate, semi-literate and the literate and are getting a higher market share due to their telecasting of Telenovelas in Ghanaian languages. MAX TV, a private TV station is predominantly preferred among study participants, followed by UTV and Adom TV. MAX TV appears to have the highest market share and viewership due to its innovative broadcast strategy which entails frequent broadcast of the Telenovelas and avoidance of excessive advertising while making sure advertising interruptions are interesting.

Evidence from the study further showed that releasing stress and education were the main reasons why participants watch these voice-over Telenovelas. These Telenovelas serve as a stress releaser for majority of the participants' families as they get the opportunity to spend time together after their return from work. Spending of such time together coupled with humour and fun created by the translators of these voice-over Telenovelas make them exciting and entertaining. The study participants, therefore, find the indigenisation of Telenovelas a good stress reliever.

On education, the younger viewers (between the ages of 18 and 30 years) indicated that they learn more about love and marital life relationships whereas the older adults (in this case the market women) tend to gather knowledge about the countries of origin and get to understand love and marriage life in a different context. These older adults tend to compare the knowledge thus gained with the Ghanaian context. This comparison is reflected in the panel discussions held after an episode as opportunities are given to viewers to share their thoughts and opinions (via phone calls and social media) about the characters and their behaviour with respect to Ghanaian culture.

Another interesting finding of the study with respect to education is the knowledge acquired on fashion trends. Study findings showed that younger Telenovela viewers (i.e., University students and those from Lapaz community) watch these Telenovelas to be updated with global fashion trends. To these younger viewers, such fashion update is key as they are informed about the latest fashion styles, thus ensuring that they are abreast of global trends in the fashion. Interestingly, the older participants (predominantly market women) were not very interested in updates on fashion trends.

The study findings also indicated that viewers, including children, develop their vocabulary by watching the Telenovelas. Adults get to learn new lexical items because of the breadth of experiences and issues dramatized in the Telenovelas while children who have not been brought up learning the local language get the opportunity to do so.

From the study, it is evident that Telenovelas play a significant role in the promotion of Ghanaian languages, especially Twi. The study participants felt that this was the case especially considering the exposure that the Akan language was receiving in contrast with the other major languages, namely, Ga, Akan, Dagaare, Dagbani and Ewe. While adults are expanding their lexicon children are learning about the language and developing their fluency in it. From the perspective of the impact on children, we

project the emergence of a future generation that would appreciate and contribute to the promotion of our Ghanaian languages. The glocalization of these Telenovelas would also contribute to the development of pragmatic knowledge of Akan and the improvement of communicative competence among viewers as they learn the contextual use of certain Akan expressions. That said, we also recommend that these TV stations should consider using the other major Ghanaian languages as voice-overs for the Telenovelas, as that would contribute to their development and valorisation.

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Language Blending in Tanzanian Adverts: Codeswitching between Swahili, English, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*

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Abstract

This study interrogates the strategic use of code-switching involving Standard Swahili, English, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* in audio-visual advertisements by telecommunication companies (Telecos) in Tanzania. A purposive sampling method was used to gather the data: codeswitched advertisements for the purpose of demonstrating the blending of codes. The data on advertisement was gathered from audio-visual advertisements by selected Telecos in Tanzania on social media platforms. Underpinned by theories of codeswitching, this study establishes that beyond codeswitching between Kiswahili and English as a language choice for advertising by Telecos in Tanzania, an emerging trend is the use of codeswitching between Standard Kiswahili and *Kiswahili cha mtaani* (an urban youth variety of Kiswahili); also, some adverts feature three-way codeswitching involving Standard Kiswahili, English and *Kiswahili cha mtaani*. The study further argues that codeswitching in the advertisements is carefully thought of, intentionally blending the languages in a strategic way to attract customers from different

linguistic, economic, and sociological backgrounds as well as different age groups, making this kind of codeswitching distinct from codeswitching which occurs in natural conversation.

Keywords: Codeswitching, *Kiswahili cha mtaani*, Language Blending, intra-sentential codeswitching, codeswitched advert

Introduction

Advertisements are a medium for promoting products and marketing services to people. According to Okoro (2005), the term advertising originated from the Latin word ‘ad vertere’ which means, ‘to turn the mind towards’. Several studies in the literature have established that codeswitching has evolved as a language choice for advertising in many parts of the world. Often in the instances of codeswitched adverts in various countries where English is not indigenous, local languages are codeswitched with English, simply because English is the most-wide-spread language, prestigious, and often referred to as a global language (Crystal, 1997). In addition, in many non-native English-speaking countries, advertisers are making strong efforts to target and persuade bilinguals. Advertisers are highly creative and innovative in producing code-switched and code-mixed adverts which simultaneously manipulate and appeal to bilinguals to a great extent. Over the past few decades, codeswitching between Kiswahili and English in advertisement texts has become a norm especially in advertisements by multinational organizations (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2013). Although codeswitching is usually an oral phenomenon, its usage in advertisements in the print media has become a norm in Tanzania. Thus, codeswitching features in advertisements in many Kiswahili language newspapers as well as billboards (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2013). Codeswitching between Kiswahili and English has also increased in audio-visual advertisements over the years (Dzahene-Quarshie and Csajbok-Twerefou, 2016). In recent times another trend that has emerged in the world of advertising, especially in Africa, is the use of urban youth

languages in advertising (Mungai, 2008; Kariuki, Kanana and Kebeya, 2015). Mutinga (2013) observes that many commercial advertisers have turned to an extensive use of Sheng, an urban youth language in Kenya to market their products. He posits that the entrepreneurial class in Kenya has now woken up to the economic advantages that Sheng presents as the language of the youth. Likewise in Tanzania a similar trend has emerged where *Kiswahili cha mtaani*, an urban youth language, has emerged in the domain of advertising in addition to English mixing.

Thus, increasingly, codeswitched adverts are becoming the norm in Tanzania, where codeswitching involves Swahili and English, Standard Swahili and *Kiswahili cha mtaani* or all three of them. This shift in language choice for advertising is significant especially when the products and services target particularly the youth. This trend is popular in advertisements of multinational companies, especially telecommunication companies. It is the dynamics of this kind of codeswitching that we refer to as blending. The present study seeks to examine the blending of codes as a language choice for advertising selected products and services in Tanzania.

The use of these three distinct codes in advertisement stems from the fact that all the three codes play vital roles in specific domains in Tanzania. For advertisers, it is important to reach the widest range of customers, thus they use blended language in order to appeal to all categories of customers (the old, the young, the middle-class, the masses); on the side of customers, they are attracted to the beautifully blended language of the world of advertisements. The key objective of the study is to demonstrate through the analysis of a corpus of ten advertisements that unlike normal codeswitching where the switching occurs as a necessity due to the speaker's inability to use one code due to one or more of several reasons, in codeswitched advertisement, switching which may be between two or three codes (Standard Kiswahili, English and *KcM* (Street Swahili) is deliberate and planned. It is executed in such a way

that the overall effect appeals to and attracts customers to the advertised product or service.

In the following sections, we first discuss the conceptual framework underpinning the study. This is followed by a discussion on the relationship between Standard Kiswahili, English and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*. Next, we describe the methodology adopted by the study, then we analyse and discuss the data. Thereafter, we briefly discuss the findings of the study and conclude.

Conceptual Framework

Multilingualism refers to the phenomenon of conversing with two or more languages alternately and bilingualism is conversing by use of two languages. Titone (1993) defined bilingualism as one's ability to speak a second or third language using structures and concepts that differ from the mother tongue. To aid the analysis and discussion of the data on the use of two or all three of the languages identified in advertisements in Telecom Tanzania, the study employs the concept of code-mixing and codeswitching. Hoffman (1991) describes code-mixing as the most creative aspect of multilingual and bilingual speech which is a normal phenomenon for multilingual and bilingual speakers. Usually, for multilinguals and bilinguals it is easier to communicate certain topics in one's dominant language than a less dominant one. Poplack (2001) explains code-mixing as the integration of more than one language in discourse by bilinguals or multilinguals between and among persons engaged in a particular conversation, within a particular group of people or even on a specific subject or theme. According to Bauer (2010), code-mixing refers to the "linguistic behavior of a bilingual speaker who imports words or phrases from one of his/ her languages into the other one. In brief, Code Mixing can be defined as the code-alternation of words or phrases from language A into language B within a single utterance.

Myers-Scotton (1988) defines this kind of language alternation as constituting intra-sentential codeswitching. Intra-sentential switching thus occurs within the sentence boundaries or also in a clause. In this sense, bilingual or multilingual speakers switch part of clauses, morphemes, or lexical items in a sentence. Again, according to her, code-switching is “the use of any two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, whether they are different languages, styles, or dialects” (p. 201). Hoffman (1991) and Poplack (2001) categorize code-switching into inter-sentential switching, and emblematic switching or tag switching. However, Myers-Scotton (1988) uses codeswitching as an umbrella term for all types of code alternations and distinguishes between intra-sentential switching and inter-sentential switching. Inter-sentential switching involves switching at the sentential level where one sentence is in a particular language and the subsequent sentence is in another language (Myers-Scotton, 1988). Tag switching occurs where a tag or short phrase is inserted from one language into a sentence in another language (Hoffman, 1991).

Considering that code-mixing (intra-sentential codeswitching) allows the change of code, it is important to know factors that trigger it. According to Chaer and Agustina (2010), Code-Mixing is triggered by several factors such as: the speaker, the addressee, the setting, the change of situation from formal to informal, and the topic. Li (1996) cited in Bi (2011, p. 61) states that “topics like family, school, workplace, pop music, fashions, and politics are most often talked about in a code-mixing way”. A functional model for codeswitching is proposed by Appel and Muysken (2006) who state that code-switching is used to attain diverse functions in interactions. According to Myers-Scotton (1988), code-switching is “the use of any two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, whether they are different languages, styles, or dialects” (p. 201). Code-mixing (intra-sentential codeswitching), inter-sentential and tag switching are exemplified in our data. For the sake of

uniformity, we will use the terms inter-sentential codeswitching, intra-sentential codeswitching (in lieu of code mixing) and tag switching in this study.

Dynamics of Kiswahili, English and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* in Tanzania

Currently, Kiswahili is spoken by most people in Tanzania as a first or second language and it plays very important roles in many domains in the country such as, schools, market and home. English continues to compete with Kiswahili in domains such as secondary and tertiary education, the high courts among others. For over four centuries Swahili has been shaped by many factors (Chiraghdin & Mnyampala, 1977; Nurse & Spear, 1985; Shariff, 1973; Whiteley, 1969) and has played and continues to play an important role in East Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. During the colonial period and advent of European missionaries to Africa, Kiswahili which had emerged as a trade language was developed to play important roles such as an administrative language during the German colonial administration and as a medium of instruction in primary education by European missionaries who pioneered formal education in East Africa. In 1930, a standard orthography of Kiswahili was adopted by the British Colonial administration (Whiteley, 1969). Shortly after independence, Kiswahili was declared as the National and Official Language of Tanzania. The implementation of its establishment as a national language was given a high priority by the government since it was considered a crucial factor in the process of unification and nation-building. Over the years, various policies have been initiated to ensure the sustenance and continuous development of the language in Tanzania.

As mentioned above, English still wields power in Tanzania as it continues to be the medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education and many private basic schools use it as medium of instruction. Even in Swahili

medium newspapers, English still features in the domain of advertisement such as white-collar job vacancies and tender notices (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2013). Again, although there are over fifty Swahili medium newspapers in Tanzania, several English medium newspapers are also available. Other domains that Swahili shares with English is parliamentary discourse where although officially the medium of communication is Kiswahili, code-switching between Kiswahili and English is a regular phenomenon (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2011).

Kiswahili cha mtaani is an urban youth variety of Kiswahili that has emerged among the youth in town quarters where Swahili is spoken. As far back as 1958, Gower reported the existence of Swahili slang, which, according to his observations was “born in towns” with young men being “the most prolific manufacturers of slang” (Gower, 1958, p. 250). According to Reuster-Jahn and Kießling (2006), in the eighties, it was common to call colloquial forms of Swahili “*lugha ya mtaani*” (“language of the town quarters”, or “street language”). Recently, there has been an increase in the rate at which people, especially the youth use *Lugha ya mtaani*. This development of *Kiswahili cha mtaani* reflects the social, economic, and political liberalization in Tanzania, which started in the late 1980s. In this study, we acknowledge the existence of variants of *Kiswahili cha mtaani*, however, we will use *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* as a cover term for all varieties.

It is also worth noting that some elements of *Kiswahili cha mtaani* henceforth *KcM* are also gradually becoming unmarked and are being diffused into daily usage of Kiswahili, and where they are used persistently, they eventually become part of the standard language¹. This claim can be substantiated when the listings in the first and second editions of the *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* (Dictionary of Standard Swahili, TUKI 1981 and 2004) are compared. In the latter, several words that were hitherto identified as *KcM* have now been listed, thus they

¹ Ohly makes a similar statement with respect to “Standard colloquial language” (1987a, p. 4).

are acknowledged as part of the standard language. Examples of such words are *mchecheto* ‘worries, pressure, confusion’, *changudoa* ‘prostitute’, and *kasheshe* ‘mayhem’. Blommaert (1990) referred to speech which had these non-standard forms as “*Kiswahili cha mtaani*”, which he characterised as,

(...) a complex of English-interfered Kiswahili variants, appearing in most of the urban areas of present-day Tanzania. It is assumed to be the medium of popular amusement through music and comic books, and seems to be the jargon of fashionable youngsters. Here, English interferences are mostly idiomatic in nature (...) and are heavily integrated” (Blommaert, 1990, p. 24).

In Tanzanian, *KcM* is contrasted with *lugha fasaha* or *Kiswahili fasaha* (Standard Swahili). *Kiswahili sanifu* or *fasaha* (Standard Swahili) is rarely used in contrast with *Kiswahili cha mtaani*, except by Swahili scholars. *Kiswahili fasaha* is described as Swahili as is taught at school, and as can be found in books. In addition to the term *KcM* or *lugha ya mtaani*, the term *Kibongo* (language of Bongo, i.e., Dar es Salaam) is also used. The term Bongo implies that Dar es Salaam is the center of linguistic creativity. One functional aspect of *KcM* is its use as group-language of youths. According to Reuster-Jahn and Kießling (2006), even in former times the most creative agents in forming *lugha ya mtaani*; referred to in our context as *KcM* were youths, and they have become dominant in recent years in the creative process of coining terms and expressions as well as transferring items from English, which often originate in the slang of some sub-cultural group in America or elsewhere. Others recognize *KcM* as enriching Standard Swahili, which is seen as rather bookish (Ohly, 1987). It has a lot in common with other urban youth languages found in Africa. Thus, it is typically learned by adolescents in peer-groups and used in informal settings to communicate the meta-message of solidarity and toughness. In

some youth-groups, it seems to be important to be able to speak it as fast as possible (Böhme 2004: 38), probably to ‘jargoozle’, i.e., confuse outsiders – which shows that demarcation and secrecy to some extent can be one of its functions (Reuster-Jahn and Kießling, 2006:13).

A fundamental prerequisite for the flourishing of *KcM* is the fact that Swahili has truly become the primary language of its speakers. As Ohly (1987) emphasizes, with respect to Swahili slang: “Proficiency enables the correct employment of slang, but it is full competence in Swahili which makes it possible to creatively coin slang expressions” (p. 6). Looking into the linguistic makeup, it is quite clear that *KcM* is not an independent language, but a sociolect or register of Kiswahili. It is definitely derived from Kiswahili, since, generally, it adheres to Kiswahili grammatical rules. Nevertheless, it deviates from Standard Kiswahili in its lexicon and its phrasemes (idiomatic expressions), which are constantly being renovated by strategies of deliberate manipulation.

Considering that all these three codes play a role in Tanzania, it is not surprising that advertisers find it expedient to employ a combination of two or all three of them in the crafting of their adverts depending on the type of product or service and the target audience.

Methodology

The study employed purposive sampling in collecting the necessary data while a qualitative approach to data analysis was adopted. It was deemed that the best approach for analysing the data to meet the objectives of the study was a qualitative approach. Furthermore, in line with the objective of the study, data from telecommunication companies with specific details were targeted. The data consisted of audio-visual advertisements by telecommunication organisations which were accessed via YouTube and Facebook.

Data

The study looked at video advertisements from four major telecommunication companies in Tanzania namely Airtel, Tigo, Tanzania Telecommunications Company Limited (TTCL) and Vodacom. First, we watched the various adverts by the telecommunication organizations chosen on their YouTube and Facebook platforms and we sorted those that use a combination of two or all three of the codes, namely a blend of Standard Kiswahili and English, Standard Kiswahili and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* or a blend of standard Kiswahili, English and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*. Ten audio-visual adverts that met the objectives of the study were considered for this research.

Firstly, the adverts were classified into the following types namely: Those code-mixed with standard Kiswahili and English; Standard Kiswahili and *KcM*; and English, standard Kiswahili and *KcM*. After the categorization, we transcribed the words in the video and translated those codemixed or codeswitched with standard Kiswahili or *KcM*. This is to ensure that the meanings in the original adverts remain even in the translated versions. The adverts are coded according to the name of the *organization* and the number of adverts from each of them for easy tracing and referencing. The following abbreviations are used to label them: Airtel – AT; Vodacom – VD; Tigo – TI; and TTCL -TC.

Analysis and Discussion

In the next section, we analyse each advert in terms of the number of languages used as well as the types of codeswitching that are featured in them and how they are blended together effectively. We do this by displaying in a tabula the entire advert side by side with the English translation and a brief narrative on the content of the advert, then we go on to discuss the types of codeswitching it features. It must be noted that usually these audio-visual adverts feature both written and oral texts, thus our transcriptions include both. We begin the analysis with adverts that exemplify codeswitching between Standard

Swahili and English; this is followed by adverts that illustrate codeswitching between Standard Kiswahili and Kiswahili cha mtaani, then finally, those which demonstrate the blending of all three codes, Standard Kiswahili, Kiswahili cha mtaani, and English. For easy identification, the parts of the advert that are in Standard Swahili are in italics, tag switching are in bold italics and *KcM* are in bold. The analysis which describes the lexical and syntactic patterns of switching, namely, inter-sentential codeswitching, intra-sentential codeswitching (code-mixing), and tag switching is based on the frameworks of Poplack (1988) and Hoffman (1991). However, Myers-Scotton's (1988) labels; Intra-sentential codeswitching (Hoffman and Poplack's code-mixing), inter-sentential codeswitching and tag switching are used for uniformity and convenience.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and English

The first Advert in this category, ATI, is about a 4G product from a multinational telco, Airtel, Airtel Super 4G. The text employs inter-sentential code-switching between standard Swahili and English, intra-sentential code-switching, and tag-switching.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and English Airtel 4G (ATI)

(screaming) Help! Help!! Help!!!	(screaming) Help! Help!! Help!!!
<i>Kasi juu ya kasi. Hamia airtel supa 4G. Peruzi, strim na download kwa spidi</i>	Topmost speed. Move to Airtel Super 4G. browse, stream and download with speed.

The aim of the audio-visual is to demonstrate the speed of Airtel super 4G. In the audio-visual, a thief snatches and tries to run away with the bag of a lady who is shopping in the

market. The lady immediately screams “Help! Help!! Help!!!”. Her screams attract the attention of a uniformed security officer, and he begins to run after the thief. During the chase, there was no talking but there was music in the background. The thief bumps into several items on sale as he tries to outrun the security officer. The security officer speeds up and snatches the bag from the thief and speeds ahead of the thief, almost immediately, two security Alsatian dogs begin to chase them. The scene is cut but the advert continues with an utterance that says “*Kasi juu ya kasi.... Hamia Airtel **supa** 4G. Peruzi, **strim** na download kwa **spidi**”*. The advert goes back to the market scene where the security officer is seen returning the bag to the lady. The speed with which the security officer runs to retrieve the lady’s bag and to get ahead of the thief while the dogs chase, is used as a scenic illustration of the speed of the Airtel Super 4G product. Thus, in terms of verbal content, the advert is made up of just a few sentences. It is observed that the first part, ‘Help! Help!! Help!!!’ is in English. This is followed by a sentence in Kiswahili, ‘*Kasi juu ya kasi*’. These two sentences constitute inter-sentential codeswitching between English and Standard Swahili. The next two sentences feature intra-sentential codeswitching (code-mixing) between Kiswahili and English. In these, the matrix language is Kiswahili, and the embedded language is English. *Hamia Airtel **supa** 4G*. In this sentence the predicate *hamia* ‘move’ is Swahili and the complement, “Airtel **supa** 4G.” is English. In addition, the word **supa** which represents the English word, ‘super’ constitutes a tag switch. In the sentence, “*Peruzi, **strim** na download kwa **spidi***.” which is made up of three clauses and an adjunct, the first two clauses which are verbal items are Swahili while the third clause “download” is English. Here again the sentence features intra-sentential codeswitching where the first two verbal constructions are Swahili and the codeswitched item is ‘download’. Again, in addition the English verb “stream” is represented with a tag switch **strim** and ‘speed’ is also represented by a tag switch **spidi**. Thus, the text of the

advert AT1, is a blend of standard Swahili and English, featuring both inter-sentential and intra-sentential codeswitching and tag switching. These codes are blended in an intentional manner to achieve an appealing rendition of the language of the advert.

The tag switched items, '*Supa* 'super'; *strim* 'stream'; and *spidi* 'speed' are categorized as such because they do not represent English items and they are not standard Swahili because they are not found in current standard Kiswahili dictionaries. The peculiarity here is the use of Kiswahili orthography instead of English, as would be expected. Since there are a lot of borrowed words from English in Kiswahili sometimes making a distinction between a codeswitched item and a borrowed item proves difficult. At the end of the advert, the inscription 'Airtel the smartphone network' appears on the screen; it constitutes another incidence of inter-sentential code-switching, in relation with the last sentence of the text. It is important to note that the use of *spidi*, is for an aesthetic purpose because the Swahili word for speed was used in the second sentence of the text. Thus, sometimes using a tag switched or a codeswitched item is not as a result of limited code capacity.

Another example of an advert with codeswitching between standard Kiswahili and English is AT2 below. The commercial is about an Airtel product, My Airtel App. It seeks to encourage subscribers to invite their friends to use My Airtel App. The text of the advert is displayed on the screen during narration. There are no characters in the video. The advert narrates the step-by-step process of inviting one's friends to use the App.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and English My Airtel App (AT2)

<i>Wasambazie marafiki My Airtel App wafurahie MB 200 bure</i>	Share with friends My Airtel App so they enjoy 200 MB for free
<i>Nawe ufurahie MB 50 bure pale kila rafiki atakapopakua na kusajili My Airtel App</i>	And you enjoy 50MB for free for every friend that downloads and registers for My Airtel App
<i>Fanya hivi, fungua My Airtel App</i>	Do this, open the My Airtel app
<i>Bofya sehemu ya refer and earn</i>	Click on refer and earn
<i>Itafungua sehemu ya pili</i>	It will open to a second section
<i>Bofya tena sehemu ya refer and earn na msambazie rafiki link</i>	Click the ‘refer and earn’ section again and share the link with friends
<i>Rafiki akipokea link anatakiwa kubofya na kupakua na kusajili My Airtel App</i>	When your friend receives the link, they are expected to download and register for the My Airtel App
<i>Kila rafiki atakayepakua na kusajili atapata MB 200 bure</i>	Each friend who downloads and registers will receive 200MB for free
<i>Na wewe utapokea MB 50 za bure</i>	And you will receive 50MB for free
<i>Rudia hatua hii kuwasabazia My Airtel App kwa marafiki zaidi kufurahia MB za bure.</i>	Repeat these steps to share with more friends the My Airtel App to enjoy free data.

The advert is made up of ten sentences. Out of the ten sentences, 9 feature intra-sentential code-switching involving standard Swahili and English. The code-switched items typically are phrases such as ‘My Airtel App’ and ‘MB 200, link’ etc. In these sentences we can observe that English words like ‘My Airtel App’, ‘refer and earn’ and ‘link’ are codeswitched together with other Standard Swahili codes, the switching occurs within the sentences, so they constitute intra-sentential codeswitching. Comparing AT1 with AT2, it is observed that there is no consistency in the use of codeswitched items. In the AT1 above, the English word ‘download’ is used but in AT2 the Swahili word *kupakua* which originally refers to offloading is being used to represent downloading from the internet. This constitutes a vocabulary expansion phenomenon referred to as a semantic extension (Winford, 2003). Another difference is that there is no case of tag switching in AT2. It can be argued that the focus of the two adverts from the same company are different. While care is taken to blend the codes to engineer some auditory aesthetics in AT1, AT2 appears to go straight to the point giving a step-by-step instruction in very clear Swahili, only resorting to using codeswitched items which do not have equivalents in Swahili, hence using *kupakua* instead of download which is used in AT1 from the same Teleco.

A third advert featuring inter-sentential codeswitching of standard Swahili and English AT3 below also from Airtel, is a product known as *Airtel yatasha* ‘Airtel suffices’. The message of Airtel *Yatasha*, AT3 is that subscribers can receive enough talk time to call any network, as well as enough data bundle to browse the internet.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and English
Airtel Yatosha AT3

<i>Ahh yayaya, ah!</i>	Ahh yayaya, ah!
<i>Una charger? Una charger?</i>	Do you have a charger? Do you have a charger?
<i>Tatu, nne, tano, sita, saba, nane, moja, mbili...</i>	Three, four, five, six, seven, eight, one, two...
<i>Mna charger?</i>	Do you have a charger?
<i>Huh?</i>	Huh?
<i>Mida hii ilikuwa ya lunch mzee. Ila unajua nini nimesahau chakula sasa hahah...</i>	This time was for lunch sir. But you know what I have forgotten about food hahah...
<i>Hello...ahyaaa una charger?</i>	Hello...ahyaaa do you have a charger?
<i>Eeh nilimwambia ahamie Airtel</i>	Eeh I told him to move to join Airtel
<i>Lakini... anafail...</i>	But.... he has failed to....
<i>Ngoja nikuwhatsapp, niko na familia</i>	Wait let me whatsapp you, I'm with the family.
<i>Ahhh, mna charger?</i>	Do you have a charger?
<i>Charger! Charger! kila saa wee vipi? Si ununue tu betri</i>	Every hour charger! Charger!! Why? Why not just buy a battery?
<i>Unafikiri ni betri? Nimepewa zaidi na yatosha bandoo la Airtel.</i>	Do you think it's about the battery? I have been given more than enough Airtel bundle.
<i>Na kama nikikupigia nakupigia mtandao wowote ule, na hapo bado kuna cha kudownload na kuchat.</i>	And I can call you and any network, and still have enough to download and chat.

The advert commences with a man on a treadmill in a gym watching a video on his phone. Soon his battery runs low, and he begins to ask those around him if they have a charger. He goes on to switch the speaker off in the gym so everyone can hear him ask for a charger. Everyone looks perplexed as they shake their heads to say ‘no’ in response to his question. The next scene is an office where the man is seen speaking on phone, as he takes a seat. His phone displays a low battery signal which causes him to ask his colleagues if they have a charger. With confused looks, his colleagues shake their heads. The next scene is outside a house where a family is gathered at a table. A man is seen speaking on phone as he strolls around and a low battery signal shows on his phone. He proceeds to ask his family for a charger. This time multiple chargers are thrown at him as everyone laughs at him. A lady at the table comments that he is always asking for a charger and asks him why he does not just buy a new battery. He responds that his battery does not have a problem. Rather, it is because he has been given more than enough Airtel bundle which he can use to call any network as well as to download and to chat.

The advert clearly demonstrates the use of several counts of standard Swahili intra-sentential codeswitching with English. For instance, in the sentence ‘*Una charger?*’ the noun charger is English whereas the rest of the question is standard Swahili. Several more of the utterances in the advert feature intra-sentential codeswitching with charger as the codeswitched item. Another codeswitched noun is ‘lunch’. Also, the sentence ‘*...na hapo bado kuna cha kudownload na kuchat*’ and *kufail* in another sentence, *also* illustrates the use of standard Swahili and English in intra-sentential codeswitching whereby the infinitive verbs have English stems. Another codeswitched item is the interjection ‘Hello!’. Although efforts are made by the National Kiswahili Council to coin Kiswahili words to represent new words, terms and concepts, there is still the issue of lack of code capacity in Swahili. Thus, it is not surprising that for technical

terms such as ‘charger’ and ‘chat’ in AT3 and App in AT2, advertisers tend to use codeswitched items when the equivalent Swahili terms are not readily available. Thus, the use of some English labels such as exemplified is purely pragmatically motivated. That notwithstanding, the use of some catchy English items such as ‘Hello’, ‘lunch’, ‘-fail’, and – ‘whatsapp’ (as a verb) are for aesthetic effects.

Another example is seen in VD1 below, which is about the product Vodacom **Dailee**, of Vodacom which gives customers one-hour free talk time. It features a famous Tanzanian musician, Diamond Platnumz. The advert is made up of a number of inter-sentential codeswitching between standard Swahili and English as well as inter-sentential codeswitching.

*Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and English
Vodacom Dailee (VD1)*

Fans wangu ni watu wangu.	<i>My fans are my people.</i>
Asikwambie mtu.	<i>You don't need to be told.</i>
Dailee lazima niwe karibu na watu wangu, wanangu, kuwa karibu na mama yangu, na hata wadau wangu, and of course, my baby.	<i>I have to be close to my people daily, my children, and be near my mother, friends, and even my colleagues and of course my baby.</i>
Kabla ya kupanda stage Wana fanya saaa	<i>Before mounting the stage They do</i>
Sir, we are ready	Sir, we are ready
Nampigia mwanangu	I call my child (on phone)
Bye honey	
Kuwa karibu na watu wangu kwa dakika kumi tu. Niko nao hewani saa moja zima bure dailee...	<i>To be around my people just for 10 minutes,</i>

Hello Tanzania!	Hello Tanzania!
<i>Ongea saa moja bure.</i>	Talk free for one hour.
<i>Maisha ni murua.</i>	Life is gracious.
Vodacom, <i>Kazi ni Kwako</i> !	Vodacom, work is yours.

The advert begins with Platnumz getting ready backstage to mount the stage for a performance. The video shows the productive team including Platnumz the performing artiste busy with preparation before start of the show. As he rehearses playing his guitar, he talks about being close to his fans, close family and friends, ‘his people’. As he does this, there are scenes of these people talking to him on their phones. Then in the next scene, he is prompted by one of the production team members who tells him “Sir, we are ready.” But before he goes on to the stage, he calls his wife and child and speaks to them, and he goes on to state that to be close to his people for just 10 minutes, he stays on the line daily for free for one hour. Then he goes on stage and greets his waiting audience and fans, “Hello Tanzania!” and the advert continues with Swahili, telling viewers to talk for free for one hour, daily.

The advert contains a number of instances of both intra-sentential and inter-sentential codeswitching between standard Swahili and English as well as a tag switch. The first sentence of the advert is a case of intra-sentential codeswitching. The sentence begins with an English noun, ‘Fans’ and continues with standard Swahili. The next sentence is purely Swahili but it is followed by a sentence which features both intra-sentential codeswitching and Tag switching. The English codeswitched item is ‘and of course, my baby’ the use of this English slang is intended to create a perception of youthfulness and ‘eliteness’. And the tag switch *Dailee*, is the catch phrase in the advert emphasizing on the deal of the advert which is a one-hour free talk time daily. The next four sentences feature inter-sentential switching between Swahili and English. However, in this

situation Platnumz speaks Swahili and the stage director prompts him using English ‘sir, we are ready’, this is followed by another sentence in Swahili by Platnumz and his wife responds in English ‘Bye, honey’. So, the switches are not utterances from the same speaker as is usual with codeswitching. Listening to the advert, it gives the impression of a deliberate manipulation of Kiswahili and English to create an appealing utterance to the ear. Another inter-sentential codeswitched item ‘Hello Tanzania’ is Platnumz’s way of greeting his audience who receive him with much excitement. The advert ends with a couple of sayings in Swahili. ‘Life is gracious’, and ‘Work is yours’ which can be interpreted as ‘Life is great’ and ‘The ball is in your court.’ Overall, this advert is very pleasant to the ears and, visually, it features people of all ages enjoying the service, emphasizing further the target audience for the advert. And of course, using a famous music artiste of Platnumz’s status adds to the overall charm of the advert.

Codeswitched Adverts in Standard Swahili and Kiswahili cha mtaani

From our investigation, the use of *KcM* has progressed from being limited to comic books and music to almost all communicative domains including advertisements. The primary characteristic of *KcM* in general is that it deviates from Standard Kiswahili by its special lexicon which can be described as lucid since it is in a constant process of rapid reconstruction. These lexicons are created by deliberate manipulation of existing lexical items to represent expressions of attitudes of jocular and provocative violation of linguistic norms. This property is characteristic of urban youth languages in general and in Africa in particular (Kießling & Mous, 2004), e.g., Sheng (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997; Mazrui 1995; Moga & Fee 1993; Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003). It is a recent trend in colloquial speech practice in Tanzania to blend standard Swahili and street Swahili (*KcM*) with English terms and expressions to demonstrate being up to

date in a globalized world. As Blommaert (1990, p. 24) puts it, “the use of English idiomatic expressions serves as a mark of worldliness, of being young and daring”.

In this section, we examine adverts that feature codeswitching between standard Swahili and *Kiswahili cha mtaani*. This is done in such a way that the intended meaning of the advert to the target audience is achieved. In such instances where the sentence is made up of words and phrases from both standard Swahili and *KcM* only, the fact that they involve codeswitching is not readily obvious except when one is proficient in the Kiswahili language and also conversant with *KCM*, since in terms of structure, standard Swahili and *KCM* are rather similar.

The first advert of this category, TII is about the wide network coverage of Tigo. The advert professes that the Tigo network is available everywhere in Tanzania. The text of the advert is mainly standard Swahili codeswitched with *KcM*.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and KcM Tigo Tumefika (TII)

<i>Dereva, mzigo huu ufike kwa mzee Malubalu magorofani</i>	Driver, this load should get to Mr Malubalu at magorofa.
<i>Kama nilivyokuelekeza nusu saa uwe hapa</i>	As I have directed you, in half an hour you should be here.
<i>Nimekupata vizuri bossi, kwa mzee Malubalu maghorofani</i>	I undersand you very well boss, to Mr. Malubalu at maghorofa.
<i>Una uhakika hutapotea?</i>	Are you sure you will not get lost?
<i>Usiwe na wasiwasi ushafika</i>	Don't worry, it will arrive.

<i>Wee! Weee!</i>	Youuu! Youuu!
<i>Ushafika bosi usiwe na shaka.</i>	It will arrive Boss don't worry.
<i>Bhana nikuulize?</i>	Sir may I ask?
<i>Kuuliza jero, kuelekeza buku. Mjini hapana hakuna vya bure.</i>	Asking is 500, directing is 1,000. In this city nothing is free.
<i>Kwa Mzee Malubalu wapi?</i>	What is the direction to Mr Malabalu's?
<i>Nyosha moja kwa moja, usiende kushoto wala kulia. Nitie buku jero.</i>	Go straight, do not turn left or right. Give me 1,500.
<i>Narudi...</i> Safari inaendelea	I am coming... The journey continues

In the advert, a woman (a man dressed in a woman's clothing) hands over a package to a driver and instructs him to deliver it to *Mzee Malubalu* in *maghorofani* and be back within 30 minutes. She then questions the driver if he is sure he would not get lost. The driver addressing her in Swahili uses '**bosi**' which is a vocabulary from *KcM*, assures her that he can do the task and asks her not to worry and that the package would be delivered. The driver begins his journey to *Mzee Malubalu*'s. On his way, he stops and asks a man on a bicycle for direction. The man tells him to go straight and to not turn right nor left and requests for the driver to pay him '**buku jero**' *KcM* for one thousand, five hundred Tanzanian Shillings in Standard Swahili. The driver lets him know he would pay him on his way back. The driver continues driving till he receives a call from the woman. He addresses her **bosi** once again and informs her that he had arrived. Then unexpectedly, he sees Mount Kilimanjaro in his rear-view mirror and exclaims 'I am lost!'. In the next scene, the map of Tanzania is shown while a voice begins to announce that

Tigo is available everywhere in Tanzania and urges viewers to buy a Tigo line to enjoy talking with family and friends wherever in Tanzania as far as Kilimanjaro!

The advert features several instances of intra-sentential codeswitching between Standard Kiswahili and *KcM*. The strategy here is that *KcM* nouns are blended into Standard Kiswahili to give the language a streetwise tint with the intention to attract the attention of people of all statuses. For instance, a sentence like '*Nimekupata vizuri **bosi**, kwa mzee Malubalu maghorofani*', the word **bosi** is a street term used mainly by the youth to refer to a person of higher status than them. **Bhana** is the *KcM* word for *Bwana*, 'sir'. Here, the blending constitutes an intra-sentential codeswitching of standard Swahili with *KcM*. Likewise, in '*...Nitie **buku jero***'. **Buku jero** is a street term for one thousand, five hundred shillings. Just like VD1, the advert features both young and old people. In fact, the man who assisted the driver was an old man and he used the *KcM* term **buku jero** a pointer to the fact that the old generation is also part of the target audience of the advert.

The advert AT4, on a product known as Airtel Zone also employs intra-sentential codeswitching standard Swahili and *KcM*. This advert's aim is to convince individuals to subscribe to Airtel Zone, a service which offers 99% discount.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili and KcM Airtel Zone (AT 4)

Mambo dada?	What's up?
Poa.	Cool
<i>Hii ndo mchongo yako ujue</i>	This is your style
<i>mi naiona mwanangu</i>	I can see that friend
<i>Halafu kitakukaa design cbcg...</i>	It would be like designer fit
<i>Eee umeanza ee!</i>	You have started!

<i>'Nipe bei ya jioni mwanangu'</i>	Give me an evening (good) price.
<i>Kwani una sh ngapi?</i>	How much shillings do you have for it?
<i>Mi nakupa buku tano tu...</i>	I'll give you only five thousand...
<i>Pata punguzo</i>	get a discount

The advert commences with a lady approaching a shoe shop. She exchanges greetings with the shop attendant. The shop attendant selects a shoe and hands it over to her saying, "this is your style". The lady agrees with the attendant saying "*mi naiona mwanangu*", meaning "I can tell, friend". The attendant tells her it would fit her well. The lady replies by saying "*eee umeanza eer*". She then tells the attendant to give her a low price by saying "*nipe bei ya jioni*", 'give me the evening price'. The shop attendant asks her how much she has, to which she replies "*mi nakupa buku tano*", 'I will give you five thousand shillings.' The attendant exclaims '*aahh!*' in disbelief. This advert ends with a narrator saying that one could get up to 99% discount on Airtel Zone. Then it goes on to provide the short code for subscribing to Airtel Zone.

The advert is observed to have a blend of Standard Kiswahili and *Kiswahili cha mtaani*. For instance, '*Hii ndo mchongo yako ujue*', '*Nipe bei ya jioni mwanangu*' and '*Mi nakupa buku tano tu...*' The above sentences illustrate codeswitching between standard Swahili and *KcM*. Here again we observe that similar to TI1, the codeswitched items in *KcM* are single or compound nouns, but nicely blended with Standard Swahili. Instances of codeswitching between standard Swahili and *KcM* featuring similar *KcM* items are found in TC1 and TI2 (See Appendices A and B).

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili, English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani

The last type of codeswitching in the selected adverts is those that feature a blend of Standard Swahili, English, *KcM*. The first example is another version of the Airtel Zone product that offers subscribers up to 99% discounts, *Airtel Zone (AT 5)*

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili, English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani Airtel Zone (AT 5)

<i>Duka limejaa, hapa nitapata kila kitu.</i>	The shop is full. Here I will get everything.
<i>Karibu mdogo wangu nikusaidie nini?</i>	Welcome my young brother, how may I help you?
<i>Hiyo body spray bei gani?</i>	How much is this body spray?
<i>Kumi na tano</i>	Fifteen
<i>Okay, feni?</i>	Okay, fan?
<i>Hiyo panga boy hapo juu elfu hamsini</i>	This “panga” boy up here is fifty thousand.
<i>Panga?</i>	Panga?
<i>Duh hatari</i>	Hee! Dangerous
<i>Unaandika lakini?</i>	Hope you are recording?
<i>Si ndo hapo naorodhesha hunioni?</i>	Is it that you do not see me?
Malapa?	Slippers?
<i>Malapa ni sh. Elfu moja.</i>	Slippers is one thousand shillings
<i>Nishamaliza. Jumla sh ngapi?</i>	I am done. Total price in shillings?
<i>Jumla inakuwa ni kama sitini na tano elfu na mia tano</i>	The total is around sixty-five thousand, five hundred shillings.

<i>aaah mangi toa benti bhana, punguza</i>	Aaa “mangi” remove “benti”, reduce.
<i>Mbona unalia lia. Kwani we umejipangaje?</i>	Why are you lamenting. How did you prepare yourself?
<i>Mangi mi nina buku.</i>	Mangi I have thousand shillings.
<i>Buku! Ndo robo wewe...</i>	Thousand shillings! You, its quarter.....

The advert begins with a young man heading to a shop to buy things. At the shop, the attendant welcomes the young man and asks him what he wants. The young man enquires about the prices of a body spray, a fan, and slippers as the shop attendant writes in a book. The young man asks for the total sum of the items he enquired about and is given an estimate. He exclaims and expresses shock at the estimate and requests a discount. And the advert continues with a voice announcing the product that gives a discount of 99%.

The text is made up of mainly Standard Swahili featuring instances of both intra-sentential codeswitching between Standard Swahili and *KcM* as well as codeswitching between Standard Swahili and English. However, there is no instance of the three codes all occurring in one sentence. Both the codeswitched items English and *KcM* are mainly single nouns. The items in English are, body spray, okay, and boy and the *KcM* items are malapa ‘slippers’. Bhana ‘Sir’, and buku ‘thousand Shillings’. Bhana and buku, were used in the previous adverts. The codes are blended in a way to make the language appealing to the ears. This advert ends with a narrator saying that one can get the best reduction on Airtel Zone and provide the short code for Airtel Zone, a complete contrast with the situation in the advert where the shop attendant is horrified at the request for an unrealistic reduction.

The final advert of this structure is another advert from Airtel Money. In this advert, *Mr. Money (AT6)* the inter-sentential structure is covered by all three languages.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili, English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani Mr. Money (AT6)

<i>Mabibi na mabwana tunawaletea Mr. Money. Tuma pesa kiuhakika</i>	Ladies and gentlemen, we bring you Mr. Money Send money reliably
<i>Ongeza salio kiuhakika</i>	Top up airtime reliably
<i>Lipa bili kwa nafuu</i>	Pay bills comfortably
<i>Airtel money kiuhakika</i>	Airtel Money is reliable
<i>Tuma pesa kwa spidi.</i>	Send money fast
<i>Usalama ni guarantee.</i>	Safety is guaranteed
<i>Haijalishi ulivyombali.</i>	It doesn't matter how far you are
<i>Ni salama salimini</i>	It's absolutely comfortable
<i>Papo hapo lipa luku.</i>	Instantly pay for Pre-paid electricity
<i>Usilale gizani</i>	Don't sleep in the dark
<i>Lipia king'amuzi</i>	Pay for decoder
<i>Ongeza salio chap chap kweli. Mambo vipi? Mimi ni Mr Money</i>	Top up airtime quickly How's things? I'm Mr. Money
<i>Ninawaletea airtel money kwa njia nafuu, haraka na salama.</i>	I bring you Airtel Money, an easy fast and safe way.
<i>Kutuma pesa, kulipa bili, kuongeza salio na mengineyo</i>	Sending money, paying bills, topping up airtime and many others
<i>Ukiwa na airtel money unaweza kufanya mengi zaidi kiuhakika</i>	If you have Airtel Money you can reliably do a lot.

This advert is about how easy, fast and beneficial it is to use Airtel money. Airtel money is an electronic service that enables its users to store funds, send and receive money, make payments and do a number of other transactions simply by using their mobile phones. The advert begins with a voice saying “*Mabibi na mabwana tunawaletea* Mr. Money!” as the lights shine on a stage revealing three characters; two females and money (Mr. Money) in a red suit. The two female characters begin to dance as Mr. Money starts singing about the benefits of using Airtel Money. In the song, we get to know that it is safe to transact on Airtel Money and that distance is not a barrier when using Airtel Money. As the song ends, Mr. Money says he wants to introduce Airtel Money, an easy, fast, and safe way of sending money, paying bills, topping up airtime, and many other things. He goes on to say that when you are on Airtel Money you can reliably do so much. He ends by giving out the code for Airtel Money.

We observe that the name of the product is in English, Airtel Money. Although the advert advertises a different product from AT5, it has a similar structure. The text is made up of mainly Standard Swahili featuring instances of both intra-sentential codeswitching between standard Swahili and *KcM* as well as codeswitching between Standard Swahili and English. Again, there is no instance of the three codes all occurring in one sentence. Examples of these intra-sentential codeswitching are sentences such as ‘*Mabibi na mabwana tunawaletea* Mr. Money.’, ‘*Usalama ni* guarantee’ and ‘*Mimi ni* Mr Money’ which have the structure of Standard Swahili codeswitched with English, while the sentences ‘*Ongeza salio* **chap chap** kweli’ and ‘**Mambo** *vipi?*’ are made up of mainly Standard Swahili codeswitched with *KcM*. There is one instance of tag switching represented by *spidi*. However, there is no instance of all the three codes occurring in one sentence.

Further Discussion

In this section, we briefly discuss our findings about the nature of language blending as demonstrated in the data. The above analyses of adverts have demonstrated that it is a norm for adverts of the Telecoms in Tanzania, which are mainly multi-national to use more than one language in composing their adverts. As illustrated from the analyses above, usually the matrix language in these adverts is Standard Swahili and the codeswitched items are either English or *KcM*. Three types of blending are identified: Standard Swahili codeswitched with English, Standard Swahili codeswitched with *KcM* or Standard Swahili codeswitched with both English and *KcM*. These languages are carefully woven together in the various compositions in such a way as to attract the target audience.

The nature of codeswitching in the adverts is simple. There are mostly instances of Intra-sentential switches. In AT1, unusually, the first line of the advert is uttered in English “Help! Help! Help!”. Typically, the codeswitched item or sentence is embedded in the matrix language. The codeswitched items in these Telecoms adverts are standard terms or catch-phrases in the domain of telecommunication. They consist of nouns, verbs, interjections or noun phrases. This conforms to Hamers and Blanc’s (1989) cited in Bi (2011, p. 60) statement that “the majority of mixings are lexical in nature and nouns are most often the substituted words.”

There are also a few cases of tag switching where English words are used with Swahili orthography such as ‘strim’ for stream and ‘supa’ for super in AT1 and ‘dailee’ for daily in VD1.

There are very few instances of codemixing where Swahili affixes or stems are used with English or *KcM* stems, such as in AT3 ‘*anafail*’ and *kuchat*. Another observation is that sometimes codeswitching occurs between utterances of two speakers rather than utterances of one speaker. A typical example is VD1 where the switches to English are between Platnumz’s, stage director and Platnumz’s wife. The observations above reiterate the fact

that language blending in these adverts are carefully thought of and arranged for specific effects. They are not coincidental as with the case of naturally occurring conversation.

Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated that most of the Telecos in Tanzania use intra-sentential codeswitching and inter-sentential codeswitching and some cases of Tag switched items in their advert texts. The switching occurs in mainly three different intra- and inter-sentential codeswitched structures: Standard Swahili and Street Swahili (*Kiswahili cha mtaani*), Standard Swahili and English, and Standard Swahili, Street Swahili (*Kiswahili cha mtaani*) and English. An important observation is that where codeswitching in an advert involves all three codes, only two are combined in a sentence at a time. Inter-sentential codeswitching also occurred mostly between the utterances of two speakers. All these peculiarities point to the fact that codeswitching in these adverts is not spontaneous, but carefully planned. Another important observation is that apart from the language choice, other strategies are employed to reach the target audience. These strategies include the characters used; that is, featuring people who represent different age groups as well as different sociolinguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, there is the effort to blend language in such a way that all categories of consumers can identify with the advert.

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Hyperlinks to adverts:

1. https://youtu.be/3WT8_24reyo Airtel zone (AT2)
2. <https://youtu.be/Z8xZ855PMaQ> 5.2.1 TIGO TUMEFIKA- KILA KONA (TI1)
3. <https://youtu.be/fLdkjPPfvbo> Tigo okoa pesa (TI2)
4. <https://youtu.be/uO1esfG91iU> Mr. Money (AT6)
5. <https://youtu.be/IbgKTZeHNxw> Airtel Zone (AT 5)
6. <https://youtu.be/5jZ33SGG2DA> TTCL Rudi nyumbani (TC1)
7. <https://youtu.be/NaeSR7Uekg4> Vodacom Deilee (VD1)
8. <https://youtu.be/uZuNqWtyUWs> Airtel Yatasha AT 3
9. <https://youtu.be/mQH5HDSKsUg> Airtel 4G (AT 1)
10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0r9u1NhCQck> My Airtel App (AT4)

Appendix A

This advert, TC1 is an advert from TTCL, where standard Swahili is codeswitched with *Kiswahili cha mtaani*.

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili, English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani TTCL Rudi nyumbani (TC1)

<i>Wapi tena?</i>	<i>Where to?</i>
<i>Ahh washkaji, naenda kuserereka.</i>	<i>Aah friends, ...</i>
<i>Habari yako dada?</i>	<i>How are you?</i>
<i>Poa. Mambo?</i>	<i>Good. Whatsup?</i>
<i>Poa. Niserereshe.</i>	<i>Cool....</i>
<i>Cha mia tatu eeh?</i>	<i>That of 300 tsh right?</i>
<i>Kama kawa.</i>	<i>As usual</i>
<i>Tayari.</i>	<i>Done</i>
<i>Okay, poa.</i>	<i>Okay, cool</i>
<i>Poa, karibu.</i>	<i>Cool, you are welcome</i>

Appendix B

Codeswitched Adverts with Standard Swahili, English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani Tigo okoa pesa (TI2)

In the example below, we observe that the sentences are made up of either pure Swahili or Standard Swahili codeswitched with KcM.

<i>Mpenzi, najua leo ni siku muhimu sana ya kumbukumbu ya ndoa yetu</i>	My love, I know today is a very important day of memory of our marriage.
<i>Ila hii ni elfu kumi tu.</i>	This is only ten thousand.
<i>Naomba unielewe mke wangu</i>	I want you to understand my wife.
<i>Uwe na siku njema</i>	Have a good day.

<i>Mke wangu, japo sikufaulu hesabu najua nguvu ya buku kumi</i>	My wife, even though I failed the calculation I know of the power of ten thousand shillings
<i>Huu mzigo huu sio ya buku kumi.</i>	This is not ten thousand shillings.
<i>Hebu tulize nafsi wangu, mke wako nimeacha kununua vifurushi vya kila siku, nanunua vya wiki. Yaani badala ya kutumia elfu kumi na nne kununua vifurushi vya elfu mbili kila siku, nanunua vya tigo kwa shilling elfu kumi tu. Na hiyo elfu nne niliyosave kila wiki ndo nilitumia baba.</i>	Let's ask ourselves, your wife has stopped buying daily packages, I buy weekly packages. That is, instead of using fourteen thousand to buy two thousand packages every day, I buy Tigo for just ten thousand shillings. And that four thousand that I saved every week, I send it to dad.