

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v12i1.1>

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE SPOKEN VERSION OF HAUSA IN GHANA

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Although Hausa is not an indigenous Ghanaian language, it plays an important role in Ghana's sociolinguistics landscape. It is the lingua franca for many people living in the zongos. Zongos are located in every major city in Ghana and they are occupied by different ethnic groups who use Hausa for their daily communications. It is widely used on national televisions, radio stations and market centers. It is also the medium of instruction in the Islamic Schools (makarantu) However, there is dearth of research on the features of the Ghanaian version of the Hausa language and its relation to the social contexts in which it is spoken. This explorative paper examines sociolinguistics aspects of Hausa spoken in Ghana. It first discusses its historical and social contexts of the usage of the Hausa language and further examines its linguistic features in comparison with Standard Hausa. This comparison is done by drawing on data gathered from speakers of the Ghanaian version of Hausa and Standard Hausa speakers who hail from Nigeria. The paper finds that the Hausa spoken in Ghana has peculiar features making it unique from the one spoken in Nigeria.

Keywords: Hausa; zongo; sociolinguistics; language; speakers; Ghana.

Historical Background

The Hausas were among the early settlers in Ghana before the colonisation. Zoch (2011) established that by 14th century, the first Mande and Hausa settlements were found at the coast (Elmina) and in the hinterland (Kumasi). She added that from 1600 there was emergence of more trading posts along the southern route from Hausaland to Gonja (Salaga) and these people were interested in trading in kola and gold. Moreover, Dakubu (1997b) established that the Hausa community in Accra dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. This presupposes that the Hausas were in Ghana long before Ghana's independence.

Dakubu (1997b) describes the Hausa language in Ghana as a lingua franca and attributes its emergence in this role to extensive trading activities of native Hausa immigrants from Nigeria and widespread use of it as the language of soldiers in military camps set up by the

British. The combinations of these factors have yielded three different categories of Hausa speakers in Ghana (Dakubu 1997b: 15). The first group use Hausa as first language and language of ethnic identity within Hausa communities in Ghana. The second group use Hausa as a second language and lingua franca among non-Hausa members of different ethno-linguistic groups, including between native Hausa and non-native Hausa. The third group use Hausa, although not of Hausa origin or claiming Hausa identity, but use Hausa as their first language (L1).

The first cohort of native Hausa speakers came from Nigeria. They were traders who arrived either at what is now the northern part of Ghana and settled in places like Salaga, Yendi, Yeji etc. Some settled at places like Shukura, Sabon Zongo, Cowlane etc, which are currently considered to be within the southern part of Ghana. Huber (1999) maintains that due to the extensive trading activities by these Hausas in especially the northern part, the Hausa language has been their L1 of several generations of people there. Hausa trading activities have since existed in major market centers such as Salaga in the north, Kumasi in Ashanti and Kete-Krachi in the Volta Region, to mention but a few. The marketplaces are thus the principal domains in which members of the second category (Those who use Hausa as a second language and lingua franca among) of Hausa speakers as categorized above initially emerged. Evidence of this can be seen in the Salaga market and Nima market where Hausa is still the dominant lingua franca.

According to Gillespie (1955), another cohort of native Hausa speakers who came to the Gold Coast (Ghana's name during the colonial era) were well-trained soldiers who were brought in by the British colonial masters to reinforce the military power of their West African Frontier Forces (WAFF). Those soldiers were tasked to train recruits from Ghana. Because the Ghanaian recruits came from different ethnic groups and hardly had a language in common, they naturally learned the language of the Hausa trainers as their target language. However, what they learned (imperfectly) and used in the barracks was a different version known as "Hausan Soja". After serving in the military, Ghanaian soldiers, who thus fall in the second category of Hausa speakers, returned home speaking their version of Hausa. This is what Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008: 145) said:

Colonial language policy is also the reason why Hausa is an inter-ethnic lingua franca. When the colonial regime established a local police force, and later an army division to fight in its wars, it recruited mainly men from the savannah regions extending from today's northern Ghana to Nigeria. Hausa was deliberately promoted as the language to be used with and within the lower ranks (Gillespie 1955). Hausa is still maintained as a language of inter-ethnic communication in towns among people originating from outside southern Ghana, especially from areas to the northeast. For Ghanaian speakers, Hausa is certainly not a language of ethnic identity, any more than English is. However, for many it does signify a kind

of Ghanaian identity, or rather an urban identity related to 'Ghana' as a modern, urban idea associated with national government and the inter-regional, inter-ethnic institutions it sponsors (p. 145).

Hausas played a very critical role in the administration of the colonial masters. In order to augment the force in Gold Coast, The Hausa, an ethnic group from northern Nigeria, were considered a solution because of their apparent 'higher intelligence and more martial habits' (Gillespie, 1955: 9). The Hausas were brought as trainers because the colonial masters believed in them; they were tried and tested already in Nigeria and it was proving that they were loyal to the course of the colonial masters. In view of their loyalty, Anderson and Killingray (1991, p. 7) argue that, 'the trustworthy stranger to police the other stranger was the man required'. According to Tankabe (2008), although the numbers of the trainers were insufficient, the Hausas made an immediate impact in the establishment of colonial forces.

Despite the important role Hausa plays in the sociolinguistics of Ghana, there is very scanty work on its linguistic features and none in the social context. This paper explores the current state of Hausa spoken in Ghana by discussing the historical and social contexts of use. Secondly, the paper examines the linguistic features of the spoken version of Hausa in Ghana and compares it with the Standard Hausa (Kano). The rest of the paper discusses social context and the linguistic features of the Hausa spoken in Ghana in comparison with Standard Hausa. The paper first discusses the phonological differences between the two varieties and further compares their variation at the morphological and syntactic levels. The paper also discusses lexical distinctions between the Ghana Hausa and the Nigeria Hausa. Throughout the discussion, the cardinal objective is to demonstrate that the Ghana variety of Hausa is a simplified and structurally reduced version of the Nigeria one.

Geographical Location and Status of the Hausa in Ghana

The spoken version of Hausa in Ghana plays a very significant role in the sociolinguistic context of Ghana. The language plays various roles within the linguistic landscape in the country and it is mostly spoken in the zongos. Dakubu (1997b) notes that by the beginning of the 20th century, virtually all the major towns of any commercial significance in southern Ghana had what becomes known as zongo communities. Zongo in Hausa means 'camping place of caravan'. The word is pronounced 'zango' in the Standard Hausa. Therefore, the term zongo is a Ghana Hausa lexicon. It is a place that is predominantly occupied by Muslims who are mostly from the northern Ghana and outside the shores of Ghana. Most settlers in the zongos engage in trading activities and the Hausa variety spoken in Ghana is the medium of transaction.

According to Zoch (2011), the trading activities were necessitated because of the kind of items used in the trade; therefore, the Hausa traders settled in trading towns along the trade routes which led to the establishment of the zongos. By the beginning of 19th century, the community of Hausa in Kumasi lived in the centre of the town along the avenue between the main market and the Asantehene Palace. The early Hausa scholars performed magical and religious service for the Asantehene (King of Ashantes). Zoch (2011) added that some acted as court scribes, ambassadors, political and martial advisors of the Asantehene because these Hausas had been educated in Hausaland. This relationship has been maintained till now and it has given the Kumasi zongo chief a “chair” in the Asantehene Palace. Kumasi zongo was established in 1905 close to the city centre and near the Asantehene Palace.

Zongos accommodate all kinds of people from different parts of the country and outside the country. ‘The moment a Hausa migrant settled down in a zongo he ceased to be a foreigner socially; most of the non-Hausa incomers who settled in Hausa zongos became Hausa subsequently’ (Adamu, 1978: 16). Most zongo inhabitants are people from northern Ghana, Muslim Hausa-speakers from southern Ghana, and immigrants from other parts of West Africa. In describing the settlers of zongos, she said “second and third generation immigrants develop a “zongo identity” which is independent of ethnicity (Schildkrout 1978: 14). Working in the informal economy is the norm for most zongo residents. Given their linguistic diversity and the fact that their main vocations were trade related, Hausa readily emerged as their lingua franca. It is observed that what is spoken in the zongos is an amalgamation of the Hausa spoken originally in market places and the ‘Hausan Soja’ which ex-soldiers learned in the barracks. The hybrid has been nicknamed ‘*Gaananci*’, which literally means ‘Ghana Hausa’. In the zongos, one can find native Hausas, i.e. descendants of the original migrants. One can also find immigrants from different places who speak their own languages and use Hausa as their lingua franca just as one can find a third group, members of the third category above, who though non-native, use Hausa as their L1.

Huber (1999:137) attests to the fact that Hausa is widely spoken as second language in Ghana, but it is hard to estimate the number of its first and second language speakers. He gave a rough estimate that not more than 2% of Ghanaians speak Hausa as a mother tongue, but estimates that in the immigrant quarters of the urban centres up to 70-80% have some degree of competence in the language. The 1948 census indicated that Hausa constituted the largest single non- Gold Coast community in Accra, at 3.4% of the total population (Dakubu 1997b:130).

More recent works point to an upsurge in the number of speakers of the Ghanaian version of Hausa and these speakers see themselves as native speakers. Hausa is the lingua franca in the zongo communities and it is used in almost all the zongo activities such as preaching,

outdoorings, announcements, and advertisements on the radio and television stations. And even more fundamental, it is the fact that there has for years been intermarriages between the native Hausa speakers and Ghanaians, thus merging the first two categories of speakers identified (Dakubu, 1997b) as previously mentioned. Tijani (2006), who highlighted the significance of the intermarriages, cited herself as one of the products of the intermarriages and said that as per her language socialization, she sees Ghana Hausa as her mother tongue. She added that Ghana Hausa has now reached a point where because of the large number of speaking populations in zongos, people sometimes refer to the speakers as native Hausas. This is for example the impression about zongo dwellers in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, especially in Kumasi.

Although no institution in Ghana teaches Hausa as a subject of study, it plays a key role as medium of instruction in one of two types of schooling systems in zongo communities, Arabic schools. Every zongo has two kinds of schools: English schools and Arabic schools. The English schools are the public schools controlled by the Ghana Education Service while the Arabic schools, popular known as '*makarantu*', are privately owned by the various religious sects. These Arabic schools outnumber the English schools and they are run in the evenings and at the weekends, i.e. when English schools are not in session. The medium of instruction in these Arabic schools is the Ghanaian variety of Hausa. Every Arabic item is translated and spoken in the Ghanaian variety of Hausa. Surprisingly, no material is written in Hausa for use in those institutions. A similar situation pertains in the mosques. The mosques in the zongos use Ghana Hausa to interpret their Arabic-based sermons and teachings for easy understanding of the worshippers. Either the Imam uses only Hausa or uses Hausa with any other second dominant language of the locality. For instance, in Ashanti Region, some mosques use Hausa while others use Hausa and Twi. In Accra, it is either Hausa or Hausa and English/Ga. In Hohoe in the Volta Region, Hausa and Kotokoli are used in the mosques in the zongos.

As already noted, Ghana Hausa is one of the languages used in advertisement on radio and television. Television stations like Ghana Television (GTV), Metro, Haske, Gaskia and Gaskia Plus, Islamic Library TV and Baina TV have programmes in Ghana Hausa. Also, Radio stations in Accra such as Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), Radio Universe, Marhaba FM and Amanie FM have programs that are aired in Ghana Hausa. In Kumasi, the following radio stations also broadcast programmes in Hausa, Haske, Otec FM, and Zuria FM and Alpha Radio. Gaskia FM in Techiman has programmes in Ghana Hausa while Diamond FM in Tamale also broadcast programmes in Ghana Hausa. In Fact, Zuria FM of Kumasi and Marhaba FM in Accra transmit almost all their programs in Ghana Hausa. Due to this, these two radio stations are very popular among the zongo communities. The Accra based Marhaba FM reaches as far as the Eastern Region and part

of the Volta Region, thus commanding a very large audience and patronage during their phone-in programmes.

Due to the wide listenership of Ghana Hausa and strong ties between BBC Hausa news and some of the local stations, BBC Hausa news and current-affairs programme is now available on Marhaba 99.3 FM in Accra. This partnership agreement between BBC World Service and Marhaba FM was signed on 26th January, 2012. In addition to the daily BBC Hausa programmes such as **BBC Shirin Safe** (morning show) and **BBC Shirin Yamma** (evening show), there is BBC Hausa sports bulletins broadcast on Monday to Friday. Marhaba 99.3 FM also rebroadcasts BBC Hausa weekly programmes such as the English Premier League commentary, **Amshoshin Takardun Ku** (Listeners' Letters) and **Haifi Ki Yaye Da** BBC Hausa (women's magazine focusing on motherhood and childcare) (ModernGhana.com, 2012). BBC is delighted to extend their service to Hausa-speakers in Ghana (NewsGhana.com, 212). This is a clear indication of the wide listenership of Hausa in Ghana.

Methodology

Research approach and design

This is a descriptive qualitative study to examine aspects of sociolinguistics of Hausa spoken in Ghana. This approach was chosen because it offers the choice of a straight description of a phenomenon. It typically involves individual and/or focus group interviews with minimal to semi-structured interview guides (Sandelowski, 2000).

Data collection procedure

The data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were gathered through interview, observation, sermons, radio and television broadcasting. The interview was conducted purposefully among six participants who are Ghana Hausa speakers on one hand and six participants who are speakers of Nigeria Hausa on the other. All the participants were more than 30 years and each group was made up of 3 (three) males and three (3) females. The interview solicited among other things the lexicons, pronunciations, and constructions in the two varieties of Hausa equivalent word. For instance, a word was mentioned in English and the participants were asked to provide the Hausa version. Three renowned zongo chiefs were also interviewed for the history of Hausa in Ghana. These chiefs were chosen because they were the longest-serving chiefs among the zongo chiefs. The recorded version of the interview was transcribed and the participants were made to confirm the transcription.

A visit was also made to five selected mosques in five zongos where Ghana variety of Hausa is used for preaching. The interviewees were all made aware that they were participating in a research activity. The proceedings were then recorded. Again, observation was conducted in five Islamic schools where Ghanaian variety of Hausa is used as a medium of instruction. Some videos and pictures were recorded. Recordings were also made on Hausa programmes on sports, health, politics, civic education and agriculture on Ghana Television, Metro TV, Marhaba FM and Zúria FM. These data collection sources offered this study a wide range of data for analysis. The secondary sources were from sociolinguistic books on pidgin, creole, contact language, bilingualism and multilingualism and social identity.

Data Analysis and presentation

This section discusses the various linguistics features of Ghanaian variety of Hausa and compares it with Standard Hausa. The comparison is done at the level of phonology, morphology, lexical and metaphorical extension. The recordings were transcribed and the needed data for the study were analyzed and presented. Below are detailed analyses of the study.

Phonology

At the phonological level, the Ghanaian variety of Hausa exhibits features that are similar to that of pidgins. Pidgins have certain unique features that make them stand out from the Standard language. These features are what Sebba (1997) referred to as design features of pidgins and creoles. The features manifest in the form of lack of phonological complexity, lack of morphological complexity, lack of syntactic complexity, vocabulary reduction, and semantic transparency. Lack of phonological complexity has to do with the reduced number of phonemes and uncomplicated syllable structure of pidgins. In other words, speakers of pidgin avoid the use of complicated sounds. These sounds include unfamiliar vowels and consonant. This presupposes that that pidgin speakers always speak the simplest of sounds. Even though, not all simplified languages are pidgins, Holm (2000) considers pidgins as always-simplified compared to the lexifier language. Moreover, Amuzu (2010) maintains that pidgins always have fewer phonemes than the source language and this is triggered by the attempt of the speakers to avoid complex phonemes of the source language.

In relation to vowel sounds, Amuzu (2010) lists among others the following diphthongs (**ei, ai, eə, əu**. etc) as those vowel sounds the speakers of pidgin avoid. He added that these diphthongs are normally replaced with the nearest monophthongs that are present in their mother tongue. In the Ghanaian variety of Hausa, the speakers avoid complex and difficult

vowels sounds of the Standard Hausa. The common one in the Ghana Hausa is /**ai**/ changes to /**e**/ as in 1-3 below. Ghana Hausa examples are ‘As’ while the Standard Hausa are Bs. The words we are comparing are the boldfaced.

- (1)
- a. Ya-yi aiki-n dede [Ghana Hausa]
 3.SG.SUBJ.COMPL-do work-DET correctly
 ‘He has done the work correctly’
- b. Ya-yi aiki-n daidai [Standard Hausa]
 3.SG.SUBJ.COMPL-do work-DET correctly
 ‘He has done the work correctly’
- (2)
- a. Kwame be da kudi [Ghana Hausa]
 Kwame NEG-SG with money
 ‘Kwame does not have money’
- b. Kwame baya da kudi [Standard Hausa]
 Kwame NEG-SG with money
 ‘Kwame does not have money’
- (3)
- a. Adiza na zuwa da mewa [Ghana Hausa]
 Adiza PROG come with millet
 ‘Adiza is coming with a millet’.
- b. Adiza tana zuwa da maiwa [Standard Hausa]
 Adiza PROG come with millet
 ‘Adiza is coming with a millet’.

There is also alternation between /**i**/ and /**e**/. The Ghana Hausa speakers use /**i**/ to replace /**e**/ in wordfinal position as 4-6.

- (4)
- a. Suna-n **kani**-na Ali [Ghana Hausa]
 name-DET younger brother-POSS Ali
 ‘My younger brother’s name is Ali’
- b. Suna-n **kane**--na Ali [Standard Hausa]
 name-DET younger brother-POSS Ali
 ‘My younger brother’s name is Ali’

- (5)
- a. Jamal da Abu sun-ba-ni sabo-n **zani** [Ghana Hausa]
 Jamal CONJ Abu 3PLR-give.3SG new-DET cloth
 ‘Jamal and Abu gave me the new cloth’
- b. Jamal da Abu sun-ba-ni sabo-n **zane** [Standard Hausa]
 Jamal CONJ Abu 3PLR-give.3SG new-DET cloth
 ‘Jamal and Abu gave me the new cloth’
- (6)
- a. **komi** na-da lokaci-n shi [Ghana Hausa]
 everything IMPERF-with time-DET 3SG OBJ
 ‘Everything has its appointed time’
- b. **komai** na-da lokaci-n sa [Standard Hausa]
 everything IMPERF-with time-DET 3SG OBJ
 ‘Everything has its appointed time’

It is seen in the above examples that Ghana Hausa speakers change /e/ with /i/ as in the following words: **kane** → **kani** (‘younger brother’), **zane** → **zani** (‘cloth, wrapper’) and /i/ with /ai/ as in **komi** → **komai** (‘everything’, nothing) etc.

There are also a number of consonants in the Standard Hausa which the Ghana Hausa speakers avoid because of their complex nature. Dakubu (1997a) established that in the Ghana Hausa /b/ /s/ and /d/ are fused with /ɓ/ /s’/ and /ɗ/. According to Dakubu (1977a), this has resulted into fusion of sounds therefore there is no distinction between the initial consonants of the following words: **bata** ‘a line’ and **bata** ‘to spoil’. Therefore, the absence of the above sounds in Ghana Hausa makes it difficult to distinguish between the following words:

- (7) **bari** ‘to leave’ → **ɓari** ‘dropping’
 (8) **fada** ‘palace’ → **ɗaɗa** ‘fall into’
 (9) **daka** ‘to pound’ → **ɗaka** ‘in a hut’
 (10) **kafa** ‘to establish’ → **kaɗa** ‘leg’
 (11) **baki** ‘mouth’ → **ɓaki** ‘new comers’

Pidgin speakers avoid complex consonants of the target language. This is in line with the discussion that pidgin avoids more complex sound by replacing them with the simple ones. We have five consonants in the Standard Hausa that are avoided in Ghana Hausa. These consonants are:

- (12) /b/ voiced bilabial glottal
 (13) /d/ voice alveolar glottal
 (14) /s/ voiceless alveolar glottal
 (15) /k/ / voiceless velar glottal
 (16) /ʔ/ glottal stop
- (17) Voiced bilabial glottal /b/ is replaced with voiced bilabial plosive /b/.
- a. Ya-boye baya-n itace [Ghana Hausa]
 3SGCOMPL-hide back-DET tree
 ‘He has hidden behind the tree’
- b. Ya-6oye bayan itace [Standard Hausa]
 3SGCOMPL-hide back-DET tree
 ‘He has hidden behind the tree’
- (18) Voice alveolar implosive/ d/ is replaced with voiced alveolar plosive /d/
- a. Yaro-n nan ya dauki ruwa-n [Ghana Hausa]
 Boy-DET that 3SG COMPL take water-DET
 ‘The boy took the water’
- b. Yaro-n nan ya dauki ruwa-n [Standard Hausa]
 Boy-DET that 3SG COMPL take water-DET
 ‘The boy took the water’
- (19) Voiceless alveolar affricate / ts / is replaced with voiceless alveolar fricative /s/
- a. Akwai sauro gari-n ga [Ghana Hausa]
 There mosquito town-DET here
 ‘There is mosquito in this town’
- b. Akwai tsauro gari-n ga [Standard Hausa]
 There mosquito town-DET here
 ‘There is mosquito in this town’
- (20) Voiceless velar ejective /k/ is replaced with voiceless velar stop /k/
- a. Gida-n nan na da kofa uku [Ghana Hausa]
 House-DET DET IMPERF with gate three
 ‘The house has three gates’

- b. Gida-n nan na-da kofa uku [Standard Hausa]
 House-DET DET IMPERF-with gate three
 ‘The house has three gates’

It is seen from 17-20 that these glottal sounds /**ʔ**/ /**ɗ**/ /**kʰ**/ /**ts**/ are replaced with /**b**, **d**, **k**, **s**/. Moreover, in the Standard Hausa, there are some words that contain glottals. However, this glottal is dropped in Ghana Hausa. This can be seen in the following words.

| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
|------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| (21) | saʼa | saa | ‘luck’ |
| (22) | waʼzi | wazi | ‘preaching’ |
| (23) | uʼba | uba | ‘father’ |

The illustrations in 24 and 25 show the absence of the glottal:

- (24)
 a. Sakina tana-da saa ciki-n aiki-n ta [Ghana Hausa]
 Sakina IMPERF-with luck inside-DET work-DET 3SG
 ‘Sakina is lucky in her work’

- b. Sakina na da saʼa a cikin aikinta [Standard Hausa]

- (25)
 a. Waazi-n nan na -da gundura [Ghana Hausa]
 Preaching-DET that IMPERF-with boring
 ‘The preaching is boring’

- b. waʼzi-n nan yana-da gundura [Standard Hausa]
 Preaching-DET that IMPERF-with boring
 ‘The preaching is boring’

Moreover, Ghana Hausa speakers replaces /h/ with labiodental fricative /f/ as in 26-28.

- (26)
 a. Aljifu-n Samed ya yage [Ghana Hausa]
 pocket-DET Samed 3SG COMPL tear
 ‘Samed’s pocket is torn’

b. Aljihun Samed ya yage [Standard Hausa]
 pocket-DET Samed 3SG COMPL tear
 ‘Samed’s pocket is torn’

(27)

a. Malam na-da yara fudu [Ghana Hausa]
 malam IMPERF-with child PLR four
 ‘The teacher has four children’

b. Malam yana-da yara huɗu [Standard Hausa]

(28)

a. Lafiya ke **komi** [Ghana Hausa]
 Health COP/HAB everything
 ‘Health is everything’

b. lahiya ke komai [Standard Hausa]
 Health COP/HAB everything
 ‘Health is everything’

In the above examples, the speakers of Ghana Hausa use /f/ for /h/:

| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
|------|----------------|---------------|----------|
| (29) | Huɗu | fudu | ‘four’ |
| (30) | Aljihun | aljifu | ‘pocket’ |
| (31) | lahiya | lafiya | ‘health’ |

There are also instances where Ghana Hausa speakers replace a trilled [r] with a lateral /l/ as we can see in the examples 32 and 33:

(32)

a. Halshi-n yaro-n ya kumbura [Ghana Hausa]
 tongue-DET boy-DET 3SG COMPL swell
 ‘The boy’s tongue has swollen’

b. Harshe-n yaro-n ya kumbura [Standard Hausa]
 tongue-DET boy-DET 3SG COMPL swell
 ‘The boy’s tongue has swollen’

(33)

- a. Mei-gona-n ya halbi sunsu [Ghana Hausa]
owner-farm-DET 3SG COMPL shoot bird
‘The owner of the farm shot at a bird’
- b. Mai-gona-r ya harbi tsunsu [Standard Hausa]
owner-farm-DET 3SG COMPL shoot bird
‘The owner of the farm shot at a bird’

Syllable structure and vowel insertion

Amuzu (2010) mentions that pidgins have processes in which they use to simplify complex structure: prothesis, epenthesis and paragogue. Among these processes, epenthesis and paragogue are common to Ghanaian version of Hausa. Epenthesis is the process of inserting a vowel in the middle of consonants cluster in order to break the cluster. Instead of CCV, we may have CVCV as in examples 34 - 36. The examples indicate that Ghana Hausa breaks the consonant cluster by inserting vowels between the consonants.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|--------|
| | Ghana Hausa | Standard Hausa | |
| (34) | guluma | gulma | gossip |
| (35) | gulubi | gulbi | River |
| (36) | girigiza | girgiza | shake |

Paragogue has to do with the insertion of a vowel at the end of the last syllable. This according to Amuzu (2010) pidgin speakers prefers an open syllable. In Ghana Hausa, this strategy is done on the English loan words used in Ghana Hausa. However, this is not the case in the Standard Hausa because the Hausa has lexicon for such words. This is due to insufficient amount of vocabulary in Ghana Hausa, which one of the features of a pidgin. Example:

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|---------|
| | Ghana Hausa | Standard Hausa | |
| (37) | basuko | keke | bicycle |
| (38) | beleti | santara | belt |
| (39) | mankishi | ashana | matches |
| (40) | watshi | agogo | watch |

Morpho-phonological: final vowel deletion

Vowel deletion is another peculiar characteristic in Ghana Hausa. Amuzu (2010) states three types of deletion that occur in pidgin: syncope, apocope and aphesis. Syncope is when

a consonant is dropped at the end of syllable. However, in Ghana Hausa a vowel is dropped at the end of a syllable. This occurs when a vowel appears between a nasal and any other sound. The vowel is deleted in a rapid speech. Even though, such condition is also applicable to Standard Hausa but it is more rampant in Ghana Hausa. This is seen in the following example: 41- 44.

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| | Standard | Ghana | |
| (41) | ba na so | ban so | I don't like |
| (42) | ba na ji | ban ji | I cannot hear |
| (43) | sanu da zuwa | sanda zuwa | You are welcome |
| (44) | kwana biyu | kwan biyu | It has been a while |

Credit to Dakubu (1977a)

Labialization of consonants before /a/

Ghana Hausa speakers labialize some consonants before /a/

| | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (45) | sale | swale | peel |
| (46) | ɗaci | dwaci | bitter taste |
| (47) | tari | twari | cough |
| (48) | zari | zwari | greed |

This also is applicable in western dialects of Hausa e.g., Sakkwatanci in Nigeria and Kuruhuyanci (dialect of Kurfey) in Niger (Bello, 2015 & 2020).

Palatalization

The most conspicuous feature of Ghana Hausa that is missing in the Standard Hausa is the palatalization of the velar sounds before /i/

| | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (49) | aboki | aboci | friend |
| (50) | sarki | sarci | king |
| (51) | aiki | aici | work |
| (52) | doki | doci | horse |
| (53) | gida | jida | house |
| (54) | giwa | jiwa | elephant |
| (55) | girma | jirma | to grow up |

Morpho-syntactic

In terms of the structure of words, pidgin speakers will always want to speak the simple form in order to avoid complexity. This is what Sebba (1997) referred to as lack of morphological complexity. In Ghana Hausa, the speakers use one lexicon to refer to both masculine and feminine. This illustration is discussed below.

Copula: ce/ne (Gender marker)

There are two genders in Hausa: masculine and feminine. Every noun or pronoun in Hausa whether concrete or abstract is either masculine or feminine. Consequently, the English neuter- gender pronoun 'it' has no equivalent in Hausa. All nouns in Hausa whether animate or inanimate take either the masculine personal pronoun or feminine personal pronoun. Howeyday (1959) says the main distinction between the masculine and the feminine nouns is that the feminine nouns end with 'a' but with few exceptions. Hausa has special particles for nouns and these particles make distinction between masculine and feminine nouns. In Ghana Hausa, these distinctions are totally absent for nouns which do not have a notion of classification by sex. Every noun is considered masculine except those with female sex. Dakubu (1977a) says in Hausa a number of names of animals are feminine gender although they refer to either sex, but in Ghana Hausa, they are masculine and occur with the masculine specifying particle /ne/ instead of the feminine /c/. The illustration is seen in 56.

| | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (56) | angulu ce | angulu ne | 'it is a vulture' |

Moreover, inanimate nouns are considered feminine in Standard Hausa but in Ghana Hausa they are considered masculine as in 57 - 99.

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (57) | Makaranta ce | makaranta ne | 'it is a school' |
| (58) | Bango ce | bango ne | 'it is a wall' |
| (59) | kofa ce | kofa ne | 'it is a door' |

/n/, /r/ as genitive or determiner

The morpheme /n/ plays a very important role in Hausa. The /n/ has different functions in Ghana Hausa. This section deals with those functions one after the other. The most common one is signaling the relationship between nominals. The /n/ is sometimes considered as a determiner. Every Hausa noun is considered as elliptically containing the

indefinite article. However, in Standard Hausa, it is expressed in two different ways: /r/ and /n/. The /n/ is used for singular masculine and all the plural nouns while the /r/ is used for feminine nouns. In the case of Ghana Hausa /n/ is used for all instances. The use of /r/ as an article for feminine is conspicuously missing in Ghana Hausa. The use of /n/ in all instances does not only occur with animate nouns. Inanimate nouns also use /n/ in all occurrences.

Here are some illustrations in 60-63:

(60)

- a. Kujera-n malam ya sufa [Ghana Hausa]
 Chair-DET teacher 3SG old
 ‘The teacher’s chair is old’
- b. Kujera-r malam ta t sufa [Standard Hausa]
 Chair-DET teacher 3SG old
 ‘The teacher’s chair is old’

(61)

- a. Riga-n na-da sada [Ghana Hausa]
 Shirt-DET IMPERF -with expansive
 ‘The shirt is expensive’
- b. Riga- r tana-da tsada [Standard Hausa]
 Shirt-DET IMPERF -with expansive
 ‘The shirt is expensive’

(62)

- a. Mata-n Musa na gida [Ghana Hausa]
 wife-DET Musa IMPERF house
 ‘Musa’s wife is at home’
- b. Mata-r Musa na gida [Standard Hausa]
 wife-DET Musa IMPERF house
 ‘Musa’s wife is at home’

(63)

- a. Gida-n Musa ne [Ghana Hausa]
 house-DET Musa COP
 ‘It is Musa’s House’

- b. Gida-n Musa ne [Standard Hausa]
 house-DET Musa COP
 'It is Musa's House'

The use of /n/ in all instances clearly do not distinguish masculine from feminine in Ghana Hausa. Dakubu (1977a) observed that in Ghana Hausa the feminine suffix /re/ seems to have been replaced in all occurrences by /-n/ as in 64-66.

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (64) | mata-r-sa | mata-n-shi | his wife' |
| (65) | yarinya-r-ta | yariya-n-ta | 'her daughter' |
| (66) | umma-r-mu | umma-n-mu | 'our mother' |

Possessive pronoun

Both Ghana Hausa and the Standard Hausa have the same possessive pronouns with the exception of third person singular masculine pronoun. While Standard Hausa uses **sa** Ghana Hausa uses **shi** as in 67-69

| | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | |
| (67) | gida-n sa | gida-n shi | 'his house' |
| (68) | mata-r sa | mata-n shi | 'his wife' |
| (69) | kudi-n sa | kudi-n shi | 'his money' |

Lexical

If a language is moved from its original cultural context to a different area where different languages dominate the linguistic setting, one will therefore expect a number of changes. These changes may include inadequate vocabulary in the language which may lead to the use of a word in a novel way or multiple ways. This is what Sebba (1997) refers to as 'maximum use of minimum vocabularies'. There are a number of vocabulary items used in Ghana Hausa which are not known in Standard Hausa and vice versa. This is the case where there is limited vocabulary so there is the need to fall on other languages for their vocabularies. This can be done in a number of ways. Amuzu (2010) mentions the following as some of the strategies: metaphorical extension, reduplication, multi-functionality, compounding, and circumlocution.

Metaphorical expansion

Amuzu (2010) explains metaphorical extension as the extension of the meaning of existing word root. The following are the examples, the word **karkashi** means ‘under’ in the Standard Hausa but in Ghana Hausa it means the following: under, at, understand. This is Akan influence of the word ‘aseɛ’. The illustration in 70-72.

(70)

a. Abu na karikashi-n wasa-n [Ghana Hausa]
 Abu IMPERF under-DET play-ground-DET
 ‘Abu is at the playing ground’

b. Abu yana wuri-n wasan [Standard Hausa]
 Abu IMPERF under-DET play0ground-DET
 ‘Abu is at the playing ground’

(71)

a. Mumuni ya-ji karikashi-n magana-n ka [Ghana Hausa]
 Mumuni 3SG COMPL-hear under-DET talk-DET 3SG
 ‘Mumuni has understood your message’

b. Mumuni ya-fahimci magana-r ka [Standard Hausa]
 Mumuni 3SG COMPL- understood talk-DET 3SG
 ‘Mumuni has understood your message’

(72)

a. Rago-n na karikashi-n tebur [Ghana Hausa]
 Sheep-DET IMPERF under-DET table
 ‘The sheep is **under** the table’

b. Rago-n yana karikashi-n tebur [Standard Hausa]
 Sheep-DET IMPERF under-DET table
 ‘The sheep is **under** the table’

Below are examples of the English lexical items that are used differently in both the Standard Hausa and Ghana Hausa.

| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | Source |
|-------|----------------|--------------|---------|
| bread | burodi | paanu | Akan |
| box | akwati | adaka | Akan |
| bag | jaka | bagi | English |

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| window | taga | takoro | Akan |
| pepper | barkono | tankwa | unknown |
| banana | ayaba | kwàdú | Akan |
| ginger | citta mai yatsu | kakaduro | Akan |
| car | mota | lore | English |
| show | nuna | gwadaa | Hausa (meaning: 'measure') |
| window | taga | takwaro | Hausa (meaning: frame) |
| ferment/sour | tsami | yami | unknown |
| groundnut | gyada | gudziya | unknown |
| spoon | ƙfokali | atiri | Akan |
| watch | agogo | wotfi | English |
| match(es) | afana | mankifi | English |
| bicycle | keke/basukur | basuko | English |
| yam | doya | dundu | Hausa (meaning: 'beatings') |
| cow | sa | shanu | Hausa (meaning: 'plural of cow') |

Findings and Discussions

The papers discussed aspects of Hausa spoken in Ghana by examining the linguistic difference that exists between Ghana Hausa and Standard Hausa. The discussion is largely based on phonology, morphology and lexicon. Phonologically, there is lack of phonological complexity in Ghana Hausa. It is seen in the analysis that speakers of Ghana Hausa avoid the use of diphthong which is more complex than the monothong as in **komi** → **komai** ('everything', nothing) etc. Again, speakers of Ghana Hausa avoid some consonants (**ɓ**/ **s'**/ and **ɗ**) because of their complex nature. Dakubu (1997a) established that in the Ghana Hausa **/b/ /s/** and **/d/** are always used in place of **/ɓ/ /s'/** and **/ɗ/**. In view of this, there are no distinctions between words that involve such sounds in Ghana Hausa. For instance, these sounds are pronounced same in Ghana Hausa: **fada** 'palace' and **faɗa** 'fall into'. Also, there are some phonological processes that occur in Ghana Hausa. One of such processes is epenthesis which is common to Ghana Hausa. The data showed that Ghana Hausa breaks the consonant cluster by inserting vowels between the consonants as in **gulbi** and **gulubi** 'river'. This is also seen in loan words from English for example: **belt** and **beleti**.

Again, speakers of Ghana Hausa labialize some consonants before /a/ which is missing in Standard Hausa as in **tari** and **twari** 'cough'. According to Bello (2015 & 2020), this phonological process also occurs in western dialects of Hausa e.g Sakkwatanci in Nigeria and Kuruhuyanci (dialect of Kurfey) in Niger. Palatalization is also very visible feature of Ghana Hausa and this is missing in Standard Hausa. The velar sounds before /i/ is

palatalized in Ghana Hausa, example **giwa** and **jiwa** ‘elephant’. Again, Bello (2015 & 2020) observed similar process in some dialects of Hausa spoken in Niger.

Another finding from the study is the use of /n/ as genitive for both masculine and feminine gender. However, in Standard Hausa /n// and /r/ are used for masculine and feminine gender respectively. Again, in Standard Hausa /n/ is used for singular masculine and all the plural nouns while the /r/ is used for feminine nouns. In the case of Ghana Hausa /n/ is used for all instances. Metaphorical expansion is also a unique trait of Ghana Hausa. Example: the word *karkashi* means ‘under’ in the Standard Hausa but in Ghana Hausa it means the following: ‘under’, ‘at’, and ‘understand’. This is an Akan influence of the word ‘aseɛ’.

Lexically, there are lexicons that Hausa speakers use which are not known in Standard Hausa

| | Standard Hausa | Ghana Hausa | Source |
|--------|------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| bread | buodi | paanu | Akan |
| box | akwati | adaka | Akan |
| window | taga | takoro | Akan |
| banana | ayaba | kwàdú | Akan |
| ginger | citta mai yatsu | kakaduro | Akan |

More importantly, there is a trace of language shift among the resident of the zongo communities. Some settlers gradually abandon their first language for Ghana Hausa immediately they settle in the zongos. According to Fasold (1984:213) ‘Language shift simply means that ‘a community gives up a language completely in favor of another one. Garret (2006:63) added ‘Language shift refers to a situation in which a community of speakers effectively abandons one language by shifting to another (not necessarily by conscious choice)’. This definition exactly fits into the happenings among the resident of the zongo communities where they have shifted to speaking Ghana Hausa at the expense of their first languages. In view of Trudgill (2000: 191), ‘Language shift involves the gradual replacement of the communicative functions of one language by another that the user considers to serve the maximum linguistic and social benefits of a particular place and time. Agyekum (2010) established that Hausa is widely spoken in the zongos as a lingua franca. He added that the Hausa as a language of trade is not only in Ghana but West Africa as a whole. According to Agyekum (2010: 383), ‘The Hausa used in Ghana is more of the spoken type than the Nigeria variety’.

Dakubu (1988:170) added that ‘personal observations and survey findings both indicate that there is some tendency for children born in the zongos, at least in the south, to learn Hausa before they learn their parents’ language or languages and to speak it better.’ Yankah

(2006) opines that there are other non-Ghanaian African languages like Hausa, which is spoken as a lingua franca among migrant populations and in northern Ghana, and Arabic, which is learnt in Islamic schools across Ghana but mainly used for religious purposes.

Again, the shift to Ghana Hausa in the zongos made the loanwords and borrowing more prominent in Ghana Hausa. The language is used in all facet of life in the zongos. Agyekum (2010) establishes language shift centers on diffusionist theory where societal and cultural factors affect the language shift. He added that the socio-cultural forces include ethnicity, gender, trade and commerce, education, occupation, mobility, prestige and status among others. According to Gumperz (2001:470) 'The diffusionists viewed the speech community as a dynamic field of action where phonetic change, borrowing, language mixture and language shift all occur because of social forces and where genetic origin is secondary to these forces.'

Conclusion

The paper investigated aspects of sociolinguistics of Hausa spoken in Ghana. Historically, the Hausa migrants were faced with communication challenges in conducting their businesses with the locals at the initial stages. There was therefore the need to have a common language to communicate with the local people. Also, the soldiers who were trained in the barracks by Hausa trainers from Nigeria also came back to their communities using a unique kind of Hausa. The combination of these two scenarios gave birth of Ghana Hausa. It is a form of simplified Hausa. It is described as grammatically simplified way of communication that develops between two or more groups that do not have a language in common. Sebba (1997) claims that the emergence of such languages is the result of a practical problem of communication between speakers in a multilingual context. Trade has always been mentioned as the common situation that gives birth to simplified languages. The primary data for this paper was gathered from Ghana Hausa speakers and Standard Hausa speakers. The paper considers Hausa spoken in Ghana as a different variety because of number of factors. These factors are those features that can be seen in most pidgins in the world and they are the linguistic facts and the social context in which pidgin evolved (Amuzu, 2010).

Secondly, Ghana Hausa is a mixture of the Standard Hausa, English and the local Ghanaian languages especially, Akan. Ghana Hausa has also acquired native speakers in Ghana. The dwellers of the zongos use Hausa as their first language and use it in all their transactions. Ghana Hausa has developed from the simplifying and mixing of different languages into a full-fledged language. The paper concedes that Ghana Hausa has not acquired a consistent system of grammar that is independent of the Standard Hausa and it lacks large stable lexicons, even though it has native speakers.

Although, geographically, it is seen as not indigenous Ghanaian language but the role it plays in the linguistic space of the country cannot be downplayed. It is one of the languages used in various important national announcement from the government. For instance, it is used by the Electoral Commission for electoral purposes, Ghana Statistical Services for census, Ghana National Commission for Civic Education (GNCCCE) for civic matters among others. Some television and radio stations also use Ghana Hausa for some of their programmes. It is also used in the Arabic schools as a medium of instruction. The above discussions attest to the fact that Ghana Hausa is widely used in Ghana especially in the zongos for social and religious activities.

There is no doubt that Hausa has come to stay as one of the languages used in Ghana. In view of this, this study has come as very useful not only for the users but also policy makers and stakeholders who need the languages used in Ghana for their businesses. The study therefore suggests that future studies look into the number of speakers and the impact it has on business because of its wide usage in the various market centres.

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