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Glocalization of English: Evidence from Ghana

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Abstract
African ideologies have always shaped the usage of English in the African setting. As much as many researchers have tried to examine how African English differs from other varieties especially what is considered 'standard', the issue of glocalising English to make it relevant to the socially realistic context is rarely discussed. This paper focuses on how educated Ghanaians, especially, the Ghanaian creative writer has employed English in a socially realistic context in order to make English reflect the socio-cultural ideologies into which they are born and raised. The methodology employed is qualitative and the data wrtr obtained from creative works of Ghanaians. The discussion was down based on areas that are behaviourially norm oriented. One of the major findings was that no matter the level of education of the Ghanaian, he/she will trim the English language to fit into the socially realistic context of Ghana; else, in an attempt to use English without globalising it is likely to bring about communication that is culturally inappropriate, linguistically disoriented, and socially unacceptable due to ideological mismatch.

Keywords: Glocalization, behavioural norms, English in Africa, langue sans frontier, educated

Introduction
'Langue sans frontier' - language without boundaries - can be said to be an expression possibly apt enough to describe English in the world today. It has spread its roots across different geographical and socio-cultural territories, whether in the East, West, North or South. As pointed out by Chishimba (1984:2) [9], in the socio-cultural context of the non-native speaker, '[He] also created conditions whereby [the English Language] diverges from its parent form so as to suit the ways of thinking and living of the non-native speaker´. In order to make English function effectively, non-native speakers have to glocalize English so that it can be meaningful and socially realistic in their context (Sharifian 2016; Kachru 1992; Halliday 1978) [30, 18, 15]. In the words of Kachru (1986:30), the language has to be 'reincarnated' in terms of meaning. The reincarnation here is in line with what Chishimba (1984:4) [9] refers to as not making the foreign language look like the local language of the non-native speaker but 'changing or modifying the meaning, form, syntax and morphology of elements of the new language to make the new meaning closer to the local language.' Unfortunately, many researchers try to focus on the malformed structures of non-native speakers´ English (Sey 1973; Gyasi 1991; Ahulu 1994) [29, 14, 3]. Such researchers possibly fail to recognise the functional value of non-native English and are mostly out to do error analysis of any English that they think falls short of 'standard' English.
On the other hand, there are those who believe that non-native varieties are appropriate in the context in which they are employed. Bamgbose (1998) [7] cautions how it is possible to convince an African to address elderly gathered men and women as ladies and gentlemen instead of my mothers and fathers. He argues that the behavioural norms, which are sets of rules that go with speaking, make the usage of English in such non-native contexts, especially in Africa, appropriate and acceptable. Though Bamgbose (1998) [7] acknowledges that these behavioural norms are rarely explored, it must be noted that they are a part of the determining factors of the localization of English world-wide. Kachru (1986) [17] talks of the culture of Indian being responsible for the Indianisation of English. The glocalization of English as situated in China by Sharifian (2016) [30] is also attributable to the socio-cultural context of the users of the English language.

In a nutshell, English in non-native contexts, to a greater extent, is determined by the belief systems of the people who employ it in a socially realistic context. The outer conditions of a person's life will always be found to reflect their inner beliefs. (James Allen, As a Man Thinketh). The inner beliefs can hardly be expressed without language. It is in line with the above that the non-native speakers of English will mostly try to maintain a balance between native and non-native varieties of English. English has to be localized to perform socio-cultural roles and at the same time maintain a global language because it has to be in touch with its ancestral home as stated by Chinua Achebe, the renowned Nigerian writer. On the part of Achebe, he will use the English language to express his African experiences. This positive attitude of Achebe, if viewed the same way by most non-native speakers of English, the negative attitudes towards non-native varieties and preferences for native speaker variety would not have been on the ascendency. Many researchers all over the world have shown that learners have negative attitudes towards localized varieties (Lowenberg 1986; Chien 2018; Santana-Williamson & Kelch 2002) [22, 8, 27]. Some of the reasons given for the preference for the native variety are that of status and prestige. Despite the preferences for native variety of English, non-native speakers willingly or unwillingly find themselves using the non-native variety no matter the level of education. The unavoidable usage of non-native variety is probably in consonance with the functionalists´ theory of language. The functionalists believe that knowledge of a language is not only about the syntax, ´but also knowledge of the conventional semantic, pragmatic and discourse functions of the syntactic forms´ (Croft 1995:492) [10]. Devoid of prejudice against non-native varieties, all linguists, including the language gate keepers would come to appreciate the globalized English due to the conventions governing the usage of English in a socially realistic context.

It is worth noticing that the set of conventions that lead to the glocalization of English is rarely considered by researchers in the field of socio-linguistics. The paucity of literature regarding how conventions contribute to the nativization of English is expressed by Bamgbose (1998) [7]. Save Bamgbose (1998) [7] who explicitly talked about behavioural norms being responsible for African English, little is done on how the set of belief systems has contributed to the non-native varieties of English.

In this paper, we have delved into how behavioural norms have contributed to the glocalization of English in Ghana. Our research data is obtained from creative works of Ghanaians. These creative works have been prescribed by West African Examination Council (WAEC), an examining body responsible for the West African Senior School Examination (WASSCE) and have been used at the senior high schools in Ghana for the General Literature, a mandatory course for all students. The choice of these books emanates from the reasoning that in a second language context, reading materials contribute significantly to learners´ language acquisition. Since these creative works are relatable to the learners, they are more likely to produce a variety of English that they have learnt from these creative works.

Glocalization of English in Africa

English, presumably, is able to assume the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic traits of every nation. Based on its ability to carry the world views of all users, no matter the socio-cultural background, has led to many researchers claiming it as their owner (Kamwangamalu 2019; Anderson 2009; Quarcoo 1994; Kachru 1965) [19, 5, 25, 16]. To Kamwangamalu (2019) [19], the pragmatic use of English in Africa has made it to be a naturalized African language because it has almost assumed all the linguistic features of African languages. Some of the ways by which English is globalized in Africa include lexical transfer/borrowing in the areas of local foods, garments, cultural ceremonies, socio-political discourse, and kinship terms (Dako 2003; Kamwangamalu 2019) [12, 19]. For more examples across Anglophone African, refer to (Kamwangamalu 2019) [19].

Aside lexical borrowing, researchers have also amply illustrated how English has been naturalized from the syntax level through subject coping, extension of ´–ing form´ to words that do not require the progressive form, responses to yes or no questions, etc. The following examples are from Schmied (2008:452) [28]:

1. Some of us may think that women always are having a lot of things to do.
2. It is really very toxic to the user because it produces smoke heavy smoke and it is smelling.

Although the sentences above may be viewed as non-standard, the conceptual semantics is that of temporariness and habitualness. The conceptual aspect of these sentences makes them socially realistic. The globalization of English is to make it align with these conceptual norms which are not easy to dismiss because they are more relatable to the users of Anglophone Africans.

It is probably based on the relatable nature of nativised English that Anderson (2009) [5] claims that English is another Ghanaian language. The claim stems from the functional roles that English plays in the social lives of Ghanaians. English, just like any Ghanaian language, is used in almost all socio-cultural contexts (outdooring, marriage, group meetings, etc.). Sometimes it is possible to use an African language during meetings, but the minutes of such meetings are documented using English. Not only are meetings written in English but also materials intended for pedagogical purposes of the indigenous languages have the instructions for both learners and teachers written in English (Rosekrans, Sheris and Chartey-Komarek 2012) [26]. If the English language has played these roles in the teaching of indigenous languages, the claim by Quarcoo (1994) [25] that English is a Ghanaian artefact seems appropriate. If English were not another Ghanaian language and a Ghanaian artefact, it would not be employed in the various linguistic roles as pointed out above.

Discussing the pragmatic realities of English in Anglophone Africa, Kamwangamalu (2019:115) [19] pointed out that speakers of English 'have introduced features – lexical, semantic, syntactic, phonetic and phonological – that not only distinguish African Englishes from the varieties of English spoken in the Inner Circles and elsewhere in the world, but also make the language bear the burden of the speakers' cultural experience.' He concludes by saying that English, by form and function, is a 'naturalized African language'. Form refers to the linguistic features that English in Africa has acquired whilst function is about the

sociocultural roles English is made to perform due to its history and deep rootedness.

To further illustrate the relevance of making English function effectively and authentically in the African context, Grieve (1964:14) [13] states:

But in West Africa, English is a vehicle of African cultures as well as of English, and in these cultural concepts exist which do not exist in English culture. If it is to be an effective mode of communication in Africa, therefore, it is essential that it adapt itself so as to be able to express these concepts. It is from these needs that new variant forms arise. Thus, we find in Nigerian, Ghanaian, and Sierra Leonean English that words are used with new senses.

If English has to carry the cultural concepts of Africans, it has to be globalized. The category of Africans who proudly pronounce their determination to use the English language in the way that it should be within the African context is creative writers. They are prepared to make the English language pay the price for being a world's language. Though there are debates on what constitutes African literature, those who think African literature should be one that is written in African languages, at the long round, return to European languages to carry their message far and wide. One begins to wonder whether the English or French they use does not carry the cultures of Africans. If the English/French is able to carry the experiences of the African writer in many pragmatic ways, can it not be said that English or French is another African language?

Ghanaianisation of English

We (The excolonised) have to stretch the language to adapt to alien thoughts and values which have no precedent of expression in English, subject the language to a pressure that distorts, or, if you like, enlarges its scope and changes its shape (Sidhwa, 1996:240) [31].

Creativity is central to language use. Sidhwa's comment above succinctly expresses what English in a non-native context undergoes. In order to make English serve the purpose of any linguistic community in the Outer Circle, the language has to be stretched to fit in the culture and context of the people. Aidoo (1991:34) [4] captures the educated Ghanaian creativity of using English as follows:

One thing the Ghanaian is good at is simply turning English down on its head. They had decided to create out of 'overwhelmed' and 'flabbergasted' a new word (Flabberwhelmed) to describe an emotional state which they had decided the English were not capable of experiencing and therefore had no expression in their language for.

The educated Ghanaian, who decides to turn the English on its head is possibly attributable to the social reality, as well as linguistic 'customs' that have to be observed. In order to let English function meaningfully and effectively, English in Ghana has to be 'Ghanaianised' (globalized) so that it can fit into the socio-cultural context of Ghana. The 'ghanaianisation' of English is probably a result of the cultural norms of its users. Kwesi Yankah, a professor of linguistics at the University of Ghana, Legon, indicates how English has been useful to him in the preface to Kirby's A North American's Guide to Ghanaian English as follows:

Being myself a linguist, and a newspaper columnist well known for the liberal use of Ghanaian English, I have grown to appreciate its efficacy for satire and humour in literary works and do wonder how my two columns: Kwatriot and Abosam Fireman would have fared without splashes of Ghanaian English (Kirby 1998) [21]. English in Ghana, just like any other non-native English-speaking environments, is fashioned out of necessity: the necessity of cultural norms and concepts. The question that normally arises is whether these non-native users of English have the appropriate expressions in English. Magura (1984:68) [23] addresses this concern as follows: "even though the use of English by African writers is of very standard there is frequent recourse to lexicalization and phraseology with cultural connotations." Behavioural norms, as indicated by Bamgbose (1998) [7], have influenced the way Africans use English.

The subsequent sections provide instances of how English has been globalized due to socio-cultural concepts and behavioural norms. The evidences are from some selected Ghanaian creative works.

Socio-cultural norms and the Ghanaian creative writer

The dilemma confronting the African writer is getting his message across to a wide audience without losing the cultural traits of African linguistic behaviour. African writers [have] evolved a sort of African English: an English that mostly uses English lexicon but whose usage have been invested with values, concepts and nuances of local patterns of everyday African linguistic patterns (Adedimeji 2008:3-4) [1]. In this paper, we are not to examine the linguistic features but the behavioural norms that have necessitated the transfer of African linguistic concepts to the English language and thereby leading to the glocalization of English. Behavioural norm, as defined by Bamgbose (1998:2) [7], is "The set of conventions that go with speaking including expected patterns of behaviour while interacting with others, the mode of interpreting what is said and attitudes in general to others' manner of speaking." In other words, the socio-cultural context of the non-native speaker of English which varies, to some great extent, from the native speaker of English, systematically influences the patterning of ideas, the re-incarnation of English (Semantically) to the new language socially and culturally acceptable in its new home. Behavioural norms are therefore key determinants of the use of English in the non-native context; Africa in particular.

Belief systems and English Usage

Religion is not a discipline, like science, that steadily provides new knowledge, filling in our picture of the world. In some cases, religion is opposed to science because it is rooted more strongly in belief than in reason (Balraj, Singh, Abd Manan 2020:1218) [6].

Religion plays a critical role in the usage of English in non-native context. There are three major religions in Ghana: African Traditional Religion, Christianity, and Islam. Christianity and Islam are considered foreign as seen in Aidoo (1991:131) [4]. 'All the spirits should have been appeased: ancient coastal and Christian, ancient northern and Islamic, the ghosts of the colonizers.' From the ordering of the linguistic items in the preceding quotation, Christianity came through the southern part of Ghana whilst Islam entered Ghana through the northern part. Before the advent of these religions, the traditional religion of the people was already in operation. The traditional religion had laid the basis upon which language is modelled to express the belief systems of the people.

The people of Ghana believe that the spirits have an influence on whatever happens in society. The pattern of

their worship or sacrifice is reflected in the text below, taken from Nyantakyi's Ancestral Sacrifice.

Text 1 (Libation by the Chief of Asana)

With a medium-size gourd filled with *akpetashi* in his hand, he lowered his cloth and became bare on both shoulders. Raising the gourd and looking up, he said, "Supreme God of Saturday, you drink not, but we seek your presence. Mother Earth of Thursday, drink," he bowed and poured a drop of the gin on the ground. He called the names of famous clans, famous shrines, famous rivers, dead relatives, dead war heroes, and invoking their spirits, asked them to bless the land, multiply the killings of the hunters, double the harvest of the farmers, increase the wisdom of the wise, fertilize the womb of the barren, provide good health, prosperity, and long life to the chief and people of Asana. (Nyantakyi, 1998:28) [24]

The above text has amply departed from any of the foreign religions that have come to meet the African traditional belief systems of the people. The utensil, gourd, depicts a belief system of the people. The dressing of the person who also offers the sacrifice is demonstrative of the customs and behavioural norms of the people. The language is patterned in such a way that the culture and the customs of the people are preserved. The order of importance of the spirits is reflected in the sacrifice. Each step in the sacrifice is meaningful and understandable.

Each day of the week is believed to represent something in nature and in a meaningful way. For instance, in Nyantakyi (1998:14) [24] a question was posed as follows to Reverend Father Pascal Goodman: "She wants to know whether you weed on Tuesday?" (Italics is mine). Father Goodman became confused because he had no knowledge of the cultural background of the Ghanaian society. Tuesdays are considered days when no work is performed because of the taboos associated with the culture and belief system of the people. The word 'weed' also is culturally bound and may pose difficulty to anyone who is unfamiliar with the culture of Ghana. The blank and straightforward question would have been "Do you have sex on Tuesdays, the taboo day?" This sentence in the Ghanaian context departs from the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic manners of the Ghanaian context which hardly talks about sex. These linguistic taboo words and their associated topics which are not easily discussed in the Ghanaian social context are acknowledged by Dako (2002) [11]. Topics that are abhorred are referred to indirectly. Contextually, the semantic extensions are understood by Ghanaians but to an outsider it might appear as a deviation. However, this type of English is precisely what makes English a Ghanaian language. Ghanaians ought to recognize it as a variety functionally native and socially realistic to them.

Syntactically, there is a serialization of verbs to express different intentions. These different ideas could have been put in different sentences; however, the educated Ghanaian who loves to sound scholarly, a very long sentence has been constructed by the author. This not only goes in line with how Ghanaian people expect the educated to sound, as indicated by Sey (1973) [29], but it reflects the pragmatic ways in which the English language is put to use. The semantic aspect is also called to mind here. Prayer, in African Traditional Religion, is meant to be a chain that links the living and the dead. Primarily, sentence constructions that would have resulted in separation of the verbs would be considered inappropriate in that it breaks the chain of relationships between the living and the spirits. Hence, the long sentence and the serialization of the verbs convey the link between the worlds of the spirits, the dead and the living.

The choice of words in the text equally reflects expressions that are specific to Ghana. *Akpetashi* refers to a strong alcoholic drink. No matter the level of education of a Ghanaian, he or she will have no better substitute for *akpetashi*. Any other description is only going to make the speech 'unsuitable' and circuitous. The use of language has to go in line with the linguistic needs of the people and to avoid anything that might be culturally frowned upon. The choice of words and the syntax are indicative of how the Ghanaian pragmatically manages English to carry his or her linguistic load and experiences.

Let us consider Text 2 below which shows a Ghanaian who cannot dismiss the linguistic patterns laid down because of cultural concepts and behavioral norms.

Text 2 (An oath by Mrs. Little)

I, Yaa Botwe, a native of Asana, swear by the spirits of our Ancestors, that my heart dwells with my son in the sacred forest. That by swearing herein, I put myself under Ancestral oath to support the Ancestral Sacrifice and all rituals therein for a search in the sacred forest for my beloved son, Bob Little. Supreme God of Saturday, Mother Earth of Thursday, I give you drink, and pray that my son be found and return to me in good health." She attempted to pour the last drink but the glass fell and broke. The elders looked at each other. (Nyantakyi 1998:123) [24]

The difference between text 1 and text 2 is that the symbols of *gourd* and *glass* are used contrastively for the pouring of libation. The gourd is symbolic of African culture whilst that of the glass is symbolic of Western culture. The character in text 2 seems to be an epitome of glocalization. The behaviour is built on cultural concepts that are purely African; hence, the patterning of the language is more relatable to the Ghanaian. The pattern of her prayers is Ghanaian but the use of a glass in pouring the libation is foreign. The character did not recognize the significance and the meaning attached to the gourd so she decided to use her own vessel. The breaking of the glass brought about suspicion on the faces of the elders and that drew her attention to the African belief system that the breaking of a glass is symptomatic of a bad omen.

As a bilingual, cultural hybridity seems unavoidable. For the user of English in Ghana, hybridity is a necessary linguistic process. There is the need to blend words that are of English origin and those from Ghanaian languages so that English can fit appropriately in the Ghanaian linguistic context. English has to convey the experiences of the African and still be in communion with its ancestral home as suggested by Achebe (1965) [33].

Ghanaians, therefore, use English to express their minds and souls in a way that can be equated to what *Garveyism and* African Racial Reconstruction refers to as "mind-liberating or mind -domesticating". The Ghanaian has domesticated English to be in consonance with African Traditional Religion so that they can express their belief system.

Kinship terms in the use of English in Ghana

You know that in our custom, there is nothing like that. Oko's sisters' children are Ogyaanowa's sisters and

brothers. Are we Europeans that we would want to show divisions among kin? (Adioo, 1991:75) [4].

A collectivist society values communication that is indirect, integrative and brings about co-operation instead of divisiveness. One of the cultural concepts that carry semantic extension is kinship terms any inappropriate use of a kinship term may be regarded as disrespectful especially when it concerns elderly persons. Ill-feeling results when one decides to demonstrate his/her mastery of the English language by using the appropriate lexical items - i.e., non-Ghanaianised – kinship terms. Terms such as 'senior father' or 'junior father' to refer to one's paternal uncles are not uncommon in the Ghanaian setting. It becomes practically impossible to address one's paternal uncles as uncles but fathers. As Schneider (2007: xviii) puts it, "…language always and only works in social contexts, and can be explained only in that perspective."

The choice of any kinship term is usually functional in relation to the social networks in context. A bilingual may have a range of codes to choose from but the choice is a matter of pragmatics that has to be culturally determined, socially directed and contextually interpreted (Adogpa 2022) [2]. Sometimes total strangers are referred to as 'my sister' and 'my brother' by educated Ghanaians; not because they lack the appropriate vocabulary but because they want to let the addressee to feel belonged to. The ideology of "I am because of you and you are because of me' is appropriated in the glocalization of English in Ghana. These kinship terms are further used to establish an ambiance of friendliness for social interactions. The phatic usage of kinship terms is further reiterated by Magura (1984) [23]. Phatic language expresses feelings of togetherness, societal and brotherly cohesion. Communication presumably flows naturally when kinship terms that appear integrative are drawn upon. The spirit of unity and togetherness, which are characteristic of the Ghanaian culture, are appropriately communicated in line with the behavioural norms and socio-cultural concepts of the Ghanaian society.

Use of kinship terms are not restrictively Ghanaian. They are terms that make English a naturalized African language as stated by Kamwangamalu (2019) [19]. The following text is from a Nigerian creative writer.

Aderopo: The oracle of Ifa at the shrine of Orunmila has found the cause of sickness and deaths now in our midst, and has told me what the people can do so that there may be peace of mind again in every home.

Priest: Thus far, your words sound like fresh wine, son – full of sweetness but lacking substance.

Chiefs, priests and elders in the African society play fatherly roles. The crucial role of the priest makes him refer to Aderopo as 'son'. The use of 'son' is intended to evoke a spirit of humility in Aderopo so that he will pay attention to the piece of advice. Aderopo, though not a child, may not yet know the customs and norms of the society as the priest does. In the Ghanaian society, the chiefs, diviners and priests are seen as fathers of their communities regardless of their ages. 'Son' as used by the priest to address Aderopo signals cultural concepts of Africans. People such as chiefs, priests, and the elders of an African community are to perform the role of parents. Neutrality is a critical feature that parents are expected to portray. Hence, the cultural concept makes it impossible to convince an African to address elderly gathered people as 'Ladies and Gentlemen' but as 'Fathers and Mothers' which are attributable to behavioural norms which Bamgbose (1998) [7] says are responsible for the variety of African English. Addressing a Ghanaian with kinship terms is almost like speaking the same mother tongue with the person. According to, the former South African President, Nelson Mandela, 'speaking a language a man understands goes to his head but speaking his mother tongue goes to his heart.' Kinship terms that show inclusiveness through their potential semantic extension, normally touch a Ghanaian's heart. Hence, the educated Ghanaian, though knows the appropriate kinship terms, he/she will employ terms that have semantic extensions due to the communitive potential they carry in the Ghanaian context.

Use of symbolism

Sometimes a sentence may not even have any single word that arouses suspicion in meaning and usage, and yet meaning may be deeply buried in the 'superstitious' culture (Magura 1984:69) [23].

Symbolism appears to be one of the items that form part of African Englishes. When symbolism is used many people 'who are not accustomed to the culture and customs of a country or a region. [Are left] clueless'. In the libation text provided previously, the character, Mrs. Little, used a glass to perform an act of taking an oath. In the process, the glass broke. The question raised by the Stool House overseer brings to the fore some level of superstition buried in the Ghanaian culture. "But who asked her to use a glass?" (Nyantakyi 1998:123) [24]. The character herself acknowledges the superstition that accompanies the breaking of the glass as follows: "I have some superstition as do many of you, but I believe that God Almighty will not allow any of us to perish" (Nyantakyi 1998:124) [24]. This character combines two cultural belief systems. Though the person is now a Christian, her knowledge of symbolism within the Ghanaian setting does not allow her to easily dismiss what the breaking of the glass signifies. This goes to suggest that no matter the level of mastery of the English language, the behavioural norms, in a way, dictates the functional reality of it. People who are not conversant with the Ghanaian culture will gloss over it. The broken glass symbolically represents ill-luck. As Magura (1984) [23] indicated, the meaning is buried in a 'suspicious' culture,

Egg is a symbol of fertility as indicated in the texts below which are picked from two creative writers.:

We have touched your lips with an *egg* to invoke blessing for you".

"I will put this whole *egg* in your mouth," Awoo Yaa Akoto said.

"I am here and ready."

"You will eat by swallowing. You will not bite into it [egg], and you will not open your mouth. Do you know why?"

"If I bite into it [egg], I destroy my embryo. If I open my mouth, I drain my womb.

(Nyantakyi 1998:18) [24]

Ordinarily, all the symbols used appear to be English but they carry underlying meanings that are culturally Ghanaian and which are not easy for outsiders to understand. This also goes to support the idea that the use of English in Ghana is influenced by the behavioural norms as well as cultural

concepts. Another aspect of culture that influences the use of English in Ghana is address systems as shown below.

Modes of address in Ghana

Address systems in African English are symbolic of what Kachru (1983:103) refers to as 'socially determined speech-functions.' Address systems are embedded in the behavioural norms of Ghanaians. Behavioural norms, as pointed out by Bamgbose (1998:2) [7], are "a set of conventions that go with speaking including expected patterns of behaviour while interacting with others, the mode of interpreting what is said and attitudes in general to others' manner of speaking." Regarding modes of address, Bamgbose (1998:3) [7] enquires how or whether an African could be convinced to address a gathering of elders as 'Ladies and Gentlemen' instead of My dear fathers and mothers. What is realized in the use of My dear fathers and mothers is a pragmatic notarization of English. Respect and politeness are expected to be shown in the speech of younger person when addressing elders. Address modes are unavoidable linguistic features that are culturally and behaviorally determined and are sprinkled in the speech of Ghanaians to show respect.

Address systems are often visible in the works of African writers because they explore the traditional culture of the people. This especially happens when chiefs are being addressed. The conversation between Ananse and his daughter, Anansewa, in The Marriage of Anansewa by Efua T. Sutherland illustrates how chiefs adore appellations.

Ananse: Cancel that and put what I'm going to recite in its place.
O Mighty-Tree-Of-Ancient-Origin
Mighty-Tree-Of-Ancient-Origin
Rooted in the shrine of deity!
Countless branches in which
Benighted wandering birds
Are welcomed to shelter.

Anansewa: All of that? All that in the place where 'Dear Chief of Sapa' should go? Is this a letter? How can I fit it in?

Ananse: Fit it in. Chiefs adore their appellations.

The conversational exchanges between Ananse and his daughter, Anansewa, reveals some cultural conflict that occurs because of the difference in behavioural norms. Simple and straightforward address systems look culturally offensive or in other words disrespectful in the face of the African. To the native speaker of English, the modes of address used above is a sign of poor language acquisition skills. To the African who has to abide by the set of rules that go with speaking, the mode of address is appropriate and acceptable. It is rather a demonstration of linguistic competence. The address system as seen above is a product of African linguistic patterns being transferred into English. To the African, the English language has to expand its territories to cover the linguistic contexts and communicative needs of a people who have to naturalise it (Kanganwulu 2019) [19] or reincarnate the English (Kachru 1992) [18] to convey their experiences. Educated Ghanaians apply this cultural transfer when it comes to their writing and speech. Other norm circles in Ghana such as media practitioners, politicians and teachers who are fully aware of the socio-cultural context of Ghana, at times apply these features of language either in speech or writing. Consequently, the educated Ghana uses English that is both global and local because the behavioural norms of the Ghanaian cannot easily be wished away.

Implications

Inherent in the writings of creative writers is the historical and cultural conceptual patterns that are rooted in the behavioural norms of their society. Naturally, the behavioural norms influence the use of language of writers who sometimes have to give local colour to their works. The possible reason is to make their immediate audience relate to their works. The relatability issue is realizable in the patterning of English along the lines of the creative writer who cuts the world according to his/her world view. The same words might be used by both native and non-native speakers alike, but the concepts vary. The globalization of English finds its dual face in making English carry the communicative patterns of the local languages yet keeping a link with its ancestry.

From the above, it can be inferred that the universality of a language cannot be conferred on a world whose cultural practices are so diverse. As stated by Kachru (1992) [18], what is linguistic medicine in one context might prove to be a linguistic poison in another, the workability of a prescriptive instead of a functional language looks nearly impossible.

For instance, the concept of chiefs dying seems inconceivable in the Ghanaian culture. hence, it will be a cultural taboo for an educated Ghanaian, no matter the level of education, to use the idiomatic expression 'kick the bucket' to euphemistically express the unpleasant news of a chief's death. The Ghanaian in this case finds alternative ways of expressing the same subject that will not defeat the cultural concept/belief of chiefs not dying. Hence, we have sentences such as:

1. The chief has travelled to his village.
2. The chief has crossed the river.

Both sentences connote continuity of life in another part of the world. The behaviour norm makes the educated Ghanaian to glocalise English to service the belief systems that prevail in the Ghanaian context.

With these prevailing linguistic peculiarities, should linguists continue to insist on providing models that are monolithic in nature for a language that many a nation lay claim to? Linguistic competence is what should be assessed not universalism. English is another Ghanaian language because it has been made to reincarnate in terms of meaning to fit into the Ghanaian socio-cultural and sociolinguistic context.

Teachers, textbook developers, examiners, examining bodies and policymakers have a role to play in making English meaningful to the learner. Concepts that are relatable are essential in forming cultural conceptual blocks upon which linguistic competence can be achieved. The localization of concepts does not suggest the neglect of the global aspect of English which is expected to be intelligible to others. The intelligibility is important, else the global nature of English will likely be lost. There must be a fine balancing of English so as to make it relevant and socially realistic to its users in every geographical location. The non-native creative writer has already shown that by balancing

the usage of English: localizing and globalizing English glocalization).
Researchers and other stakeholders in language learning and acquisition have to glocalise English so as to make it relevant to learners and users as well.

Conclusion

In conclusion, English in a non-native context usually bears the socio-cultural traits of its users. English in Ghana is normally oriented into the Ghanaian socio-cultural system such that no matter the level of education of the individually, there will always be forms of socio-culturally embedded discourse patterns reflecting the Ghanaian sociolinguistic reality. As noted by Adogpa (2022) [2], the discourse patterns of Africans are ideologically rooted; and in an attempt to use English devoid of the African ideologies is likely to result in cultural, contextual and functional disorders. Culturally, the educated Ghanaian is obliged to either semantically narrow or expand English to fit in the context in order for it (English) to function appropriately, adequately and acceptably.

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