



Examining the Role of First Language in Learning a Second Language: An Overview of Code Switching in the English Language Classroom

Nairobi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

Volume 3, Issue 4, 2019

© 2019 The Author(s). This open access article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) 4.0 license.

Article Information

Submitted: 25th October 2019

Accepted: 20th November 2019

Published: 17th December 2019

Conflict of Interest: No conflict of interest was reported by the authors

Funding: None

Additional information is available at the end of the article



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

ISSN 2523-0948 (Online)

ISSN 2520-4009 (Print)

John Bismark Tefeh

Department of Applied Linguistics,
Dambai College of Education

Abstract

The use of language is important when it comes to educational issues because it plays an effective role in the line of communication in the classroom. This essay, however, examined the role of first language in learning second languages especially in a multilingual environment like Ghana which has more than one hundred languages. It further stipulates the concept of code-switching, differences between code-switching and code-mixing, type of code-switching, the use of code-switching in the English and finally, reasons and significance of code-switching. Despite the numerous benefits of using LI in the English language classroom, various scholars believe that English should only be used in the English language classroom. Some of the reasons include the fact that the classroom is the only source of exposure to English for learners and that the L2 should be used as much as possible by making it the medium as well as the objective of instruction in the process of teaching and learning. In conclusion, there may be a huge gap if the mother tongue is not used to instruct, explain, and socialize among others in the English language classroom. From the discussion, it can be concluded that the use of the English-only in the ESL classroom will not help in learning the English language.

Keywords: code-switching, English language, Ghana, multilingual, second language



1.0 Introduction

Language Policy in Ghana: An Overview

Since Western-style education was introduced in multilingual Ghana, language in education policy has had a chequered history as different government administrations, on assumption of office, invariably decided to modify or make a complete shift in whatever policy existed before they came into office. In January, 2001, the Director-General of the Ghana Education Service (GES) signed a letter that sought to remind its officials, teacher associations and all heads of basic schools in the country about the existing language policy originally announced in 1991. Part of this widely distributed letter is as follows:

Essentially, the policy is that, “instruction at the Lower (Primary 1-3) will be conducted in the pupil’s mother tongue, or in the major Ghanaian language of the local area, while English will be studied as one of the subjects offered at the Lower Primary level. From Primary 4 onwards, class instruction will be conducted in English and the Ghanaian language will then be studied as one of the subjects offered.

The Director-General rationalized the policy as follows: the fundamental philosophy underlying the Ghanaian language policy in our schools is to enable the individual acquire a sense of cultural identity and make him/her literate in his or her own mother tongue. Another essential factor is that basic literacy in one’s mother tongue or the local language enhances the child’s ability to transfer and apply acquired learning skills in the local language to proficiency in learning English and other languages (signed by the Director General of GES in Jan, 2001). The measures that were being taken at the time to facilitate effective implementation of the language policy in Ghana were outlined in the letter. At its meeting in May, 2002, cabinet deliberated on revision of the language policy and approved the new policy for implementation by the GES to as follows:

1. English should replace vernacular as the medium of instruction in the first three years of primary schooling.
2. Every Ghanaian child must study one local language from primary one up to the senior secondary school level.
3. Students should be encouraged.

For our present purpose, it is important to mention that in addition to retaining the local language as the medium of instruction in P1-P3, the 1987 reform made the study of the local language compulsory and examinable throughout basic and senior high school levels. Anyidoho and Anyidoho (2009) describes the policies that have come

into existence since 2000, as bringing to the fore the lack of consistency in language in education policy in Ghana. From 1925 up to date, all the language policies that have been implemented, Ghanaian language has been given prominent attention. The language policy as it stands now stipulates that L₁ should be used as a medium of instruction from KG – P3 and from P4 onwards, English language should be used as a medium of instruction but Ghanaian should be taught as a subject. The L1 serves as a stringboard for learning the second language according to the current language policy in Ghana. Successful communication becomes possible when the interlocutors share a common language. Therefore, issues related satisfactory communication of information to all the citizens in multilingual societies have aroused debates, especially as to the role the various languages should play in the life of the people. Arguably, the most passionate debates concern the place of indigenous languages in societies where worldwide languages such as English have become official languages. These debates are the result of the understanding that language is one of the most far-reaching elements of identity. It is the tool of knowledge creation and dissemination as well as the repository of the accumulated knowledge and of the culture of a society. Anyidoho and Anyidoho (2009) is of the view that learning the two languages concurrently will enable the children acquire the basic skills. She further explained that children can develop the ability to listen to the language, speak it, read and write it well. The language policy in Ghana now is faced with challenges in terms of medium of instruction. Some scholars were of the view that Ghanaian language should be used as a medium of instruction looking at the nature of second language acquisition.

Owu-Ewie (2006) argues that the language policy of Ghana is not feasible because stakeholders, especially teachers, are not adhering strictly to the policy. He further notes that teachers nowadays are not following the rules of the policy. Ghana has had a dual language policy before 1925 since the arrival of Europeans due to the multicultural and multilingual nature of the country. This makes it difficult to settle on one indigenous language as a medium of instruction in the Ghanaian schools (Ouadaogo, 2000). This has gone a long way to affect the various educational and language policies in the country before independence and after independence. The 1925 Educational Ordinance made Ghanaian language as the compulsory medium of instruction from Primary 1 to Primary 3 and as a subject of study at Primary 4 while English language was used from Primary 4 onwards. English language is a second language to teachers who are to teach English to the students and to both teachers and students live in environment where the English language is rarely spoken.

2.0 Teaching English language in Colleges of Education

Looking at the current language policy of Ghana, students at the Colleges of Education are expected to speak and learn using English language. However, in some of the Colleges, the reverse is what we see, contrary to the current language policy. This may

be due to several factors. Ghana is a multilingual country and English language is a second language. This probably makes it difficult for the English language teachers to effectively teach since tutors have the responsibility to meet the needs of the students in as much as language is concerned. Students' perspectives about the learning of the English language differ from one to the other. Harma (2007) observes that some students learn English because it is in the syllabus or the curriculum, while for others, it is a choice that they have made. Certainly, some of them study English because they have moved to the second language community where students need to learn language to operate successfully. Owu-Ewie (2006) explains that learning English language in a country where English is their native language is not as difficult as in a country where it is the second language. Speakers of English in Ghana are considered ESL users. This is because similarly to countries such as Nigeria or India, its people were colonized by Britain. In effect, an ESL speaker is someone who has a first language and learns or uses English as an official language. The challenge the English tutors in Dambai College face is that the students come to the college with a rich experience in their native language specifically Ewe language and minimal English language. Also, the background knowledge of students from the SHS is seen to be weak. Meanwhile, tutors are expected to use English language as a medium of instruction at that level. English tutors in the college have to adopt teaching strategies to enable students develop positive attitude towards the learning of the second language. There may also be times when an English tutor needs to use the students' mother tongue to help teach the English language for better understanding. The prevailing situation in the college now as far as the teaching of English language is concerned is all about code-switching. English tutors make use of the students' native language in teaching English language which is against the current language policy in Ghana. The policy stipulates that English language should be used as a medium of instruction at this level. Owu-Ewie (2006) states that the problem is not with the policy but its implementation. This is because as a country, we have not provided our teachers and learners with the needed resources to teach and learn the English language.

3.0 The role of the first language in learning a second language Ghana is a bilingual or multilingual country whereby people speak two or more languages. It means that wherever there are people, there is the possibility that more than one language could be spoken at any time to achieve a common goal. When it comes to the classroom situation, both tutors and students make use of their native languages to interact during teaching and learning. The use of native languages surfaces to enhance teaching and learning of the second language. Some scholars view the use of the LI in the learning of L2 as very important while some also do not support it. This session examines the arguments in support and against the LI in the second language classroom. Language development is central to students' intellectual, social and emotion growth

and must be seen as key element of the curriculum (Ferguson, 2003). When students learn to use their native language in the classroom, they speed up the learning of the second language. With the mastering of the first language, students become aware of the many purposes for which the language is used and the diverse forms it can take to appropriately serve a particular purpose and audience. Auerbach (1993), states that forcing people to use L2 violates human rights, claims that the use of L2 in the classroom is a prime example of Fairclough's notion of covert ideological control. This point of view is of great interest because it describes an implicit way of forcing people to use the target language which may aim to break one's ties with his or her native languages and its culture.

MacDonald (1993) strongly advocates the use of L1 in the classroom for the sake of comprehensible input. Cook et al (1979) observe that learning the first language is not simply a matter of learning syntax and vocabulary; rather, it is environmental and linguistic as well as emotional. Thus, ignoring one's L1 would decrease the cognitive level of that learner. Swain (1995) believes that when learning a new language, learners habitually attempt to find ways to comprehend the new structures in L2 by trying to find the equivalents in the L1. Atkinson (1993) supports the use of L1 at and in appreciable ways. He argues that teachers should find a balance and decide if the use of L1 is excessive or not. Harmer (2007) also believes that L1 use encourages interaction between teachers and students, allows learners to talk about learning, and enhances the social atmosphere in the classroom. Tucker (2005) notes that no matter the number of languages we learn later in life, the rapidity and accuracies of the L1 can simply not be repeated. This means that L1 is the basis for learning other languages and one cannot do away with it, no matter the number of years an individual takes to learn an L2 or any other languages. In effect, the L1 serves as a springboard for the learning of the L2.

Hymes (1972) affirms that languages can be taught in the classroom if comprehensible input is available. He further states that the teacher should be able to create meaningful situations in which these languages live and breathe, besides reducing the 'affective filter' of students to allow the input in. One crucial feature of L2 learning is that the learner has had experience of another language (L1). An experience which enables the learner to master, assimilate and internalize the system of learning the L2. As they learn the new language; the second language, learners incorporate the new linguistic input into their model of language. Lado (1961) states that, 'individuals tend to transfer the forms and means, and the distribution of forms and means of their native languages and culture to the foreign language. Second language learners think in their languages, try to express themselves in the second language which results in conflict, and this conflict is as a result of mother tongue interference. With one's exposure to a new and different language, the individual is faced with the problem of communicating effectively in this new language. The degree of differences and

similarities between the L1 and L2 are important factors in the learning of the second language. The Behaviourist theory states that the properties of the L1 are thought to exercise an influence on the L2 learning. Thus, learners transfer sounds, structures and usage from one language to the other. Contrastive Analysis is the name given to study of the similarities and differences in the features of two languages. The Contrastive Analysis hypothesis was proposed to account for the role of the L1 in L2 learning.

3.1 Arguments in support of first language in second language learning

Many studies have argued for the need to use the child's mother tongue in the second language classroom. These studies hold the view that the L1 serves as a bridge between the home and the school and children nevertheless consider teachers act "loco parentis" (on behalf of parents) because they speak their language. A school of thought that believes in the use of L1 asserts that the L1 in the classroom enables the child to express him or herself freely and consequently, will not perceive any negative impression about school. They also claim that language is a fundamental human right for every individual and children should not be denied the use of the language they speak in the second language classroom. Agyekum (2001) also laments how bad and ineffective a method of education which ignores the mother tongues as the medium of instruction in the early stages of education can be. According to him, teachers who want to use English as early as possible as the school language hold back children's 'mental power'. He gives the following reasons: First, teachers set themselves an impossible task. He observes that children cannot develop thinking powers while struggling to learn a second or foreign language. He further explains that early years at school should be used to expand the child's background regarding the development of ideas and their power of self-expression. Auerbach (1993) also advocates that the use of one's native language may have certain advantages, not the least of which is that it is more in tune with the needs and preferences of the majority of learners. He goes further to say that current second language acquisition theories depict that the use of the L1 reduces anxiety and enhances the affective environment for learning, takes into account socio-cultural factors, facilitates incorporation of learners' life experiences and allows for learner-centred curriculum.

Andoh-Kumi (1997) re-affirms the assertion of Boadi (1976) that the child should learn to love and respect the mental heritage of his people, and the natural and necessary expression of this knowledge in his native language. He therefore warns that there is a crippling and destruction of the pupil's productive power by forcing him to express himself in a language alien to them and the genius of their race. Andoh-Kumi (1999) further explains that the local language can be a potent tool in teaching and learning, especially at the very early stages of the school system. He asserts that a good grounding in the mother tongue of the child facilitates the proper teaching and learning of second or foreign languages. In this sense, Cheung (1999) also notes that the use of

the mother tongue in second language learning creates a happy learning atmosphere in the classroom – lots of jokes and hearty discussions. According to Fasold (1984), in school education, the mother tongue with its rich cultural heritage has an important place. He states that it should be part of second language learning at the earliest stages, particularly for introduction to the study of literature. Many factors, according to him, decide which language is used at the primary level. Some may be political and others may be of a practical nature. The school should therefore widen the experience of pupils in a meaningful way through the use of the language he or she speaks. He concludes that the mother tongue has an important part to play in the learning or acquisition of a second or foreign language. In a class of absolute beginners in a foreign language, he states, the use of the mother tongue is most economic and efficient. Fawcett (1980) contends that home and school make highly contrasting psychological demands on a young child. He also states that if the mother tongue is not used, to some children, the school becomes a traumatic experience rather than the place of delight in discovery and creativity that it should be.

Pan (1999) also claims that the use of the mother tongue in the second language learning classroom at all levels of education provides a positive, non-threatening learning environment for students, enabling them to make progress in English language as well. He emphasizes that learners become more active, learn more subject matter, enjoy school more, and improve in English language. Both Krashen's Monitor Theory (MT) and Chomsky's Universal Grammar Theory (UG) view the LI as potentially the first point of departure to L2 acquisition. Researchers who follow this theory posit that LI plays a major role in L2 acquisition and is specifically vital in the early stages for L2 learners. In addition, Krashen's MT also assigns LI a privilege status in second language acquisition in that it functions as "an affective filter" during the moment-to-moment processing of L2 input.

3.2 Arguments against the first language in second language learning

Notwithstanding the litany of arguments in favour of the use of the LI in the second language learning classroom, there is a strong argument against its use in second language acquisition. For example, Agyekum (2001), Andoh-Kumi (2001), Asamoah (2002), and Denteh (1990) discuss why some scholars frown on LI use in the second language learning classroom. According to them, these scholars feel that the multilingual nature of the country encourages the use of English language as a medium of instruction. They also believe that Ghanaian languages are not developed enough to handle subjects like English Language, Science, Mathematics and Social Studies. To them, any education given through the use of Ghanaian languages can only be an inferior one. According to them, there is the claim that the use of the local languages breeds tribalism and holds the nation back industrially, economically and scientifically. They hold the view that since the child learns language easily in his/her critical period,

he/she should start using English as soon as he/she enters school because he/she will need English more than the Ghanaian language in his/her academic life. In offering a minor place to the mother tongue, Agyekum (2001) writes that the Ministry of Education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) was influenced by certain difficulties in its use, not only as a medium of instruction but also as a subject in the curriculum. The three main difficulties he states are as follows: the existence of a great number of different languages and even of dialects of the same language; the difficulty of training teachers in a multiplicity of languages; and the difficulty in the production of textbooks and literature as he thinks some languages and dialects are not sufficiently rich in themselves. Agyekum (2001) talks of a UNESCO publication in 1953 which states that the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in schools is criticized on the basis that the child already knows his/her own language before entering school, and that there is no need for the school to teach it to him or her again. He says that some people claim that it is impossible for children to acquire a good use of the second language if the school fails to adopt the second language as a medium of instruction from the very beginning. He concludes that it was upon this basis that most schools in the past actually forbade any use of the mother tongue.

Ellis (1984) mentions that classroom management and organisation, as well as more obvious pedagogic goals, should be carried out in the target language. He suggests that using the mother tongue will deprive learners of valuable input in the second language, English (L2). Kropp-Dakubu (1988) notes that Ghana is a country with several languages. Apart from the Northern and Upper regions of the country, three main languages namely, Akan, GaDangme and Ewe are widely spoken, and each of these languages has several dialects. If the mother tongue were to become the medium of instruction, then, to her, one should be selected from the lot and be used throughout the whole educational system. She questions which of the three languages could be adopted. In her estimation, any of these languages, if chosen, may promote the spirit of ethnocentrism in the country. English should therefore be used as a medium of instruction to avoid all these. She again says that critics of mother tongue use think that sooner or later, majority of Ghanaians will become literate; and since English is the main medium by which this literacy is acquired, it is to be expected that all the people should think and express themselves in English. Phillipson writes that in a multilingual classroom, there would seem to be almost no benefit in using the mother tongue in any situation. This is because the use of any one or more of learners' native languages would only disadvantage those whose mother tongue is different and therefore leave the door open to potential accusations of ethnocentrism. According to Vygotsky (1962), a second or foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the mother tongue. Thus, the child learns to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations.

4.0 The use of English in the English classroom

Language learning and usage are very important in our educational sector. The second language is very crucial, considering its role in our society as learners use languages to communicate in and outside the classroom. Despite the numerous benefits of using the first language in teaching and learning of the second language, some scholars think that only English should be used in teaching the second language. They are of the view that because learners are exposed to the language, they have no choice than to learn it. Again, the researchers think that English language should be used as a medium of instruction and at the same time the objective of instruction in the process of teaching and learning. It is also argued that using English to teach the second language enables learners to acquire mastery of the language faster. According to Seligson (1997), the use of English language in the English language classroom creates an opportunity for learners to develop their listening skills and the opportunity to respond naturally to spoken English. This also enables the teacher to effectively manage and control the class because the only means of communication is in English language. It enhances the understanding, thereby creating a close relationship between learners and their teacher as they pay attention to him. It is also argued that using English as the medium of instruction in the English language classroom prepares learners to adequately learn and communicate in the second language.

4.1 *Argument in favour of English-only in the English language classroom*

The argument of the English-only advocates is that second language learners acquire the L2 in the same way as they acquire their mother tongue (e.g. Cook, 2001, 2008), with caregivers ensuring constant stream of comprehensible input in the TL while being immersed in that language. This ideology is mainly based on Krashen's (1982) comprehensible input theory, where students only need comprehensive input in the second or foreign language to be able to acquire it. Therefore, they believe that teachers should not deprive students of opportunities for genuine exposure to the target language and use the L2 for all interactions in the classroom. They find that the exclusion of the L1 will ensure maximized exposure to L2 input and enhance language acquisition (Cook, 2008). Secondly, their argument is based on the belief that students should learn to think independently in the L2 to successfully acquire the language and therefore the thought processes for L1 and L2 should be kept separate (Cook, 2008). This way, students' goal is to be co-ordinate bilinguals, where both languages have distinct systems in the minds, rather than compound bilinguals, where they form a single system for both languages (Cook, 2001). Overall, English-only advocates equate second language learning with first language acquisition.

4.2 Argument against the use of English-only in the English classroom

In contrast to the English-only argument, second language acquisition research does not support the exclusion of students' first language. Auerbach (1993) and others (e.g. Cook, 2008) have argued that the inclusion of the L1 in the L2 classroom "has been theoretically justified, verified by research, and pedagogically accepted, while its exclusion is based on unexamined assumption" (as cited in Brooks-Lewis, 2009, p. 217). Auerbach further states that "the rationale used to justify English-only in the classroom is neither conclusive nor pedagogically sound" (p. 15). In other words, those who oppose the English-only advocates argue that the movement is only based on common beliefs and assumptions, whereas the inclusion of students' first language has been proven to be successful. As has been stated, English-only advocates equate second language learning with first language acquisition and believe that the two processes are similar. However, even though L1 acquisition and L2 learning share similarities, they are different processes. One of the arguments for English-only advocates is that students should acquire the language naturally, just like they acquire their mother tongue. On the contrary, when learning a second language, students' L1 is already present in their minds. Moreover, age can affect how students learn languages, so methodologists claim that these two processes are too different to be compared (Cook, 2008). The other argument made by English-only advocates is that second language learners should keep the thought processes separate. However, Cook (2001) argues that both languages are interwoven in the learner's mind and is therefore not possible to try to separate the two. Additionally, Cook (2008) points to the fact that if teachers insist on using English only, they would have students pretending to be native English speakers instead of acting as "true L2 users" (p. 181). Cook (2001, 2008) thus claim that it is completely normal for all second language users to code-switch, and therefore teachers should not try to act as native speakers of the language and insist that students dismiss their first language.

5.0 Conclusion

The use of language is important when it comes to educational issues because it plays an effective role in the line of communication in the classroom. This essay, however, discussed the arguments in favour of English-only in the English classroom and arguments against the use of English-only in the English classroom. Despite the numerous benefits of using L1 in the English language classroom, some researchers or scholars think only English should be used in the English language classroom. Some of the reasons include the fact that the classroom is the only source of exposure to English for learners and that the L2 should be used as much as possible by making it the medium as well as the objective of instruction in the process of teaching and learning. In school, there is limited time of interaction for learners to master the language, the more exposure given to English language, the faster the students learn.

Also, the use of English-only in the English language classroom creates an opportunity for learners to develop their listening skills and opportunity to respond naturally to spoken English. It enables teachers to manage and control the class effectively because the only means of communication is English, the pattern of learning English is the same as for L1 and that if learners continue to speak the L1 in the classroom it will be difficult for them to adequately learn and communicate in the L2. The use of English-only will help create awareness of the environment on the usage of English since learners will prompt each other for effective use of second language for perfection and it enhances better understanding of the English language. Despite the numerous reasons given by some researchers, other scholars also raised reasons against the use of English-only in the second language classroom. Students are likely to encounter some challenges if only English language is used in the English language classroom. The researchers arguments include; using English-only may not allow students to understand concepts taught or grasp it, learners will find it difficult to ask questions for clarification, learners cannot perform certain activities in the classroom, learners cannot give equivalent words in the L₁ to aid students understand a word in English, and learners will find it difficult to ask for help from teachers and colleagues when they have difficulty using appropriate vocabulary to express themselves in English. In essence, there may be a huge gap if the mother tongue is not used to instruct, explain, and socialize among others in the English language classroom. From the discussion, it can be concluded that the use of the English-only in the ESL classroom will not help in learning the English language.

References

- Agyekum, K. (2001). *Language use in Ghana schools*. Kumasi: CITA Press.
- Andoh-Kumi, K. (1992). *An investigation into the relationship between Bilingualism and school achievement: The case of Akan-English bilingual of Ghana*. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Institute of Africa Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Anyidoho, A. & Anyidoho, N. A. (2009). Ideological and political considerations in the choice of school language. In *Supplement of Research Review*, edited by M.E. Dakubu & A. A. Ampofo, 9, 9-34. Institute of African Studies.
- Asamoah, J. K. (2002). *Language teaching in Ghana*. Kumasi: CITA Press.
- Atkinson, D. (1993). *Teaching monolingual classes*. London: Longman.
- Auerbach, E. R. (1993). Reexamining English only in the Esl classroom. *TESOL Quarterly*, 7(1): 9-32. Retrieved from on 27/06/2019 <https://doi.org/10.2307/3586949>.
- Cheung, H. (1996). Nonword span as a unique predictor of second-language vocabulary learning. *Developmental Psychology*, 32(5), 867–873.
- Cook, V. (2001). *Second language learning and teaching*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Denteh, A. C. (1990). *The role of language*. Kumasi: CITA Press.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, G. (2003). Classroom code-switching in post-colonial contexts: functions, attitudes and policies. In: *AILA Review*, 16, 38-5.
- Harmer, J. (2007). *The practice of English language teaching*. Harlow: Longman.
- Hymes, D. H. (1972). On Communicative Competence. In J.B. Pride, & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- Krashen, S. (2004). Evidence for the power of reading. *Free Voluntary Reading: New Research, Applications, and Controversies*. Paper presented at the RELC Conference, Singapore.
- Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Lado, R. (1961). *Language testing network*. McGraw-Hill Book Co.
- MacDonald, C. (1993). *Using the target language*. Cheltenham: Mary Glasgow Publications
- Tucker, G. R. (2005). Innovative language education programmes for heritage language students: The special case of Puerto Ricans. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8 (2 & 3), 188-205.
- Swain, M. (1995). Three functions of output in second language learning. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhoffer (eds) (1995). *Principle and practice in applied linguistics studies in honour of Henry Widdowson*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Owu-Ewie, C. (2006). The language policy of education in Ghana: a critical look at the English-only language policy of education. In *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, edited by J. Mugane, 76-85. MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project