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SOCIAL CLASS AND VOWEL VARIATION IN GHANAIAN ENGLISH: A SOCIOPHONETIC STUDY OF SOME ESL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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Abstract



The English language has spread far and wide and has resulted in various varieties, each with a distinct linguistic characteristic. In light of this linguistic evolution, the need for codifying Ghanaian English has become very important. This study explores vowel variation in Ghanaian English (GhaE) from a sociophonetic perspective, with a focus on three vowel sets: GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP. While utilizing acoustic analysis, the study investigates how vowel quality and duration vary based on participant's social class and gender among some selected Ghanaian university students who speak English as a Second Language (ESL). Data were collected from twenty (20) participants at the University of Ghana, evenly distributed by gender and social class. Findings reveal that social class significantly affects both vowel quality and duration, with working-class speakers showing longer vowel duration and more centralised vowel qualities. The study contributes to the codification of GhaE and highlights the role of social class and gender in shaping linguistic forms in English as a Second Language (ESL) varieties.

Keywords: Ghanaian English, sociophonetics, vowel variation, social class, ESL, acoustic phonetics, GOOSE, NURSE, TRAP

1. Introduction

Ghana has a rich linguistic landscape that exists with languages such as Ewe, Akan,

Ga, Dagbani, and others. These indigenous languages have exerted some influence on the English language in Ghana. As a result, the English language in Ghana, a former British colony has experienced changes in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar over the decades, reflecting the linguistic interplay and metaphoric cross-pollination between these Ghanaian languages and the British variety of English. This is what has evolved distinctively and what has given rise to what we are now terming as Ghanaian English (GhaE). While phonological variation in GhaE has been acknowledged in previous works (Sey, 1973; Huber, 2008), studies on how social variables such as class and gender influence phonetic realisations are limited.

Social Class has been a prominent feature in Sociolinguistics since Labov's groundbreaking research (1966, 1972), which showed that language diversity is stratified along class lines. While Social Class may not be a straight forward concept, it still very much exists in our world. In order to determine social class and find out the role it plays in linguistic variation, we use some conditions to determine it. This may be determined by an individual's education, occupation or their parent or guardian's occupation, or in which side of a country they reside. These parameters are backed by Labov's study (1966) where he utilized these three parameters to determine social class. Working-class speakers use more regional or colloquial pronunciations, while middle-class speakers are frequently linked to prestige forms that roughly correspond to standard standards. In Ghana, social class differences are reflected in the way English words are pronounced, with working-class speakers exhibiting more nativized characteristics and middle-class speakers frequently leaning toward RP-like realisations (Huber, 2008).

Gender has also proven to be a key factor in shaping how language is used. According to Labov (1990) and Milroy and Milroy (1978), male speakers typically prefer vernacular realisations, whereas female speakers are more likely to embrace prestige forms. This is consistent with happenings in Ghanaian English where male speakers typically articulate more centralised or open forms, while female speakers typically create more fronted or raised vowel realisations (Ankomah, 2017; Oduro-Ofori, 2021).

These social dimensions being social class and gender, will be brought together and analysed alongside vowel variation and duration. Vowel variation and vowel duration are two distinct phonetic features but they are also closely related. Vowel variation assesses the changes in acoustic quality of a vowel, which can be influenced by surrounding sounds. Vowel duration on the other hand, refers to the length of time a vowel is held (Peterson & Lehiste, 1960). This study, using instrumental sociophonetic methods, investigates how social dimensions affect the production of selected vowels among ESL students.

2. Related Literature

2.1 Ghanaian English

Although English is not the primary language in Ghana, it holds a prominent position as a widely spoken language. Being able to speak English fluently in Ghana carries immense significance, both because it serves as the official administrative language and because it is associated with prestige. Ghanaian English (GhaE) is a localized variety of English that has emerged through sustained language contact between British English and Ghana's numerous indigenous languages. English is recognised as the Ghana's official language which is used in government, across various levels of education, and within various areas of commerce. It is spoken as a second language by the majority of Ghanaians, who acquire it through formal basic education rather than in their various homes where local languages are mostly spoken.

Over the years, many researchers have found that English in Ghana has been undergoing nativisation, resulting in systematic phonological, lexical, and syntactic shifts (Huber, 2008; Schneider, 2007). Sey's (1973) and Akpanglo-Nartey (2011) on Ghanaian English documented deviations from Standard British English (SBE), particularly in vowel production. These include vowel mergers, diphthong reduction, and substitution of short vowels where RP uses long ones. For example, RP /æ/ in "cat" is often realised as [a], and RP /ɜ:/ in "first" is approximated as [ɛ] or [e].

Studies such as Akpanglo-Nartey (2011); Koranteng (2006); Huber, (2004); and Dako (1991) have confirmed that GhaE operates with a reduced vowel inventory compared to RP, typically favouring seven or eight pure vowels. These include /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, and /u/, with long vowels and diphthongs often collapsed or restructured. Additionally, consonantal variation has been observed, particularly the replacement of interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ with /t/ and /d/ respectively, under the influence of local language phonologies.

Despite these phonological differences, GhaE remains mutually intelligible with other varieties of English. In fact, it functions as a stable, intelligible, and socially meaningful code within Ghana. However, in spite of all of this, there is still a question of what really constitutes the "educated" Ghanaian accent and who should be seen as the ideal speaker, as discussed by Dako (2003), Adjaye (2005), Koranteng (2006), and Huber (2008). Ghanaian English (GhaE) is one of the English varieties known as the New Englishes. It is in the process of becoming more native to Ghana (nativisation). GhaE is characterised by its unique pronunciation, vocabulary, ways of speaking, and idiomatic expressions. In terms of structure, there are certain tendencies that differentiate GhaE from Standard British English (SBE), but these differences are often observed in terms of how frequently they occur and where individuals fall on a performance scale.

Socially, English in Ghana is associated with education and prestige. A Ghanaian's proficiency in English often indicates a higher social status, and speakers may adjust their pronunciation toward or away from RP-like forms depending on the social environment, audience, and identity orientation. Yet there remains a gap in studies that quantify how these social variables influence phonetic variation. This study contributes to closing that gap by examining how vowel production in GhaE is influenced by class and gender. By investigating variation in the GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP vowels, the research builds on previous descriptive work and supports calls for the codification of GhaE as a postcolonial English shaped by local linguistic and sociocultural dynamics.

Studies by Sey (1973), Dako (1991), and Koranteng (2006) documented GhaE phonology largely through impressionistic analysis. More recent works (Akpanglo-Nartey 2011; Ankomah, 2017; Oduro-Ofori, 2021) have adopted acoustic techniques to examine vowel systems but often lack integration with sociolinguistic theory. Sociophonetics, which merges phonetics with social variables (Baranowski, 2013; Di Paolo & Yaeger-Dror, 2010), provides a useful framework for investigating linguistic variation with empirical precision. This study applies Labovian Variationist methods (Labov, 1966; 1972) to understand how vowel features correlate with social class and gender.

2.2 Social Class and Gender

The influence of social class on language variation has been a critical part of sociolinguistic research over the decades. This has mainly been attributed to Labov's pioneering research

conducted in New York. William Labov's study of New York City department stores showcased a relationship between socioeconomic status and how people used the post-vocalic /r/ sound. His research showed that employees in high-end stores which represented a higher social class used the prestigious variant of the /r/ more often than those from lower end stores. Similarly, the -ing suffix in Norwich English were studied by Trudgill (1974). According to Trudgill's research, /ŋ/ is attributed mainly to the middle class, while /n/ is related to the working-class within that society. Findings similar to that of Labov have been replicated multiple times since then in different countries spanning multiple languages. In these studies, socioeconomic status indices were used to assign participants to class categories, such as "working-class" and "middle-class." Some gave priority to occupation (Macaulay 1977), while others employed a combined index that considered occupation along with other factors like income, housing, and level of education (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974).

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

The data analysed, was taken from 20 participants. All participants were Ghanaians who had completed both their basic and secondary education in Ghana, and were therefore considered Ghanaian English speakers. While all participants were fluent in English as a Second Language (ESL), they also spoke one or more indigenous Ghanaian languages, showcasing the vast multilingual scope of the country's linguistic environment. Participants were students at the University of Ghana, aged between 16 and 24 years making the average age around 20 years. The recordings were taken face to face in quiet rooms on the University of Ghana campus. The rooms were selected with a lot of care to ensure high quality audio recordings and to avoid noisy recordings in spaces with too much echo.

To properly examine the role of sociolinguistic background particularly with social class and gender, participants were divided into two equal social class groups: middle-class and working-class. Social class was determined using a combination of the parental education, occupation, and income levels, taken based on established sociolinguistic criteria (see Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974).

After assessing the initial participants, we narrowed down to ten participants who were identified with a middle-class background as characterised by parents in professional, managerial, or tertiary-educated roles, their upbringing and general lifestyle while the remaining ten identified with a working-class background, equally based on where parents were engaged in manual or menial labour, held little to no formal education as well as their general lifestyle quality.

Participants were also balanced for gender, ensuring 10 males and 10 females across both social classes. This equal distribution enabled the analysis of the interaction between gender and social class in shaping vowel variation.

The resulting design ensured a controlled, yet socially representative sample of young Ghanaian English speakers, suitable for sociophonetic analysis. All participants reported having used English regularly throughout their education and daily interactions, but their phonetic outputs were influenced by their varying levels of exposure to local languages and their social upbringing.

3.2 Data Collection

Sociolinguistic interview method by Labov (1966) was used to elicit natural speech from all participants. Each participant was taken through a brief natural conversation and were then asked to read aloud from a carefully curated word list and to create a more natural context, the chosen words were incorporated into carrier phrases during the study. These materials were designed specifically to elicit target tokens containing the vowels under investigation: GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP. Thus, by placing the selected words within carrier phrases, the aim was to simulate a real-life setting where the words naturally occur in everyday conversation.

The recording sessions took place in acoustically sound rooms using a high-quality digital recorder and a head-mounted microphone to ensure clarity and consistency. Recordings were taken using the methods proposed by Boersma (2001), in his work on PRAAT (a software tool for phonetic analysis) which provides guidance on recording techniques, microphone placement, and prior to processing steps to reduce noise and ensure high-quality recordings.

The interviewer maintained a neutral style to minimise observer effects and to encourage spontaneous, naturalistic speech in these phrases. The stimuli words were selected to represent the target vowels in consistent phonological contexts, and were randomised to avoid the order of arrangement having an effect. Participants were instructed to read at a normal pace and take a couple of breaths after each sentence.

After the participants were engaged in spontaneous conversations and read from lists of words provided, the vowel tokens for GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP were isolated to be measured acoustically using the PRAAT software.

3.3 Data Preparation and Analysis

Recordings were first reviewed to identify high-quality segments containing target vowels. All audio files were digitised at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz and stored in WAV file format. The audio recordings that were taken were then fed into the PRAAT software tool (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). The vowel sounds from every instance of the words "TRAP," "NURSE," and "GOOSE" were extracted and subjected to detailed analysis in PRAAT. Each token was manually segmented in PRAAT, with boundaries placed at the onset and offset of vowel voicing, guided by waveform and spectrogram readings. Target tokens for the GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP vowels were extracted from the carrier phrase. Only clearly articulated and appropriate tokens within the context were retained. Tokens that were interrupted or corrupted with background noise were excluded from analysis. In total, 120 vowel tokens taken from the 20 participants were prepared for acoustic analysis.

Formant measurements were taken at the midpoint of the vowel duration to minimise the effects of the initial consonant sound overly affecting it. For each token, F1 and F2 values were recorded in Hertz (Hz), representing tongue height and tongue advancement, respectively. This was done as the first two formants (F1 and F2) are the most appropriate for describing vowels according to Ladefoged (2006).

Vowel durations were measured in milliseconds (ms), taken from the onset to the offset of steady-state vowel energy. Statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS and ANOVA, applying descriptive statistics, independent-samples t-tests, and regression analysis to examine the effects of social class and gender on the vowel formant values and vowel duration. Vowel space plots and histograms were generated to visually represent the distribution of vowel

quality across speaker groups. These plots facilitated interpretation of phonetic trends, such as vowel centralisation or raising, in relation to social class and gender. Formant values (F1 and F2) and duration were extracted and analysed statistically. Linear regression and t-tests were conducted to determine the significance of class and gender on vowel production.

4. Results

4.1 Vowel Quality and Social Class

Analysis of vowel quality revealed systematic variation across the three vowel categories; GOOSE, NURSE, and TRAP based on speakers' social class. Formant values (F1 and F2) were taken at the midpoint of each vowel, providing an acoustic measure and value of the tongue height and backness.

In the case of TRAP vowel, working-class speakers showed significantly higher F1 values (mean = 780Hz), indicating a lower tongue position, whereas middle-class speakers produced a more tensed and higher variant (mean F1=670Hz) as shown in figure 1 below. This distinction indicates that middle-class speakers prefer a more conservative, RP-like pronunciation of the TRAP vowel, while working-class speakers on the other hand, use a more open and centralised articulation. This vowel realisation is closer to BATH vowel. This is consistent with previous studies indicating a shift to the BATH vowel (Fabricius, 2007).

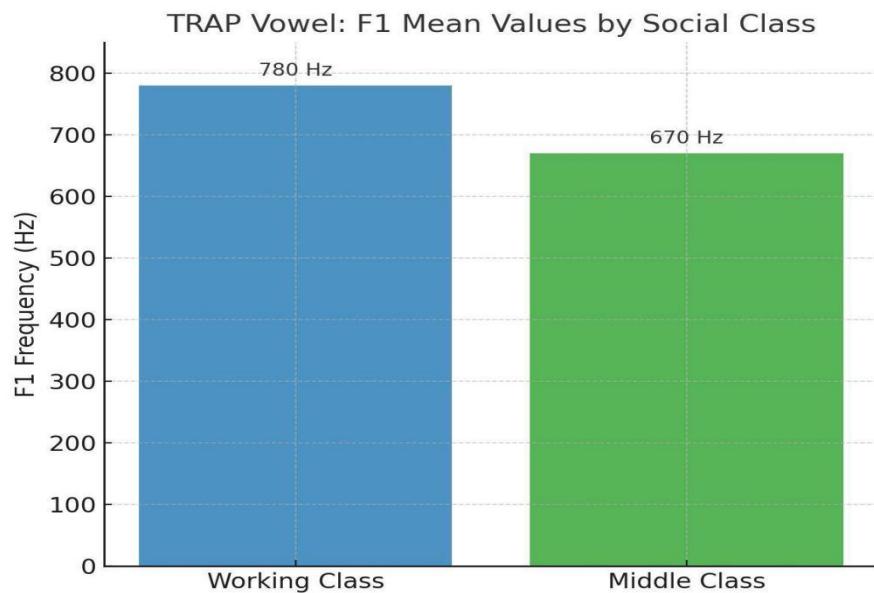


Figure 1. TRAP Vowel: F1 Mean Values by Social Class

The GOOSE vowel also showed a very clear pattern with middle-class speakers producing a more back and rounded variant, with lower F2 values (mean = 950 Hz), compared to working-class speakers, who produced a more fronted vowel (mean F2 = 1200 Hz), indicating a more localised phonetic form. In the case of the NURSE vowel, middle-class speakers showed more consistency and produced variants closer to the mid-central target typical of most standard English varieties. The working-class speakers displayed wider variation and a tendency toward fronting and raising, possibly influenced by substrate language interference.

F1 and F2 means by Gender and Social Class (Working Class=WC, Middle Class=MC)

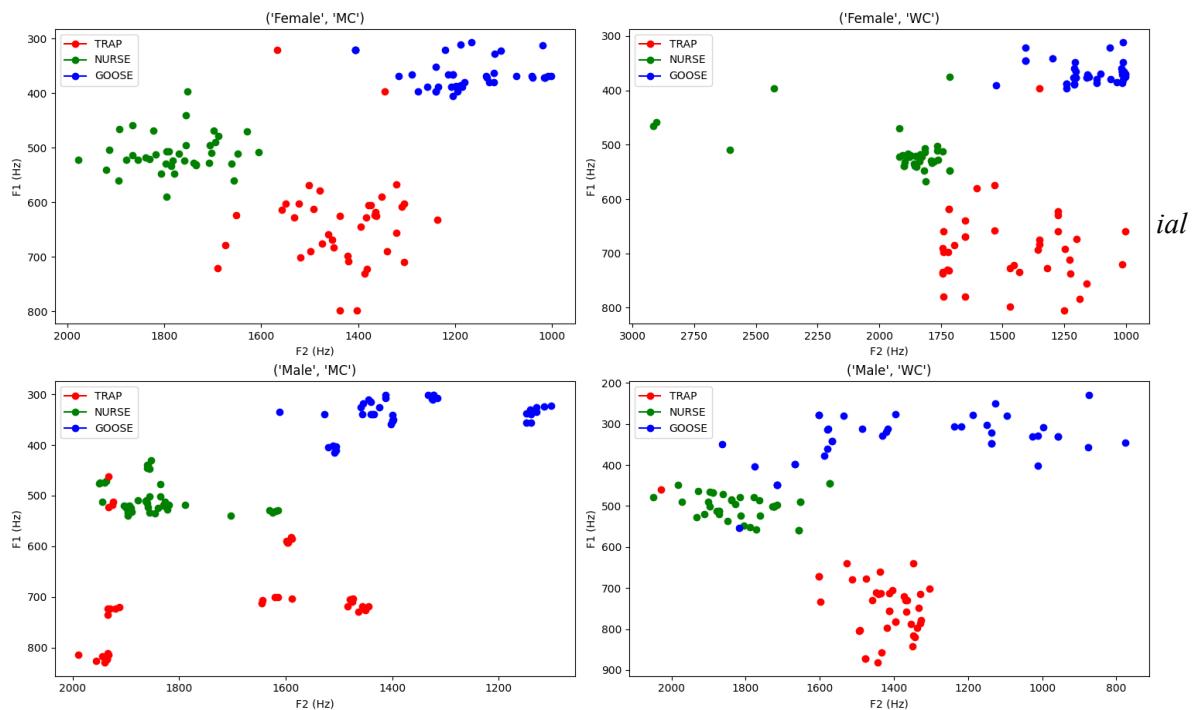


Figure 2. Bar Graph of Mean F1 Values of the TRAP vowel by social class and gender

These findings support the hypothesis that vowel quality in Ghanaian English correlates strongly with social class, aligning with established sociophonetic literature on class-based linguistic stratification. We used the means of F1 and F2 for each vowel to plot as show in Figure 2.1 below.

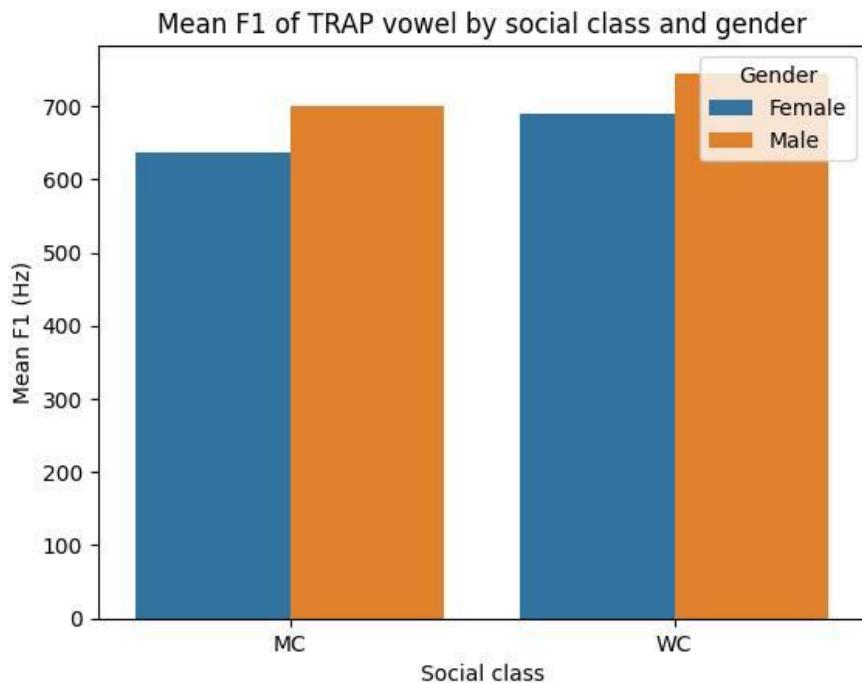


Figure 2.1. TRAP Vowel by Social Class and Gender

4.2 Vowel Duration

When it came to vowel duration, there were significant differences between two social classes. Thus, across all three vowels used in the analysis, the working-class speakers exhibited longer average duration as compared to their middle-class counterparts.

With the GOOSE vowel, the working-class speakers had a mean duration of approximately 158ms, which is lower compared to 123ms for middle-class speakers. Similar patterns were seen for the NURSE vowel (working-class equalling 172ms; middle-class equalling 144ms) and the TRAP vowel (working-class equalling 161ms; middle-class equalling 132ms) as shown in Figure 2.

The longer duration among working-class speakers may reflect more deliberate articulation or reduced exposure to standardised pronunciation norms. Alternatively, they may indicate a localised rhythm in Ghanaian English that diverges from the reduced vowel timing found in inner-circle English varieties.

This recurring pattern of longer vowel duration across all vowel types among working-class participants reinforces the role of temporal features as a marker of social identity in Ghanaian English phonology.

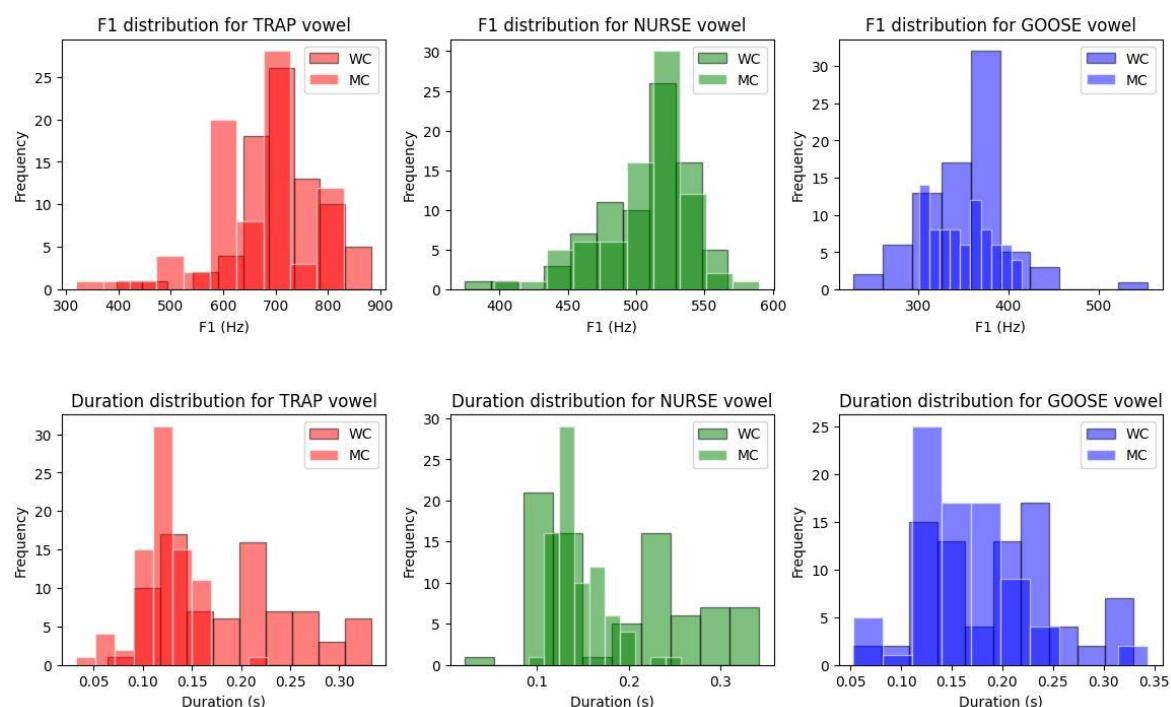


Figure 3: Histogram Distribution of F1 and Vowel Duration for each vowel group

4.3 Determining the Differences Between the Vowels Produced by the Male and Female Working-Class and Middle-Class Speakers

This was achieved using a T-test. For each vowel group and each class group, a t-test with F1 as the test variable and Gender as the grouping variable to determine the statistical differences between the vowels produced by the male and female Working-Class and Middle-Class speakers. For each vowel group and each class group, we performed a t-test with F1 as the test variable and Gender as the grouping variable using SciPy Stats. The table 1. shows the t-statistics and p-values for each vowel group and class group.

Table 1. T-Test Results for Vowel and Social Class

Vowel	Class	t-stat	p-value
TRAP	WC	3.298140	0.001468
TRAP	MC	2.930422	0.004438
NURSE	WC	- 2.050591	0.043666
NURSE	MC	- 0.550048	0.583858
GOOSE	WC	- 2.681192	0.008971
GOOSE	MC	- 4.019226	0.000134

Across both working-class (WC) and middle-class (MC) groups, we found that there is a significant gender difference in the pronunciation of the TRAP vowel as seen from table 2. There is significant difference in F1 between the male and female speakers ($p < 0.05$) with the male speakers having a higher F1 (more open vowel) than the female speakers. Male speakers, regardless of class, consistently produce a higher F1, indicating a more open pronunciation of this vowel compared to female speakers. This is consistent with findings in sociolinguistics, where men tend to produce vowels that are more open or centralised than that of women due to physiological and social factors.

Middle-class female speakers exhibited the most target-like vowel realisations across all three vowel categories, producing closer approximations to RP norms. Their realisations of the GOOSE vowel were particularly conservative, with low F2 values indicating a back, rounded articulation. In contrast, working-class male speakers showed the most deviation from standard norms. Their production of the TRAP vowel was notably open and centralised, and their GOOSE vowels were highly fronted. This pattern suggests that female speakers, especially from middle-class backgrounds, may orient more strongly toward overt prestige norms in formal speech settings, a trend observed in numerous sociolinguistic studies (Labov, 1990; Trudgill, 1974).

We find that working-class females and middle-class males fell between these extremes, showing that both gender and class interact to influence phonetic realisation of these vowels. Overall, the results show that while class exerts a stronger overall influence, gender plays a notable secondary role in structuring vowel variation in Ghanaian English.

5. Discussion

This paper sought to answer three important questions tailored towards the mentioned objectives. This paper looked at the influence of social class and gender on the realisations of some RP vowels among young ESL speakers in Ghana, and answered some very important

questions. The question, which sought to investigate the extent to which social class affects vowel quality among young speakers of Ghanaian English had some interesting findings and observations. The paper found that indeed social class does influence the pronunciation of some vowels in GhaE. The research found that the working-class speakers tend to have higher range and slightly higher mean of F1 and F2 than the middle-class speakers do. This indicates that the working-class speakers tend to have more open or lower vowels and more fronted or advanced vowels than the middle-class speakers. This was found by analysing the F1 and F2 values of the three vowel variables as produced by the participants in both social classes.

We observe a difference in vowel duration was between the two social classes, with working-class speakers producing longer vowels than their middle-class counterparts across the three vowel groups we analysed. This difference was more evident for the TRAP vowel among ESL students.

The paper notes that this more open variant is closer to the BATH vowel, which is consistent with a shift from /æ/ to /a/. This is a crucial finding, as the TRAP vowel is a known form of phonological instability in GhaE, and its variable realisation provides a perfect opportunity for speakers to reveal their social background in their pronunciation. The WC speakers' use of a longer, more open, L1-influenced variant serves as a strong phonetic marker of their class, while the MC speakers' use of a shorter, more RP-like variant signals a linguistic alignment with a global standard, potentially influenced by Western media.

The durational difference for the NURSE vowel was also statistically significant, but less pronounced than that of the TRAP vowel, with a t-statistic of 4.83. WC speakers produced a mean duration of 0.189 ms, while MC speakers produced a mean duration of 0.143 ms. This finding is particularly interesting because, unlike the TRAP vowel, the linear regression analysis for the NURSE vowel showed no significant difference in vowel quality (F1) between the two social classes. This is an important nuance. It suggests that while both groups have adopted the same general GhaE pronunciation for the NURSE vowel which the study notes is often a fronted variant, consistent with other research (Awoonor-Aziaku, 2018), the working-class uses a longer realisation of that vowel. This shows that vowel duration and quality can function as complementary social markers.

The GOOSE vowel showed the least significant difference in duration. The working-class speakers produced a mean duration of 0.196ms, compared to the MC speakers' mean duration of 0.159ms. This shows a stability of the GOOSE vowel in GhaE as there is a lack of a significant class-based difference in quality and duration.

The findings of this paper are also interesting when it comes to the role gender plays in vowel variation when it comes to the context of sociolinguistic literature. We find that for the TRAP vowel, the male working -class speakers produced a more open and longer vowel variant than the females. This is an intriguing finding as it is vowels produced by females that tend to be longer (Jacewicz, Fox, & Salmons, 2007). This contrast shows that the relationship between gender, social class, and phonetic variation is complex and dependent on the context.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper sought to examine specific vowel sounds produced by young English as a Second Language (ESL) speakers in Ghana. The findings confirm that social variables, mainly social class and gender, have a significant influence on the pronunciation of vowels in

Ghanaian English. This research contributes to the codification of Ghanaian English and adds to the knowledge on language variation. In this regard, the study addressed the limitations of previous studies which made use of impressionistic analyses, providing valuable insights into the current state of the language and helping to give an insight into future usage patterns. This paper highlights that the variations in Ghanaian English are not a hindrance to communication or understanding but rather an important part of GhaE's unique identity.

5.2 Implications

The finding of this paper has key implications for the teaching of English as a Second Language in Ghana and possibly beyond. The research contributes to the notion that Ghanaian English exists as a distinct variety of the English Language. In essence, educators should recognise and validate Ghanaian English as a variety of English instead of dismissing it as an erroneous version of Received Pronunciation (RP) or British Standard English (BSE). The paper also has implications on pedagogical approaches in teaching ESL. Teachers can use findings to better understand the phonetic variations their students showcase, particularly when it comes to social class and gender. This will allow teachers to tailor their instruction to address specific language needs. For instance, with findings showing working-class speakers tend to have longer vowel duration, Ghanaian ESL teachers could develop exercises to help students with rhythm in their speech if that is a pedagogical goal.

The paper also has implications on understanding the sociolinguistic environment in Ghana among ESL students. The study demonstrates how English in Ghana is associated with prestige and social status in Ghana. This will allow teachers to leverage this knowledge to encourage students by showing them how having mastery of English Pronunciation, can influence their growth in society. They can also in essence address any negative stereotypes or prejudices associated with certain pronunciations. Crucially, this contributes to developing a standard for GhaE. This is important for language policy and education, as it can help in creating teaching materials that are relevant to the Ghanaian context and does not negatively students for using some features of English derived within a local context.

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