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**Akan-English Codeswitching on Ghanaian TV Talk Shows:**

**The Case of ‘THE DELAY SHOW’.**

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ABSTRACT

Contact between English and Ghanaian languages due to Ghana’s anglophone colonial heritage has resulted in the manifestation of several language contact phenomena. The contact phenomenon of codeswitching (CS) is addressed in this study. Akan bilinguals engage in Akan-English CS in their day-to-day activities. The study investigates and provides insights into the purposes Akan-English CS serves, using data from a popular Ghanaian TV talk show called THE DELAY SHOW.

A combination of theories and approaches to the study of CS are employed in this study. The main theoretical bases for data analysis are John Gumperz (1982), Conversational Analysis by Peter Auer (1984) and The Markedness Model by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993). These theories were used to investigate the conversational uses of Akan-English CS among Akan bilinguals; how the sequential order of their conversations influences their CS; and the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching.

The outcomes of the study show that Akan bilinguals use CS for quotations, interjections, reiteration, addressee specification, message qualification, personalisation verses objectivization, numbers, proper nouns, contrast, and to fill lexical gaps. The findings also show that the sequential order of a conversation has an influence on the meaning of a switch. Thus, sequential analysis led to the interpretation of certain instances of CS among Akan bilinguals as signalling changes in topic and signalling the main issue under discussion. Furthermore, the study shows some social motivations for Akan-English CS. Akan bilinguals were found to employ CS to index certain social identities and as a deferential strategy. The study recommends that more research should be undertaken on codeswitching between Ghanaian languages and English, as well as codeswitching between different Ghanaian languages to provide more insights into the topic. This is because the functions and motivations for codeswitching indicate that CS is an effective tool that the Ghanaian bilingual can use to express him/herself fully. However, future researchers should include a larger number of participants and apply attitudinal studies in their methodology to investigate what the code-switchers themselves feel about CS.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Mr Kenneth Reuben Nyavor and Madam Agnes Adzo Dadzie. I also dedicate it to my dear husband, Ernest Boadu Boakye and my daughter, Audrey Boakye-Boadu.
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Akpe na mi katâ!

Meda mo nyinaa ase!

Tusen takk!

Thank you!
# Table of Contents

List of Figures ................................................................................................................................. x

Abbreviations ................................................................................................................................. xi

## 1 Introduction ................................................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 Terminology .......................................................................................................................... 2
   1.2 Background of the Study ....................................................................................................... 3
   1.3 Statement of the Problem ..................................................................................................... 8
   1.4 Aims of the Study ................................................................................................................. 8
   1.5 Structure of the Thesis ......................................................................................................... 8

## 2 Literature Review ......................................................................................................................... 10
   2.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 10
   2.2 Codeswitching ..................................................................................................................... 10
   2.3 Theoretical Framework ......................................................................................................... 13
      2.3.1 Gumperz ..................................................................................................................... 13
      2.3.2 The Markedness Model (MM) by Myers-Scotton ....................................................... 15
      2.3.3 Conversational Analysis (CA) ....................................................................................... 18
   2.4 Codeswitching in Ghana ....................................................................................................... 20
   2.5 Application of CS Theories ................................................................................................. 22

## 3 Methodology ................................................................................................................................. 23
   3.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 23
   3.2 The Selected Show ............................................................................................................... 23
   3.3 Sampling Method/ The Selected Interviews ....................................................................... 25
   3.4 Demographic Information of the Informants ..................................................................... 26
      3.4.1 The Host of the Show: Deloris Frimpong Manso ......................................................... 26
      3.4.2 Guest 1: Asamoah Gyan ............................................................................................... 26
      3.4.3 Guest 2: Kennedy Ohene Agyapong ........................................................................... 26
      3.4.4 Guest 3: Sandra Ankobiah .......................................................................................... 27
3.5 Data Transcription and Translation ................................................................. 28

4 Results and Discussions ................................................................................... 29

4.1 Introduction ................................................................................................. 29

4.2 Types of Codeswitching ............................................................................... 29

4.2.1 Intra-sentential CS .................................................................................. 29

4.2.2 Extra-sentential CS ................................................................................ 30

4.2.3 Inter-sentential CS .................................................................................. 31

4.3 Conversational Uses of Akan-English Codeswitching ................................... 31

4.3.1 Quotations ............................................................................................... 32

4.3.2 Addressee Specification ......................................................................... 33

4.3.3 Interjections ............................................................................................ 34

4.3.4 Reiteration ............................................................................................... 35

4.3.5 Message Qualification ............................................................................ 37

4.3.6 Personalisation versus Objectivization ................................................... 37

4.3.7 Numbers (Numerals) .............................................................................. 39

4.3.8 Proper Nouns .......................................................................................... 41

4.3.9 CS for Contrast ....................................................................................... 42

4.3.10 Lexical Gaps ........................................................................................ 43

4.4 Conversational Analysis based on Sequencing ............................................. 44

4.4.1 Codeswitching to Signal a Change in Topic ........................................... 44

4.4.2 CS to Signal the Main Issue Under Discussion ....................................... 45

4.5 Social Motivations for Akan-English Codeswitching ................................... 47

4.5.1 CS to Index Social Identities .................................................................. 47

4.5.2 Use of CS as a Deferential Strategy ....................................................... 50

5 Conclusion ....................................................................................................... 52

5.1 Introduction ................................................................................................ 52

5.2 Summary of Findings .................................................................................. 52
5.3 Recommendations for Future Research .......................................................... 53

APPENDIX A: Interview 1 .................................................................................. 60

APPENDIX B: Interview 2 .................................................................................. 73

APPENDIX C: Interview 3 .................................................................................. 87
List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015)............................ 5
Figure 1.2 The Distribution of Akan (Twi Fante) Language and its Dialects (Dolphyne, 2006) .......................................................... 7
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>Asamoah Gyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Conversational Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Codeswitching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EL</td>
<td>Embedded Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTV</td>
<td>Ghana Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KA</td>
<td>Kennedy Agyapong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Matrix Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Markedness Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO sets</td>
<td>Rights-and-Obligations Sets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Sandra Ankobiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTV</td>
<td>United Television</td>
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</table>
1 Introduction

Bilingualism is a common phenomenon that has gained ground in linguistics research. It is currently one of the major fields in linguistics research. According to Grosjean (1985a), a bilingual speaker is more than the sum of two monolinguals in the sense that the bilingual has also developed unique language behaviour (Grosjean, 1985a, cited in Hamers and Blanc, 2000: 7). One aspect of such unique behaviour developed by bilinguals is codeswitching (CS), which involves alternation between the two (or more languages) available to bilinguals in their interactions. Gumperz (1982) notes that interactants are mostly immersed in the conversation itself and so they are often unaware of which code is being used at one time. Instead, they are more concerned about the communicative effect of what they are saying (Gumperz, 1982: 61). Early researchers viewed codeswitching as forming part of the speech of imperfect bilinguals who resorted to switching mostly to fill a linguistic gap. Nonetheless, studies from the 1970s show that CS is a skilful performance bilinguals employ to achieve certain discourse and social functions.

The language contact phenomenon of codeswitching\(^1\) can be approached from various perspectives including sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, pragmatic, and grammatical perspectives etc. Auer (1984) provides a narrower outline of three different perspectives from which the literature on language alternation\(^2\) may be distinguished. First, the grammatical perspective which deals with the syntactic and morphological restrictions on switching. Second, the interactional perspective which concerns with the meaning/functions of individual instances of alternation in a conversation. Lastly, a sociolinguistics perspective (in a restricted sense) which is concerned with which bilingual communities make use of language alternation, in which situations and why.

To investigate and provide insights into the use of codeswitching on TV talk shows, the present study combines the interactional and sociolinguistic perspectives as discussed by Auer (1984). The works of John Gumperz (1972, 1982), Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) and Peter Auer (1984) form the main theoretical base for this study.

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\(^1\) This spelling of Codeswitching is adopted for this thesis from Myers-Scotton (1993). Other spellings like code switching and code-switching will be used in quotations.

\(^2\) The terms alternation, switch, switching and codeswitch will be used interchangeably in this work.
1.1 Terminology

Gardiner-Chloros (2009) points out that CS can mean whatever we want it to mean because CS is only a construct developed by linguists to describe their data. The research field of codeswitching is therefore loaded with varying definitions from researcher to researcher. Some define CS as including the alternate use of two or more distinct languages in a conversation stream, whereas others define it as involving not only distinct languages but also dialects of the same language and the use of different speech styles.

The working definition for this work sees CS as the alternate use of two distinct languages, following the definitions of both Heller (1988a), who defines CS as “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode” (Heller, 1988a: 1), and Auer (1984: 1) who refers to CS as “the alternating use of more than one language”. The distinct languages in this work are Akan and English, and the alternations can take place within a sentence or between sentences.

For the purpose of this study, there is a need to separate codeswitching from another language contact phenomenon — borrowing. There is a lot of debate in the literature on the dividing line between the two. While some researchers show that borrowing and CS exist on a continuum where CS becomes a loan word (established borrowed word) at some point on the continuum, others claim that speakers must be evaluated individually to decide if a word or morpheme, depending on the frequency of its occurrence, is a code-switch or a loan (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). As stated by Eastman (1992), “efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed” (Eastman, 1992: 1, cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 10). Even though this thesis does not seek to delve more into the controversy surrounding the distinctions between these terms, a working understanding of the terms becomes necessary to be able to identify instances of CS in the available data. Here, we see borrowing “as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other” (Gumperz, 1982: 66). According to Gumperz, the borrowed items are incorporated into the grammatical system of the recipient language and are treated as part of the borrowing language’s lexicon. Codeswitching on the other hand “relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems” (Gumperz, 1982: 66). In the examples below, investment in example 1 is an instance of CS. Even though it is just a single word switch which can be used by most speakers of Akan irrespective of their proficiency in English, this word is not treated
as forming part of the Akan language’s lexicon. on the other hand, bɔɔlo (‘ball’) in example 2 is a case of borrowing. This word is an established loanword in Akan. It assumes the morphological, syntactic, and phonological identity of the recipient language.

Example 1

015. **Delay:** Wonyɛ…, nkurofoɔ dwene sɛ mo mu bi wɔ hɔ a monnyɛ **investment**.

(don’t you…, people think most of you don’t invest)

Example 2

013. **Delay:** $bɔɔlo$ na woyɛ?

(so, you play football?)

### 1.2 Background of the Study

In African societies, people are exposed to more than one language due the multilingual nature of these societies. There are several indigenous languages as well as foreign languages in such societies. This societal multilingualism is manifest through language use at the individual level. Individuals often use two or more languages in their day to day activities. In effect, switching between two or more languages is the norm rather than the exception.

The language situation in Ghana, a country in West Africa with a population of 24,658,823 (Ghana statistical service, 2012), is very much like that of other African countries. Ghana has been described as a linguistically diverse country in which alternating between multiple languages in conversations (CS) is an everyday phenomenon (Quarcoo, Amuzu, & Owusu, 2014). According to Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2015), 79 indigenous languages are spoken in Ghana. Nonetheless, Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) posit that approximately fifty non-mutually intelligible languages count as ‘indigenous’ to Ghana’s territory. Thus, some of the languages have several dialects which are mutually intelligible to their speakers but not intelligible to speakers of other Ghanaian languages. Apart from the indigenous languages, two languages are used throughout the country: Hausa, a Chadic language which is mostly used among the people in the northern part of the country and English which is the sole official language of Ghana. Other languages like Arabic and Yoruba are also used in Ghana.
Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) explain that looking at the country linguistically and to some extent culturally, Ghana is roughly divided into two parts. The first part which includes languages spoken to the south of the confluence of the White and Black Volta rivers are Kwa languages belonging to the Niger-Congo language family. According to them, the relationship among languages in this group is not a close one. Akan in its many dialect forms, Nzema and its close relatives, and the Guan languages are all closely and obviously related, but the Kwa languages to the east which includes Ga-Dangme, Ewe, and most of the other languages of the Volta Region, are very dissimilar and quite distantly related to each other. The second part are languages spoken to the north in the savannah regions. These languages belong to the Gur family, particularly the Oti-Volta and the Grusi branches of Central Gur.

Akan, a language belonging to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo language family, is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana. The name Akan is used to refer to a language with several mutually intelligible dialects. Among such dialects are Asante (Twi), Fante, Akuapem, Bron, Kwawu, Akyem etc. (see figure 1.2). Three of its dialects, Akuapem, Asante and Fante have achieved literary status. Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) note that certain Ghanaian languages have historically been languages of expansion. According to them, several Akan-speaking kingdoms went through expansionist phases, with Asante (Ashanti) being by far the most powerful in recent times. The Asante dialect of the Akan language thus continues to expand as a second language in urban areas such as Accra, the capital, and to some extent throughout the country. Wolff (2003) notes that the main languages spoken in Ghana are roughly proportionate to the ethnic breakdown in the country, with approximately 44% Akan, 18% Ewe, 3% Mole-Dagbani, and 8% Ga, with numerous smaller language groups comprising the remainder (Wolff, 2003: 101, cited in Flamenbaum, 2006). It has also been estimated that 60% non-Akan Ghanaians speak Akan as a second language, raising Akan to the status of unofficial lingua franca in the country (Nukunya, 2003, cited in Flamenbaum, 2006).
Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015)
Akan is used in many sectors of the country ranging from education to politics, trade, religion and in the media. It is the most used indigenous language in the Ghanaian media. It is used in broadcasting on televisions and on radio. Akan is used in news broadcasting and in other programmes on the Ghana national television (GTV) and on other TV stations like Television Africa (TV Africa). Also, there are TV stations such as Adom TV and United Television Ghana (UTV) who broadcast their programmes entirely in Akan. In recent times, UTV broadcasts foreign telenovelas with voice-over translations into Akan. This is an interesting move giving the fact that most Ghanaians, literate or illiterate, love to watch such TV series and it also goes on to show how extensively Akan is used in the Ghanaian media. Many radio stations in the country also use Akan as their main language of transmission, examples of such stations are Nhyira FM, Adom FM, and Asempa FM. It should be noted here that some of the programs on these stations feature significant use of Akan-English codeswitching. Akan language is also used in many local movies with a well-established movie industry called Kumawood. Most of their movies are watched by speakers of Akan as well as other Ghanaians due to the entertaining nature of such movies. In a nutshell, there is an extensive use of Akan in the Ghanaian media except for the print media.

English is the sole official language of Ghana due to Ghana’s anglophone heritage. It is mostly acquired through formal education, and so all educated Ghanaians have high levels of bilingualism in their native language and English. On Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana, Forson (1979) posits that “the amount of formal education the average Akan (or, for that matter, the average Ghanaian) gets is, all things being equal, fairly proportionate to the extent to which he is exposed to the use of English” (Forson, 1979: 113). The education system in Ghana is configured in such a way that the medium of instruction at all levels apart from the first three years of basic education is in English. English is used to teach all courses including arithmetic, science, social sciences etcetera. English is even used in teaching Ghanaian language elective courses in universities. It is also used in all forms of media across the country. Nearly all newspapers and official documents are written in English. The use of English therefore influences a wide section of Ghanaian society.

In terms of High/Low functional separations between Akan and English, i.e. diglossia (Fishman, 1967), English has several High functions, which includes its use in formal domains like academic, business, judiciary and governance. However, its use for inter-ethnic communication serves as a Low function. Akan on the other hand is generally the Low variety
used in everyday interactions. However, it does have some High functions in terms of its use in traditional domains like festivals, traditional marriage ceremonies and baby naming ceremonies.

Figure 1.2 The Distribution of Akan (Twi Fante) Language and its Dialects (Dolphyne, 2006)

Map. 1 GHANA : THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AKAN (TWI FANTE) LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

NOTE: X, Indicates small pockets of Guang Languages
1.3 Statement of the Problem

The influence of English on Ghanaian indigenous languages cannot be underestimated. At least every Ghanaian language has borrowed words from English. Also, codeswitching from English to Ghanaian languages and vice versa is extensively in practice among Ghanaians. Akan bilinguals switch between English and Akan on many occasions. It is not uncommon to hear codeswitching on radio and TV stations in Ghana. One of the main TV programmes to feature CS is TV talk shows.

Previous studies on codeswitching between Akan (or other Ghanaian languages) and English have primarily dealt with the social motivations and pragmatic uses of CS. I have not seen any work that sets out to explore the discourse factors that influence CS, or that investigates how the sequence of an interaction affects CS among Akan-bilinguals. Even though there are a lot of studies of the use of CS in the Ghanaian media (e.g. Flamenbaum, 2006; Yevudey, 2009; Vanderpuije, 2010; Brobbey, 2015), I have not seen a single work on CS on TV talk shows which is one of the obvious and authentic places to see CS fully in practice.

The present study therefore seeks to investigate Akan-English CS on TV talk shows using THE DELAY SHOW as a case study. Hopefully this study will provide new insights into why Akan bilinguals engage in CS.

1.4 Aims of the Study

This study seeks to address the following questions:

1. What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?

2. How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?

3. What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the study and provides some background insights into the setting of this work. The research aims of the study are also highlighted in this chapter. In Chapter Two, there is a review of the relevant literature for this study. This review provides a broad description of the topic of codeswitching, and discusses the theories and approaches adopted for the study. In Chapter Three, the methodology chapter, the methods and procedures used in collecting data for the work are discussed. Chapter 4
presents the main analysis of the data. Here, there is an attempt to address, as much as possible, all the research questions the study seeks to address. Finally, Chapter Five, the concluding chapter, provides the summary of major findings and recommendations for future studies.
2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Alternating between two or more languages is very common among people who have access to more than a single language. This is especially true in multilingual societies. This linguistic behaviour is very prevalent in African societies where several indigenous languages as well as foreign languages are spoken.

The language situation in Ghana, a country in West Africa with a population of 24,658,823 (Ghana statistical service, 2012), is very comparable to that of other Africa countries. It is highly multilingual with several indigenous as well as foreign languages. At least 79 indigenous languages are spoken in Ghana and due to Ghana’s Anglophone colonial heritage, English is the sole official language of the country, even after the country gained independence from the British in 1957. According to Quarcoo et al (2014), the language situation in Ghana is linguistically diverse. Due to this, the alternate use of multiple languages in conversation is an everyday phenomenon (Quarcoo, Amuzu, & Owusu, 2014: 1).

The rest of this chapter discusses bilingual speech – also called codeswitching (CS) – and the relevant literature on this topic. The major theories and models of CS will also be highlighted. This will serve as a building block for the analysis of the available data in Chapter 4.

2.2 Codeswitching

Languages are bound to come into contact when people from different linguistic backgrounds coexist in the same milieu. In language contact situations, several language contact phenomena may emerge. Such phenomena include borrowing, interference, language shift and death, pidginization, creolisation as well as codeswitching. According to Gardiner-Chloros (2009), CS has been found to co-occur with most of these contact phenomena, though it does not necessarily do so.

Gardiner-Chloros (2009) points out that CS can mean whatever we want it to mean because CS is only a construct developed by linguists to describe their data. However, several good descriptions have been provided in the literature. She notes that “Switching appears transparent enough, in that it refers to the alternation between the different varieties which people speak” (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009: 11). The term codeswitching has therefore been defined differently from scholar to scholar. Despite this, the definitions do often overlap with each other.
Gumperz (1982) views conversational codeswitching as the “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59). His definition covers alternations between different languages, different dialects of the same language, and the alternation between different speech styles.

Heller (1988a) defines codeswitching as “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode” (Heller, 1988a: 1). She believes CS has gained a great deal of attention over the years because of its violation of a “strong expectation” of the use of only one language at a given time. This “strong expectation” can be seen in the classic work of Uriel Weinreich (1953):

“The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence” (Weinreich, 1953, cited in Myers Scotten, 1993: 48).

Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton’s (1993) definitions are similar to each other in that they limit CS to the use of distinct languages rather than different speech styles or dialects of the same language. For instance, Auer (1984: 1) refers to CS as “the alternating use of more than one language,” while Myers-Scotton (1993: vii) talks about “the use of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Auer, 1984; Myers-Scotton, 1993, cited in Nilep, 2006: 16).

Auer & Eastman (2010) point out that codeswitching was regarded as an “externally induced mishap due to negative psychological or social factors” such as incompetency, laziness, lack of education etcetera (Auer & Eastman, 2010: 84). These factors were not considered to merit linguistic investigation because they were temporal. This explains in part why there was no large-scale research on codeswitching before the 1970s. Gumperz (1982) also records that in interview sessions concerning codeswitching, speakers express differing attitudes, most of which are stereotypes. Some of his participants characterize codeswitching as an extreme form of language mixing or linguistic borrowing which shows a lack of education, bad manners or improper control of the grammars of the two languages involved. Others see it as a legitimate style of informal talk. In other words, CS was considered as forming part of the speech of imperfect bilinguals.
Nevertheless, studies show that we cannot attribute codeswitching to only negative factors such as laziness or lack of education. Studies show that bi/multilinguals alternate between codes to achieve several communicative purposes: *quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, personalisation versus objectivization* (Gumperz, 1982: 75–80). Results from Gumperz’ examination of bilingual exchanges show that people who alternate codes are not necessarily motivated by their inability to find the right words in one language. Speakers’ inability to find words to express what they intend to say in one language or the other is a motivating factor in relatively few passages examined by Gumperz (1982). The research shows that “in many cases, the code-switched information could equally well be expressed in either language” (Gumperz, 1982: 64–65).

On Ewe-English codeswitching in Ghana, Dzameshie (1996) notes that the CS of Ewe-English bilinguals is structurally "a reflection of [their] dual communicative competence [and] tacit knowledge of the grammaticality and acceptability of utterances in the two languages" (Dzameshie, 1996: 9, cited in Amuzu, 2005). Dzameshie (1994) also suggests that bilinguals should use the language that conveys their message most clearly when speaking to other bilinguals.

Muysken (2000) uses the term code-switching to refer to the “rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” (Muysken, 2000: 1). From a grammatical perspective, his study distinguishes between three patterns of code-mixing: *insertion;* where there is an incorporation of alien materials (lexical items or entire constituents) into a given structure, *congruent lexicalization;* in this case, lexical items are incorporated from a language with a similar grammatical structure (e.g. dialects of the same language), and *alternation;* where the switch is between structures from different languages. Muysken defines CS as a type of alternation. He also observes that language mixing is influenced not just by a single factor but by several factors, which include the structure of the languages involved, the dominant variety used, bilingual proficiency, attitudes toward mixing, and the norms of the society in question (Muysken, 2000: 247).

Poplack (1980) studied the speech of Puerto Rican residents of a stable bilingual community who show varying degrees in bilingual ability. These residents switch between English and Spanish. In this study, three types of switches were identified. First, *Inter-sentential switching:* where switches from one language to another occur between sentences. In other words, each sentence in the conversation involves a single language even though the conversation is made
up of two languages. Second, *intra-sentential switching*, which involves a switch within a single sentence. Poplack (1980) refers to this type of switch as a more ‘intimate’ type of switch because the codeswitched segments and the other words around it must obey the underlying syntactic rules that govern the two languages involved. According to her, this type of switch requires most skill. Third, *extra-sentential or emblematic switching*; this type of switch occurs within a sentence as well but is ‘less intimate’. It is characterized by the insertion of interjections, idiomatic expressions, tags, and individual noun switches from another language into a base language. Their insertion is said to have few, if any ramifications for the rest of the sentence.

In a conversation that features codeswitching, one of the languages is typically dominant. Jake & Myers-Scotton (2000) makes a distinction between these languages using the terms *Matrix* and *Embedded* languages. According to them, the matrix language (ML) is the language which is more dominant in structuring the CS whereas the embedded language(s) (ELs) are the other participating languages in the interaction. (Jake & Myers-Scotton, 2000). Myers-Scotton (1993) shows with examples that the matrix language is the supplier of more of the morphemes in the discourse; it supplies, for example, all the “system” morphemes including inflections and function words for intrasentential constituents that have morphemes from both languages. She further states that the matrix language is not always stable; it can change from conversation to conversation depending on socio-psychological factors that underlie the different conversations. However, this is not the case for CS involving an indigenous African language and an international language because the indigenous language is always the matrix language in such cases (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 125–126).

From this research, one can deduce that scholars do not agree on what the term codeswitching entails. However, their definitions do at least converge on one point, namely that CS is a contact phenomenon and that participants alternate between codes for several reasons.

### 2.3 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses some of the theories/frameworks that have been adopted for the study and analysis of codeswitching.

#### 2.3.1 Gumperz

John Gumperz is mostly cited as the scholar who pioneered CS as a field of study. Blom and Gumperz (1972) deal not with switches between language varieties but between dialects of the
same language – Norwegian. Their 1972 article in addition to another study of CS among Hispanic Americans (Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1970; 1978) made Gumperz the most influential linguistics scholar in discussions of the social motivations of CS in the 1970s and 1980s (Myers-Scotten, 1993).

As stated by Myers-Scotten (1993), Blom and Gumperz were first to treat CS as a legitimate field of study and as a phenomenon open to analysis. They discussed CS not as deviant bilingual speech, nor as a phenomenon that was unique to foreign cultures. Their presentation of CS as a type of *skilled performance* ran contrary to earlier considerations of CS as part of the performance of imperfect bilinguals. It was, moreover, work that substantially influenced subsequent studies of CS.

They distinguish between two types of switching, namely: *Situational* and *metaphorical* switching. Situational switching “assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation” (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 116). This switch occurs when there is a change in how the participants perceive the social situation, involving changes in the participants’ definition of each other’s rights and obligations. In metaphorical switching on the other hand, the language switch comes about due to a change in the subject matter or topic while the physical situation remains unchanged.

Gumperz (1982) shifts from his earlier classifications of CS and introduces the term *conversational codeswitching* which he defines as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59). This, he says, frequently takes the form of two subsequent sentences but can sometimes occur within one sentence. He points out that participants involved in this kind of switching are mostly unaware of which code is in use at a given time. He states, “selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall” (p. 61). He likens this to grammatical rules as forming part of the speakers underlying knowledge used in conveying meaning. Gumperz considers conversational CS as a creative performance, thus suggesting the concept’s fundamental similarity to situational CS (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Gumperz (1982) also puts forth two varieties involved in CS: the ‘we’ and the ‘they’ codes. He notes that whereas the we-code is typically linked to the minority language which is mostly used for in-group and informal activities. The they-code, by contrast, is linked to the majority language associated with the “more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations”.

14
However, he cautions that this association between communicative style and group identity should be treated as symbolic since language usage is not directly predictable by it. Furthermore, he states that the direction of shift may also have semantic values which can be seen as the metaphoric extension of the ‘we/they code oppositions (p. 66). Gumperz believes that speakers interpret the changes from a code to another based on shared backgrounds or conversational implicatures which he calls contextualization cues. He refers to a contextualization cue as “any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions” (p. 131). Speakers interpret different language choices and codes, through these contextualization cues.

Gumperz (1982) further discusses some conversational uses of codeswitching which include: “quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivization”. According to Gumperz, CS can be used for 1) quotations: speakers switch codes to directly quote someone or for reported speeches; 2) addressee specification: in this case, a speaker switches from one code to another when he is directing the message to a particular person out of several possible addressees; 3) interjections: CS is often used to mark interjections and sentence fillers like ‘you know’, ‘mm’, ‘yeah’ etcetera; 4) reiteration: a message in one code is usually repeated in another code to amplify or emphasize the message. This is achieved either by a literal repetition of what was said in another code or by the presentation of what was earlier said in a modified form; 5) message qualification: CS is used to qualify constructions like sentences and verb complements as well as predicates that follow a copular; and 6) CS is also used to mark personalization versus objectivization: here the code contrast may be used to separate personal opinions from generally known facts, or to mark the degree of the speaker’s involvement or distance from an utterance (Gumperz, 1982: 75–81).

Gumperz clearly states that this list of functions is not exhaustive. Nevertheless, the fact that it is possible to list such conversational functions provides a step towards a more comprehensive analysis of CS (Gumperz, 1982).

2.3.2 The Markedness Model (MM) by Myers-Scotton

Myers-Scotton is of the view that the two main terms figuring in Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) analysis of CS, ‘situational’ and ‘metaphorical’, are difficult to pin down. She considers these terms to be vague and unclear in their definitions. In her Markedness Model (MM), which attempts to capture the socio-psychological motivations for codeswitching, she strives to ‘rise
above vagueness’ by incorporating ideas from Grice’s (1975) co-operative principle and Sperber and Wilson’s (1981; 1986) relevance theory, among others. According to Myers-Scotton, their ideas are valuable to research in CS because they offer a way of rising above vagueness by discussing the possibility that a switch in codes can convey other important meanings apart from referential meanings (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

One of the main arguments of her model is that the choice of code for a conversation indexes rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) between interlocutors in an interaction. Speakers in a community are said to have rights-and-obligations sets based on shared background knowledge or other situational factors. However, Myers-Scotton consciously makes no attempt at specifying these situational factors. As such, speakers are aware of which code is the norm or expected (unmarked) at a point in time, and which code is not (marked). Speakers therefore have an innate ‘markedness metric’ used in assessing language usage, making it easy for a speaker in a community to determine when another speaker makes marked choices. She claims that speakers are selective in choosing their codes. Although they have a sense of markedness concerning linguistic codes that is available to them for any interaction, they nonetheless “choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 75). So, a speaker will generally but not always prefer the unmarked choice because it does not bring about any surprises since it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship. She also states that speakers are in constant ‘negotiation’ as to the ‘potential costs and rewards’ that a selected code has over the other in indexing the set of rights and obligations that the speaker wants to ‘be in force’ between him and the addressee in a current exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The Markedness model consists of three (3) ‘maxims’ based on the ‘negotiation principle’. These maxims are:

1. The unmarked-choice maxim: “Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 114).

This maxim gives rise to two types of CS. First, sequential unmarked CS where the switch is a consequence of a change in any of the situational factors at play during the conversation. In many cases, it is a change in the constellation of participants or topic that brings about the switch. This change results in a change of the RO set so the speaker switches to another code
to index the new unmarked RO set, except for situations where accepting the unmarked RO set is “especially onerous”. This type of CS is synonymous with Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) situational switching. Second, CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS): in this type of CS, “speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 117). This type of switch is often within a single sentence and sometimes even within the same word.

Myers-Scotton also discusses two auxiliary maxims to the unmarked-choice code. They are the “virtuosity maxim” and the “deference maxim”. The former directs speakers to “switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present” (p. 148) and the latter directs speakers to “switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by circumstances” (p. 147).

2. The marked-choice maxim: “Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 131).

This type of CS occurs when the speaker desires a change in the RO set by dis-identifying with the expected RO set. In other words, the speaker ‘knows’ the expected code for the interaction at hand but decides not to go with the expected choice, and switches instead to another code with the intention of establishing a new RO set. Marked CS can be used to increase the social distance between participants via authority or anger, as an ethically-based exclusion strategy, and for aesthetic effects (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

3. Exploratory-choice maxim: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 142)

This is the least common type of CS identified by Myers-Scotton. It happens when there is a clash of norms (e.g. a conversation between strangers) rendering the unmarked code unclear. Since it is not clear which norms apply, speakers ‘explore’ the RO sets by using CS to propose one code and then another to arrive at an unmarked code. Following Myers-Scotton, “this type of CS best illustrates how CS is a ‘true’ negotiation” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 143).

It is important to note that Myers-Scotton (1993) sees markedness as a continuum since the dividing line between marked and unmarked codes is not clear-cut. Also, the markedness model
is speaker oriented; it views all choices as speaker-motivated. Myers-Scotton claims that speakers are \textit{rational actors} who act purposefully, if often unconsciously. She views speakers as more than vehicles that carry societal values that cannot be accounted for by more stable situational factors alone. This implies that at some level, speakers are goal-directed and they can use CS to achieve such goals.

\subsection*{2.3.3 Conversational Analysis (CA)}

Auer (1984) outlined three different perspectives within the literature on language alternation. First, the \textit{grammatical perspective} which, according to him, leaves the communicative content of language unexplained and only focusses on linguistic well-formedness. Second comes the \textit{sociolinguistics perspective (in a restricted sense)} which he believes leaves matters unsettled as well since work in this area does not answer the question of where and why codeswitching occurs. The social meaning of language alternation is rather inferred from a description of the macro-situations in which it occurs. Lastly, the \textit{interactional perspective} which Auer suggests as the best model to use in analysing the meaning of individual instances of language alternation.

The interactional approach can be traced to Gumperz’ interactional sociolinguistics which claims that the proper level of analysis of code switching is the level of practice, as opposed to the level of grammar or community (Gumperz, 1982: 41, cited in Auer and Eastman, 2010: 95). Interactional studies on CS such as Gumperz’ and Myers-Scotton’s model aim at explaining individual acts of CS with reference to the social roles they \textit{symbolize}. CS is therefore seen as indexical of social relations and is viewed from a discourse-oriented perspective (Auer, 1995, cited in Auer and Eastman, 2010).

According to Auer (1984), Gumperz’s approach to CS cannot fully be used to analyse all cases of CS because such a view accounts for a very limited number of switches. Auer also sees the enumeration of types of language alternation as inadequate since the number of types of alternation is not finite. He further criticizes existing literature on CS from this perspective for being restrictive to only some functions of CS.

Auer (1984) proposes a conversational analytic view of CS which focusses on the sequential development of interaction, where meaning is ‘brought about’ through conversational turns and not by the symbolic meaning of the languages (Cashman, 2008). He believes this approach is a natural point of departure for analysis of language choice and alternation. Thus, the analysis
needs to focus on the participants in the conversation and not external factors such as norms and social context. That is not to say that context does not have a role in the analysis of the interaction but, as Auer puts it, “such a context is not something given and available in itself, but has to be created and maintained by participants in addition to what they say (Auer, 1984: 7). He points out the sequential embeddedness of language choice to language alternation.

*Local functionality* is a requirement for this approach; he uses the local functionality of language alternation "as the decisive characteristics to show its differences from other language-contact phenomena, which, taken individually in their specific context, cannot be said to have a specific function" (Auer, 1984: 8). He states that the purpose for the use of CA is to analyse members’ procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation (p. 3). In other words, CA describes CS as used by participants in real time as opposed to ‘scientific construct designed just to fit the data’.

A distinction is further made between *transfer* and *code-switching*. The former is when the type of language alternation is tied to particular conversational structures such as the word, sentence or a larger unit, whereas the latter (codeswitching) involves alternations tied to a particular point in conversation (Auer, 1984). For the procedural interpretation of language alternation, Auer (1984) introduced a basic category pair, that is the distinction between discourse- and participant-related alternation (codeswitching). *Discourse related codeswitching* occurs when speakers alternate between codes to provide cues for the ongoing interaction (p. 12). Ideas from Gumperz’ concept of *contextualization cue* forms part of this analysis. Here, a switch in code signals a change in topic; codeswitching is employed as a contextualization cue that signals the termination of one topic and the beginning of another. *Participant related codeswitching* on the other hand, occurs when the speaker alternates codes to convey certain attributes about him or herself to his/her interlocutor(s). This type of switch signals the participants’ preference for one language over the other (p. 21). Auer argues that this language preference may be of a relatively stable, individualistic nature relating to factors such as speakers’ proficiency level, or it may be more episode-bound (relating to the identities of the co-participants, the institutional context or the nature of the interaction). He also explains that these two distinctions are not mutually exclusive and that instances of CS may have more than one meaning in a conversation (Auer, 1984: 22; Cashman, 2008).

It has also been pointed out by Auer (1984) that in the application of CA, the visible-observable techniques, strategies and signals by which participants make themselves understood and show
their understanding of their addressees’ utterances is of primary interest. Another issue of primary interest is how the speakers check on their being understood by co-participants (Auer, 1984: 6).

The CA approach has at least two advantages according to Li Wei (2002). It gives priority to "sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation". That is, a speaker’s choice of code at a point in the conversation influences subsequent language choices by the speaker and the addressee(s). It also "limits the external analyst's interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretation back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour" (Auer, 1984a: 6, cited in Li Wei, 2002).

In a nutshell, this model emphasises the sequential positioning of switches in the interpretation of CS. It also claims that researchers should view instances of CS in the context of the specific event itself.

2.4 Codeswitching in Ghana

Research on codeswitching involving Ghanaian languages and English — the official language of Ghana – has received a lot of attention in Ghana. Forson’s (1979) work Codeswitching in Akan-English bilingualism, has been credited as the first major work of CS in Ghana. In that work and a subsequent paper from 1988 (Code-switching, our third tongue), Forson refers to codeswitching as the third tongue of educated Ghanaians (i.e. aside from their native language and English) due to its pervasive use by educated Ghanaians. He also points out that CS is a marked code in formal settings because monolingual speech is expected in any such setting (Amuzu, 2012). Forson’s (1988) study discusses certain conditions that must be met for ‘normal code-switching’ between a Ghanaian language and English to take place. They are as follows:

(a) The relationship between the bilingual's languages. Forson claims that normal CS in Ghana occurs between a Ghanaian language and English and not with another Ghanaian language. That is, one of the languages must be more prestigious than the other. Therefore, “from the Ghanaian evidence, it would seem that switching does not occur between genetically related languages with more or less the same social status within the same definable geographical area” (Forson, 1988: 181).

(b) The linguistic background of the speakers. Code-switching will normally occur only between bilinguals who share the same languages. To be able to switch between English and a
Ghanaian language, the speaker must be exposed to English — typically through formal education.

(c) The medium of the discourse. According to Forson (1988), CS occurs mainly in spoken communication. Its occurrence in any other form of communication (e.g. written or in a song) is done deliberately to illustrate a point or for special effect, such as humour.

(d) The degree of formality of the discourse. The study concluded that normal or conversational CS occurs only in relatively informal usage whereas monolingual talk is reserved for more formal situations and organised activities such as public addresses and prepared speeches. In other words, the situation determines the language of the discourse. He writes:

“Any speaker on a platform, in a pulpit or addressing the inhabitants of a community naturally speaks monolingually. If he can speak the first language of the people, he uses it without switching; if he cannot handle the local language truthfully, his most honest recourse is to speak in another language with an interpreter to deliver the message. Code-switching in such a situation is only an invitation to ridicule” (Forson, 1988: 183–184).

(e) The subject matter. English is said to be useful in discussions about academic subjects, party politics and most materials that ‘originate from the outside world’. The local languages are better at handling traditional rites such as funerals, festivals etcetera (p. 185).

The use of CS became so pervasive that by the 1990s it was no longer characterized the third tongue in the informal interactions of the Ghanaian who use it (Asilevi, 1990, cited in Amuzu, 2012: 3). Amuzu (2005b, cited in Amuzu, 2012) suggests that CS be renamed as the bilinguals’ “first tongue” due to its increasing use in in-group interactions.

Other studies of CS involving Ghanaian languages and English cut across a vast domain. It has been observed in radio and television advertisement (e.g. Anderson and Wiredu, 2007; Amuzu, 2010a), in academic discussions of students (e.g. Obiri-Yeboah, 2008), in church activities (e.g. Albakry and Ofori, 2011; Asare-Nyarko, 2012), in the classroom by teachers and students (e.g. Asilevi, 1990; Amekor, 2009), in informal settings (e.g. Quarcoo and Authur-Shoba, 2012), on radio discussions and radio talk shows (e.g. Yevudey, 2009; Brobbey, 2015), and also in songs (Amuzu, Owusu & Quarcoo, 2014). In all these areas of talk exchange, CS has been used to perform various functions.
2.5 Application of CS Theories

All theories/approaches discussed in this chapter have been critiqued. They all have their strengths and drawbacks. Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) work is mainly criticised for its vagueness and the difficulties there are in pinning down the definitions of prominent terms that feature in their analyses (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Auer (1984) criticises the symbolic approach in general for its dependency on the analyst’s interpretation of the situation instead of focussing on the participants in the conversation. Cashman (2008) states that the Conversational Analysis approach has also been mainly criticized for ignoring social context in favour of sequential context.

The aim of this thesis however is not to delve into the negative criticisms levied against these approaches, but rather to use these approaches together as a tool to analyse the available data. Therefore, the approaches will be used together to establish an in-depth understanding of CS as used on Ghanaian TV talk shows. For instance, Gumperz’s list of functions will function as a bedrock to bring out the conversational functions CS plays in the TV talk-show. The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton will also be used to identify informants’ social motivations for using CS. The data analysis will also consider the sequence of the events in the talk-show by applying CA strategies.
3 Methodology

The methods and procedures used in the data collection and analysis will be discussed in this chapter. This chapter therefore provides detailed information on how the research has been conducted.

3.1 Introduction

The following questions were addressed in this research:

1. What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?

2. How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?

3. What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

This qualitative research investigated the language contact phenomenon of codeswitching among Akan bilinguals in Ghana. A Ghana-based TV talk show has been used as the case study. Videos of selected episodes of the show were downloaded from YouTube and transcribed manually.

3.2 The Selected Show

THE DELAY SHOW is a television programme in Ghana which is produced and hosted by Deloris Frimpong Manso, popularly known as “Delay”. THE DELAY SHOW was first aired in April 2008 on TV3 Network Limited Ghana television where the show was called Delay Exclusive. THE DELAY SHOW was later aired on Viasat 1 Ghana television (now Kwese Free Sports) until the station was bought by another company in January 2017 and changed into a sports channel. The show then debuted on 26th February 2017 on yet another TV station, GH One TV (GHOne TV). The host, who is also the producer of the show, remains the same despite the change in TV stations. Apart from these stations’ regular broadcasts on live television in Ghana, the TV stations also have YouTube channels where Ghanaians at home and abroad can access news, entertainment, and sports etcetera.

THE DELAY SHOW is a popular TV show in Ghana. It is a Celebrity Interview Show. On this show, the host invites celebrities and interviews them about their personal lives, lifestyles and about issues that make headlines in the news. These issues could be in the headlines of the print media, on TV, radio, or they could be trending on social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter). Before the interview sessions, recently uploaded pictures of some Ghanaian celebrities on
Instagram are projected on to the screen and the host makes humorous comments about them. This segment of the program is called ‘Vodafone Instaglam’ a blend of the words Instagram and Glamour.

This show has been selected for this research for several reasons. First, the show has been selected because participants (host and guests) employ a great deal of Akan-English codeswitching on the show. In this show, the host, who doubles as the producer of the show, engages in a continuous stream of Akan-English CS with other bilingual guests. The flexibility in the use of languages on this show is possibly because the host owns the show and therefore chooses what to do with it without having to deal with any external language-choice constraints being imposed. Second, the interviews on this show take a semi-structured interview form. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer sets up a general structure by deciding in advance the main questions to be asked and the ground to be covered. However, the detailed structure is left to be worked out during the interview, and the person or people being interviewed have a fair degree of freedom as to what to talk about, how they express themselves and how much to say (Drever, 1995). The selection of a show that uses this interview style is necessary for this research because there are no strict rules governing the informants’ language selection. In other words, the informants are free to express themselves using any language in their linguistic repertoire. This will help probe into why they switch codes and what triggers the switches. Third, the show’s popularity: THE DELAY SHOW is one of the TV shows that most Ghanaians watch because the average Ghanaian is interested in what happens in the life of public figures. Even though the researcher cannot quantify the number of people who watch this show on televisions at home, its popularity is attested by the fact that the episodes selected for this research clocked up 151,710, 298,290, and 179,145 views respectively on YouTube (as on 8th February 2017). In addition, the show can also be watched at any time. As stated earlier, the stations that broadcast this show have online pages that enable people to watch the show at their own convenience. Coupled with this, the host of the show has a YouTube channel – DELAY TV, where most of the videos from the show are uploaded. Fourth, there is diversity in the kind of people that feature on the show. The host brings on the show people from various sectors: comedians, footballers, movie actors/actresses, musicians, news anchors, politicians, and others who are popular for one reason or another. This is relevant to this research because these people have varied levels of education which may influence their CS patterns. Also, selecting people from diverse walks of life, rather than limiting the selection of informants to people from only
one sector of society, is believed by the researcher to yield results that reflect a CS that is representatively Ghanaian.

In an interview with the thebigtriceonline.com published on ghanaweb.com on 31st May 2016, Delay disclosed that her show has kept running all these years because of her interview skills; how she is able to spice up the show after each episode; and because of the personalities she brings on the show. She went on to say that she goes the extra mile by not confining herself to the interview questions that would normally be asked on talk shows. She believes this is the reason why she has been able to keep “the show running all these years with Ghanaians still having the same love for it” (thebigtriceonline.com, 2016).

3.3 Sampling Method/ The Selected Interviews

The data for this work consisted of three interview sessions which yielded 4 informants. That is: 3 guests and the host of the show. Certain criteria were used to select these interviews. First, all the informants must know and speak Akan. Second, they must be educated (educated in this context means they have at least completed Senior High School). The purpose for selecting people who are educated was to ensure they were able to switch between English and a Ghanaian language. This is necessary since not all the celebrities who come on this show speak English, such as some of the actors of the local Akan movies. Lastly, the selected people must be from diverse sectors of society. This is to help provide data that is more representative of educated Ghanaian society as a whole.

The interviews selected were:

1. “Delay sits Asamoah Gyan”: this video was uploaded to YouTube on 16th July 2011 by CosmoGhana (2011). It has 298,290 views as on 8th February 2017. It lasts 7m:26s. This video is, however, an edited version of the full interview session.

2. “Delay Exclusive with Hon. Kennedy Agyapong”: this interview session was uploaded to YouTube on 19th May 2012 by Brain B (2012). This video has accumulated 151,710 views as on 8th February 2017. It lasts 11m:40s. This video does not capture the full interview session.

3. “Delay interviews Sandra Ankobiah”: this video was uploaded on DELAY TV’s YouTube channel on 27th January 2015 (DELAY TV, 2015). It lasts 25m:39s and has been viewed 179,145 times as on 8th February 2017. This video captures the full
interview session, however only the first 20m:31s of the video have been transcribed for this study.

3.4 Demographic Information of the Informants

3.4.1 The Host of the Show: Deloris Frimpong Manso

Deloris Frimpong Manso also known as “Delay” is a 34-year-old Ghanaian TV/ radio personality, a writer, director and entrepreneur. Deloris is a native speaker of Akan.

She completed her high school education at Aburi Girls Senior High School, Ghana. She later went to the Methodist University College, Ghana, but dropped out two months before completion of her course.

She started her career as a presenter in 1999 at live FM in Nkawkaw, Ghana. Deloris gave up her career for about two years but later returned around 2005 and started over again with Top radio, Ghana. She joined the presenters guide and got a job at Oman FM but was later replaced. Deloris started THE DELAY SHOW in 2008, a breakthrough in her career.

She is also the producer of a weekly TV series dubbed Afia Schwarzenegger and a TV drama series titled Cocoa Brown (Sylvester, 2016).

3.4.2 Guest 1: Asamoah Gyan

Asamoah Gyan is a 31-year-old Ghanaian international footballer, born in Greater Accra, the capital region of Ghana. He is currently the captain of the senior national team of Ghana, the Black Stars. He also plays for Al-Ahli Football Club in Dubai. He started his football career with Dansoman based Liberty Professionals Football Club in Accra Ghana and has also played for other clubs such as Al Ain in the UAE, Shanghai SPIG in China, Sunderland FC in England, Stade Rennes in France and Udinese Calcio in Italy. He is currently the leading scorer of the Ghanaian national team with 49 goals.

Aside football, Gyan featured in some hip-life songs by Castro (a Ghanaian musician). He also owns Baby-Jet Promotions, an organization that promotes boxing in Ghana.

Asamoah Gyan completed his high school education at the Accra Academy Senior high school.

3.4.3 Guest 2: Kennedy Ohene Agyapong

Kennedy Ohene Agyapong is a middle-aged Ghanaian politician and business man.
He is the member of parliament for Assin North Constituency in the Ghanaian parliament for the New Patriotic Party (NPP). He was first elected in 2000 and has retained his seat up to the present day.

He is a native of Assin Dompem, an Akan speaking community in the Central region of Ghana.

Honorable Kennedy Ohene Agyapong is the owner of Ken City Media, a Ghanaian based media organization which includes Net2 Television and radio stations like Ashh FM in Kumasi and Oman FM where Delay works as a mid-morning show host.

He is a graduate of Fordham University, New York.

Kennedy Agyapong is well known in Ghana for making controversial comments and has been described by some Ghanaians as a “loud-mouthed” MP with an “acid-tongue” who says things as they are, and does not typically resort to diplomatic language.

3.4.4 Guest 3: Sandra Ankobiah

Sandra Ankobiah is a Ghanaian lawyer, TV host, entrepreneur and philanthropist.

She was born on 18th May 1983 in Accra, Ghana. Her family originally hail from Asante Bekwai in the Ashanti region of Ghana.

She emerged on the fashion scene first in 2000 when she featured in a countrywide campaign for Ghana Textiles Printing Company (GTP). She was also the first runner up in the highly-contested Miss Ghana Pageant in 2002. Later in the same year, she represented Ghana in the Miss ECOWAS pageant, coming in at third place. She is the host and producer of Fashion 101, a hit Fashion TV property, which was launched in 2011.

She studied International and Commercial Law with a specialization in World Trade at the University of Buckingham (LLB, LLM) between 2005 and 2009. She returned to Ghana and went to the Ghana School of Law from 2010 to 2012, where she finished her studies and became a Barrister at Law in 2013.

Sandra is the founder of TV production company – Emerald Productions. She also started to co-host a morning show dubbed ‘New Day’ on TV3 in 2013.

She is also a co-founder of SN Media Learning Tree, a provider of practical media training in Accra. Sandra is the coordinator for The Legal Advocacy Foundation, an organization that aims
to educate the ordinary Ghanaian on their legal rights and obligations. In addition, Sandra started Fashion for Action in 2013, an initiative that supports the underprivileged by auctioning off her used outfits to raise funds for the underprivileged in society.

In 2016, she was appointed as an ambassador for women’s football in Ghana by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ghana (Ankobiah, 2017).

3.5 Data Transcription and Translation

An orthographic transcription of the videos was carried out. An English gloss is given for each section of transcribed Akan.

In the transcription, Akan is unmarked in Roman type, English phrases are in **bold** letters and English forms that contain Akan morphemes are in **bold and italics**.

In the translations, Akan words that were translated into English are unmarked, English phrases from the original text are in **bold** and English forms that contain Akan morphemes from the original text are in **bold italics**.
4 Results and Discussions

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse and discuss the results obtained from the data. The chapter is divided into four sections. In section 4.2, there is a brief discussion of the types of CS used by Akan bilinguals. Section 4.3 presents a discussion of the conversational uses of Akan-English codeswitching on the TV talk show. In section 4.4 there is an exposition of how the sequential order of a discourse affects CS. The last section (4.5) presents the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching.

The data has been analysed using the approaches and frameworks discussed in Chapter Two. These include Gumperz (1982); The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993); Conversational Analysis by Peter Auer (1984); Poplack (1980); Jake & Myers-Scotton (2000); and Forson (1979) among others.

4.2 Types of Codeswitching

All three types of switching identified by Poplack (1980) have been observed in this work. These are ‘intra-sentential’, ‘extra-sentential’ and ‘inter-sentential’ codeswitching.

4.2.1 Intra-sentential CS

Poplack (1980) uses the term intra-sentential to classify switch types that occur within a single sentence. This type of switch is said to require more skill because the codeswitched segments must obey the underlying syntactic rules that govern the two languages involved. Below are examples of intra-sentential CS observed.

Example 3

001. **Delay**: Ërm wahye how many goals na ama ṣṣomo?

    (Ermm how many goals have you scored for them?)

Example 4

117. **KA**: Ghana ha obira əwe confidence biara əmo se oyə arrogant. Enti woo wo confidence na wow ə no
(In Ghana, any confident person is seen to be arrogant. So, it is confidence that you have)

In the above examples, codeswitched segments are found in the structure of single sentences. The sentences above will be rendered incomplete and ungrammatical should the codeswitched segments be erased. It is for this reason that Poplack (1980) refers to this type of switch as a ‘more intimate’ type.

This type of switching has been found in the speech of all four informants, making it the most used type of CS among Akan bilinguals in this study.

4.2.2 Extra-sentential CS

Extra-sentential or emblematic switching is a type of switch that occurs within a sentence as well but is ‘less intimate’. This type of switch is characterized by the insertion of interjections, idiomatic expressions, tags, and individual noun switches from another language into a base language. Their insertion, unlike in intra-sentential switching has few, if any ramifications for the rest of the sentence. These switches are also known as ‘tag switches’ (Poplack, 1980).

Example 5

009. Delay: ok and errm apart from football woye business bi anaa?

(ok and apart from football, are you into any other business?)

Example 6

115. KA: you see, ɔka atitiasem a ɛdɛn na ɔrepe akyere?... You see, ɛna naano no na mereka akyere ɔmo sɛ Proverbs 26 verse 19 ɔse... You see se dabiara se obi ba, odidi watɛm. Odidi wo atɛm na sɛ wodeɛ wo anka hwee a na ɛye no sɛ he is doing the right thing.

(You see, what does the person mean by saying that I am violent?... You see, I was telling some people about Proverbs 26 verse 19 sometime ago; it is written there that… You see, if someone insults you every day and you don’t respond, that person will think he is doing the right thing)

In example 5, the speaker uses three (3) interjections to start his sentence. These interjections ‘ok’ ‘and’ ‘errm’ do not affect the rest of the sentence in any way. In fact, they can be omitted
and the sentence will still be grammatical and the intended message will be conveyed as well. In example 6 also, the speaker repeatedly uses the phrase ‘you see’ in his speech. This tag is inserted either in sentence-initial or sentence-medial position.

### 4.2.3 Inter-sentential CS

This type of CS involves switching between sentences. That is, the switches occur at sentence or clause boundaries. The alternation mostly takes the form of two subsequent sentences where a speaker uses the second language to reiterate his message or to give a response to his addressee’s statement (Gumperz, 1982: 59). The examples below show that Akan bilinguals switch within sentences with either an Akan sentence following an English sentence (example 7) or an English sentence following an Akan sentence (example 8).

**Example 7**

142. **KA**: I have ninety houses. nsaase enka ho enti ɛmmo a ɛmmo reka se ɛmo dɔ Ghana no…

   *(I have ninety houses. Not to mention the number of lands I have, so those who are saying they love Ghana…)*

**Example 8**

312. **SA**: eyɛ ahɔɔyaa. That is the way I see it because if I take other pictures and you don’t have a problem …

   *(It is jealousy. That is the way I see it because if I take other pictures and you don’t have a problem…)*

### 4.3 Conversational Uses of Akan-English Codeswitching

Gumperz (1982) points out that CS serves to convey semantically significant information in an interaction. He discusses six conversational uses of codeswitching which are: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivization (Gumperz, 1982: 75–81).

Codeswitching has been used by Akan-English bilinguals on The Delay Show to perform various functions, including – but not limited to – the functions discussed by Gumperz (1982). The six uses of CS as discussed by Gumperz were evident in my data. Although Gumperz
suggests that CS is used for the reasons he outlines, other uses of CS were also found in this study. The data shows that Akan bilinguals also use codeswitching for numbers; for proper nouns; for contrast; and to fill a lexical gap.

### 4.3.1 Quotations

During their interactions, Akan bilinguals use CS in the form of quotations to quote themselves, others, and to quote God. Some examples follow:

Example 9

104. **KA:** There are a lot of people who can afford Rolls Royce easily but *ɔɔmo suro nipa ano asem ka. I have paved the way. When I see se errm obi re *use-e* Rolls Royce na mese “yes that is the country”. We got to live life to the fullest. After all you die. Nyankopon ɔhyee yen sen? ɔsee: **three scores and ten**, which is seventy years. Wo nyaa a nea aka akyire nyinaa eye nhyira.

(There are a lot of people who can afford Rolls Royce easily but they are afraid of what society will say about them. I have paved the way. When I see people using Rolls Royce, I always say to myself, “yes that is the country”. We got to live life to the fullest. After all, you die. How many years did God give us? He said: **three scores and ten**, which is seventy years. So, once you reach that age, the rest is just blessings)

In this example, the speaker first employs CS to quote himself. In his speech, he switches to English to state verbatim what he usually says when he sees someone driving a Rolls Royce — “yes that is the country”. The use of CS for quotations as discussed by Gumperz’s (1982) applies to my data in this context.

The second use of CS for quotation here however does not particularly follow what Gumperz discusses. That is the use of CS for a religious purpose. The speaker switches from Akan to English to quote God. The point at which he code-switches here brings about a sharp contrast between his personal statement and what the Bible says about God. He employed a reported speech pattern here — ɔsee: **three scores and ten** (he said: three scores and ten). What then does this type of switch say about the speaker and the Ghanaian society at large? A plausible explanation for this behaviour is that the speaker (for that matter, the average Ghanaian) links English to authority, and therefore uses English to report what God – the ultimate authority figure – said in the Bible. Another explanation for his switch into English to quote the Bible is
that, this speaker probably uses an English Bible. Since the early British missionaries to Ghana proselytised in English, a lot of Ghanaians (educated) still use an English language Bible.

4.3.2 Addressee Specification

According to Gumperz (1982) a speaker may switch from one code to another when he wants to direct the message to one of several possible addressees.

Example 10

387. Delay: Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.

(Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.)

388. SA: Thanks for having me

(Thanks for having me)

389. Delay: Yɛrekọgye commercial break. Yɛreba seisei ara

(We are going for a commercial break. We will be right back)

At the end of one of the interview sessions on the TV talk show, the host (Delay) switches from English to Akan to address the viewers. In line 387 above, the host thanks the guest for coming on the show using a full English sentence. Her use of English here relates to such things as high and low languages in diglossic situations where the high language is used to perform formal functions. The use of the “thank you” formula in the Ghanaian context is to some extent associated with formality hence her use of a formal speech here shows some respect to her guest.

What is significant here is that the speaker (Delay) switches to Akan in line 389 to address the viewership after her use of English (line 387) to perform the ‘formal function’ of thanking her guest. Logically, her use of Akan to address the viewership creates a contrast between her interaction with the guest on the show and her interaction with the viewership. That is, the switch to Akan specifies that she is directing her current message to the viewership. Yet, more significantly, this switch to Akan identifies her with the audience. Her identity as an Akan is reiterated to her audience through her use of Akan to address them. This also reflects her interest in satisfying all her viewers: both educated and uneducated Akan speakers (those who do not understand English). Using Gumperz’s (1982) we/they code dichotomy, Akan — the ethnically
specific language in this context serves as the ‘we code’ and is associated with in-group identity. By contrast, English — the colonial language — serves as the ‘they code’ associated with formal relations.

It is interesting to note that even though her first sentence in line 389 has the English phrase ‘commercial break’, this phrase is unmarked for the viewership because the phrase ‘commercial break’, originally taken from American TV shows, has been adopted and used on most Ghanaian TV shows to signal an advertisement break during such programmes. All the viewers are therefore familiar with this phrase.

4.3.3 Interjections

Several examples from the data shows that one of the conversational uses of Akan-English CS is to mark interjections and sentence fillers. Consider the examples below:

Example 11

014. **AG:** *Yeah, mebɔ bɔɔl*

   (yeah, I play football)

Example 12

103. **KA:** *Now the interesting thing is that after my Rolls Royce na Otumfɔɔ wɔ bi but ɔno deɛ you know, wohwɛ ne standard ne ayi a…*

   *(Now the interesting thing is that after my Rolls Royce, even though Otumfo had one but as for him you know his standard and everything…)*

Examples 11 and 12 are clear illustrations of the use of CS for the interjections *yeah, but* and the sentence filler *you know*.

There is yet another interesting use of CS for interjections from the data which is particularly Ghanaian in nature. This involves the use of the preposition *like* as an interjection. The preposition *like*, which primarily means having the same or similar qualities, has gradually gained other connotations in Ghanaian society, especially among young people. It is very common to hear people, particularly the Ghanaian youth insert the word *like* into Akan sentences. This does not only happen with Akan bilinguals; speakers of other indigenous Ghanaian languages also engage in this linguistic behaviour. Its use, depending on the context
may mean *I said; you mean to say; and so; what I am trying to say is...* and sometimes its use in context has no definite meaning but only serves as a sentence filler. As illustrated in example 13 below, *like* has been used as an interjection by the speaker to mean ‘you mean to say’.

Example 13

343. **Delay:** *like* wo ne ṣómo mì hò biom?

   *(Like you guys are no longer together?)*

### 4.3.4 Reiteration

As pointed out by Gumperz (1982), a message in one code may be repeated in another code literally or in a modified form. Such repetitions serve to clarify, amplify or emphasize the message.

This strategy has been used by Akan bilinguals to serve these purposes and other purposes such as distancing oneself from an utterance in order to attach formality to the utterance. Below are examples from the data.

Example 14

073. **Delay:** Asamoah *wo wo yere? Are you married?*

   *(Asamoah, do you have a wife? *Are you married?*)

Here, the message has been reiterated in a modified form. Even though *Are you married?* is not a literal translation of *wo wo yere*, both sentences carry the same meaning.

Apart from the repetition that emphasizes the message, the sequence of the sentences also says something about this message. First, the speaker (the host) uses Akan to ask a question but then changes to English to ask the same question. Relating this to the *we/they* code as discussed by Gumperz (1982), the use of Akan — the we code here — is connected to informal activities whereas the use of English as the they code is connected to formal activities. Therefore, considering the sensitivity of the question, the speaker switches to a more formal language to attach some formality to the question since most Ghanaian celebrities do not like to disclose their marital status to the public.
Another possible explanation for her use of English to reiterate the message is to distance herself from the utterance, thereby suggesting that she is not the only one who wants to know about the guest’s (AG) marital status; the public has an interest in this information as well.

Example 15

259. **Delay**: enti saa wo **lifestyle** no **how do you finance it**?

   (So **how do you finance** that kind of **lifestyle**)

260. **SA**: **how do I finance it?** I was going to say se it’s not anybody’s business how I finance it. **Menye public official. I’m not spending tax payers’ money.** Enye aban sika na meredi. I don’t owe anybody an explanation, but you said it’s a lifestyle.

   (How do I finance it? I was going to say that it’s not anybody’s business how I finance it. I am not a public official. I’m not spending tax payers’ money. I am not spending state funds. I don’t owe anybody an explanation but you said it’s a lifestyle.)

In the extract above, the exchange is about how the guest (SA) finances her travelling sprees. The guest (SA) uses reiteration to clarify and emphasize her message. To clarify her point, she first uses an intra-sentential switch to state that she is not a public official — **Menye public official.** She then employs an inter-sentential switch — **I’m not spending tax payers’ money** in support of her previous sentence. She also reiterates this point in Akan to emphasize the message — **Enye aban sika na meredi** (‘I am not spending state funds’).

The guest’s use of CS for reiteration to emphasize and clarify her point here cannot be seen as mere coincidence. Her use of Akan to reiterate the statement “**I’m not spending tax payers’ money**” is deliberate. This is because issues concerning state funds are of keen interest to Ghanaians considering the tendency of many Ghanaian (and more generally African) politicians to embezzle state funds. So, a plausible explanation for her use of two languages to state this point is to make it clear to not only the educated (those who speak English) but also to the Ghanaians who speak Akan but not English: they should not be interested in how she finances her travelling sprees since she uses her own money.
4.3.5 Message Qualification

CS is also employed by Akan bilinguals to qualify constructions. Examples 16 and 17 below illustrate this.

Example 16

165. **Delay:** Deɛ edi kan **there is one beautiful picture,** ɔmo usercontent Jackie Appiah ase ɔgyina sink bi ho anaa **bathroom, something like that.**

(The first one, **there is one beautiful picture,** they used a picture of Jackie Appiah standing by a **sink or bathroom, something like that**)

The sentence **there is one beautiful picture** serves to qualify the preceding sentence made in Akan — **Deɛ edi kan.**

Example 17

167. **Delay:** And then, **there was another picture** a eno nso mehuuɛɛ. Mehuu Joselyn Dumas, ɔbaar a ne **hips** etete ayi slit na wagye ne slit ne…

(And then, **there was another picture** that I saw. I saw Joselyn Dumas; the lady with the wide **hips** that can tear **slits** [a kind of garment] apart. She wore a **slit**…)

Here, the main message is in English and Akan has been used to qualify the message.

4.3.6 Personalisation versus Objectivization

As pointed out by Gumperz (1982), a contrast in codes may also be used to separate subjective opinions from generally-known facts, or to mark the degree of the speaker’s involvement or distance from an utterance.

In the extract below, the host of the show (Delay) uses CS as a strategy to distance herself from an utterance. Though there are intra-sentential switches, the interaction is primarily dominated by Akan from Line 177 to 184. However, the host switches to English in line 185 to make an assertion. Perhaps the shift to English is intended to imply that the statement being made is not her opinion but rather public opinion. Linking this to the we /they code distinctions, we find that Akan serves as the ‘we’ code here and is linked to subjective opinions and English serves as the ‘they’ code used to state non-personal/public opinion. It is quite typical to link the
colonial language in a post-colonial Ghanaian environment to the they code in most instances because it is considered the more formal and stiffer language in the Ghanaian society.

Example 18

177. **Delay**: se wo ayɛ **ready**?

   (You are **ready**, Right?)

178. **SA**: mepaakyɛw aane

   (yes please)

179. **Delay**: enti yɛnkɔ?

   (so, can we go on?)

180. **SA**: yɛnkɔ

   (Let’s go on)

181. **Delay**: yɛmfà nhychyɛ fɔm ɛ. Dee yenim wo ara ne se Sandra Ankobiah woyɛɛ **Fashion 101,** Woyɛɛ no **for how long**?

   (ok, then let’s start. All that we know about Sandra Ankobia is that you hosted **Fashion 101. For how long** did you host that program?)

182. **SA**: meyɛɛ **two seasons**

   (I hosted it for **two seasons**) 

183. **Delay**: **two seasons**?

   (two seasons?)

184. **SA**: Mepaakyɛw yew

   (yes please)

185. **Delay**: **but when the show folded up you were still parading yourself as the hostess of Fashion 101. Why was that?**
(But when the show folded up you were still parading yourself as the hostess of Fashion 101. Why was that?)

Below are conversational uses of CS that have been observed in this study which are not discussed by Gumperz (1982).

4.3.7 Numbers (Numerals)

Akan-English bilinguals have been found to switch to English when dealing with numbers. On the TV talk show, CS has been used for constructions that involve the use of numbers. This includes: CS for dates, CS for money (cost figures), CS for time duration, CS for age, and CS for counting.

A reasonable explanation for this linguistic behaviour is that these bilinguals do not just switch to English to refer to numbers because the Akan numbering system is more complex. Rather, they are used to dealing with numbers in English. For example, in the schooling system in Ghana, arithmetic is taught through English rather than in the local languages. Also, the inscriptions on the Ghanaian currency (Ghana Cedi) are in English. So, the Ghanaian is more exposed to using English to deal with numbers/ cost figures than s/he is to using Akan or other local languages for this purpose. Example 19 illustrates some instances of this in the data.

Example 19

148. **KA**: ɛnɔ dɛɛ dabiara ɔɔmo ka. ɔɔmo nyɛ wɔn **statistics** yie. *You see, people were… a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them.* ɔɔmo **feel** ɛnɛ ye ammoa ɔɔmo nti they decided **not to vote**. *We had sixty-five thousand registered voters and only forty-three thousand ena etooɛɛ.* **out of forty-three thousand** no me nyaa **twenty-four thousand and change, almost twenty-five thousand** ena NDCni n no nyaa **eighteen thousand something** enti wohwɛ me **previous** ayi no a **reducee by four thousand** and across the country obiara **losee** ne deɛ bi wote aseɛ? **Margins** no ɛso teteɛɛ because **errm complacency** baa mu. A lot of people decided **not to vote** enti well, but **if they think** ɛnɛ, **it was almost six thousand votes** ena mede **beatii** no **but normally** na ɛyɛ **ten**. **Ten** enti ɛba fam na wo **feeli** ɛnɛ wɔbɛ **wini…**

(They say that all the time. They should do their **statistics** well. *You see, people were…. a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them.* They felt we didn’t help them so **they decided not to vote.** *We had sixty-five thousand*
registered voters and only forty-three thousand voted. Out of the forty-three thousand votes, I got a little over twenty-four thousand (and change). Almost twenty-five thousand and the NDC candidate got eighteen and something thousand. So, looking at my previous results, it reduced by four thousand votes. And across the country, everyone lost some of their previous votes. The margins decreased because people became complacent. A lot of people decided not to vote so…well, but if they think that it was almost six thousand votes that I used to beat him, [to win] … but normally I lead by ten (thousand votes). Ten, so if my votes reduced and you feel you can win…)

4.3.7.1 Using CS in the form of a number to emphasize a point

Even though Akan bilinguals often switch to English to refer to numbers, certain contextual uses of CS for a number suggests the meaning ‘as opposed to’. In the following extract, the use of the form one (line 156) instead of an Akan equivalent baako can be seen as a deliberate action by the speaker to clarify that he has ONLY ONE wife as opposed to more than one. The use of CS therefore emphasizes his point. The follow-up question and answer in line 157 and 158 suggest that the guest (KA) does indeed have children with different women. This in turn justifies why he needed to ‘flag’ his response in line 156 with CS to clarify that even though he has children with different women, he has only one wife.

Example 20

155. Delay: ok. Ken na merebisa wo question bi wompɛ se wobe answer ooo. Mese wo yerenom ye sen?

(Ok. Ken, I was asking you a question but you don’t want to answer me. I asked about the number of wives you have)

156. KA: meyere ye one. Na ɛnyɛ wo ne me yere na ɛye adwuma?

(I have one wife. But don’t you work with my wife?)

157. Delay: Na won e mmaa sen na ɛwɔ mma?

(And how many women do you have kids with?)
158. **KA**: eno de ḳwọt tɛll yʊ. Na me me mfee. Dabiara se meka. Meka se me mma ye thirteen nti me mfee…

(I won’t tell you anything about that. And I am not shy. I say it all the time. I said I have thirteen children and I don’t feel shy about it…)

### 4.3.8 Proper Nouns

In their interactions, Akan bilinguals use CS for proper nouns for the obvious reason of what proper nouns are. Proper nouns basically refer to unique entities. There is therefore usually no local (Akan) equivalence for such nouns. The following are examples from the data that illustrate this point.

Example 21

037. **Delay**: Enti wopɛ sɛ wone Castro ɛkɔ ara na adɛn wone Castro moyɛ 4x4 anaa [VIP]? Moyɛ group?

(so, do you want to continue recording with Castro? Are you in a group with Castro like 4x4 or VIP?)

4x4 and VIP are music groups in Ghana. Since they are names of unique entities, the speaker codeswitches into English to refer to them.

Example 22

083. **Delay**: you are so funny. Enti seisei ara [Black Stars] no how long are you going to play for them?

(you are so funny. So right now, how long are you going to play for the Black Stars?)

084. **AG**: oh, [Black Stars] deɛ se seisei ara megyina me nan so yi deɛ mɛbɔ akyɛ.

(oh, as for the Black Stars, since I am currently strong and active, I will keep playing)

Delay (line 083) and AG (line 084) both switch to English to mention the name of the Ghana national football team — Black Stars. All Ghanaians, regardless of their education background, switch to English when reference is made to the Ghana Black Stars.
4.3.9 CS for Contrast

The interjection *but* is used by Akan bilinguals to introduce contrasting views in significant ways. In some cases, it is used to conjoin two Akan sentences to show contrast (see example 23). In other cases, a switch into English is used to present a contrasting view to what has been said earlier in Akan (see example 24).

Example 23

114. **Delay**: Wosusu sɛ woyɛ atitriasem? medɛ menim sɛ wonyɛ atitriasem **but** wosusu sɛ woyɛ atwiritwirasem?

(Do you think you are a violent person? Personally, I know you are not violent **but** do you think you are violent?)

This use of *but* is very common among Akan bilinguals and also among other Ghanaians such as Ewe bilinguals. The use of CS for contrast here is similar in some respects to what Myers-Scotten (1993: 140) discusses as *marked choices as echoic* where the ‘effect’ of the CS is caused by the unexpectedness of the code choice used to call up ‘something different’ from what has been presented so far. In the Ghanaian context, this use of *but* is echoic but it is not in any way marked since it presents no sort of surprise to the listeners. It is even common to find Akans (Ghanaians at large) with very little knowledge of English use this type of CS.

As illustrated in the extract above, the use of *but* serves as the end of the speaker’s opinion and what comes after, *but*, presents a contrasting view that may either confirm or deny her opinion.

Example 24

111. **KA**: You know, menewo rekasa yi nyinaa obi hu manim a eye ne tan. Oh, akoa yi øredwa n’anum **but** that’s his cup of tea. I don’t give a damn about anything.

(You know, as we are talking, I know the sight of my face on your show annoys someone. Oh, this guy brags a lot **but** that’s his own cup of tea. I don’t give a damn about anything)

Example 24 is yet another way in which CS is used for contrast among Akan bilinguals. This type of CS includes a cliché from English that is used for various purposes. The construction *that’s his cup of tea* can be said in another way in Akan, but using Akan for that will take away
the intended meaning of this phrase. The use of this phrase among Ghanaians is meant to connote ‘cheekiness’. The contrast in the code is designed to bring about that effect.

Moreover, the use of two codes in the underlined sentence above brings about a contrast in the speaker’s speech. The first part in Akan mimics what people say about him and the second part in English is his response to the people.

4.3.10 Lexical Gaps

Many instances in the data show that CS is often triggered to fill a lexical gap in one of the languages in use. In the examples below, the words screenshot, amnesia and five-star (five-star hotel) have been used because of the lack of equivalents in Akan. Screenshot is nativized to screenshot-e but the other words are not. Five-star [five-star hotel] and amnesia could be circumlocuted in Akan but to achieve word economy and precision, the English terms are preferred.

Example 25

310. **SA**: Ye screenshot-e, eyε yen fé.

   (We take screenshots of them.)

Example 26

369. **Delay**: adɛn wo anya **amnesia** anaa?

   (Why, are you suffering from **amnesia**?)

Example 27

319. **Delay**: Sandra saa **lifestyle** no, meka **lifestyle; five-star**, woduru a wokura wei…

   (Sandra that kind of **lifestyle**, when I talk about **lifestyle; five-star**, you get here, you hold that…)
4.4 Conversational Analysis based on Sequencing

This section discusses some other discourse factors that contribute to the use of Akan-English codeswitching. As pointed out by Gumperz (1982), CS can serve as a contextualization cue that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions. He states that such cues must be studied in process and in context rather than in the abstract.

Auer (1984) also argues for the significance of sequential embeddedness in CS. That is, meaning is ‘brought about’ through conversational turns and not by the symbolic meaning of the languages (Cashman, 2008). Therefore, the sequential development of an interaction, i.e. how a sentence relates to what comes before or after forms part of the means by which speakers signal a message, and how listeners interpret that message (Gumperz, 1982).

Akan bilinguals have been found to use CS as a contextualization strategy in certain contexts in order to signal a change in topic and/the main issue under discussion.

4.4.1 Codeswitching to Signal a Change in Topic

In the example below, the extract opens with a conversation about a girl who had come on THE DELAY SHOW to say she wanted to marry AG. The conversation is dominated by the use of Akan. The host (Delay) in line 071 makes an intra-sentential switch by introducing the English word arrange. However, this word is nativized and so is pronounced with the tonal properties of Akan. Then, in line 073, the host utters a full sentence in English to ask the guest about his marital status. The use of English here signals the termination of the earlier discussion and the introduction of a new topic. It is interesting to note that the question was first asked in Akan, and then reiterated in a modified form using English. This reiteration is meant to emphasize the new topic. The guest (AG), however, does not follow this change in footing. He gives his response to this question in Akan (the sentence includes only a single word in English). His divergence from the new footing is not only evident in his choice of language but also in the content of his message (see line 074). His response clearly shows that he is not interested in this new topic.

Example 28

069. Delay: wompe Ɛbaa Yaa?

(you don’t like Ɛbaa Yaa)
070. **AG**: oh mennim no. Sɛ wo ne obi…

(oh, I don’t know her. But you and someone…)

071. **Delay**: enti yen *arrang-e* na mo nhia anaa?

(so, should we *arrange* for you to meet her?)

072. **AG**: awareɛ asɛm de ɛ awareɛ kwan wa

(as for marriage issues, it’s a long process)

073. **Delay**: Asamoah wo wɔ yere? *Are you married?*

(Asamoah, do you have a wife? *Are you married?*)

074. **AG**: menwɛereeɛ. Wobɛseɪ *program* no oh!

(I am not married. You will ruin the *program*)

075. **Delay**: hahaha ɔse wobɛseɪ *program* no

(hahaha. He says I will ruin the *program*)

076. **AG**: wobesɛ no

(you will ruin it)

### 4.4.2 CS to Signal the Main Issue Under Discussion

In the extract below, CS has been employed as a cue to signal the main issue in the interaction.

Here, the speakers engage in a continuous pattern of switching between two codes. This is the type of CS Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to as *CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)*. At certain points in the conversation, English is employed to signal a focal point in the conversation.

The conversation centres around a question about the guest’s (SA) friendship with a movie actress named Yvonne Nelson. In the first switch in this extract, Delay asks SA if her relationship with the said actress was “premeditated”. *Premeditated*, as used by Delay here might seem a strange word to use given its legal connotations in British and American English,
e.g. ‘premeditated murder’. In Ghanaian English, however, this word can be used with no legal connotations to simply mean “pre-planned”.

SA, who is a legal practitioner by profession, ignores this question in order to talk instead about other issues. A possible reason for her shift from this topic is that as a lawyer she is aware of the legal connotation that the word *premeditated* carries and so she does not want to involve herself in such a conversation. Seeing that the guest (SA) has shifted from the main issue under discussion, Delay (in line 189) switches to English to call her (SA) back to the main question. The switch here also signals the addressee not to shift from the focus of the conversation. In line 191, Delay again switches from Akan to English to remind her addressee about the focus of the conversation.

Example 29

187. **Delay**: Wo ne Yvonne Nelson ɛfaa adamfo no **was it premeditated?** Do you set out to say sɛ merekwɔ girl weid adamfo na *mastepr* on her fame to get a certain kind of attention I am looking for? Is it what you had in your mind?

(Your friendship with Yvonne Nelson, *was it premeditated?* Do you set out to say that I am going to befriend this *girl* and *step* on her fame to get the kind of attention I am looking for? Is it what you had in your mind?)

188. **SA**: ɛrm first of all, I don’t think sɛ the so-called fame that you are talking about has done anything or has done much for me. I haven’t made money from fame; I haven’t gotten any huge contract from fame. The only thing I can say has been rewarding from being a little bit more well-known than I was maybe a year or two years or three years ago, is the fact that a few more people know my name now and I get a lot of people who look up to me, who actually, ɔɔmo *send* me comments anaa ɔɔmo twere me *letters to TV3* anaa…

(Erm first of all, I don’t think that the so-called fame that you are talking about has done anything or has done much for me. I haven’t made money from fame; I haven’t gotten any huge contract from fame. The only thing I can say has been rewarding from being a little bit well known than I was maybe a year or two years or three years ago, is the fact that a few more people know my name now and I get
a lot of people who look up to me, who actually send me comments or they write letters to me at TV3 or…)

189. **Delay**: Sandra me mmisaa wo **about what fame has done for you**

(Sandra, I haven’t asked you **about what fame has done for you**)

190. **SA**: se merekyerɛkyere mu aba. Mereba

(But I’m explaining it, so wait. I will get there soon)

191. **Delay**: ye de time nti no. Yede time nti no **the question is, did you set out?**

(for the sake of **time**. We are going by **time** so **the question is, did you set out?**)

192. **SA**: ena merekyerekyere wo se **fame** no ennyɛɛ hwee mmaa me **so why will I even set out to do that?**

(And I am explaining to you that I have not benefitted anything from the **fame, so why will I even set out to do that?**)

### 4.5 Social Motivations for Akan-English Codeswitching

Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that a switch in codes conveys other important meanings apart from referential meanings. Her Markedness Model (MM) explains that there are socio-psychological motivations for codeswitching. Speakers are said to switch between codes to index rights-and-obligations sets between them and their addresses. The Markedness Model consists of three (3) ‘maxims’ based on the ‘negotiation principle’. These maxims are: the unmarked-choice maxim, the marked-choice maxim and, exploratory-choice maxim.

The unmarked choice maxim is illustrated in the sections below with extracts from the data. The other maxims were not found in the data.

#### 4.5.1 CS to Index Social Identities

The study shows that the educated Akan speakers on The Delay Show switch between Akan and English throughout their interactions. During the conversations, they do not attach any special attention to a switch between the two languages. Their use of the two languages is what Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to as **CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)**. Their use of this type of CS first identifies them as speakers of Akan: this signals solidarity between the
immediate interactants and with most Ghanaians (the viewership) since Akan is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana. Second, their identity as educated Ghanaians is manifested through the use of English because “the amount of formal education the average Akan (or, for that matter, the average Ghanaian) gets is, all things being equal, fairly proportionate to the extent to which he is exposed to the use of English” (Forson, 1979: 113). The use of English therefore signals their solidarity with other educated Ghanaians. This includes educated Akan speakers and educated Ghanaians who are not speakers of Akan. It is necessary to create such solidarity with the latter group as well because the viewership may include non-Akan-speaking Ghanaians. It can be argued that this group would not understand most of the conversations but they may still watch the show since the switches into English can give them a fair idea about what is being discussed.

Their use of two languages also serves as “a strategy of neutrality” which enables them to achieve dual identities since the use of two languages indexes two separate RO sets.

Example 30 illustrates an instance of the pervasive use of CS between the host and a guest on the show. It is clear from the conversation that the interactants are educated Akan speakers. As bilinguals, their use of the languages that are common to them can be seen as a projection of their interpersonal relationship based on solidarity.

Example 30

001. **Delay**: Erm wahye **how many goals** na ama ɔɔmo?

   (Ermm **how many goals** have you scored for them?)

002. **AG**: mahye **eleven**

   (I scored **eleven**)  

003. **Delay**: **eleven goals in a season**?

   (**Eleven goals in a season**?)

004. **AG**: **yeah**

   (**yeah**)
Delay: ok and wohu se football no wobè tumi abɔ for how long? se I’m sure se wonim wo ahoɔden a wokura?

(okay, and how long do you think you can continue to play football? I’m sure you know your capabilities)

AG: yeah, seisei ara no edependɛ. Efiri se obi wɔhɔ a obetumi anya tesè forty ɛrm ɔbɛ assessɪ se n’ahoodɛn se obetumi akɛ deɛ a. Ėwɔ forty years koraa na ofiri se obetumi abɔ a obetumi abɔ.

(yeah, now, it depends [on a lot of things]. This is because someone can be around forty years and the person will assess himself to see if he can continue to play. Even if he is forty years and he believes he is strong enough to play, then he can continue)

In the extract below, the host engages in a monologue directed at the viewers of the show. Here, she again uses CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS) both by her use of intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS throughout the speech. A plausible explanation for this is that the host projects her interpersonal relationship to the viewership and therefore seeks to signal solidarity between herself and the viewers. She thereby identifies herself ethnically as an Akan and nationally as an educated Ghanaian.

Example 31

162. Delay: Me ma obiara afehiapia. Ėnɛ ye boxing day enti no memim se enɛ deɛ me kookoo season. Normally holiday saa no, viewers no woboa because stations no dɔɔso but wo flip na wobehu Delay a woni choice, you have to watch.

(I wish everyone a happy new year. Today is Boxing Day so I know it is a good season for me. Normally, it is difficult to get viewers on holidays like this because there are a lot of TV stations but once you flip through the channels and get to Delay show; you don’t have a choice, you have to watch)

One thing worthy of mention here is that despite the pervasiveness of CS, Akan bilinguals nonetheless show a desire to identify more with the indigenous language. This is evident in their intra-sentential switches, where they sometimes attach Akan morphemes to English words to make them fit into Akan phonotactics. By doing this, their sentences sound more Akan than English. Consider the example below. Here, the English words depend and assess have been
nativized into Akan by the insertion of the vowel [i] to the end of these verbs to break the closed syllable structure since Akan generally favours open syllables.

Example 32

006. AG: **yeah**, seisei ara no **depend**, Efiri se obi wɔho a obetumi anya tese **forty** ɛrm ɔbɛ **assess** se n’ahooden se obetumi akɔ deɛ a. Ɛwɔ **forty years** koraa na ofiri se obetumi abɔ a obetumi abɔ.

(yeah, now, it **depends** (on a lot of things). This is because someone can be around **forty** years and the person will **assess** himself to see if he can continue to play. Even if he is **forty** years and he believes he is strong enough to play, then he can play).

4.5.2 Use of CS as a Deferential Strategy

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), deference can be shown by accommodating oneself to an addressee’s code. She states that there are other possible ways of expressing deference. She illustrates one such way in an example of a boy using CS to show deference to his father. She writes:

“A 12-year old Luo boy, who knows English well from his studies, declines to answer his father in English; he responds instead in their shared mother tongue, Luo. In this particular instance, he does not dare speak English. He reported that he must show ‘respect’ by responding in Luo, since his father’s tone indicated he was angry. In this case, deference is accomplished by using the language (Luo) which indexes an RO set in which his father is the acknowledged superior. English is italicized; otherwise Luo is used” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 148).

FATHER: *where have you been?*

SON: Onyango nende adlu aora, baba

‘I’ve been to the river, father.’ (extract from Myers-Scotton, 1993: 148)

Myers-Scotton’s reading of CS as a deferential strategy is to a substantial extent related to interactants with distinct levels of authority.

Nevertheless, we can also detect this type of CS in matters of religion where CS is used to show deference to God or to a holy book. In the Ghanaian context, as evidenced in my data, CS has
been used in the form of quotatives as a deferential strategy. In the example below, the speaker switches into the High language to reference a biblical verse and to quote God. Since the use of English in Ghanaian society as the High language is mainly for formal functions, we can read the examples below as being potentially a deferential strategy using the High language for reference to God.

Example 33

115. **KA**: You see, ena naano no na mereka akyere emo se **Proverbs 26 verse 19** ose bua okwasea wo n’agyimisem so na amma no andwene se oyey onyansafo. Bua okwasea wo n’agyrimirsem so na amma no andwene se oyey onyansafo. Eno kyeren ten?...

(I was telling some people about **Proverbs 26 verse 19** sometime ago. It is written there that answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think he is wise. Answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think that he is wise. What does that mean? …)

Example 34

104. **KA**: Nyankop wo yee ten sen? Osee: **three scores and ten; which is seventy years**. Wo nyaa a nea aka akyire nyinaa eyey nhyira.

(How many years did God give us? He said: **three scores and ten; which is seventy years**. So, once you reach that age, the rest is just blessings)
5 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Over the years, CS has come to be prevalent among educated Ghanaians. While some studies refer to this bilingual behaviour as Ghanaians’ “third tongue” others refer to it as the “first tongue” of educated Ghanaians. CS has become the norm in the Ghanaian media, ranging from radio to TV and the movie industry. Clearly, the Ghanaian bilingual switches between English and an indigenous language to express him/herself fully.

The present study investigated the use of Akan-English CS on TV talk shows using THE DELAY SHOW as a case for the study. Videos of selected episodes of the TV talk show were downloaded from YouTube, transcribed and then analysed. The research questions that were addressed were:

1) What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?

2) How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?

3) What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

The main theoretical frameworks applied to the data were those of Shana Poplack (1980) and John Gumperz (1982), Conversational Analysis by Peter Auer (1984) and The Markedness Model by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993). The rest of this chapter includes a summary of the findings and recommendations for future studies.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The analysis from our sample shows that there is a pervasive use of CS among Akan bilinguals. It has been observed that Akan bilinguals employ all three types of CS — intra-sentential, extra-sentential and inter-sentential switching as discussed by Poplack (1980).

Gumperz’s (1982) general list of the conversational uses of codeswitching was used as a baseline to compare the specifically conversational uses of Akan-English CS. The analysis thus far shows that all functions as listed by Gumperz were attested. Akan bilinguals use CS for quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalisation versus objectivization. Other conversational uses of Akan-English CS were also found in this study. These are CS for numbers (numerals), proper nouns, contrast, and CS to fill a lexical gap.
A conversational-analytical approach was also used to bring out some other discourse factors that influence CS among Akan bilinguals. Extracts from the data show the significance of the sequential embeddedness of CS, as argued by Auer (1984). The sequential analyses of these extracts also demonstrate the use of CS as a contextualisation cue. CS is used to signal change of topic and to signal the main issue under discussion.

Furthermore, some social motivations for Akan-English CS were found in the study. Akan bilinguals use CS for the following: 1) to create certain social identities and 2) as a deferential strategy. Their routine use of CS is expected (unmarked) among the bilinguals as it brings about no form of surprise to their interlocutors. The speakers were found to engage in a continuous pattern of using two languages in their conversations (Myers-Scotton, 1993) thus suggesting CS as the norm throughout their interactions.

Based on these findings, the study concludes that Akan bilinguals resort to CS as a resource for conveying their message as efficiently as possible to their interlocutors.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

I recommend that more research should be conducted on codeswitching between Ghanaian languages and English as well as codeswitching between two different Ghanaian languages to provide more insights into the topic. However, future researchers should include a larger number of participants and apply attitudinal studies in their methodology to investigate what the code-switchers themselves feel about CS.

Also, one major question that this study could have addressed is to compare the types of CS of informants to ascertain if their levels of education have an influence on their switch patterns. But this was not possible due to the small number of informants and the limited time for this thesis. I therefore recommend a study with a larger number of informants that will consider the influence of level of education on CS patterns.

Finally, I recommend a study that will compare the CS behaviour of Akan bilinguals to other language groups such as Ewe bilinguals.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A: Interview 1

001. **Delay:** Erm wahye **how many goals** na ama ṣe mọ?

(Erm how many goals have you scored for them?)

002. **AG:** mahye **eleven**

(I scored eleven)

003. **Delay:** **eleven goals in a season?**

(Eleven goals in a season?)

004. **AG:** **yeah**

(yeah)

005. **Delay:** **ok and** wohu se **football** no wobetumi abọ for how long? **sé I’m sure** sé wonim wo aho eden a wokura?

(okay, and how long do you think you can continue to play football? I’m sure you know your capabilities)

006. **AG:** **yeah,** seisei ara no edependi. Efiri sé obi wọhọ a obetumi anya tese **forty** erm ọbẹ assessi sé n’ahooden sé obetumi akọ dé a. Òwọ **forty years** koraa na ofiri sé obetumi abọ a obetumi abọ.

(yeah, now, it **depends** [on a lot of things]. This is because someone can be around forty years and the person will assess himself to see if he can continue to play. Even if he is forty years and he believes he is strong enough to play, then he can play)

007. **Delay:** Enti wohwe a **football** no dé wobetumi abọ for a long time?

(so, do you think you can play football for a long time?)

008. **AG:** **mmm mebọ**

(mmm, I will play)

009. **Delay:** ok and **erm apart from football** woye **business** bi anaa?
(ok and apart from football, are you into any other business?)

010. AG: hahahahahaha

(laughs)

011. Delay: Adɛn na woesere?

(why are you laughing?)

012. AG: Ɛno deɛ eʋe akyire asem. Deɛ obiara nim ne se mebɔ football

(That’s something for another day. What everyone knows is that I play football)

013. Delay: Bɔɔlo na woyɛ?

(so, you play football?)

014. AG: Yeah, mebɔ bɔɔl

(yeah, I play football)

015. Delay: Wonye…, nkurofɔ dwene se mo mu bi wɔ ho a monnyɛ investment.

(don’t you…, people think most of you don’t invest)

016. AG: Investment deɛ obiara ye bi. Like obi ye investment. Obi ye nneɛma bebree but enye adeɛ a meka wɔ ayi yi so

(as for investment, everybody does it. Like people invest. People do a lot of things but that is not something I will talk about on this show)

017. Delay: but worebɔ bra?

(but are you making a living?)

018. AG: Yes, merebɔ bra

(yes, I am making a living)

019. Delay: Enti no people should not be worried about you

(so, people should not be worried about you)
020. **AG:** Hahaha *ẹnye* problem

(laughs. That is not a *problem*)

021. **Delay:** Tese ebia wode sika no retwa *blocks* gu mmaa no to

(for instance, you are using your money to mold *blocks* on women’s buttocks)

[proverb: for instance, (people think) you spend all your money on women]

022. **AG:** *Yeah* se definitely deɛ obi bèka. Obi hu wo sei ne sei, obiara wo *different opinion* a ɔbɛma wo *but* se wobɛn nipa korɔ no a na wobɛhu the kind of person a nipa no ɔte enti eyɛ *normal*.

(*Yeah*, people will *definitely* say it (that I spend my money on women). People have *different opinions* based on how they see you, *but* it is only when you get closer to a person that you will know the kind of person he is. So, it is *normal*)

023. **Delay:** Wone Castro nnwom no wosusu sɛ ẹnka wonka ho a anka ẹnwom no ẹbe *hit*?

(do you think the song you released with Castro would have been a *hit* if you weren’t part of it?)

024. **AG:** Erm *African Girls* no?

(Erm *African Girls*?)

025. **Delay:** Aane

(Yes)

026. **AG:** Oh mehwɛ, saa nnwom no ye *recorded* no that was three years ago, *but* wohwe *beat* no a sometimes obi bèka se Asamoah Gyan ka ho no na eyɛ se ɛi *but* ɛrm, wohwe *beat* no a *beat* no yede nti me *sometimes* no eyɛ a mendwene se ebia meka ho no na ama nnwom no aye saa *but* nnwom no ye de *actually*.

(Oh, let me see, we *recorded* that song *that was three years ago, but* when you listen to the *beat, sometimes* people say it is because Asamoah Gyan is part of the song that
is why it was a hit but the beat is nice so sometimes I don’t think my involvement has anything to do with the popularity of the song, but the song is actually nice)

027. **Delay**: Ṣna mo new one no ɛno nso wohu se erepika paa?

(and, have you noticed that your new one is also picking up?)

028. **AG**: Aane yeah, ɛno nso reba paa.

(yes, yeah, that one is also becoming popular)

029. **Delay**: Eyɛ a wote wɔ kurom?

(do you hear it in town?)

030. **AG**: Aane

(yes)

031. **Delay**: Enti wote a ɛyɛ a na sɛn na wohɔ ɣe wo?

(so how do you feel when you listen to it)

032. **AG**: Oh, mete a ɛyɛ a na, hahaha, sometimes menye musician alright but mepe music no

(oh, when I listen to it, hahaha, sometimes, alright, I am not a musician but I love the music)

033. **Delay**: you love it, ɛyɛ passion, you love it

(you love it, it’s a passion, you love it)

034. **AG**: Ṣna mee menim biribi about music wahu enti no se mewɔ baabi na ɣeɛba na nkwom no na metie bi a ɛyɛ a mekora no me feeli proud myself se yeah menso maye bi o. Nkriɔfo no a melu se ɔɔmo rebo nkwom no, menso maye bi o.

(And I know a bit about music so when I’m out and I hear people playing the song I feel proud of myself that yeah, I have also been able to release a song. I have also been able to release a song just like the musicians I always see)
Delay: Enti worehwe animuu sê wobe recording wo nkoara wo nnwom?

(so, are you looking forward to recording a song alone?)

AG: Oh, so far no de e menyaa ndwenee ho

(oh, so far, I have not thought about that)

Delay: Enti wopê sê wone Castro ekɔ ara na aden wone Castro moye 4x4 anaa VIP? Moye group?

(so, do you want to continue recording with Castro? Are you in a group with Castro like 4x4 or VIP?)

AG: Wahu sê Castro ye obi a errm enye sê ebia sê me nipa nti na mereka. Mehwe the whole Ghana musicians no a sê ye very creative. Se obetumi ahwe wo seisei ara sê ye nnwom in ten minutes. Obetumi atwere wo ho nnwom in ten minutes. Ena like me ne no nantee no ohunuu saa adee no wo me mu sê like yebetumi abɔ instrumentals bi na yaye freestyle na yereto nnwom ebia na yeret kasakasa na yede aye aye nnwom na aye de sei ne sei nti ohuu saa adee no wo me mu enti na xdecidi se esë se sone me twa nnwom no. Enti ohuu saa adee no, saa adee wo me mu.

(There is something about Castro and I’m not saying this because he is my friend. Looking at all the musicians in Ghana, He is very creative. He can just look at you and instantly write a song in ten minutes. He can compose a song about you in ten minutes. And like, when we became friends he saw that thing in me. Like, we will just be doing freestyle with some instrumentals and compose a song out of it or we will just be talking and then compose a song out of it. So, he saw that in me and decided to record a song with me. He saw that in me)

Delay: Okay. Enti mobeto nnwom akye? Mo mmienu

(okay. So, will you sing for a long time? The two of you)

AG: Seisei ara dee mennim. Seisei ara dee aye sê two no a ahit no it’s ok for now. Esë sê me concentrate-e wo (intra, nativization, number, interjection)
(Right now, I don’t know. The two hit songs are okay for now. I need to concentrate on….)

041. **Delay**: wo career?

(your career?)

042. **AG**: me career no so kakra. Efirse sometimes mete se ebia obi beka se s/nuwe so na s/mma ne box na sei ne sei but meye obi a medi agorɛ paa but meduru park so a menni agorɛ.

(a little on my career because I sometimes hear people saying I should concentrate on playing ball and stuff like that. but I am someone who likes to play but I don’t play around when I’m on the (football) park)

043. **Delay**: Menim sɛ wodi agorɔ paa

(I know you play around a lot)

044. **AG**: medi agorɔ wahu?

(I play around, right?)

045. **Delay**: na sɛ menim

(but I already know that)

046. **AG**: Yeah outside the field no mewɔ hɔ ena on the field no nso I’m more concentrated on the field enti no saa na me nso nyame bɔɔ me.

(Yeah, I have a life outside the field and on the field as well. However, I’m more concentrated on the field and so that is how God created me)

047. **Delay**: Na girl bi a ɔkaa sɛ ɔpe wo wɔ me program yi so no woteeeɛ? Ɔbaa Yaa?

(Are you aware that a certain girl said on this program that she is in love with you? Ɔbaa Yaa?)

048. **AG**: Ei! Hmm, aane meteeɛɛ
(Hmm, yes, I heard it)

049. **Delay**: wotee wo he? **When was the first day** a woteee? Hwan na ɔfrɛɛ wo?

(Where did you hear it? **When was the first day** you heard about it and who called you?)

050. **AG**: me nnamfofo ɔfrɛɛ me

(My friends called me)

051. **Delay**: hwan ne **first person** a ɔfrɛɛ wo?

(Who was the **first person** to call you?)

052. **AG**: m’adamfo

(My friend)

053. **Delay**: Ɛna ɔse deen?

(and what did he say?)

054. **AG**: Ɛna ɔse asem a ɛrekɛso ni o na ɔbaa bi se se wo anware no a obeku ne ho Ɛna me se ei ɛdeen asem ni? Enti mewɔho a nso na obi **send me link** wo **YouTube**.

(and he told me about what was happening; that a certain lady says she will commit suicide if I don’t marry her. Someone also **sent me a Youtube link** later.)

055. **Delay**: **on the net**

(on the net)

056. **AG**: **yeah** ena mehweee. Nti mehweee no na…

(Yeah and I watched it. So, I watched it and…)

057. **Delay**: wo sereeeɛ?

(did you laugh?)

058. **AG**: meseree mom **but** ….
(actually, I laughed but…)

059. **Delay**: And how many times na wokɔhwehwɛɛ, I’m sure you would go on watching and watching because ɛbaaɛ no I kept on watching and watching

(And how many times did you watch it? I’m sure you would go on watching and watching because when it came out I kept on watching and watching)

060. **AG**: yeah ɛbaa so foforɔ no deɛ mehwɛɛ no for some time. Mehwɛɛ no for some time

(Yeah, I watched it for some time when it first came out. I watched it for some time)

061. **Delay**: Ɔde list bi nso baa akyire. Ɔse ɔpɛ car Land Cruiser, twelve; Echolac, eight; money, five million dollars. Ɛno wobɛtumi affordɪ?

/she brought a list later. She said she wants a car, twelve land cruisers; eight echolacs; and money, five million dollars. Can you afford it?)

062. **AG**: Ëneɛ mannte ɛno mmom

(Then I am not aware of that one)

063. **Delay**: Ëneɛ ɛwɔ hɔ. Na ɛno wobɛtumi affordɪ?

(That’s also there. So, can you afford that?)

064. **AG**: Na obi a ɔse ɔbɛware me no me na me nsan mfa wei nom mmra? Se ɛwɔ se ɔno na ɔbɛtu me tiri nsa ooo, anaa?

(but she is the one proposing so why should I bring those things? Shouldn’t she be the one paying the dowry?)

065. **Delay**: Enti no obetu a wobɛpene so?

(so, will you marry her if she pays the dowry?)

066. **AG**: wosee?

(what did you say?)
067. **Delay**: wobɛpene so?

*(will you accept her proposal?)*

068. **AG**: oh, daabi daabi

(oh no, no)

069. **Delay**: wompɛ Ɔbaa Yaa?

(you don’t like Ɔbaa Yaa)

070. **AG**: oh mennim no. Sɛ wo ne obi…

(oh, I don’t know her. But you and someone…)

071. **Delay**: enti yɛn *arrang-e* na mo nhyia anaa?

(so, should we *arrange* for you to meet her?)

072. **AG**: awareɛ asɛm deɛ awareɛ kwan wa

(as for marriage issues, it’s a long process)

073. **Delay**: Asamoah wo wɔ yere? *Are you married?*

(Asamoah, do you have a wife? *Are you married?*)

074. **AG**: menwareeeɛ. Wobɛseɪ *program* no oh!

(I am not married. You will ruin the *program*)

075. **Delay**: hahaha ʋe wobɛseɪ *program* no

(hahaha. He says I will ruin the *program*)

076. **AG**: wobɛseɪ no

(you will ruin it)

077. **Delay**: enti yɛn *chang-e* saa nkɔmmɔ no wahu?
(so, we should *change* the topic, right?)

078. **AG**: yen *chang-e* saa nkɔmmɔ no

(let’s *change* the topic)

079. **Delay**: na yenni nkɔmmɔ bɛn? Enti yenka **Black stars**?

(and talk about what? **Black Stars**?)

080. **AG**: biribiara **apart from** ɛno

(anything **apart from** that)

081. **Delay**: you are so funny

(you are so funny)

082. **AG**: wopɛ se wobɛseı me **market**

(you want to spoil my **market**)

083. **Delay**: you are so funny. Enti seisei ara **Black Stars** no how long are you going to play for them?

(you are so funny. So right now, **how long are you going to play for the Black Stars**?)

084. **AG**: oh, **Black Stars** deɛ se seisei ara megyina me nan so yi deɛ mɛbɔ akye

(oh, as for the **Black Stars**, since I am currently strong and active, I will keep playing.)

085. **Delay**: wobɛbɔ akye

(you will play for a long time)

086. **AG**: Mɛbɔ akye. Enni m’adwene mu se mepesɛ me **retire** anaa se biribi. No efiri se ɛno nso aboa me. Me **profile** ne me biribi ara **National team** nso aboa me paa enti ɛye adeɛ a esɛ se mebɔ. Mɛbɔ. Se yen nyinaa ye ye Ghanafoɔ nti no mebɔ ma me man.
(I will play for a long time. I don’t have plans of retiring now. The national team has helped me a lot in terms of my profile and everything so I must keep on playing. I will play. We are all Ghanaians. So, I must play for my nation)

087. Delay: Okay and errm wohu wo ho se Ghana ha Black Stars ye wo chance se ye bεgye World Cup ever? Wodee yemfa World Cup no nto nkyen for now, Yeβetumi aγye African Cup no?

(okay, and looking at the Black Stars, do you think we have a chance to win the World Cup ever? let’s just put the World Cup aside for now, can we win the African Cup?)

088. AG: Yeah African cup no errm yen generation yi εnɔ ne yen botae a yɛpɛ se yɛgye se barima bɛyɛ bi akɔ and sometimes no yɛdwene se oh yako world cup omo nkɔɔ world cup na sei seι but omo aγye cup. Se yaye nneema bebree, seisei ara Africa yeda number one but yɛnnyɛ aγye cup nti players no yaye worried se how se yɛye biribiara but still no yeNtumi aγye cup nti definitely no ye ye sure se yeβetumi aγye.

(Okay, African Cup is one of the things our generation hopes to win. The older generation have done their part. Sometimes we think we’ve been to the World Cup but they never qualified for the World Cup and so on, but they still won a cup (trophy). We have done a lot of things, right now we are ranked as the best team in Africa but we’ve still not been able to win a cup. Therefore, we the players are worried about how we have done everything possible but still unable to win a single cup. So, definitely, we are sure that we can win the African Cup)

089. Delay: aγye African cup no?

(win the African Cup?)

090. AG: African cup no but εwo se ye qualify first.

(Yeah, the African Cup but we must qualify first)

091. Delay: And how about the world cup?

(And how about the World Cup?)
AG: world cup no nso ɛrm everything is possible efiri se ɣekɔ South Africa no na nękrɔfo en expect biribiara mfiri yen ho but nyame adom nti no ɣetumi duruu ho nti no meye sure se ɛrm seisei ara no ɛwɔ se ɣebɔ mpaɛ na nyame de yen kɔduru ho na ɣenhwɛ de ɣnyame beye but seisei ara no ɣetumi nqualifye but meye sure se African country bi bɛtum ɔ agye world cup.

(The world Cup too. Everything is possible because no one expected anything from us when we went to South Africa but by God’s grace we got there. So, I am sure that right now we must pray and see what we can do if God takes us there. Now, we have not qualified but I am very sure that an African country can win the World Cup)

Delay: ok enti seisei ara no ɣerhwe animuu se mobɛgye African cup no, Black Stars?

(ok, so right now, should we look forward to the Black Stars winning of the African Cup?)

AG: yeah, seisei ara de mentumi ɛmpromise se ɣebɛtumi agye

(Yeah, for now, I cannot promise that we will win it)

Delay: but ɣerhwe animuu. We are hoping se…

(but we are looking forward to it. We are hoping that…)

AG: ɣerhwe anim, yeah, players no nyinaa yenim se ɛno ara na Ghanafoɔ ɣerhwehwe enti yenso players no yenim paa se ɛwɔ se ɣetumi ɛma obiara ani gye. We know.

(we are hoping. Yeah, all the players are aware that that is what all Ghanaians want, so we, the players know that we have to win to make everyone happy. We know)

Delay: Nana Asamoah ene seisei ara no me magye cup no bi wo Ghana ha enti wobɛsɔmu na kyɛrɛ se wode aye rehearsals se deɛ ɛbɛye a se mogye African cup no a wobɛtumi akiisi nti kiisi cup …

(Nana Asamoah, I have won a cup here in Ghana so hold it as a kind of rehearsals so that if you win the African cup, you will be able to kiss it. So, kiss the cup…)

AG: Enti me nkiisi bi?
(so, should I *kiss* it?)

099. **Delay: *kiisi* cup no. Yɛrekɔgye commercial break**

(*kiss* the *cup*. We are going for a *commercial break*)
APPENDIX B: Interview 2

100. **KA:** fifty years, I buy a Rolls Royce na wose wonte asec, I’m sorry I have to let you know; that’s me. I plan my life, me real estate, all the withholding taxes and everything that they took, they are there. They went to my bank to check. I took a loan of seventy thousand pounds from errm Zennith Bank. Ne nyinaa Bank of Ghana auditors koo ha. They can go to hell. It’s me, I have bought it.

(If I buy a Rolls Royce at fifty years and you don’t understand then I’m sorry I must let you know; that’s me. I plan my life; my real estate, all the withholding taxes and everything they took are there. They went to my bank to check. Bank of Ghana auditors went to all of them. They can go to hell. It’s me; I have bought it.)

101. **KA:** Whether you jail me today or not, the mere fact that I said to myself se at the age of fifty, I will buy Rolls Royce for myself, I have done that. The rest they can go to hell. It’s me, I don’t give a damn about anybody. Ok me startee a merehustle, me nnamfofo adakfo reko London a na megyina airport reta PK [chewing gum] no eno de obiara andewene ho?

(Whether you jail me today or not, the mere fact that I said to myself that I will buy a Rolls Royce for myself at the age of fifty, I have done that. The rest they can go to hell. It’s me, I don’t give a damn about anybody. Ok, when I started hustling, my rich friends were travelling to London while I was at the airport selling PK. As for that one, no one thought about it?)

102. **KA:** Errm obi na ebo ne nnwom, eye me se Amakye Dede, ose eye a kae me bre ansa na waka me yiye wote asec? Enti wode wode wofitiie na wose Kennedy Agyapong watou Rolls Royce enti worekɔkye no ato mu a, oton cocaine a eye defeatist approach. I’m sorry, I have to let you know.

(Ermm someone said in his song, I think it’s Amakye Dede. He said, “before you remember my success, do a recollection of my suffering”. Do you understand? So, they just start by saying Kennedy Agyapong has bought a Rolls Royce so they want to arrest him because he sells cocaine. That’s a defeatist approach. I’m sorry, I have to let you know)
KA: Now the interesting thing is that after my Rolls Royce na Otumfoɔ wɔ bi but ṣono dee you know, wohwe ne standard ne ayi a... after my Rolls Royce atleast I have seen about four or five of them here wote ase? E encourage-e nipa. Aden nti na dabiara onipa dasani wote wiase na wobɛma obi ahunahuna wo, you cannot even live your life.

(Now the interesting thing is that after my Rolls Royce, even though Otumfoɔ had one but as for him you know his standard and everything. After my Rolls Royce, atleast, I have seen about four or five of them here. Do you get it? It encouraged people. Why must people allow themselves to be threatened to the extent that they cannot even live their life?)

KA: There are a lot of people who can afford Rolls Royce easily but ɔɔmo suro nipa ano asɛm ka. I have paved the way. When I see se errm obi re use-e Rolls Royce na mese “yes that is the country”. We got to live life to the fullest. After all you die. Nyankopɔn ɔhyɛ yɛn ɛn? ɔsee: three scores and ten; which is seventy years. Wo nyaa a nea aka akyire nyinaa eye nhyira.

(There are a lot of people who can afford Rolls Royce easily but they fear what people will say about them. I have paved the way. When I see people using Rolls Royce, I always say to myself, “yes that is the country”. We got to live life to the fullest. After all you die. How many years did God give us? He said: three scores and ten; which is seventy years. So, once you reach that age, the rest is just blessings)

Delay: extra time

(extra time)

KA: wote asee? And a lot of us yendidi yie ene ayi nti wohu se we don’t live even up to the seventy. I have had... for the past three weeks, young men a awu between forty-one and fifty years. They are more than ten wote asee? You take good care of yourself and that’s it.

(do you understand? And a lot of us don’t even eat well so we don’t even live up to the seventy. I have had... for the past three weeks, young men between forty-one
and fifty years who died. They are more than ten, you understand? So, you take good care of yourself and that’s it)

Delay: so, once you are living, you have to live

(so, once you are living, you have to live)

KA: yeah live life to the fullest. Enjoy life because ṑemere bi bẹba a wontumi nsoma sika, wofẹ nipaa koraa ebia ọmọma, wo ankasa wo ntumi mpagywo sika ẹnyẹ hwee enti adẹn ẹni na ohianio Lazarusba mahustle aa abẹduru sẹbe fifty years. I got the inspiration from a young boy from Dubai. Ṣeye pakistani a ṣyo Dubai.

(Yes, live life to the fullest. Enjoy life because a time will come when you can’t send your money, even if you call people they may not respond and you can’t use your own money for anything. So why won’t I, the son of Lazarus (someone from a poor background), who hustled to this age, fifty years, not enjoy life. I got the inspiration from a young boy from Dubai. He is a Pakistani based in Dubai)

KA: Ọbe pickee me from airport with ne Rolls Royce signature series. Mebisaa ne age ọsẹ twenty-six. Mese what! Twenty-six years old boy, Dubai, adeali in commodities. Enti obi teho, ọadi twenty-six ọtumi to Rolls Royce na wobẹduru Ghana a, fifty years?

(He picked me up from the airport with his Rolls Royce signature series. I asked his age and he said twenty-six. I said what! A twenty-six years old boy in Dubai, deals in commodities. So, there is a twenty-six-year-old boy who has been able to buy a Rolls Royce but a fifty-year old can’t buy one in Ghana?)

Delay: Ken, wosusu ẹ adẹn ẹni na Ghanafo yẹte ọsa? Adẹn ẹni na nipa a yewo ha yẹte ọsa? Why do people talk too much?

(Ken, why do you think Ghanaians behave like that? Why are the people here like that? Why do people talk too much?)

KA: mediocrity. They don’t dream big. You know, menewo rekasa yi nyinaa obi hu manim a eyẹ ne tan. Oh, akọa yi oredwa n’anum but that’s his cup of tea. I don’t give a damn about anything. I have to feel good about myself. That’s me, Ken
Agyapong. You have to believe in yourself. You should have confidence wote ase? (Mediocrity. They don’t dream big. You know, as we are talking, I know the sight of my face on your show annoys someone. Oh, this guy brags a lot but that’s his own cup of tea. I don’t give a damn about anything. I have to feel good about myself. That’s me, Ken Agyapong. You have to believe in yourself. You should have confidence, you get it?)

112. **KA**: Ɛwɔ se ewiase woma obiara hu se “hei I’m a human being”. Afterall onyankɔpɔn kaaɛ sɛ “I have created you in my own image”. Look into the mirror and say sɛ me m’anim a mede te ha yi, saa na nyankɔpɔn anim te anaa? Ask yourself and take a decision, wote ase? (In this world, you must let everyone know that, ‘hei I’m a human being’. After all God said it, he said “I have created you in my own image”. Look into the mirror and say to yourself (ask yourself), does my face look like that of God? Ask yourself and take a decision. Do you understand?)

113. **KA**: Enti, but fortunately for me, a lot of young men are coming out of the root aɔɔmɔ build-e confidence and yen yebewu bekɔ no wobɛhu the number of young men and women in this country a na ɔɔmɔ anya confidence in themselves because worekɔye adeɛ a sɛ oh Kwame, me maame sɛ menyɛ yebekɔ wohɔ asem. oh, menyɛ sei. Me woreka sɛ ma me ntɔ no na matua ka awie dada wo nso sɛ ma me ntɔ. Afei na menkɔgye anaa? Matua ka awie, simple. That’s how I live sɛ wahu enti… (But fortunately for me, a lot of young men are coming out of the root and they are building their confidence. and so, by the time we die and leave this world, you will see the number of young men and women in this country who have gained confidence in themselves… even my mum tells me not to do certain things because of public opinion but one thing about me is that I pay for things before anyone will even think of telling me not to buy them. I have already paid for it, simple. That’s how I live. You’ve seen it. so…)

114. **Delay**: yeah sometime bi me ne… na mewɔ net, I was on the net, I was browsing on the net ena obi refer to me Delay sɛ meye atitriasɛm na me sua frii wohɔ because woe
me **boss**. Wosusu se woye atitiasem? medee menim se wonye atitiasem but wosusu se woye atitiasem?

(Yeah, I was on the net, I was browsing on the net some time ago and someone referred to me as a violent person. and that, I learnt that from you because you are my **boss**. Do you think you are a violent person? Personally, I know you are not violent but do you think you are violent?)

115. **KA:** you see, ɔka atitiasem a ɛdeɛn na ɔrepe akyere? ɛnam se me amma wo ansisi me nti? Wodidii me atɛm a medidii wo bi nti? **Who has the license to insult? Question, who has the license to insult? Who has a license to slap me?** A wose medee wo adidi me atɛm, don’t say anything. **You see,** ɛna naanɔ no na mɛrekɔ akyere ɛmɔ sɛ Proverbs 26 verse 19 ɔse bua ɔkwasea wo n’agyimisem so na amma no andwene se ɔye onyansafoɔ. Bua ɔkwasea wo n’agyimisem so na amma no andwene se ɔye onyansafoɔ. Ɛnɔ kyere sɛn? **you see** se dabiara se obi ba, odidi watɛm. Odidi wo atɛm na se wodee wo anka hwee a na ɛye no se **he is doing the right thing. He keeps on doing it enti when you put him in check,** wagyimi, wonso se wagyimi wagyimi mmienu na wahu se akoa wei mekɔ na meka baako a ɔbekɔ mmienu. **He puts a stop right there, case closed.** That’s my principle. Why do you have to slap me and go back? I will slap you back and I will make sure I slap three so that when you drop boom, you realize mmm mmm you’ve met your match. **Case close.** That’s my principle. Enti woka se meye atitiasem ɛne sɛn? se ɛnɔ nti wosuaa fri me me hɔ? **it will help you a lot.** Atitiasem, **you see they misconstrue confidence to be arrogance.**

(You see, what does the person mean by saying that I am violent? Is it because I didn’t allow the person to cheat me? Is it because I also insulted that person when he insulted me? **Who has the license to insult? Question, who has the license to insult? Who has a license to slap me?** And you think you will insult me and I won’t say anything? I was telling some people about **Proverbs 26 verse 19** sometime ago. It is written there that answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think he is wise. Answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think he is wise. What does that mean? **You see,** if someone insults you every day and you don’t respond, that person will think he is doing the right thing. **He keeps on doing it so when you put him in check;** if he calls you a fool once, you should call him a fool twice so he gets to know that as for this person, if I insult him once he will insult me twice. **He puts a stop to it right there,**
case closed. That’s my principle. Why do you have to slap me and go back? I will slap you back and I will make sure I slap three so that when you drop boom, you will realize that you have met your match. Case closed. That’s my principle so what then do you mean by violence? That you learnt from me? It will help you a lot. Violence? you see? They misconstrue confidence to be arrogance)

116. Delay: yeah

(Yeah)

117. KA: Ghana ha obira ɔwɔ confidence biara ŋmo se ɔyɛ arrogant. Enti wɔo wɔ confidence na wowɔ no

(In Ghana, any confident person is seen to be arrogant. So, it is confidence that you have)

118. Delay: tell me about it

(tell me about it)

119. KA: wo confidence no ɛna ɛmma me, tese mereba wo program yi obi kakyereɛ me sɛ wo koraa no I shouldn’t come na sei ne sei. ɛyɛ confidence no a wowɔ a obi nni bi nti na...

(it is your confidence that made me…, like when I was coming for this program someone told me not to come because of this and that. It is because of the confidence you have which they don’t have that…)

120. Delay: meho yɛ ahi

(I annoy them)

121. KA: woho yɛ no ahi but sɛ wɔbɛdi saa nneɛma no akyi deaa you will not aspire. Rather abrokyire a anka obi a wowɔ confidence saa no wowɔ adwuma mu a they promote you. Wote aseɛ. but aha obi a wowɔ confidence no, ɔyɛ confident no, ɔno koraa na yɛ sabotage no. ɛno nti na there is no progress in this country. Enti ɔka sɛ Delay yɛ atwiritwirasɛm tese ne boss a so be it. Let them say it. ɔno no ara ɔse ɔnyɛ
(You annoy them but you will not aspire if you think about those things. Someone as confident as you would rather be promoted at your work if it had been overseas. Do you understand? But here, people with confidence are rather sabotaged. That is why there is no progress in this country. Therefore, if they say Delay is violent like her boss, so be it. Let them say it. Let that person who thinks he is not violent check his lifestyle, let him check his standard of living and see if he is better off than you. Case closed.)

122. Delay: Ken seisei ara no after Rolls Royce what are you going to do? What is next?

(Ken, so right now what are you going to do after the Rolls Royce? What is next?)

123. KA: I told you at age fifty-five, I am going to buy a jet. And insha Allah…

(I told you at age fifty-five, I am going to buy a jet. And insha Allah...)

124. Delay: how old are you now?

(how old are you now?)

125. KA: ermm June 16th, I will be fifty-two

(Ermm, I will be fifty-two on 16th June)

126. Delay: and I will be thirty on June 25th

(And I will be thirty on June 25th)

127. KA: woyɛ young girl

(You are a young girl)

128. Delay: I know right

(I know right)

129. KA: you see ooo, wei nyinaa wo confidence nti na rubi shoulders with us no ooo
(you see ooo. This is all due to your confidence. That is why you are rubbing shoulders with us)

130. Delay: wonhu?

(Don’t you see?)

131. KA: because first no a, woo thirty years ye rekasa a anka wonka bi. I like that, it’s good.

(Because at first, a thirty-year girl like you cannot talk when we are talking. I like that, it’s good)

132. Delay: I’m so happy for you. ermm mere hopi se wobɛtɔ your jet at fifty-five and I’m also aspiring se I will do better in life.

(I’m so happy for you. Ermm, I hope that you can buy your jet at fifty-five and I’m also aspiring that I will do better in life)

133. KA: but enye se wo ano kɛkɛ na wode reka ooo

(but you don’t have to say it for saying sake)

134. Delay: I’m working hard

(I’m working hard)

135. KA: you have to work towards it

(you have to work towards it)

136. Delay: I’m working hard towards it

(I’m working hard towards it)

137. KA: you have to work towards it; and the power of success is honesty and savings

(you have to work towards it; and the power of success is honesty and savings)

138. Delay: honesty and savings?
(honesty and savings?)

139. **KA:** yes

(Yes)

140. **Delay:** Ken na aba a yerebeto yi yen *expecte fire* anaa edeen na ebeba?

(Ken, about the upcoming elections, should we *expect fire* or what will happen?)

141. **KA:** oh, *what fire?* Me, we all love our country. Se wo akɔ war-torn areas no a anka nobody will call for fire because it’s just elections. Why would you want to kill your brother because you want to come to power? After all yen nyinaa yebewu one day. *Because* mekɔɔ Central African Republic na one Christmas a mekɔɔ ho na mehwe nkwadaa bi posture. 25th December. ɔɔmo nnya aduane nni na baabi a ɔɔmo te store bi a bullet holes no, na ɔɔmo te hɔ na ɔɔmo aye sei a, nobody will call fo war in his country. Ɛremmoa yen. *We want peace* wote aseɛ? Na emom *what we don’t want* ɛne se enipa bi beye ɔɔmo ho se ɔɔmo deɛ they are above the law, atwiritwiriasem na ɔɔmo akɔsesa ballot boxes. Woyɛ saa a there will be no peace. Enti yepe asomdwoe.

(Oh! *what fire?* I, we all love our country. If you have been to war-torn areas before, then nobody will call for fire because it’s just elections. Why would you want to kill your brother because you want to come to power? After all, we will all die one day. *Because* I went to Central African Republic one Christmas, and when I went there and saw the posture of some children, it was 25th December. They couldn’t get food to eat and they were living in a store with bullet holes. That’s where they lived, so nobody will call for war in his country. It won’t help us. *We want peace* okay? But *what we don’t want* is when some people behave as if they are above the law or they will violently go and snatch ballot boxes. *There will be no peace* if you do that. So, we want peace).

142. **KA:** Momma yen nto aba no. wo ara wobe *wini* no na wo *awini*. After all, woyɛ NPPnii, anaa NDCfoɔ *winiɛ* yi se we are still ayi, woyɛ NDCnii ara a NPP *wini* a we are still Ghanaians. That’s the most important thing. We have to see ourselves first as Ghanaians ansa na wo aka se woyɛ NDCnii anaa woyɛ NPPnii. Enti the peace of this country is very very important and the onus is on both or all the parties to exercise
restraint sе obiara nkɔye atwirtwiriasem ensei ayi no enti I wish Ghana well. Na me no a obiara feel sе meye violent ne ayi no, I stand to lose more than a lot of people who claim to be Ghanaians because I have so many businesses. I can tell you. You asked me a question that I did not answer. I have ninety houses in this country alone; Accra, Tema, Kumasi. I have ninety houses. nsaase enka ho enti çomo a çomo reka sе çomo dɔ Ghana no, çomo no, ayi sе ěkaa obi a ěnni ntoma a anka dabiara yegoro asafo. Çomo na ěpe sе Ghana ěsei. Me dee I wish Ghana well so that I can enjoy because ĕko ba seisei ara a I lose all those properties that I have enti mede mempɛ ntokwa wɔ Ghana. We want peace and let us make sure sе asomdwoe wɔ ha.

(Let us all cast our votes. Whoever will win wins. After all, if you belong to the NPP, you are still who you are after the NDC won so if you are a member of the NDC, even if NPP wins we are still Ghanaians. That’s the most important thing. We have to see ourselves first as Ghanaians before identifying ourselves as an NDC or NPP member. Therefore, the peace of this country is very very important and the onus is on both or all parties to exercise restraint so that no one will go and do anything violent that will destroy the country. So, I wish Ghana well. And eventhough people feel I am violent and so on, I stand to lose more than a lot of people who claim to be Ghanaians because I have so many businesses. I can tell you. You asked me a question that I did not answer. I have ninety houses in this country alone; Accra, Tema, Kumasi. I have ninety houses. Not to mention the number of lands I have, so those who are saying they love Ghana, those people won’t even lose as much as I will if anything bad happens in this country. They are the ones who wish destruction for the country. As for me I wish Ghana well so that I can enjoy because I will lose all my properties should there be any war in the country. So as for me, I don’t want anybody to fight in Ghana. We want peace and let us make sure that there is peace in this country.)

143. Delay: so, are you winning at Assin Fosu?

(So, are you winning at Assin Fosu?)

144. KA: oh, mesee wodee çomo mfa obiara mmra. çomo se çomo bewini, we will see. Agorɔ ne fam. Medeeye a na I don’t want to predict anything because complacency deeyeye me language. I will work to the larder and make sure sе I win the seat. That
is all. I will not sit here and say \( \text{I'm going to win. I know I will win but me mma me tirimu nye me de se I'm going to win na me arelaxi. Hell no.} \)

(Oh, I say they can bring anyone. They say they will \text{win} but \text{we will see}. Usually, I \text{don’t want to predict anything because complacency} is not my \text{language}. I will work to the larder and make sure that I \text{win the seat. That is all. I will not sit here and say} that \text{I’m going to win. I know I will win but I won’t be swollen headed and relax because I know I’m going to win. Hell no})

145. Delay: \( \text{ye se last four years anka yereyi wo ahwe ho eye ampa?} \)

(They said you almost lost your seat \text{last four years}. Is it true?)

146. KA: \( \text{it is not true} \)

(It \text{is not true})

147. Delay: \( \text{wontee saa asem yi da?} \)

(Haven’t you heard this issue before?)

148. KA: \( \text{e no dee dabiara oomo ka. oomo nye wem statistics yie. You see, people were… a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them. oomo feel se ye ammoa oomo nti they decided not to vote. We had sixty-five thousand registered voters and only forty-three thousand ena etooee. out of forty-three thousand no me nyaa twenty-four thousand and change, almost twenty-five thousand ena NDCnii no nyaa eighteen thousand something enti wohwem me previous ayi no a reducee by four thousand and across the country obiara losee ne dee bi wote aseey? Margins no e so teeteeye because errm complacency baa mu. A lot of people decided not to vote enti well, but if they think se, it was almost six thousand votes ena mede beatii no but normally na eye ten. Ten enti eba fam na wo feeli se wobe wini a se eene eyo nso wabeyi Chief Executive ena amanfo o hu ne performance so they are going to compare both of us and decide who becomes the member of parliament.} \)

(They say that all the time. They should do their \text{statistics} well. \text{You see, people were…, a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them. They felt we didn’t help them so they decided not to vote. We had sixty-five thousand}
registered voters and only forty-three thousand voted. Out of the forty-three thousand votes, I got a little over twenty-four thousand (and change). Almost twenty-five thousand and the NDC candidate got eighteen and something thousand. So, looking at my previous results, it reduced by four thousand votes. And across the country, everyone lost some of their previous votes. The margins decreased because people became complacent. A lot of people decided not to vote so… well, but if they think that it was almost six thousand votes that I used to beat him, [to win]…, but normally I lead by ten (thousand votes). Ten, so if my votes reduced and you feel you can win that’s up to you. And they have elected the District Chief Executive as their candidate, the people have seen his performance so they are going to compare both of us and decide who becomes the member of parliament)

149. **Delay**: and how long na wo ayɛ MP wɔ Assin Fosu?

(And how long have you been the MP for Assin Fosu?)

150. **KA**: this would be my fourth term

(This would be my forth term)

151. **Delay**: 4th term?

(4th term?)

152. **KA**: but this time se me wini a ebiaa mekɔ a menkɔ biom. I will let somebody to also go, and do other things

(but I may not contest again if I win this time. I will let somebody to also go, and do other things)

153. **Delay**: okay

(okay)

154. **KA**: I also have to enjoy life

(I also have to enjoy life)
Delay: **ok.** Ken na merebisa wo **question** bi wompɛ sɛ wɔbɛ **answer** ooo. Mese wo yerenom yɛ sɛn?

(Ok. Ken, I was asking you a **question** but you don’t want to **answer** me. I asked about the number of wives you have)

**KA:** meyerɛ yɛ **one.** Na ɛnyɛ wo ne me yere na ɛyɛ adwuma?

(I have **one** wife. But don’t you work with my wife?)

Delay: Na wone mmaa sɛn na ɛwɔ mma?

(And **how many women do you have kids with?)

**KA:** ɛnɔ deɛ **I wont tell you.** Na me me mfɛre. Dabiara sɛ meka. Meka sɛ me mma yɛ **thirteen** nti me mfɛre. **I am responsible. I have** nkwadaa ten ɛna ɛwɔ **America, all in high schools and colleges that I pay. Me me mfɛre oo. I have ten kids in America that are in university up to high school. It is only a responsible man who pays dollars to take care of his children enti mete ha **what’s wrong with that?**

(I **won’t tell you** anything about that. And I am not shy. I say it all the time. I said I have **thirteen** children and I don’t feel shy about it. **I am responsible. I have ten children in America, all in high schools and colleges that I pay. I am not shy. I have ten kids in America that are in university up to high school. It is only a responsible man who pays dollars to take care of his children so I am here, what is wrong with that?)

Delay: **ok and do you have plans of** sɛ wɔbɛsan awo biom?

(**ok and do you have plans of** having more children?)

**KA:** daabi daabi. Nkwadaa no a ɔɔmo reba no ɔɔmo ani abue oh. ɛnte sɛ yɛn yɛdeɛ bagyimi bere no a yɛwoɔ yɛn no. me ɔɔmo tumi **demande** nneɛma bi a **you can’t say no** enti seisei deɛ mfifire refri me.

(No, no. Children are very sophisticated nowadays. They are not like those of us who were born in the olden days. My children, they can **demand** certain things and **you can’t say no** to them so I am currently sweating)
161. **Delay: we are going for a break**

(We are going for a break)
APPENDIX C: Interview 3

Introduction

162. **Delay**: Me ma obiara afehiyapa. Ene ye **boxing day** enti no menim se ene deen me kookoo **season**. Normally **holiday** saa no, **viewers** no woboa **because stations** no dɔɔso but wo **flip** na wobehu **Delay** a woni **choice, you have to watch**.

(I wish everyone a happy new year. Today is **Boxing Day** so I know it is a good **season** for me. Normally, it is difficult to get **viewers** on **holidays** like this **because** there are a lot of TV **stations but** once you **flip** through the channels and get to **Delay** show; you don’t have a **choice, you have to watch**)

163. **Delay**: **I mean really, you have to watch me** enti yɛreka obi a ɔwɔ **platform** no ene dea, eyɛ me ara enti men nso mahye da na mahye me bronya mpaboa ena mede **interview** no erema wo. eno akyi no mereba wo fie na mabɛgye me bronya adee.

(I mean really, you have to watch me so when we talk about someone who has the **platform** today, it is no other person than me. That’s why I have intentionally put on my Christmas shoes as I bring this **interview** to you. After the show, I will come to your various homes for my Christmas gift)

164. **Delay**: **Me guest** nso ahyɛ ne bronya ataadeɛ na ene no eyɛ **special interview**. Normally no **holiday** saa no eyɛ a me hyɛda ye special interview. Obiara se **Delay**, **girl** wei wo **interview** no, wo **interview** no, ena mese mo ntwen **at the right time**. Enti **right time** no ne ene. Gyae, yɛrekɔgye **Instaglam, then our interview then E-news**. Ne nyinaa rekɔso wo **Delay Show** yi so. Enkɔ baabiara, yɛreba seisei ara.

(My **guest** is also clad in her Christmas dress and I promise you a **special interview** today. Normally on **holidays** like this, I intentionally conduct **special interviews**. People keep on asking me about when I will **interview** this **girl** and I always tell them to wait for **the right time**, so the right time is today. Stop, we are going for **Instaglam, then our interview and then E-news**. All these will be going on on the **Delay show**, so don’t go anywhere, we will be right back)

Commercial Break
Welcome back. *Yede instaglam* na ɛrema won a ɛ wokɔ *instagram* a ɛɔɔ aye very active especially actresses no ne actors no ɔɔmɔ pages. ɔɔmɔ de *pictures* agugu ḥɔ a ɔɔmɔ de ɣɛ *promotions for up and coming Ghana Movie Awards* no na deɛ ɣɛ ɔɔmɔ organizer, Frederick Nuamah ɔde *pictures* bi agugu kurom ɛna ɔde aye *billboards*. *Duse use actors* ne actress no. Deɛ edĩ kan *there is one beautiful picture*, ɔɔmɔ use Jackie Appiah ase ɔgyina *sink* bi ho anaa bathroom, something like that. The color of her dress and ɛkye a na ɛhye no…. She was looking amazing. Yeǹhwe saa picture no (the picture is shown on the screen).

(Welcome back. We are bringing you instaglam. *Instagram* has been very active, especially on the pages of the actresses and actors. They have posted so many pictures to promote the up and coming Ghana Movie Awards and their organizer; Frederick Nuamah has posted so many pictures in town and also on billboards. He used pictures of actors and actresses. The first one, there is one beautiful picture, they used a picture of Jackie Appiah standing by a *sink* or bathroom, something like that. The color of her dress and the hat she was wearing…. She was looking so amazing. Let’s see that picture)

(And I can also see another picture of Jackie and Lil Win. And in that one they are both clad in kente cloth. There is also this one of Van Vicker, John Dumelo and Madjid all clad in kente cloth with Jackie standing in their middle)

(And then, there was another picture that I saw. I saw Joselyn Dumas; the lady with the wide hips that can tear slits [a kind of garment] apart. She wore a slit…. I think it was rather a dress and her hip was tearing the skirt apart on the billboard. And on that
same billboard, I think she was with some other guys and Jackie. I don’t quite remember that picture but, let’s see that one too). [The picture is shown on the screen]

168. Delay: And there is Lil Win nkoara, eno nso yẹnhwe, ena of course Yvonne Nelson. Eno nso ase se waye namim style bi na ɔhye some beautiful dress. Enti these are the pictures a mobehu wo kurom bere a yeđe promotion for up and coming Ghana Movie Awards no, actors and actresses no they are doing a great job. They entertain us throughout the year and let’s go out in our numbers to support them.

(And there is one with only Lil Win, let’s have a look at that one too, and of course, that of Yvonne Nelson. She has this strange look on her face and she is wearing a beautiful dress. So, these are the pictures you will see in town as we promote the up and coming Ghana Movie Awards. The actors and actresses are doing a great job. They entertain us throughout the year and let’s go in our numbers to support them)

169. Delay: Na Fred Nuamah, wo no woreye a, worekyekye awards no a kyekye no according to. Wo ye no according from anaa according before a, anaa according across a egya no behye wo. Yebe to gya no afa wo to na aπie afa w’anum. Wobe confess in a professional way wote asee?

(And Fred Nuamah, when you are awarding; if you are giving the awards, give it according to. Fire will burn you if you give it according from, or according before, or according across. We will throw the fire from your mouth to your anus and you will confess in a professional way. Do you get it?)

170. Delay: Yẹde interview no rema wo seisei ara. Ẹnkọ babyara.

(We will bring the interview to you very soon. Don’t go anywhere)

Commercial break

Interview

171. Delay: Afe 2014, yen last interview enie. Afe wei nipa a yebe ɔwọ din wo kurom ha. Kwaw Kesse oo Kwaw Kesse, he was on the show. Shatta Wale oooo Shatta Wale oooo Shatta Wale, wowo awo bone a wote wo baabi nka. Na yẹrebo boy yi din, yẹde no
(This is our last interview for the year 2014. This year, we talked about a lot of people in this town. Kwaw Kesse oh Kwaw Kesse; he was on the show. Shatta Wale oh Shatta Wale…This boy’s name was all over town; we interviewed him too. Then they said so much about Nasara; that she has snatched someone’s husband, we brought her on the show)

172. **Delay**: Ye bobòbobò din ara. Sandra Ankobia ooo Sandra Ankobia, akwadaa ketewa woregye wo ho asakadwa, adèn na yèrebo wodin saa? Sandra adèn?

(They mentioned so many names. Sandra Ankobia oooh Sandra Ankobia, a small girl becoming known for all the bad reasons, why are people talking so much about you? Sandra why?)

173. **Delay**: Sandra adèn na yèbo wo din saa?

(Sandra, why do people talk about you that much?)

174. **SA**: Mekoraa ëye me nwanwa oo, Delay. Omọ se maye dèn?

(Delay, I am even surprised. What are they accusing me of?)

175. **Delay**: worebisa me se omọ se wo ayè dèn? Sandra Ankobia ooo Sandra Ankobia oooo ëne deè mebisa questions no nyinaa.

(Are you asking me about what you are being accused of? Sandra Ankobia ooooh Sandra Ankobia, as for today, I am going to ask all the questions)

176. **SA**: bisa me

(ask me)

177. **Delay**: se wo ayè ready?

(You are ready. Right?)

178. **SA**: mepaakyèw aane
(yes please)

179. **Delay**: enti yënka?

(so, can we go on?)

180. **SA**: yënka

(Let’s go on)

181. **Delay**: yemfa nhyehye fom e. De€ yenim wo ara ne se Sandra Ankobiah wo€€ Fashion 101. Wo€€ no for how long?

(ok, then let’s start. All that we know about Sandra Ankobia is that you hosted Fashion 101. For how long did you host that program?)

182. **SA**: mey€€ two seasons

(I did two seasons)

183. **Delay**: two seasons?

(two seasons?)

184. **SA**: Mepaakyew yew

(yes please)

185. **Delay**: but when the show folded up you were still parading yourself as the hostess of Fashion 101. Why was that?

(But when the show folded up you were still parading yourself as the hostess of Fashion 101. Why was that?)

186. **SA**: That was something that had come to stay. I wasn’t parading myself. I think people and the media just still referred to me as the hostess of Fashion 101.

(That was something that had come to stay. I wasn’t parading myself. I think people and the media just still referred to me as the hostess of Fashion 101)
187. **Delay**: Wo ne Yvonne Nelson ṝfaa adamfoɔ no was it premeditated? Do you set out to say se merekofa girl wei adamfoɔ na *mastept* on her fame to get a certain kind of attention I am looking for? Is it what you had in your mind?

(Your friendship with Yvonne Nelson, was it premeditated? Do you set out to say that I am going to befriend this girl and *step* on her fame to get the kind of attention I am looking for? Is it what you had in your mind?)

188. **SA**: *ɛrm* first of all, I don’t think *se* the so-called fame that you are talking about has done anything or has done much for me. I haven’t made money from fame; I haven’t gotten any huge contract from fame. The only thing I can say has been rewarding from being a little bit more well-known than I was maybe a year or two years or three years ago, is the fact that a few more people know my name now and I get a lot of people who look up to me, who actually, ɔɔmo *send* me comments anaa ɔɔmo twerɛ me *letters to TV3* anaa…

(Erm first of all, I don’t think that the so-called fame that you are talking about has done anything or has done much for me. I haven’t made money from fame; I haven’t gotten any huge contract from fame. The only thing I can say has been rewarding from being a little bit well known than I was maybe a year or two years or three years ago, is the fact that a few more people know my name now and I get a lot of people who look up to me, who actually *send* me comments or they write *letters to me* at TV3 or…)

189. **Delay**: Sandra me mmisaa wo *about what fame has done for you*

(Sandra, I haven’t asked you *about what fame has done for you*)

190. **SA**: *se* merekyerekyerɛ mu aba. Mereba

(But I’m explaining it, so wait. I will get there soon)

191. **Delay**: yɛde *time* nti no. Yɛde *time* nti no *the question is, did you set out?* (for the sake of *time*. We are going by *time* so *the question is, did you set out?*)

192. **SA**: ɛnɛ merekyerekyerɛ wo *se* *fame* no ɛnnyɛɛ hwee mmmɛa me *so why will I even set out to do that?*
(And I am explaining to you that I have not benefitted anything from the fame, so why will I even set out to do that?)

193. Delay: ok

(ok)

194. SA: and Yvonne actually became my friend after she appeared on Fashion 101.

(and Yvonne actually became my friend after she appeared on Fashion 101)

195. Delay: Okay

(okay)

196. SA: enti I already had a show going. òbàa so as a guest. I think it was the pilot or something. èno no na èmaa me ne Yvonne èbèyèè close enti it wasn’t something I set out to do.

(So, I already had a show going. She appeared as a guest on the show. I think it was the pilot or something. It was after it that I became close to Yvonne so it wasn’t something I set out to do)

197. Delay: so, it happened naturally?

(so, it happened naturally?)

198. SA: it just happened

(it just happened)

199. Delay: and what broke your friendship?

(and what broke your friendship?)

200. SA: Oh!

(oh!)

201. Delay: is it something? èyè adeè a na èyè kèèè a èwọ sè èma friendship no gu anaa?
(Is it something? was it something so big that it should ruin your friendship?)

202. **SA**: Delay, I am sure sɛ wowɔ nnamfoɔɔ bebreɛ a wone çoɔmo startee a even just last year. I am sure sɛ wowɔ nnamfoɔɔ a this year wone wɔŋ nte sɛ deɛ na wone wɔŋ te last year.

(Delay, I am sure you have a lot of friends you started with even just last year. I am sure that you have some friends whom you are not as close to this year as you were last year)

203. **Delay**: deɛ mereka ne sɛ eyɛ adeɛ a wahu sɛ ɣɛwɔ…

(What I am saying is that, you know we have…)

204. **SA**: people fall out

(People fall out)

205. **Delay**: you just fell out?

(you just fell out?)

206. **SA**: people grow apart

(People grow apart)

207. **Delay**: ok

(ok)

208. **SA**: I think that’s just what happened between me and Yvonne and it’s just… too much has been said and it’s been blown way out of proportion. There’s nothing. Yvonne yɛ wo adamfo. I am sure she would have told you. Delay wo nim sɛ hwee nni hɔ saa. Anaa biribi wɔ hɔ deɛ a me mennim but from what I know I think we’re just…. the friendship just ran its course.

(I think that’s just what happened between me and Yvonne and it’s just… too much has been said and it’s been blown way out of proportion. There’s nothing. Yvonne is your friend. I am sure she would have told you. Delay you know there is
nothing like what you are asking me. Or is there something that I am not aware of? But from what I know I think we’re just…, the friendship just ran its course)

209. Delay: It ran its course. Who cut who? Did you cut her or she cut you?

(It ran its course? Who cut who? Did you cut her or she cut you?)

210. SA: Erm. I think it was a mutual thing. It just happened. You know you just fall apart or you grow apart. Nobody called somebody and said I don’t want to be your friend again or don’t call me again. It just happened.

(Erm. I think it was a mutual thing. It just happened. You know you just fall apart or you grow apart. Nobody called somebody and said I don’t want to be your friend again or don’t call me again. It just happened)

211. Delay: Ok and I will ask you just two more questions about that then we move on.

(Ok and I will ask you just two more questions about that then we move on)

212. SA: sure

(Sure)

213. Delay: She was on the show. I asked her about your friendship. I am sure you’ve heard about that.

(She was on the show. I asked her about your friendship. I am sure you’ve heard about that)

214. SA: I did hear about it

(I did hear about it)

215. Delay: and she was like “oh when you are in a union and you are not getting anything out of it a you have to move on”. If you remember what she said a how did you feel when you heard that?
(And she was like “oh when you are in a union and you are not getting anything out of it you have to move on”. If you remember what she said, how did you feel when you heard that?)

216. **SA**: Errm **surprised**

(Erm, surprised)

217. **Delay**: mmmm?

(Mmm?)

218. **SA**: Errm I don’t know what she meant by that. I don’t know what she expected from me. I thought we were ok as friends. I thought we were getting along very well. I don’t think I have any bad vices that I tried to push on her or anything so if she said she wasn’t getting…What was she looking for? Maybe you should have asked her that that she didn’t get. I don’t think I have any bad vices.

(Erm I don’t know what she meant by that. I don’t know what she expected from me. I thought we were ok as friends. I thought we were getting along very well. I don’t think any bad vices that I tried to push on her or anything so if she said she wasn’t getting …what was she looking for? Maybe you should have asked her that that she didn’t get. I don’t think I have any bad vices)

219. **Delay**: so, when you heard that you were surprised. Were you hurt?

(So, when you heard that you were surprised. Were you hurt?)

220. **SA**: a little bit

(A little bit)

221. **Delay**: you were hurt?

(You were hurt?)

222. **SA**: yes, I was a little hurt

(Yes, I was a little hurt)
223. **Delay**: ok

(ok)

224. **SA**: na ɛye me nwanwa ɛbɛka saa ɛɛrm she, the union, what was she looking for? Ebia wobisaa no ara *then we would both understand* where she was going with it.

(I was surprised that she could say that ɛɛrm she, the union, what was she looking for? Maybe if you had asked her that question *then we would both understand* where she was going with it)

225. **Delay**: maybe I will bring her back some other time. Do you miss her?

(Maybe I will bring her back some other time. Do you miss her?)

226. **SA**: of course, We were good friends. We shared a lot of our lives together. Yea, sometimes I think about her a lot actually.

(of course, We were good friends. We shared a lot of our lives together. Yea, sometimes I think about her a lot actually)

227. **Delay**: you think about her a lot?

(You think about her a lot?)

228. **SA**: yeah, not a lot but we were friends for a couple of years. I mean you don’t just…

( Yeah, not a lot but we were friends for a couple of years. I mean you don’t just…)

229. **Delay**: do you see yourself coming back to her as friends?

(Do you see yourself coming back to her as friends?)

230. **SA**: I don’t think we can go back to the way we used to be but we are friends now and we are cool. We speak but I don’t think we can go back to the way we were. There has just been too much water under the bridge.
(I don’t think we can go back to the way we used to be but we are friends now and we are cool. We speak but I don’t think we can go back to the way we were. There has just been too much water under the bridge)

231. Delay: water under the bridge?
  (Water under the bridge?)

232. SA: too much time has passed
  (Too much time has passed)

233. Delay: ice water ana hot water?
  (Is it Ice water or hot water?)

234. SA: too much has been said. ṣọmo aka nneɛma bebre. Ɛmmere bebre atwa mu.
  (Too much has been said. They have said a lot of things. so much time has passed)

235. Delay: enti ṑnụ yie?
  (So, it won’t happen)

236. SA: enti entumị ṑnụ tese de na ṑtẹ na but I wish her well. I don’t bear her bad will or anything. I wish her well and I would like to think or believe sẹ she wishes me well.
  (It can’t be like it used to be but I wish her well. I don’t bear her bad will or anything. I wish her well and I would like to think or believe that she wishes me well)

237. Delay: ok
  (ok)

238. SA: no hard feelings. Not on my side
  (No hard feelings. Not on my side)

239. Delay: Seesei wo praktese law no?
(Do you currently practice the law?)

240. SA: me *praktese* law no

(Yes, I practice the law)

241. Delay: chambers bɛn?

(Which chambers?)

242. SA: Osafo Adu Amankwa

(Osafo Adu Amankwa)

243. Delay: wanya case sɛn?

(How many cases have you worked on?)

244. SA: hahhahahaha. I’m still a baby lawyer but I do my fair share of work. Errm I’m not, menye litigant. Menye obi a, mempɛ court kɔ. I’m not the court type lawyer so I do a lot of desk work. Enti I do a lot of research and things for the other lawyers enti I’ve, yeah, I’ve been on a number of cases. I go to court once in a while, especially when I was doing my pupilage. Ṣe no de ɛ you don’t have a choice when they say go you have to go but seisei ara deɛ I don’t go.

(Laughs... I’m still a baby lawyer but I do my fair share of work. Errm I’m not, I am not a litigant. I’m not someone who likes to go to court. I’m not the court type lawyer so I do a lot of desk work. So, I do a lot of research and things for the other lawyers so I’ve, yeah, I’ve been on a number of cases. I go to court once in a while, especially when I was doing my pupilage. As for that you don’t have a choice. When they say go, you have to go but currently I don’t go)

245. Delay: but yɛka se lawyer a ɔkɔ court deɛ a wonka ho?

(but, when we talk about lawyers who go to court, you are not one of them?)

246. SA: I can go just se me na mempɛ kɔ. I don’t find it errm, enye attractive for me

(I can go, just that I don’t like to go. I don’t find it errm, it is not attractive for me)
247. Delay: why?

(Why?)

248. SA: oh, see there are different kinds of lawyers

(oh, but there are different kinds of lawyers)

249. Delay: ok but wodee court ko nyɛ attractive for you

(Ok, but going to court is not attractive for you)

250. SA: litigation nyɛ attractive for me especially in Ghana. Maybe if I lived elsewhere in the world but in Ghana litigation enyɛ very attractive for me.

(Litigation is not attractive for me; especially in Ghana. Maybe if I lived elsewhere in the world. But in Ghana, litigation is not very attractive for me)

251. Delay: ok, for you. And how about New Day [a TV show], how is it going?

(Ok, for you. And how about New Day, how is it going?)

252. SA: very well. I love it. errm it’s going very well. I love the challenge of live TV.

(Very well. I love it. errm it’s going very well. I love the challenge of live TV.)

253. Delay: and how much money does New Day pay you? Is it so much money?

(And how much money does New Day pay you? Is it so much money?)

254. SA: I’m comfortable

(I’m comfortable)

255. Delay: ok ena law no nso ede sika reba?

(Ok and is the law also bringing you money?)

256. SA: yes, law is lucrative and I make a bit of money.

(Yes, law is lucrative and I make a bit of money.)
Delay: merebisa wo wei nyinaa because there has also been talk about wo akwantuo bebree. Yese wotutu kwan dodo. Wokoda five-star hotel, wofa ha fa ha dodo so people are wondering how you finance that kind of…it’s a lifestyle, it’s a…

(I am asking you all these because there has also been talk about your numerous travels. People are saying that you travel too much. You sleep in five-star hotel, you travel too much so people are wondering how you finance that kind of…it’s a lifestyle, it’s a…)

SA: thank you, that was my answer exactly.

(Thank you, that was my answer exactly)

Delay: enti saa wo lifestyle no how do you finance it?

(How do you finance that kind of lifestyle)

SA: how do I finance it? I was going to say se it’s not anybody’s business how I finance it. Menye public official. I’m not spending tax payers’ money. Enye aban sika na meredi. I don’t owe anybody an explanation, but you said it’s a lifestyle. It’s something that I like to do. I like to travel. (long English, reiteration) you should use this

(How do I finance it? I was going to say that it’s not anybody’s business how I finance it. I am not a public official. I’m not spending tax payers’ money. I am no spending state funds. I don’t owe anybody an explanation, but you said it’s a lifestyle. It’s something that I like to do. I like to travel)

Delay: na merebisa wo wose enye obi business nanso wobekowhe mu no na 12.5 kilos. Na yede nam VVIP na cocaine yakyekyere no se bede no na eso nkrafo.

(You are saying it is nobody’s business but it may turn out to be 12.5 kilos if we were to look into it. They will be going through the VVIP and some people will be carrying cocaine that has been tied into packs)

SA: never, never on earth.

(Never, never on earth)
263. **Delay**: yes, because obi kakyere me se oh Sandra Ankobia yese oton drugs.

(Yes, because someone told me that she heard Sandra Ankobia sells drugs)

264. **SA**: Erm I think se

(Ermm I think that…)

265. **Delay**: yese wo pushi drugs

(They say you ‘push’ (peddle) drugs)

266. **SA**: oh Delay! That would be, it would be ridiculous for anybody to say that. It would be ridiculous, it would be ridiculous.

(Oh Delay! That would be, it would be ridiculous for anybody to say that. It would be ridiculous, it would be ridiculous)

267. **Delay**: obi kakyere me. Onipa no reka no na me producer wo hɔ. Mekaa se merebe interview wo na ɔkaa se wodekɔ, wo kyekyere no boa boa na wode nam.

(Someone told me. My producer was even there when the person was said it. I told the person I was going to interview and she said you deal in drugs)

268. **SA**: Delay wonim time a mesore everyday? I wake up at 4am everyday, Monday to Friday. Why would I need to se mεye drugs a aden nti na meha meho? It’s a struggle. I’ve been doing New Day for almost two years now but it’s still a struggle. When my alarm goes off I still wish I can sleep for another five, ten, fifteen minutes. mesore 4am; Monday to Friday. Why will I do that if I was pushing drugs? Mɛda fie na ma…

(Delay, do you know the time I wake up everyday? I wake up at 4am everyday, Monday to Friday. Why would I need to if I deal in drugs? Why will I worry myself? It’s a struggle. I’ve been doing New Day for almost two years now but it’s still a struggle. When my alarm goes off I still wish I can sleep for another five or fifteen minutes. I wake up at 4am, Monday to Friday. Why will I do that if I was pushing drugs? I will stay at home and I…)
269. **Delay**: Sandra sè TV no yen nyinaa ye ye bi. Woye **New Day** a menso meye **Delay Show**. You can never tell me sè **New Day** ho sika na wode atɔ wo car no a woda mu no. Wo**kaa** no eye more than $70,000 meboa?

(Sandra, but we are all into TV production. If you host **New Day**, I also host **Delay show**. You can never tell me that you bought your car with money you made from **New Day**. Your car’s worth is more than $70,000. Am I right?)

270. **SA**: I actually bought it for a hundred and, actually eye daabi menbɔ price no. it’s nobody’s business

(I actually bought it for a hundred and, actually it is, no I won’t mention the price. It’s nobody’s business)

271. **Delay**: It’s hundred and more thousand dollars meboa?

(It’s a hundred and more thousand dollars, right?)

272. **SA**: but the point is, Delay, eye TV no nkoara na meye

(But the point is I am not only into TV productions)

273. **Delay**: Sandra ye rekasa nya abotare. Ase woh o reprewo. Ye rehye hye nkɔmmɔ no ba. You bought it for more than a hundred thousand and something thousand dollars

(Sandra, we are having a conversation, so be patient. It looks like you are rushing. You bought it for more than a hundred thousand and something thousand dollars)

274. **SA**: it was more than $100,000

(It was more than $100,000)

275. **Delay**: Yes, and I mean really? Like, law school and you know, come on

(Yes, and I mean really? like law school and you know, come on)

276. **SA**: yeah, but there was a reason why I did law.

(Yeah, but there was a reason why I did law.)
Delay: ok

(Ok)

SA: it pays. Lawyers in Ghana are millionaires. I’m not saying that I’m a millionaire but I’m saying that my job……

(It pays. Lawyers in Ghana are millionaires. I’m not saying that I’m a millionaire but I’m saying that my job……)

Delay: but wo startee law one year koraa mmaae

(But it has not even been one year since you started practising law)

SA: Delay wonim se wobetumi anya contract baako and make a lot from it?

(Delay, do you know you can get only one contract and make a lot from it?)

Delay: I do

(I do)

SA: I do proxy. Do you know how much commission I make from selling one house? I sell houses worth about $850,000 to almost a million, some more and I get huge commissions

(I do proxy. Do you know how much commission I make from selling one house? I sell houses worth about $850,000 to almost a million, some more and I get huge commissions)

Delay: when you write under a picture…, like me, when I’m coming to do an interview, I don’t just come

(When you write under a picture…, like me, when I’m coming to do an interview, I don’t just come)

SA: you do a lot of research of course. It will be crazy for you not to

(You do a lot of research of course. It will be crazy for you not to)
285. **Delay**: ahaa so when you write like you can’t sit with us

   (Yeah so when you write like you can’t sit with us)

286. **SA**: oh Delay, ṝe ṝreet talk

   (Oh Delay, that is street talk)

287. **Delay**: I know it’ street talk

   (I know it’s street talk)

288. **SA**: ṝe ṝlang

   (It is slang)

289. **Delay**: who is the ‘you’ and who is the ‘us’?

   (Who is the ‘you’ and who is the ‘us’?)

290. **SA**: sede wofre wo ho Ghana’s strongest, Delay sizeless, wotutu wo ho no, ṝe ṝiribi saa. It’s just jokes

   (The way you call yourself Ghana’s strongest, Delay sizeless, the way you brag about yourself. It’s something like that. It’s just jokes)

291. **Delay**: enti there is nothing in it about anybody

   (So, there is nothing in it about anybody?)

292. **SA**: no shade at anybody, no subs, not at all. It’s a joke

   (No shade at anybody, no subs, not at all. It’s a joke)

293. **Delay**: so, people can sit with you

   (So, people can sit with you)

294. **SA**: of course

   (of course)
Delay: ena wo, you put a picture nso so a ase woketenaa economy and you were like “sometimes we sit at the back”

(Also, you put a picture in which you were seated in the economy class and you were like “sometimes we sit at the back”)

SA: because mede picture too hɔ a na mete first class and it became eem huge, it was all over and people were talking about it so I made them know that sometimes I sit in the economy as well.

(Because I posted a picture in which I was seated in the first class and it became errm huge, it was all over and people were talking about it, so I made them know that sometimes I sit in the economy as well)

Delay: ok, who is asking for an explanation from you?

(Ok, who is asking for an explanation from you)

SA: it was also a joke. It was tongue in cheek. Woteseee? I think that caption was something like; sometimes we sit at the back too; so, if you have a sense of humour you will get it.

(It was also a joke. It was tongue in cheek. Do you get it? I think that caption was something like; sometimes we sit at the back too; so, if you have a sense of humour you will get it.)

Delay: ok

(Ok)

SA: it was just in response to people making huge fuss about me sitting in first class

(It was just in response to people making huge fuss about me sitting in first class)

Delay: mm mmm and there is this errm this big man. He is a millionaire. He’s a friend of mine. Mebɔ ne din a, you know him and when was that, yesternight he called me and he was like “oh! Deloris let’s hang out” ena mesee meretwa Delay Show ɔkyena enti I can’t hang out because there is traffic ena ɔse hwan na wore interview no ena mesee mere interview Sandra Ankobia ena ɔsee oh “I can’t stand
that girl”. I’m like oh aden? Like, she’s a nice person. Ėse no no no, “I can’t stand that girl”. Ėna mesɛɛ na aden? Ėna ēse na wokɔtɛna plane mu a na watwitwa pictures. Ėnyɛ nkurasesɛm. This was what he said. Aden onim baabi a obi nso akɔtɛna? Ėkaaɛ no I was trying to defend you and he kept going so I was like okay, okay Ėna ɣɛtwa a na.

(mmm mmm and there is this erm this big man. He is a millionaire. He’s a friend of mine. You know him; if I should mention his name. and when was that? Yesternight (last night) he called me and he was like “oh Deloris let’s hang out” but I told him I am recording an episode of the Delay Show tomorrow so I can’t hang out because there is traffic so he asked about who I was going to interview and I said Sandra Ankobia then he said oh “I can’t stand that girl”. I’m like, but why? Like, she’s a nice person. He said no no no, “I can’t stand that girl”. I asked him why and he said why will she sit in an airplane and be taking pictures? Isn’t it an uncivilized act? This was what he said. Does he know where others have sat before…? When he said it, I was trying to defend you and he kept going so I was like okay okay let’s end it)

302. SA: you didn’t have to defend me

(You didn’t have to defend me)

303. Delay: when you hear things like this, sɛ ɛyɛ nkurasesɛm sɛ wobetena plane mu na watwitwa pictures. Wote nseɛm bi saa no a ɛyɛ a na how do you feel?

(When you hear things like this; that it is uncivilized for you to sit in an airplane and take pictures. How do you feel when you hear things like this?)

304. SA: ɣɛyɛ hypocrites wɔ kurom ha. Metena TV soanaa mewɔ New Day so a metwa picture. Sɛ mekɔ Agyemang maame kɔdi banku a metwa picture. It’s, I take stuff. I take daily pictures anaa things about various activities that I’m doing enti aden na first class deɛ no ɛha wo. sɛ if you don’t have any ill will or any ill feeling anaa sɛ ɛnyɛ ahɔyaa bi aden nti na metwa New Day deɛ no a wonka sɛ aden nti na mete studio na matwa picture. Aden na mete Agyemang maame redi banku aa wanka sɛ aden nti na makɔtɛna Agyemang maame redi banku but mete first class deɛ ɣɛyɛ big deal. Think
about it. For me it’s just…. It is opinion anyway enti sε ɔmpε m’asɛm a, I mean you can’t like everybody.

(We are hypocrites in this country. I take pictures when I am on TV or when I host New Day. I take pictures when I go to Agyemang Maame’s place to eat Banku. It’s, I take stuff, I take daily pictures or things about various activities that I’m doing so why should the one I took at the first class worry the person. If you don’t [if he doesn’t] have any ill will or any ill feeling or isn’t jealous of me, then why doesn’t the person complain if I take a picture at the studio while hosting New Day? Why does the person not complain when I take a picture of me eating banku (a Ghanaian dish) at Agyemen Maame, but sees it as a big deal if I take a picture when I sit at the first class? Think about it. For me it’s just. It is opinion anyway so if the person doesn’t like me, I mean you can’t like everybody)

305. Delay: Ṣno deę no, abɔyaa deę eeye out.

(As for him, Jelousy is out)

306. SA: no, but Delay how can you say sɛ makɔtena first class matwa picture enti wobo afu?

(no, But Delay how can you say that you are angry because I took a picture in a first-class seat?)

307. Delay: ɔse eeye no ahi

(He said it annoyed him)

308. SA: mete me car mu na metwa picture deę a ne bo mfu, mete studio anaa mereko court, ok I can’t do that because ethically I can’t be in my gown and go and take a picture

(Why is it that the person doesn’t get angry when I take a picture in my car or when I am in the studio, or when I am going to court. ok I can’t do that because ethically I can’t be in my gown and go and take a picture)

309. Delay: ɔse ahaa, he used one word, ɔse woregu Ghanafoɔ anima se
(He said, yeah, **he used one word**, he said you are disgracing Ghanaians)

310. **SA:** meregu Ghanafa anima se se sen? **Do you know some of the biggest stars, Beyonce** mo ne ade ade ṣomo te ṣomo **private jet** mu a they take pictures. Kim Kardashian ṣenaa **Emirates** mu first time she took a picture of the bathroom and everything like I did but when we see things like this, ye **screenshot**-e. eye yen fe. we look up to it. We emulate it or eye yen fe but obi local kɔye dee a it’s a big deal, that we are showing off. Isn’t it double standards?

(In what way, do I disgrace Ghanaians? **Do you know some of the biggest stars; Beyonce** and the others take pictures when they are in their **private jets**? When Kim kardashian sat in **Emirates** for the first time, she took a picture of the bathroom and everything like I did but when we see things like this, we take **screenshots** of them. It looks nice to us. **We look up to it. We emulate it or** it looks nice to us, **but** when someone local does the same thing it’s a big deal; that we are showing off. Isn’t it double standards?)

311. **Delay:** double standards?

(Double standards?)

312. **SA:** eye ahooyaa. **That is the way I see it because if I take other pictures and you don’t have a problem ….**

(It is jealousy. **This is the way I see it because if I take other pictures and you don’t have a problem…)**

313. **Delay:** but Sandra, five-star hotels, first class travelling, buying big bags and all of that

(But Sandra, five-star hotels, first class travelling, buying big bags and all of that)

314. **SA:** Delay when we go on holidays, why do we take pictures? Why were cameras made? **We take pictures to share our experiences. We…**

(Delay when we go on holidays, why do we take pictures? Why were cameras made? **We take pictures to share our experiences. We…**)
315. **Delay:** our memories

    (Our memories)

316. **SA:** have memories and share them with our friends and family. That is what social media is for

    (Have memories and share them with our friends and family. That is what social media is for)

317. **Delay:** enti no?

    (So?)

318. **SA:** so, if I go on holidays and I swim with dolphins or staying in a luxury hotel room and I want my friends and family to see, what’s the big deal about it?

    (So, if I go on holidays and I swim with dolphins or staying in a luxury hotel room and I want my friends and family to see, what’s the big deal about it?)

319. **Delay:** Sandra saa lifestyle no, meka lifestyle; five-star, woduru a wokura wei, you are buying this, you are sleeping here and doing that no, how long na wopɛse wo live like that?

    (Sandra that kind of lifestyle, when I talk about lifestyle; 5-star, you get here, you hold that, you are buying this, you are sleeping here and doing that. How long do you want to live like that?)

320. **SA:** it’s a lifestyle like you said

    (It’s a lifestyle like you said)

321. **Delay:** saa na wopɛ se wo live?

    (Is that how you want to live?)

322. **SA:** I didn’t start this today. For me it’s a lifestyle. I’ve been travelling. If you go on my Facebook page, I was just telling one blogger, na ɔrebisa me me ëna mese you know what I think it’s just because social media abe yɛ bigger. The proliferation
of social media has gone crazy. When you go to my Facebook page from about 2006 or 2005 I was going to Paris, I was going to Milan. The pictures are all there. Pictures don’t lie. I’m a lawyer so I know the weight of evidence. It’s all there. I’ve been doing this thing way before so, like you said, it’s a lifestyle and for as long as I can continue to afford it or I want to live it, I will live like that. And I’m not going to be bothered because someone sitting somewhere is feeling bad.

(I didn’t start this today. For me it’s a lifestyle. I’ve been travelling. If you go on my Facebook page, I was just telling one blogger. He asked me and I told him that you know what I think, it’s just because social media has become bigger. The proliferation of social media has gone crazy. When you go to my Facebook page from about 2006 or 2005 I was going to Paris, I was going to Milan. The pictures are all there. Pictures don’t lie. I’m a lawyer so I know the weight of evidence. It’s all there. I’ve been doing this thing way before so, like you said, it’s a lifestyle and for as long as I can continue to afford it or I want to live it, I will live like that. And I’m not going to be bothered because someone sitting somewhere is feeling bad.)

323. **Delay**: wone Paedae əno na egyae wo anaa won a wogyaee no?

(Did you break up with Paedae or he jilted you?)

324. **SA**: na hwan na əse me ne Paedae yəkɔɔ **out in the first place**?

(But who said Paedae and I were going **out in the first place**)?

325. **Delay**: mokɔɔ **out**

(You went **out**)

326. **SA**: wohuu yen wəhe Delay?

(Where did you see us? Delay)

327. **Delay**: you used to go to his house

(You used to go to his house)

328. **SA**: how do you know?
(How do you know?)

329. Delay: you used to go to his house

(You used to go to his house)

330. SA: so, I can’t go to people’s house?

(So, I can’t go to people’s house?)

331. Delay: and you slept over and all of that

(And you slept over and all of that)

332. SA: really? And did you see me sleeping there?

(Really? And did you see me sleeping there?)

333. Delay: but you did. Don’t worry

(But you did. Don’t worry)

334. SA: Paedae and I, we are cool

(Paedae and I, we are cool)

335. Delay: look, don’t throw dust into my eyes. I’m not asking you whether you went out with him or not. Like, who left who?

(Look, don’t throw dust into my eyes. I’m not asking you whether you went out with him or not. Like, who left who?)

336. SA: If we didn’t even do that then there wouldn’t be any leaving to be done there

(If we didn’t even do that then there wouldn’t be any leaving to be done there)

337. Delay: so, you are going to deny him on tele?

(So, you are going to deny him on tele?)

338. SA: I’m not denying him but I don’t talk about my personal life
(I’m not denying him but I don’t talk about my personal life)

339. **Delay**: how about Brymo? Is it because he stopped making hits enti na wogyaee no?

(How about Brymo? Is it because he stopped making hits that you left him?)

340. **SA**: Delay, I don’t talk about my personal life

(Delay, I don’t talk about my personal life)

341. **Delay**: ah! But what you were saying…

(Ah! But what you were saying…)

342. **SA**: I never put it out there enti wo ntumi nka nkyere me se I have to answer questions about Paedae. I never put Brymo out there. All the people you are asking me…

(I never put it out there so you can’t tell me I have to answer questions about Paedae. I never put Brymo out there. All the people you are asking me)

343. **Delay**: like wo ne como nni ho biom?

(Like you guys are no longer together?)

344. **SA**: Delay I don’t talk about my personal life

(Delay I don’t talk about my personal life)

345. **Delay**: enti you won’t talk about it?

(So, you won’t talk about it?)

346. **SA**: I won’t talk about any of those things

(I won’t talk about any of those things)

347. **Delay**: ok but, epee listeners no, viewers no como form-e their own opinions

(Okay, but, so should the listeners or viewers form their own opinions?)

348. **SA**: yes. they can form their own opinions
(Yes. they can form their own opinions)

349. Delay: ok so Brymo, se nea ne career rekɔ no how does that feel?

(Ok. So, if you look at the turn of Brymo’s career, how does that feel?)

350. SA: I haven’t been following. I haven’t really been following

(I haven’t been following. I haven’t really been following)

351. Delay: you stopped following him?

(You stopped following him?)

352. SA: ɛrrm Brymo, I know se he had a huge hit; Ara [a song title]. I loved that song and there was another one – Good Morning, and that was very good as well but after that menhyɛɛda ɛntee biribiara.

(Errm Brymo, I know that he had a huge hit; Ara [a song title]. I loved that song and there was another one Good Morning and that was very good as well but I have really not heard anything after that)

353. Delay: so, you stopped communicating with him?

(So, you stopped communicating with him?)

354. SA: ɛrrm Brymo and I haven’t spoken for a while. We haven’t spoken in a while. It’s been long, you know. Deɛ nti nkɔfloɔ…

(Errm Brymo and I haven’t spoken for a while. We haven’t spoken in a while. It’s been long, you know. The reason why people...)

355. Delay: adɛn ɔantumi anlive up to expectation anaa?

(Why? didn’t he live up to expectations?)

356. SA: daabi oo Brymo and I, we were just friends

(No, Brymo and I, we were just friends)

357. Delay: You are just friends with everyone
(You are just friends with everyone)

358. **SA**: ɔbaa Ghana beyeconcert ena ndedicate-ε enwom maa me

(He came to Ghana for a concert and dedicated a song to me)

359. **Delay**: but you used to go to his hotel at Golden Tulip

(But you used to go to his hotel at Golden Tulip)

360. **SA**: really?

(Really?)

361. **Delay**: yes. When he was here

(Yes, when he was here)

362. **SA**: saa? Wohuu me wɔ ho?

(Really? Did you see me there?)

363. **Delay**: yeah

(Yeah)

364. **SA**: se merekɔ ne hotel?

(That I was going to his hotel?)

365. **Delay**: you were there

(You were there)

366. **SA**: Ei! Asem wei deye ye me nwanwa. Mekoraa mennim se na me wɔ ho

(I am even surprised. I don’t even know that I went there)

367. **Delay**: wonkae?

(Don’t you remember?)
368. **SA**: ɛnyɛ sɛ menkae o. ansi

(It isn’t that I do not remember. It didn’t happen)

369. **Delay**: adɛn wo anya **amnesia** anaa?

(Why, are you suffering from **amnesia**?)

370. **SA**: ansi. Ensii da sɛ me kɔɔ Brymo **hotel room**

(It didn’t happen. It never happened that I went to Brymo’s **hotel room**)

371. **Delay**: you can lie through your nose like that?

(You can lie through your nose like that?)

372. **SA**: oh Delay. Daabi daabi menkɔɔ hɔ

(Oh Delay. No, no, I didn’t go there)

373. **Delay**: you can lie through your nose like that and feel comfortable lying through your nose?

(You can lie through your nose like that and feel comfortable lying through your nose?)

374. **SA**: mankɔ Brymo **hotel room**

(I didn’t go to Brymo’s **hotel room**)

375. **Delay**: you can deny people like that?

(You can deny people like that?)

376. **SA**: Delay anka ɛbɛye me de sɛ…metee sɛ worebsa John **question** bi **about** sɛ **what is the worst rumour or something and I would have said Brymo; that I dated Brymo.** That’s what I would have said but you didn’t give me the opportunity to answer that **question** ɛna **worepushi** ɔ ne down my throat.

(Delay I would have been happy if…I heard you asking John a **question** **about** **what is the worst rumour or something and I would have said Brymo; that I dated Brymo.**
That’s what I would have said but you didn’t give me the opportunity to answer that question and you are pushing it down my throat)

377. Delay: I’m not asking you that question so I don’t need that answer. I’m just surprised you are lying through your nose and saying you don’t even know Brymo.

(I’m not asking you that question so I don’t need that answer. I’m just surprised you are lying through your nose and saying you don’t even know Brymo)

378. SA: oh, menim no

(Oh, I know him)

379. Delay: you’ve not dated him and that…

(You’ve not dated him and that)

380. SA: menim no. Sometime ago ɔbaa Ghana beyɛ concert bi ɛna I got to meet him there ɛna ɛdedicatee mnowom bi maa me or sɛ sɛn. ɛno na ɛmaa obiara feeli sɛ mene no wɔ biribi ye.

(I know him. He came for a concert in Ghana sometime ago so I got to meet him there and he dedicated a song to me. That’s why people feel I have something to do with him)

381. Delay: ɛna wokɔɔ Golden Tulip kɔhwehwɛ no

(And you visited him at Golden Tulip)

382. SA: Golden Tulip deɛ mekɔyɛɛ deɛɛ wɔ ho?

(What did I go to do at Golden Tulip?)

383. Delay: ɛkɔɔ ne nkyɛɛ wɔ Nigeria nyinaa?

(You even went to Nigeria to visit him)

384. SA: ei saa?

(Really?)

385. Delay: wo sereɛ koraa kyɛre sɛ woboa
(The way you are laughing even shows that you are telling lies)

386. **SA**: oh, Delay ḅnyẹ nokware
   
   (Oh Delay, it is not true)

387. **Delay**: Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.
   
   (Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.

388. **SA**: Thanks for having me
   
   (Thanks for having me)

389. **Delay**: Yerekọgye **commercial break**. Yereba seisei ara
   
   (We are going for a **commercial break**. We will be right back)