Ewe-English Code-switching on Ghanaian Radio Talk Shows:

The Case of Politicians and Traditional Rulers

By:

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, **Benedicta Dodo Ocloo** and **Godwin Henry Ahlijah**

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My deepest gratitude goes to God Almighty for His abundant grace and mercies which I continue to enjoy. Also, I wish to express my profound appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Daniel Weston for his guidance, advice and comments which have contributed to the successful completion of this thesis. Thank you for making this task fascinating.

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For those whose names I have not mentioned, I have not forgotten about you. I am grateful to you all for your assistance. Thank you all.

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Abstract

One major outcome of language contact which is prevalent in Ghana is the phenomenon of code-switching (CS). This phenomenon permeates many domains of interaction in Ghana, including the domain of radio broadcasting. Though many radio stations in Ghana strive to promote knowledge of indigenous Ghanaian languages, they also provide fertile ground for code-switching between English and indigenous Ghanaian languages.

This thesis investigates the interaction between code-switching, identity and political discourse on Ghanaian radio talk shows, focusing on the code-switching behaviour of two categories of speakers, traditional rulers and politicians. The data for this study was collected from three radio stations located in the Volta region of Ghana and comprises audio recordings of interviews with four politicians and one traditional ruler. The thesis adopts, among others, the theoretical approaches of Myers-Scotton (1993b) and Gumperz (1982) to identify the discourse and social factors that influence the code-switching behaviour of the two groups of participants. The study also investigates what distinct patterns may emerge as a result of the socio-political statuses of the participants.

The analysis of the participants' switching behaviour indicates that code-switching performs discourse-related functions such as quotations, the statement of figures, clarification, emphasis, and is also employed as a principle of economy. The analysis also shows that socially-motivated CS may be employed to draw on prestige, to save face, to assume a position of authority, and to indicate emotions such as anger. The study also shows that traditional rulers may be more inclined to lean more towards Ewe while politicians may be more inclined to switch to English due to the particular discourses that are usually associated with their socio-political statuses.

1. Introduction

Ghana, like most of her Sub-Saharan neighbours, is multilingual and linguistically complex (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). Agbedor (1996), Bodomo (1996, 1997), and Laitin (1994) have all attempted to estimate the number of languages spoken in Ghana. This, however, has proven difficult due to the problem of differentiating between mutually non-intelligible languages and dialects. In a more recent study, Simons and Fennig (2017) put the number of languages spoken in Ghana at 81, of which eight are non-indigenous. Figure 1 below is a language map of Ghana by Lewis (2009) showing some of the languages spoken in the country.

The indigenous Ghanaian languages belong to the Kwa and Gur branches of the Niger-Congo phylum (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). Bodomo (1996) argues that Ghana's indigenous languages can be further classified into ten major language sub-groups. These include the Akan, Mabia, Gbe, Ga-Dangbe, Gurma, Guang, Nzema, Grusi, Buem, and Nafaanra language sub-groups. Some of these language sub-groups contain large numbers of native speakers (Bodomo, 1996). This is partly confirmed by the data on ethnic affiliation provided by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in the 2010 census report. According to the report, Akan has the largest ethnic affiliation with approximately 47.3% of the country's population, followed by Mole-Dagbane (16.6%), Ewe (13.9%), Ga-Dangbe (7.4%), Gurma (5.7%) and Guan (3.7%). Other West African languages, including Hausa, a Chadic language and the Mande languages; Ligbi and Bisa are also spoken in Ghana. Although some of them are widely spoken in the country, the status of these languages as indigenous Ghanaian languages remains debatable (Bodomo, 1996).
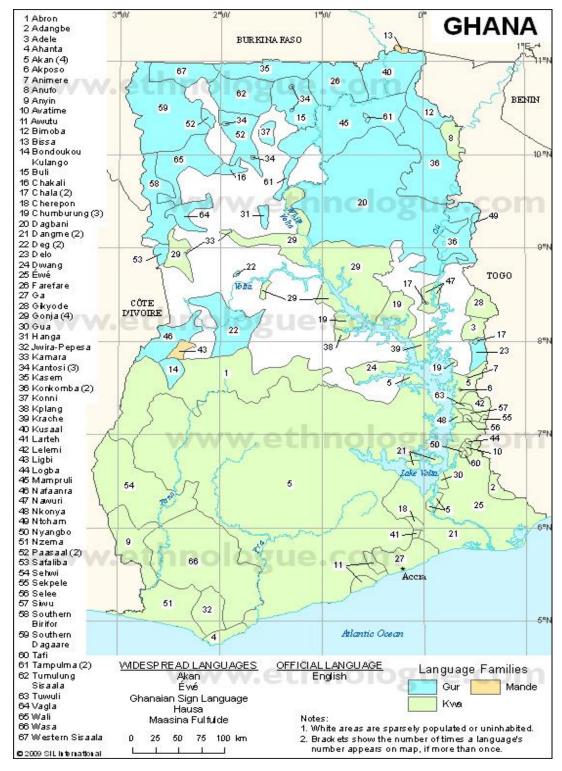
Figure 1: A Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, 2009).

Like most ex-colonies, Ghana maintains English, the language of the British colonisers, as its sole official language (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). During the initial contact between the British and the people of the Gold Coast, the English language was taught to some locals who then served as interpreters between the British and the people of the Gold Coast (Adika, 2012, p. 152). The language was later taught in schools established by British missionaries since English was considered to be crucial to their missionary work. The consolidation of the English language was further promoted by the colonial and missionary language policies. For example, two educational ordinances, passed in 1822 and 1887 respectively, provided financial support and a system of education for missionary and private schools where the English language was taught and used as the medium of instruction (Adika, 2012, pp. 153-154).

Proficiency in the English language was also necessary for holding certain political offices in the colonial administration. As cited in Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu (2008, p. 145), the 1951 constitution of the Gold Coast, as part of the qualifications for "Special and Elected Membership" of the Legislative Assembly, required that a member must be "able to speak, and unless incapacitated…read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly". This provision, according to Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu (2008), was repeated in subsequent constitutions[1] except the 1992 constitution which has been in use till date. Though this requirement was dropped in the current constitution, English is still the language of political discourse in Ghana. It is the language used in the country's parliament and public offices. The majority of the nation's business is carried out in the English language. It is also the language of education and mass communication.

Ghana's constitutional history has been silent on the role of the country's indigenous languages; thus leaving them, as Adika (2012, p. 153) notes, "in the hands of the forces of language contact and the 'stimuli' of the interests of linguists and academics, to ensure their survival as vectors of education, literacy and culture". This tacit neglect of the indigenous Ghanaian languages has sparked debate about the need to choose a national language. Scholars such as Ansre (1970); Chinebuah (1977) and Yankah (2004) have all advocated the choice of an indigenous language as Ghana's national language. This debate has, however, not yielded any practical results because,

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[1] These are the 1969 and 1979 Constitutions of the Republic of Ghana.

as Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu (2008) note, the decision to choose one language from many is politically difficult.

The government of Ghana, however, sponsors nine indigenous Ghanaian languages which are taught and used as the medium of instruction from kindergarten to the third year of basic school. These languages are also taught as compulsory subjects of study from the fourth to the ninth year of basic school. They include Ewe, Akan, Dagaare, Dagbane, Ga-Adangbe, Nzema, Gonja, Kasem, and Gurenne. Though these nine languages are nowhere near the actual number of indigenous languages in Ghana, their selection is based on their predominant use in their various geographical areas. The Bureau of Ghana Languages[2] is tasked with the publication of cultural and educational materials in these government-sponsored languages.

Ewe is the indigenous language that this study focuses on. It belongs to the Gbe cluster of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language phylum (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). In Ghana, Ewe is the second largest indigenous language (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008) with approximately 2,118,252 native speakers in the Volta region (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The language also has second language speakers in the Greater Accra and parts of the Eastern regions of the country. Ewe has different dialects. Some of these dialects as listed in Ameka (1991, p. 3) include: Aŋlɔ (Anlo), Avenɔ (Avenor), Tɔŋu (Tongu), Waci (Watʃi) Aŋfɔe (Anfoe), Dzodze, Kpele, Kpedze, Dodome, Ho, Awudome, Peki, Sovie, Botoku, Kpando, Gbi, and Fodome. According to Ameka (1991), these dialects may also be classified geographically as coastal or southern dialects e.g. Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu etc., central e.g. Ho, Kpedze, Dodome, and northern dialects e.g. Gbi, Kpando, Fodome, etc.

A standard version of Ewe was developed by the Bremen Mission in the nineteenth century. This standard version, which is essentially a written language, is based on the southern varieties of the language, though it is not identical with any of them (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). Unlike the British Wesleyan Missions who promoted education in the English language, the German Bremen Mission promoted education in the Ewe language since there was a resistance to learning

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[2] The Bureau of Ghana Languages is a government institution tasked with the promotion of education in the nine government-sponsored Ghanaian languages. The Bureau publishes educational materials exclusively in these Ghanaian languages.

the German language. This is also because, during this time, the Togoland (now the Volta region) was a German colony and literacy in the Ewe language was promoted over English, the language of their British competitors. The Bremen Missions facilitated the production of literature in the Ewe language, examples of which are the Ewe translation of the Holy Bible *(Eʋegbe Biblia)* and the hymnal for Evangelical Presbyterian churches *(Nyanyui Hame Hadzigbalẽ)*. This resulted in widespread literacy in the Ewe language and the acceptance of standard Ewe (Lawrance, 2005, p. 223; as cited in Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008, p. 153). Though literacy in the Ewe language declined after the separation of the Togoland between the British and the French in 1914, standard Ewe remains actively in use in both public and private domains (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008). For instance, it remains the language of some Presbyterian and Catholic churches in Ghana, especially in the Volta region. Standard Ewe is also taught as a compulsory subject in basic schools and as an elective in senior high schools in the Volta region. Standard Ewe is also taught in some of the country's universities.

1.2 An Overview of Ghana's Socio-Political Landscape

After attaining independence from colonial rule, Ghana went through a checkered political dispensation characterised by years of military rule. In 1992, the country adopted the 4th Republican Constitution and became a democracy. The nation's democratic dispensation is anchored in three arms of government: the executive, legislature, and the judiciary. The executive is headed by a president assisted by a vice president, ministers and deputy ministers. Currently, the legislature is made up of 275 members of parliament and a speaker of parliament who presides over parliamentary proceedings. The judiciary is mandated to interpret the laws.

Apart from her democratic system of government, the country has a structured chieftaincy system made up of traditional rulers. These traditional rulers are selected by traditional kingmakers based mainly on clan and lineage relationships. According to the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD), at least 80% of Ghanaians pledge allegiance to one chief or the other (Owusu-Mensah, 2014). The traditional ruler, once enstooled[3], becomes the mediator

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[3] In Ghana, traditional rulers are enstooled or enskined. The stool or the skin is therefore the Ghanaian equivalent of thrones in other cultures.

in non-civil disputes within his traditional jurisdiction[4]. He also becomes the custodian of the indigenous traditions, culture, language, and history of his people (Owusu-Mensah, 2014). These are some of the primary duties of a traditional ruler.

Article 276(1) of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana prohibits traditional rulers from taking part in active party politics (Government of Government Of Ghana, 1992). Any traditional ruler who wishes to hold a political office in the government of Ghana is required to abdicate his stool or skin. This may be an attempt at preserving the sanctity of the chieftaincy institution since politicians are usually the targets of public ridicule and criticism.

Unlike politicians, a traditional ruler's behaviour, linguistic or otherwise, is often constrained by taboos and other cultural restrictions (Assimeng, 1996). Being the custodians of culture and language, they are also expected to promote the culture and language of their people. Thus, traditional rulers are more inclined to speak their indigenous languages more often when speaking in public unless the interactional situation requires otherwise. The linguistic behaviour of politicians, on the other hand, may be largely determined by the topics under discussion, the images they wish to create for themselves, and their political motives rather than cultural restrictions. The contrasts that politicians and traditional rulers exhibit in their linguistic behaviour is what is of interest to this study.

1.3 The Inception of FM Radio in Ghana

Radio broadcasting in Ghana was first introduced in 1935. This, however, was only available to approximately 300 subscribers in Accra (Yevudey, 2009). In 1954, the Gold Coast Broadcasting Systems, which later became known as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), was established. The corporation provided two radio services, Radio 1 and Radio 2. Radio 1 was dedicated to the broadcasting of programmes in the local languages: Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbane, and Hausa. Radio 2, on the other hand, was dedicated to the broadcast of programmes in English (Press Reference, 2017). The GBC later expanded with the opening of new FM radio stations such as Radio GAR in Accra, Twin City Radio in Sekondi-Takoradi, Garden City Radio in Kumasi, and Volta Star Radio in Ho. In 2001, the Criminal Libel Law that undermined Press freedom was repealed. This act led to a significant increase in the number of private media

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[4] The traditional ruler's jurisdiction is the traditional area or the community he leads.

houses in the country. Currently, almost every district in Ghana has a local radio station which transmits in that community's local language (Owusu, 2011). The data for this study was collected from three radio stations in the Volta region of Ghana.

The many languages spoken in Ghana are always in continuous interaction with each other. This has led to the manifestation of certain language-contact phenomena in Ghana. One such phenomenon is *code-switching*, defined by Myers-Scotton (2009) as the use of two language varieties in the same interaction. Code-switching (hereafter CS) can be readily observed in many domains of interaction in Ghana. It can be observed in private interactions (Amuzu, 2012), in religious discourse (Albakry & Ofori, 2011), radio and television (Flamenbaum, 2014; Vanderpuije, 2011; Yevudey, 2009) and in the domain of education (Yevudey, 2013; 2014). This study focuses on one such public domain, FM radio.

Though many local radio stations have resolved to promote the use of the local languages, almost all radio talk-shows heavily feature switching into English; radio stations in the Volta region are no exception. However, despite the prevalence of Ewe-English code-switching on radio talk-shows, as recognised by Yevudey (2009), there has been limited research into this situation. This study aims to provide insight into the phenomenon through empirical analysis of English-Ewe CS as employed by politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk-shows.

1.4 Importance of the Research

This research sheds light on the language choices of politicians and a less-studied but important group of speakers, traditional rulers. It provides insight into how the socio-political positions occupied by these two groups of speakers influence their CS behaviour. This study will also provide the material basis for future research into code-switching in Ghana.

1.5 Research Objective and Questions

The main objective of the research is to investigate the interaction between code-switching, identity and political discourse on Ghanaian radio talk-shows. This objective will be achieved by answering the following questions:

1. What pragmatic factors influence the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers?

Many researches have argued that CS is influenced by factors that are internal and external to the conversational situation (Auer, 1984; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Gumperz (1982) provides a functional list that CS may fulfil in a given interaction. The CA approach also argues that CS may be used as a contextualisation cue in an interaction (see Chapter 2). This question is formulated to guide the identification of the pragmatic functions that CS performs in the utterances of the participants in the current study.

2. What are the social motivations for CS among politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk-shows?

Myers-Scotton (1993a, p. 476) mentions that CS is "almost always socially motivated". This question is formulated to guide the researcher to explore the possible social norms that influence the CS behaviour of the participants.

3. Can the CS patterns of traditional rulers and politicians be distinguished, and if so, how can these differences be explained?

The data will be examined for any differences in the switching patterns of the participants. The possible sociological motivations for any existing differences will also be investigated.

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis

The structure of this thesis is as follows: Chapter 1 presents Ghana's sociolinguistic situation, the country's languages and its linguistic history. The chapter also presents a brief overview of Ghana's socio-political landscape as well as the history of the operation of radio stations in Ghana. Chapter 2 presents a brief discussion of the concept of bi/multilingualism in general and bi/multilingualism in Ghana specifically. This chapter also includes a discussion of the theoretical framework of this thesis as well as an overview of the relevant literature. There is also an exposition of Ghana's diglossic situation, showing the functional distribution of Ewe and English, the two languages that this thesis focuses on. Chapter 3 presents the methodology which

comprises the selection of radio stations, the collection and the transcription of the data for the study. In Chapter 4, the data for the thesis is presented and analysed for distinct patterns of CS, and the socio-pragmatic factors that motivate the CS behaviour of the participants. Chapter 5 concludes the study with a summary of the study and its findings, the limitations of the study, and the researcher's recommendation for future research.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a discussion of Ghana's sociolinguistic situation and an overview of the country's socio-political landscape. It also discussed radio broadcasting in Ghana. The importance of the study, its objectives, and research questions have also been discussed in this chapter.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of bi/multilingualism in general and bi/multilingualism in Ghana specifically. It also presents a discussion of the functional distribution of Ewe and English within Ghana's diglossic model. The chapter also discusses an overview of previous research on CS in Radio and establishes the theoretical framework of this study.

2.2 Bi/Multilingualism

Defining bilingualism is a challenging task as almost every proposed definition for the phenomenon seems to raise some form of methodological and /or theoretical difficulty. One such definition is by Bloomfield (1933 pp. 55-56) who defines bilingualism as "native-like control over two languages". Such a definition imposes a strict requirement of high proficiency in both languages and leaves out language users who possess some level of competence in a second language but whose competence level cannot be classified as "native-like". It raises the question of what degree of proficiency a language user needs to achieve in order to be considered a bilingual.

Other scholarly works on bilingualism have proposed minimalist definitions that cover language users who would otherwise not be considered bilinguals according to Bloomfield's definition. An example of such a definition is proposed by Weinreich (1968, p. 1) who argues that bilingualism is "the practice of alternately using two languages".

Although some societies are still largely monolingual, bilingualism at the level of the society is also a wide-spread phenomenon. Societal bilingualism is defined by Hamers and Blanc (2000, p. 6) as "the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual ".

Other works like Grosjean (1982) and Mackey (1962, p. 51) extend the concept of bilingualism to speakers of two or more languages. According to Mackey (1962, p. 51), the definition of bilingualism should include not only speakers of two but any number of languages. Grosjean (1982) also further expands the term bilingualism to include speakers of different variations of

the same language. Thus, bilingualism and multilingualism come to be grouped under the same umbrella. As far as defining bilingualism is concerned, it is appropriate to say that the term has "open-ended semantics" (Beardsmore, 1986, p. 1).

2.3 Bi/Multilingualism in Ghana

As previously discussed (see Chapter 1), Ghana's linguistic landscape is a complex one with many languages in constant interaction. The multiplicity of mutually non-intelligible languages and dialects give rise to various language contact phenomena, prominent among which is bi/multilingualism.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (2007), almost 32% of Ghana's population speak English. In addition to the English language, these speakers are also proficient in at least one Ghanaian language which they use at home and in other less formal domains. A fraction of the country's population also speaks French as a second language due to the geographical location of the country. Ghana is bordered on three sides by French-speaking countries; Togo to the east, Côte d'Ivoire to the west, and Burkina Faso to the north. French is also taught in Ghanaian schools including some of the country's universities. A few other European languages such as Russian and Spanish are taught in some Ghanaian universities. The Middle Eastern language, Arabic, is also taught in some universities and Islamic schools in Ghana. It is also used in the country's mosques during religious proceedings.

The multilingual situation in Ghana is more evident in the country's urban areas. The capital, Accra, for instance, is described as "a microcosmic melting pot" of the country's languages (Albakry & Ofori, 2011). It is the converging point of people from all parts of the country, due to migration and trade. English, Hausa, Akan, and Ga are the most common languages spoken as lingua francas in Accra (Kropp-Dakubu, 2009). A section of the population also speaks pidgin English; a mixture of some Ghanaian languages and English, as a lingua franca (Obeng, 1997).

The total population of the Volta Region of Ghana, where the current study is based, was estimated to be around 2,118,252 with a literate population of 1,492,538, according to the 2010 National Population and Housing Census results (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Based on these statistics, the assumption can be made that approximately half of the region's population

speaks English in addition to Ewe. The northern part of the region is also home to some speakers of Akan. Based on this linguistic background, the region can also be considered a multilingual society.

The languages spoken in Ghana can be classified according to their functions. This is further discussed in section 2.4 below.

2.4 Ghana's Diglossia

A discussion of Ewe and English within a diglossic model is relevant to this study because it explains how these two languages are functionally compartmentalised by the Ghanaian linguistic community. The current study, following Myers-Scotton (2006), assumes that the strict compartmentalisation of the languages is not always maintained by the speakers. In linguistic communities with extended diglossia (see below), as is the case in Ghana, there is a third code between the allocated languages and this third linguistic choice is code-switching (see section 2.5).

Diglossia is the situation where two codes, either distinct languages or varieties of the same language, perform two distinct sets of functions in the same linguistic community. Ferguson (1959) defined diglossia as follows:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of a language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Fishman (1967) extended the meaning of diglossia from Ferguson's definition to include not only two different varieties of the same language but also two different languages. In the diglossic model, a distinction is made between a High (H) variety and a Low (L) variety which are in "complementary distribution" in a speech community (Saxena, 2014, p. 92). The H variety

which is the superposed variety is used in formal domains while the L variety, which is the less overtly prestigious variety, is used in informal domains.

In Ghana, the English language is a language of high prestige and is, therefore, the H variety according to the diglossic model. The prestige associated with the English language is evident in the attitudes of Ghanaians towards English, especially in comparison to other indigenous Ghanaian languages. This passage from Saah (1986) vividly describes the prestige that is associated with English in Ghana:

> English, therefore, enjoys great prestige in the country as it is seen as a language of power and security. Competence in English gives one the power to exercise authority; it is a key to one's advancement in society. It enhances one's chances of getting a good job. A person who wants to feel secure learns English as it is one of the requirements for employment in many areas (pg. 370).

English has an H function as the country's sole official language (Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu, 2008, p. 144; Obeng, 1997, p. 65). It is also used as the language of formal education, as well as the language of politics and mass communication. In addition to its H functions, English is one of the major lingua francas for inter-ethnic communication in Ghana (Obeng, 1997). In the capital of Ghana, Accra, where people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds meet, English is one of the languages adopted as the medium of communication to break down existing language barriers. English is also used significantly in informal domains such as the home by the educated elite (Albakry & Ofori, 2011; Forson, 1979; Saah, 1986).

The indigenous Ghanaian languages are the L varieties in Ghana. Ewe, for instance, is an L variety in Ghana as a whole. However, within the Ewe communities, the language constitutes a case of nested diglossia. Ewe has an H variety, standard Ewe, which is learned in schools. This variety has a codified grammatical system and is used in the writing of academic literature such as textbooks and examination materials for studying the language. The H variety is also used for religious literature and during some religious services. In some Catholic Churches in the Volta region, for instance, all prayers and their responses are said in standard Ewe, although the congregants may chit-chat among themselves in the L variety. The L variety of Ewe, on the other hand, is what is acquired as an L1 by children at home. This is the variety that is used in informal

interactions such as a conversation between parents and their children, and between friends. The statuses of Ewe and English in the diglossic model are likely to influence the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers. This study hypothesises that politicians speaking on FM radio will be more inclined towards switching into English, the H variety, while traditional rulers will be inclined towards Ewe, the L variety.

As stated earlier, in Ghana, an example of a linguistic community with extended diglossia, there is the probability of a third linguistic choice (in this case, between English and Ewe) which is Code-switching.

2.5 Code-switching

Code-switching is a manifestation of bilingualism and can be studied from a number of perspectives. CS can be approached from a sociolinguistic perspective in order to investigate the social motivations and/or the pragmatic functions that CS performs, or from a grammatical perspective that characterises or explains the grammatical structure of CS (Myers-Scotton, 2009, p. 474). This thesis does the former. Many definitions have been proposed for CS in the linguistic literature the most accepted of which is that of Gumperz (1977). In this work, Gumperz, a pioneer in CS research, defines CS as the "juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems within the same exchange" (Gumperz, 1977, p. 1). With this definition, Gumperz covers the alternating use of languages, dialects, and styles.

Gardner-Chloros (2009) raises some of the terminological issues associated with CS. She indicates that even the phenomenon of CS is itself misleading. For example, the term code-switching originates from the field of communication technology and originally had nothing to do with language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 11). However, the term 'code', which originally comes from the field of information technology, has become an umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles and registers.

Among the terminological difficulties is the distinction between CS and lexical borrowing. Some researchers find it necessary to distinguish between the two phenomena (Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood, 1987; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990). Poplack (2004) argues that established loanwords differ from CS in terms of frequency and assimilation

into the recipient language. According to her, while established loanwords are recurrent and usually bear some syntactic, morphological, and often, phonological similarities to the recipient language, code-switched lexical items are usually less recurrent and may not be assimilated to the recipient language. Poplack (2004), however, indicates that the factors of frequency and assimilation may not always hold for lexical borrowing and this results in what she calls nonce borrowing. Nonce borrowings, like CS, are less recurrent and may sometimes be phonologically assimilated into the recipient language. Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Myers-Scotton (1997) form another school of thought who consider this kind of distinction unnecessary.

Another terminological difficulty involves the distinction between the terms code-switching and code-mixing. Kachru (1978) and Muysken (2000) are among the studies that attempt to make this distinction. Though the differences between the two have not been clearly specified, Auer and Eastman (2010) often point out that the latter is used for switching within the sentence while the former is reserved for language alternation within syntactical units. This thesis, however, follows the definition provided in Myers-Scotton (2009, p. 473) which states that CS is "the use of two language varieties in the same conversation". A distinction can be made between two patterns of CS, namely *inter-sentential* CS and *intra-sentential* CS (Poplack, 1980). Inter-sentential CS is the type of CS that occurs between two sentences while intra-sentential CS occurs within the same sentence. The two patterns of CS are further demonstrated in sentences (a) and (b) below:

Miedo ame siwo le miaƒe habɔbɔame kpɔ **for several months**.

*We have tested the people in our association **for several months***.

Intra-sentential CS

Aƒetɔ, gbɔdzi ɖe anyi. **Why are you so tense**?

*Gentleman, be patient. **Why are you so tense***?

Inter-sentential CS.

2.6 Code-switching in Radio Broadcasting

The phenomenon of CS is pervasive in many domains in bi/multilingual communities. FM radio broadcasting is one such domain. FM radio broadcasting presents a forum where speakers from various linguistic backgrounds actively engage in debates and discussions on a wide range of topics. As a result, many languages interact, leading to CS. CS in radio, however, has received limited attention. In Ghana, for instance, despite the popularity of CS on FM radio stations, the area remains relatively uncharted. Some of the available literature on CS in FM radio broadcasting including Flamenbaum (2014), Lam (2013) and Hosain (2014) are reviewed in this section.

An important work in the study of CS in Radio that is crucial to this thesis is Rachel Flamenbaum's study of the prevalence of intra-sentential CS in Ghanaian Radio. Gathering data from two major radio stations whose programmes are predominantly transmitted in Akan, Flamenbaum (2014) predicted that contrary to the popular belief that bilinguals alternate between languages to cover up for their inadequacies in one language, Akan-English bilinguals switch codes for other reasons.

Using an approach that combines conversation analysis (CA) with ethnographic methodologies and information structure, her data analysis showed that Ghanaian bilinguals use intra-sentential CS more frequently than inter-sentential CS. The data also indicated that bilinguals switch to negotiate the conversational floor and to introduce "new" information which is either meant to orient co-participants to the speakers' stance on an on-going issue or to reveal information that was previously unknown (Flamenbaum, 2014, p. 347). In studying CS behaviour in a linguistic community such as Ghana, the pragmatic functions of CS cannot be entirely decoupled from the social factors that motivate the phenomenon. This is because in a society such as Ghana, language choice, especially in a public domain such as the radio, is heavily influenced by social factors such as ethnic identity, socio-political status, and education, among others. Speakers on the radio are constantly aware of the social norms, and this awareness impacts their code choices. As a result, a strictly pragmatic analysis of the CS phenomenon only tells half of the story. This thesis aims to explore in detail both the pragmatic and the social factors that influence CS on Ghanaian radio talk shows.

Lam (2013) investigated Cantonese-English CS and code-mixing (CM) in the contemporary broadcasting domain in Hong Kong. Focusing on youth-oriented television and radio programmes, Lam (2013) adopted a sociolinguistic perspective in analysing the data in order to examine CS and CM from the context of social norms, identities and interpersonal relationships that participants maintain with one another. The study adopted a sociolinguistic perspective because analysing the data solely from a linguistic perspective will lead to the generation of an analysis that, in the researcher's own words, "will hardly bear any value in the real world" (Lam, 2013).

According to Lam's analysis, CS in radio broadcasting is motivated by "the principle of economy", "generality and specificity", "euphemism", and "emotional buffer". Regarding the principle of economy, participants may prefer English expressions to their Cantonese equivalents due to brevity. Also, the capacity of such English expressions to capture the more general and/or very specific meanings that the participants wish to communicate makes them more preferable to their Cantonese or Chinese equivalents. His results also indicated that CS acts as an emotional buffer when speakers employ it to distance themselves, psychologically from topics or expressions that trigger intense emotions. For the function of euphemism, CS enables the speaker to avoid making reference to potentially face-threatening expressions. CS may also be employed by speakers on radio as a strategy to change tone, achieve entertainment value by enhancing the comic effect of their utterances, as well as to allow speakers create a "western image" for themselves (Lam, 2013).

Apart from the linguistically-motivated functions that CS performs, Lam (2013) focused on the functions of CS in the light of the social norms of the Hong Kong population. However, little or no attention was paid to the functions of CS within the interaction itself. The research offered no comments on meanings generated within the sequence of the actual interactions. As mentioned later in this chapter, the imposition of the analyst's own interpretation of the data is one of the criticisms levelled against the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) by researchers such as Auer (1984) and Li Wei (1994) within the conversation analysis approach (see 2.7.2.1). This thesis aims to provide a critical analysis of the pragmatic functions and the social motivations of CS, bearing in mind both the social norms within the Ghanaian society as well as the meanings that are generated within the sequence of the interactions in the data collected.

Hosain (2014) is one of the few available studies of CS on radio. The study sought to offer a sociolinguistic analysis of the use of code-mixing in FM radio in Bangladesh. In that study, code-mixing was defined as the current study defines CS. The study was aimed at exploring the social motivations of code-mixing. The data for the research was collected through audio recordings of selected programmes on four radio stations in Bangladesh. Data was also collected through questionnaires distributed to the listeners, and hosts of selected programmes. His findings indicated that code-mixing is a widespread phenomenon on radio in Bangladesh and every listener is aware of this. His findings also showed that two types of factors motivate code-mixing: linguistic and attitudinal factors. Hosain (2014) listed the factors that influenced code-mixing on radio in Bangladesh as role identification, register identification, and simplification (p. 108). In terms of the attitudinal factors, Hosain (2014) attributed code-mixing to the prestige and positioning of the speaker within the social hierarchy. One major shortcoming of Hosain (2014) is, however, the lack of examples to support his claims. He provided examples to indicate the types of code-mixing he observed from the data but failed to provide any examples to support the conclusions of the research objectives. This raises the question of how those conclusions were reached. This thesis will support its findings with excerpts of the empirical data transcribed for the study.

2.7 Theoretical Approach

Research into the phenomenon of CS has been carried out using two main approaches. These are the symbolic and sequential approaches. Researchers within the symbolic approach hold the perception that different languages in any given conversation have symbolic meanings and participants' code choices are indicative of the symbolic meanings they wish to make. On the other hand, researchers within the sequential approach argue that meaning is generated through the sequential positioning of languages in any given interactional situation (Cashman, 2008). In the subsequent sections of this chapter, these two main approaches are discussed, and their relevance to the current study is shown.

2.7.1 The Symbolic Approach

2.7.1.1 Gumperz

Prior to Gumperz's ground-breaking work on CS, the phenomenon was rarely discussed, and if it was, it usually occurred as part of a larger discussion (Clyne, 1969; 1972; Hasselmo, 1970; 1972; in Myers-Scotton, 1993b). CS was previously viewed as some form of interference associated with the learning of a new language (Gumperz, 1982). John Gumperz is often considered the pioneer of research in code-switching studies (Cashman, 2008; Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Gumperz's work on CS brought the phenomenon to the fore and situated it firmly as a field of study in its own right. Gumperz has produced a number of important studies within the field of CS. The 1972 publication by Blom and Gumperz, which was based on research conducted in a rural community in Norway, identified two types of CS: *situational* and *metaphorical switching* (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, pp. 424-425).

Situational switching, according to Blom and Gumperz (1972, p. 424), "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" so that a change in language choice is the direct result of a change in the physical environment of the conversation. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is influenced by changes in factors internal to the conversation. Here, a change in linguistic choice is caused by a change in "particular kinds of topics or subject matter" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 425). A refined form of metaphorical switch is presented in Gumperz (1982) as *conversational* switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

Many studies of CS including Gumperz (1982) have argued that CS is not always motivated by speakers' inability to find words to express themselves in one language or the other. Rather, in most cases, the situation expressed in the switched linguistic variety can be equally well expressed in the other variety. Accordingly, Gumperz (1982) outlines other conversational functions that CS can perform within an interaction, and they include quotations, interjections, reiterations, message qualification and personalization versus objectivisation (pp. 75-81).

Gumperz (1982) also, makes a distinction between *we-they* codes. The we-code is the ethnically specific minority language which is used for in-group communication and informal activities. The they-code, on the other hand, is the majority language which is usually associated with more formal and less personal out-group relationships (Gumperz, 1982).

According to Gumperz (1982), speakers signal and listeners interpret the different language choices and codes through what is known as *contextualization cues.* These *contextualization cues* are in the form of "surface features of message form" (p.131) that help with the interpretation of the different code choices.

Per the conversational situations of the data analysed later in this study, the instances of CS observed can be classified as equivalents of Gumperz's metaphorical or conversational switching. This is due to the lack of change in the external situations of the various interactions recorded. Participants do not exit and no new participants enter the conversations. CS will also be shown later to perform certain discourse-related functions similar to those outlined by Gumperz (1982).

2.7.1.2 The Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is developed as a tool for explaining CS data. More importantly, it is based on theories that are instrumental in explaining a speaker's code choice in general. The Markedness Model posits that in addition to the speaker's linguistic competence, the speaker also possesses a markedness metric which is part of his/her innate cognitive faculty. This markedness metric enables the speaker to weigh linguistic choices as more unmarked or less unmarked depending on the type of interaction in which they occur (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Generally, participants in an interaction choose the unmarked code since it is safer, more expected, and conforms to the norms of the community. This, however, is not always the case since speakers usually weigh the possible outcomes of the various linguistic code choices available to them in the interaction before "typically unconsciously" choosing one linguistic variety (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 75).

The basis of the Markedness Model is the *principle of negotiation*. This principle of negotiation states that speakers in an interaction are in negotiation to determine the Rights-and-Obligation sets (RO sets) that should be in effect between them during that particular conversational situation (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). According to (Myers-Scotton, 1993b), participants in any interaction share RO sets and the unmarked code choice for achieving a given RO set is the linguistic choice that is the most expected. The marked choice, on the other hand, is the one that is more surprising and shows a deviation or break from the communicative norm (Givón, 1979 as cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Three maxims also follow from this negotiation principle: the

unmarked-choice maxim, the *marked-choice maxim,* and the *exploratory-choice maxim* (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, pp. 114-142)*.*

A distinction is made between two types of unmarked CS: *sequential* unmarked CS and CS as an unmarked choice (unmarked CS) (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). In sequential unmarked CS, a change in the RO sets is triggered by a change in external factors such as a participant exiting or joining in. The participants then switch code to index the new unmarked RO sets. This type of unmarked CS is similar to situational switching as described by Blom and Gumperz (1972). Myers-Scotton (1993b), however, emphasises that while the factors that trigger the change in RO sets may be external to the speaker, the switch in code is still speaker–motivated. This, she says, is because the decision to switch from one code to the other ultimately lies with the speaker. In the case of CS as an unmarked choice, speakers continuously switch between two or more codes. Unmarked CS occurs when speakers wish to simultaneously index the identities associated with the unmarked use of more than one code especially in their informal in-group interactions (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 117). Structurally, unmarked CS typically involves intra-sentential switching, as well as switching within the word (Myers-Scotton, 1993b).

In cases of CS as a marked choice, the speaker breaks away from the expected RO set in an interaction to negotiate a new RO set as the unmarked RO set for the new interactional situation. However, the negotiation for new RO sets may fail, and the original unmarked RO set will thus remain in place. Myers-Scotton stresses that though CS as a marked choice may be motivated by a number of factors, all of these can be subsumed under one general factor, which is "to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 132).

Finally, when there is a lack of clarity with regards to the appropriate code choice to establish the expected RO set in a given interaction, the speaker may use CS to explore the various code choices for the interaction. In using CS as an exploratory choice, the speaker proposes a first code, and then another code if the addressee fails to recognise the first code choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 142).

As will be seen later in this study (see Chapter 4), the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio are motivated by factors such as their socio-political status

and their ethnic identities among others. It will be shown that the choices of the marked or the unmarked code are dependent on the social distance and the identities these interlocutors wish to establish for themselves.

2.7.1.3 Criticism of the Symbolic Approach

The symbolic approach has been criticised by other researchers such as Cashman (2008) and Li Wei (1998). The approach has been criticised mainly for its heavy dependence on the analysts' own interpretations of speakers' motivations for CS (e.g., Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 1994). Myers-Scotton (1993b) in her explanation of the maxims and their application in the Markedness Model, admits that the speakers' identities and their intentions cannot be held up for verification since they are not based on empirical research. This lack of empirical evidence leaves room for the imposition of the analyst's own interpretations on the CS data (Li Wei, 1998). Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) mention that this kind of analyst interpretation is dangerous especially in cases where the analyst is an outsider and has limited knowledge of the linguistic history of the community under study. They also criticise the Markedness Model for presenting identity negotiation as the most important function of CS (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994, p. 415; as reported by Cashman, 2008, p. 282).

Myers-Scotton (1993b) also points out some shortcomings of Gumperz's models. According to her, whereas the situational and metaphorical switching dichotomy makes sense to some researchers in the field of CS studies, it is difficult to understand exactly what is intended by it. Additionally, she points out the existence of unexplored similarities and a necessary co-dependency between the two models. To buttress her point, she cites Pride (1979) who states that the definitions of the two types of switching are unclear and that situational and metaphorical switching are not necessarily separate. She, also, argues that whereas Gumperz's contextualization cues may be a useful label for CS, it does not explain or tell us why CS occurs. Gumperz's we-they codes distinction has also been criticised as being problematic since this distinction assumes that there is "a stable interpretation for codes in *all* interactions" (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 54). Auer (1984; as mentioned in Li Wei, 1998), also criticises Gumperz's unclear definition of *"situation"* and its use as an analytic concept. Auer argues that situation is not a fixed set of factors that serves as a constraint on language use. Rather, the situation evolves

as the interaction proceeds. Also, Auer (1991; as reported in Wei, 1994), finds Gumperz's list of functions to be problematic. He argues that the list of functions is poorly defined and too limited since speakers can use language in many creative ways, leading to the performance of an infinite number of functions.

In the introduction of Auer (1984), he emphasises the need for a shift in how CS has been studied so far. He pushes for CS to be approached "from the interactional perspective" (p. 2). The Conversation Analysis (CA) approach discussed below is one of the approaches that attempt to resolve the shortcomings of the symbolic approach.

2.7.2 The Sequential Approach

2.7.2.1 Conversation Analysis

In the wake of the inadequacies of the symbolic approach to the study of CS, researchers have proposed a shift towards a more interaction-oriented approach (e.g., Auer 1984). The theory of conversation analysis (CA) is the main theory under the sequential approach. CA aims at analysing talk-in-interaction from an ethnomethodological point of view (Cashman, 2008). The CA approach theorises that any given interaction is sequentially organised, and meaning is sequentially realised as one turn influences a subsequent turn in the interaction. CA attempts to analyse talk-in-interaction to arrive at participants' own interpretations rather than imposing the analysts' interpretations on conversational situations, as is the case with models under the symbolic approach (Cashman, 2008).

Auer finds Gumperz's notion of contextualisation cues relevant to the analysis of talk under the CA approach. Auer (1995, p. 119) argues that just like other contextualisation cues listed by Gumperz (1982), bilinguals also employ CS as a contextualisation cue. As a contextualisation cue, CS may be used either on its own or together with other prosodic or gestural cues to orient other participants to the changes occurring in the interactional situation, and to signal how the changes should be interpreted. CS as a contextualisation cue could be used to indicate contrast and/or to introduce new content into the conversation. For example, Li Wei (1994) in a study of the Chinese-English community of Newcastle-upon-Tyne found that CS may be used to provide contrast between turns, to mark dispreferred second parts and to organise repairs, in which case a speaker may use a different language to initiate repairs (Li Wei, 1994).

The CA approach does not assign much importance to the social background of the interaction. The social norms are only considered relevant under CA when they are made relevant to the conversation by the participants. Within CS, analytical focus is on the patterns and meanings that the conversation gives rise to on its own.

The CA approach has been known to have two major advantages against the symbolic approach (Li Wei, 2002; as cited in Cashman, 2008). First, it focuses on analysing speakers' linguistic choices in light of the context that is generated as the interaction proceeds, rather than on any external social norms. Second, this focus on the sequence of turns in the interaction gives priority to "the speakers' interpretation of the talks as evidenced in their behaviour" and by so doing, limits "the interpretational leeway" of the analyst (p. 164). The analyst is thereby restricted from imposing his own interpretations on the speakers' intentions.

The CA approach allows the current study to follow a sequential analysis (where necessary, since some of the data constitute monologues) of the data to arrive at meanings that are generated within the context of the interactions themselves.

2.7.2.2 Criticism of the Sequential Approach

The conversation analysis (CA) approach to language choice has been criticised mainly by linguistic anthropologists for the shortfalls in its analytical procedures and methods; most of these methods being the arguments that CA practitioners advance in support of their theories.

Prominent among the criticisms levelled against the CA approach is its negligence of relevant "aspects of the wider social context" to the participants in an interaction (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001, p. 5). They criticise the CA approach for not paying attention to "who the participants are" outside of the interaction, and the social identities they may have brought along into the interaction. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) also argue that the CA approach downplays the speakers' motivations. They say that "to the extent that motivations are considered, they are discussed as a feature of certain individuals at certain times but not as universally present" (p. 5).

2.7.3 Application of Theories

It is apparent from the theoretical framework discussed so far that interlocutors are crucial to the analysis of language use. Through the study of interlocutors' verbal actions, the proponents of the theories discussed above have laid down methodologies for analysing talk in order to gain insight into the linguistic behaviour of language users. It is clear that since language is dynamic and language users are capable of manipulating language on several levels to yield an endless number of functions, no single theory is capable of fully accounting for the social motivations for CS or how meaning is generated through language choice in conversation. Therefore, as will be seen later, this thesis will combine all the theories discussed above in the analysis of its data.

2.8 Conclusion of Chapter

In this chapter, a discussion of bi/multilingualism was presented. The chapter also presented the functional compartmentalisation of Ewe and English within Ghana's diglossic model. A discussion of relevant previous research and the theoretical framework of the study were also presented.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the methodological techniques used in this study. The main objective of this study is explored through a sociolinguistic approach to collecting and analysing code-switching data from selected radio stations in the Volta region.

3.2 The Participants

The objective of the study, as previously stated, is to investigate the interaction between code-switching, identity and political discourse on Ghanaian radio. This objective is explored through the analysis of audio recordings of interactions involving two groups of participants: traditional rulers and politicians. The first group is represented by one speaker: a traditional ruler (also known as a chief). The traditional ruler in this group is the chief of Akyemfo Gborta in the Central Tongu District of the Volta region of Ghana. This speaker is labelled **CH**. The second group of participants is the group comprising the politicians. This group is made up of three members of parliament; **MP1**, **MP2**, and **MP3**, and an executive member of one of the two leading political parties; **G2**.

The three radio stations transmit to listeners all over the Volta region with Jubilee radio reaching as far as the Republic of Togo. The target audience of each speaker, however, can be defined based on the topics of the discussions analysed later in the study. The traditional ruler, **CH**, addresses his subjects: the members of the Akyemfo Gborta traditional area, since the topic under discussion is related to the traditional festival celebrated by the people of this traditional area. **MP1** and **MP2** discuss general issues targeted at all the listeners of Radio Jubilee and Radio Hogbe respectively. **MP3,** based on the topic of discussion, addresses the members of his constituency, South Tongu, particularly the landowners in the constituency who are interested in rice cultivation.

3.3 Selection of Radio Stations

The selection of radio stations for this study was undertaken using purposive sampling. Purposive sampling, according to Oliver (2006), is a non-probability sampling method in which the selection of participants is based on criteria such as specialist knowledge of the research issues, willingness and the capacity to participate in the research. This sampling method allows for the

selection of participants based on the researcher's judgement of who is better equipped to provide the relevant information for the research. The researcher thus purposefully selected three radio stations in the Volta region of Ghana. The three radio stations are Radio Jubilee, Radio Hogbe and Dela Radio.

Radio Jubilee is located at Vui in the Keta Municipality of the Volta region. It was established in July 2004 and has been transmitting since then. Its daily Morning Show Programme (MSP) dubbed *Aguadze* ('a new day has come') is the source of the data collected from this radio station for the present study. This show comprises the news broadcast in Ewe, sports highlights, funeral announcements, advertisements and a discussion of major political and developmental issues as well as major news headlines both on the local and national levels.

Dela radio was established in 2010 and is located at Adidome in the Central Tongu District of the Volta region. In addition to entertainment programmes, the station also has a daily MSP, *Gblɔ navo* ('say it and be free'), which is a panel discussion of headline political and developmental issues. This morning show is the source of the data collected from this radio station.

The third radio station, Radio Hogbe, was established in 2012 and is located at Anloga, also in the Keta Municipality. This station was established to promote the culture and traditions of the people of Anlo. In line with this aim, this station also has a daily MSP dubbed *Nubueke* ('it is another day'), which is dedicated to discussing issues relating to the culture, politics and development of the town. The data from this radio station is collected from its MSP.

3.3.1 Reasons for the Choice of the Radio stations

Radio is a valuable source of data in sociolinguistic research because it provides a context for unscripted talk and debate. The choice of the radio stations discussed above is based on a number of reasons. First, these radio stations aim to promote the culture and traditions of the communities in which they are located. They also aim to ensure that political and developmental issues relevant to these communities and the entire nation are discussed to create awareness. This is unlike other radio stations located in the cities such as Accra that focus primarily on major national political issues. The programmes on the selected radio stations are designed to address the needs and issues of their small town audience. As such, these radio stations feature local

leaders, and occasionally, some traditional rulers, in their discussions of local matters. They also feature politicians such as the members of parliament (MP) for constituencies in and outside their coverage areas when discussing issues relating to national politics.

Furthermore, these radio stations are known for their language policies which aim at promoting the Ewe language over English. This is in contrast to many radio stations in the cities which transmit in English only. Ewe is the unmarked code for interactions on the selected radio stations. However, though these stations encourage the exclusive use of Ewe (the hosts, as well as their audience, often tell their guests and callers to avoid speaking English), There is nonetheless an apparent disparity between their determination to provide strictly Ewe programmes and the prevalence of switches into English that take place during their programmes.

Logistics is the final reason for selecting these radio stations. The researcher is a native speaker of Ewe and is, therefore, able to access the social and cultural norms that influence the use of the language in any given context. As such, the researcher is able to interpret the data from the perspective of an insider, bearing in mind her cultural and social experiences as a member of this speech community.

These factors, together, create the appropriate context for comparing the CS behaviour of the two groups of speakers that this study investigates.

3.4 Selection of Radio Programmes and Data Collection

The data for this study was collected in July 2015, during the summer holidays. The collection of data was preceded by the submission of letters of request to the three radio stations mentioned above. After meeting with the managements of all the three radio stations, the researcher was granted the opportunity to collect her research data from the stations. Due to the difficulty of getting hold of members of parliament and traditional rulers for interviews with the researcher, all three radio stations were requested to provide previous audio recordings of MSPs involving the two groups of speakers. From the tapes provided, the researcher randomly selected and transcribed five tapes for analysis in this study.

3.4.1 Description of Tapes

Tape 1 is a recording from Dela Radio's MSP, *Gblɔnavo*. This tape is a recorded interview with the traditional ruler of Akyemfo-Gborta (**CH**), concerning the town's upcoming annual traditional festival. On this tape, **CH** gives a brief history of the town. He also outlines the events that have been planned for the week-long festival. He describes both the physical and spiritual preparations that have been made for the festival and invites young people in the town to take part. He concludes with an appeal to the public to make donations towards the festival.

Tape 2 is a recording of a discussion on Radio Jubilee's MSP, *Aguadze*. In this segment of the Show, the host and two Guests, Guest 1 (**G1**) and Guest 2 (**G2**) discuss issues raised by a particular civil society organisation called *The Let My Vote Count Alliance* concerning the events of the 2012 general elections. They also discuss the accompanying problems which were mainly attributed to the inefficiency of the country's Electoral Commission.

Tape 3 is a recording of a discussion on the MSP of Radio Jubilee. On this tape, the host (**H**) and his guest, **MP1**, who is also a member of the government's communication team, discuss the recent commissioning of certain developmental projects, the allocation of funds for the rehabilitation of a hospital, and the reopening of public schools in the wake of the Ebola epidemic.

Tape 4 is collected from Radio Hogbe's MSP, *Nubueke*. In this segment, the host and his guest, **MP2**, discuss the necessity of a supplementary budget which was presented to Parliament by the Minister of Finance. **MP2** explains the contents of the budget to the listeners and tries to explain why some presumably controversial aspects of the budget are necessary.

Tape 5 is also collected from Dela Radio's MSP, *Gblɔnavo*. The segment is a discussion of some arrangements made with a group of Tai investors, regarding rice cultivation in the South Tongu constituency. The speaker, **MP3**, explains the details of the agreement and urges his constituents, especially landowners, to consider making their lands available for the project. The table below shows the tapes, their sources and the speakers on each tape.

Table 1: A Table Showing the Tapes, Speakers and Source Radio Stations

Tapes	Speakers	Source Radio	Morning Show
Tape 1	Traditional ruler (**CH**)	Dela Radio	*Gblɔnavo*
Tape 2	Party Executive (**G2**)	Radio Jubilee	*Aguadze*
Tape 3	Member of Parliament (**MP1**)	Radio Jubilee	*Aguadze*
Tape 4	Member of Parliament (**MP2**)	Radio Hogbe	*Nubueke*
Tape 5	Member of Parliament (**MP3**)	Dela Radio	*Gblɔnavo*

3.5 Transcription of the Data

The data is transcribed according to the norms of standard Ewe as described in Westermann (1928). A translation of the data into English is provided in italics. Single lexical items and stretches of sentences produced in English in the original utterances are indicated in bold. The names of the speakers are replaced with letters for the sake of brevity. Other segments such as the news broadcast, announcements and advertisements, which are also part of these Morning Shows, were not transcribed. This is because these segments constitute a different genre of talk and are of no interest to this research.

3.6 Data Analysis

Natural speech, as is the case of the data for this study, is open to any number of interpretations. Also, language can be manipulated in diverse ways to perform an endless number of functions. Therefore, the data will be analysed qualitatively using a combination of the theories discussed in chapter 2 above.

3.7 Conclusion of Chapter

The methodological techniques adopted in this study were discussed in this chapter. The chapter also introduced the participants and the source radio stations of the data. There is also an exposition of the reasons for selecting the radio stations. The chapter also presented a description of the data analysed later in this study.

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk shows. The data for this research was collected through audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations on radio talk shows. The data will be analysed using the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter Two.

The data will be explored with reference to the pragmatic factors that affect language choice as well as the social motivations for CS, to answer the following thesis questions:

1) What pragmatic factors affect the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk shows?

2) What are the social motivations for CS among politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk shows?

3) Can the patterns of CS of politicians and traditional rulers be distinguished, if so, how can the differences be explained?

4.2 Pragmatic Factors Influencing CS

Contrary to earlier beliefs that participants in an interaction employ more than one code due to lapses in their linguistic abilities in one language or the other, researchers such as Myers-Scotton (1993b) and Gumperz (1982) have shown that CS is systematic, skilled and meaningful (Woolard, 2004, pp. 74-75). Gumperz (1982) finds that CS performs certain context-related functions in any given interaction. These discourse functions include: "quotation, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalisation versus objectivisation" (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-81). According to Gumperz (1982, pp. 75-81), when CS performs the discourse function of quotation, the code-switched passages mark direct quotations or reported speech. For the function of addressee specification, the change in code is used to single out a particular person from a number of potential addressees, as the recipient of a message. CS can also serve as an interjector or sentence filler. When a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in a modified form, CS serves the discourse function of emphasis or amplification. When CS serves the purpose of message qualification, the code-

switched passage is used as a qualifying construction to elaborate on the previous message. Finally, for personalisation versus objectivisation, a change in code provides a distinction between talk about action and talk as action. It may also mark the degree of speaker involvement or distance from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known facts (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-81). The pragmatic factors that influence the language choices of Ghanaian politicians and traditional rulers, as obtained from the data for this research, are discussed in this section.

4.2.1 Quotation as a Discourse Function of Code-switching

According to Gumperz (1982), participants in an interaction can switch either as direct quotations or through reported speech. The following is a direct quotation from an interview with the traditional ruler.

Excerpt 1.

> **H**: Yoo, mie toɖom Dela **radio 105.7**. Tɔgbui X etɔ̃lia ƒe ŋkɔe ma sem miele. Mie nu ƒom tso azãɖuɖu kple dzadzɛnyenye nu. Afɔ kawo ɖem miele tso dzadɛnɔnɔnyawo ŋu le nutoa me?
>
> *Okay, you are listening to Dela **Radio 105.7** FM. You are listening to Tɔgbui X the third. We are talking about the celebration of the festival and sanitation. What steps are you taking concerning sanitation in the community?*

> **CH** :*(speaks Ewe exclusively for one minute)* alebe mie agbagba dzem be mia dzra dua me ɖo alebe dɔlele, **communicable diseases,** aɖeke ma va ge ɖe mia dome o. Wobe "**cleanliness is next to godliness**".
>
> *(speaks Ewe exclusively for one minute)…We are trying to clean up the town to prevent an outbreak of diseases…**communicable diseases**….They say "**cleanliness is next to godliness**".*

In **Excerpt 1,** the host announces the name and frequency of the radio station. He also introduces the traditional ruler and announces the next topic to be discussed. He then asks the traditional ruler what preparations are being made concerning sanitation in the community. The traditional

ruler responds in Ewe. He switches to English when he mentions "**communicable diseases**" and quotes the expression "**cleanliness is next to godliness**". The use of the quotation here motivates the switch to English. "Cleanliness is next to godliness" is a fixed expression which does not carry the same communicative effect when translated into Ewe. Therefore, its use necessitates the switch to English.

The data from interactions with the politicians also provide instances of CS being used as quotations, either directly or in the form of reported speech. Examples are presented in **Excerpts 2** and **3** below.

Excerpt 2

> **G2**: Gake **Article Seventy** si gblɔm wole ɖee, menye eya ɖeka ƒe ta me ko nunya le o. **Article seventy** la le gbɔgblɔ be "**the President shall, acting in consultation with the Council of State**…" David Asante ne gblɔ nam be eye hã yele **Council of State** la me. "…**appoint the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice and his Deputies, Auditor General, the District Assembly Common Fund Administrator, the Chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission, Land Commission, the governing bodies of public corporations, National Council for Higher Education**"… ame siawo katã, **President** yae **appoint** wo.

> *But he is not the only one who knows about the **Article Seventy** that he keeps talking about. According to **article seventy**, "**the President shall appoint in consultation with the council of state**…" David Asante should tell me whether he is also part of the **Council of State**. "…the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, and his deputies, Auditor General, District Assembly Common Fund Administrator, the Chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission, Lands Commission, the governing bodies of public corporations, National Council for Higher Education"…all these people were **appointed** by the **president**.*

In **Excerpt 2** above, the speaker, **G2** switches to English to quote directly from the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. This example is unlike many of the examples we see for this discourse function. In many cases, there is a disjunction between what is said and what is

reported. Thus, many such examples are classified as reported speeches instead of quotations (**Excerpt 3**, below, is one such example). However, **Excerpt 2** is different because it is a direct quotation from the Constitution. This function of CS is further illustrated by **G2**'s switch to Ewe when he pauses the quotation to ask whether David Asante is also part of the Council of State, after which he switches back to English to continue the quotation.

Excerpt 3

> **G2:** Nedzɔ ko ne woɖo **politics** dzi eye woyɔ wo koa ke wobe "**Voltarians are our in-laws! Voltarians are our in-laws!**"
>
> *When they are called in times of political campaigns that is when they say "**Voltarians are our in-laws! Voltarians are our in-laws!**"*

In **Excerpt 3, G2** accuses politicians in the opposition political party of always claiming familial ties to the people of the Volta region when they are canvassing for votes. He makes this statement in reaction to comments made by another politician who claims to be married to a woman from the Volta region. In this example, **G2**'s utterance is a modified version of the statement made by the other politician. **Excerpt 3** is, therefore, an instance of using CS for reported speech as compared to **Excerpt 2**, which is a verbatim quote.

4.2.2 The Statement of Figures as a Discourse Function of CS

Politicians also employ CS when stating figures. In particular, it is clear from the data that politicians switch to English from Ewe when they refer to large amounts of money. **Excerpts 4** and **5**, below, are from the utterances of two members of parliament who are respectively discussing the recent commissioning of a hospital project and the contents of a supplementary budget.

Excerpt 4

> **MP1**: Menya be **the smallest** one si nye **CHPS compound** la, ɖewohĩ **two hundred and fifty thousand Ghana cedis** ateŋui atui. Menya be **polyclinic** la, ɖewohĩ **three**
>
> **million to four million Ghana cedis** ateŋui atui… Eyata **ten million dollars** la, mexɔe

se be ɖee wobe woakɔ ga atu **an already-existing Hospital**.

*I know that **the smallest one** which is the **CHPS compound** costs around **two hundred**
and fifty thousand Ghana Cedis. I also know that for a **polyclinic, perhaps **three million**
to four million Ghana Cedis can build it… So I believe the **ten million dollars** was meant
for the renovation and **expansion** of an **already existing hospital***

Excerpt 5

MP2: Ebiabiam be **parliament** ne ɖe asi le ye nu ne yeawɔ **payment for additional**

Ghana ga **million** alafa enyi bla aɖe vɔ atɔ̃, akpe alafa adrẽ blaenyi vɔ asieke kple Cedi

alafa etɔ̃ Cedi blaenyi. Le yevugbe mea, wobe **eight hundred and sixty-five million,**

seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty Cedis...NPP

tɔwoe yi ɖe Euro-bond market gbã vae do **seven hundred and fifty U.S. Dollars**

*He is asking the parliament to allow him to make **payment for additional**
eight hundred and sixty-five **million**, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand,*

*three hundred and eighty Cedis. In English, that will be **eight hundred and sixty-five**
million, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty Cedis…the*
members of the NPP were the first to borrow seven hundred and fifty U.S. Dollars from
the Euro-bond market.

These excerpts indicate that CS is used in the statement of figures in politicians' interactions on radio. Since all these figures can equally be stated in Ewe, it can be concluded that a politician chooses to quote figures in English as a principle of economy because the Ewe equivalents carry extra cognitive load owing to the complexity of the counting system of Ewe. This particular discourse function of CS is not found in the data for the traditional ruler. This is partly because both groups of speakers are involved in different kinds of discourses. Traditional rulers are usually not involved in national level economic discourse where the statement of large sums of money necessitates CS.

4.2.3 Emphasis as a Discourse Function of CS

Gumperz (1982, p. 78) argues that CS can be employed by participants in an interaction as a means of emphasis. The emphasis, in this case, is achieved via the repetition of a message that has been uttered in one code, in another code. The message may be repeated literally or in a modified form. This discourse function of CS is evident in the data for this thesis, instances of which are presented below. First, instances from the traditional ruler's interview are presented.

Excerpt 6

> **CH**: Ame geɖewo bu be dekɔnu; **customs and traditions** wonye abosanu ƒe nuwɔna. **It is not true**. Menye abosanu ƒe nuwɔnae wonye o… **It is not true that they are the devil's work.**
>
> *Many people believe that our traditions; **customs and traditions** are the devil's work. **It is not true.** They are not the devil's work… **It is not true that they are the devil's work**.*

In **Excerpt 6,** the traditional ruler, after stating that some of the people believe that their customs and traditions are the devil's work, switches to English to assert that "it is not true" that they are the devil's work. He switches to Ewe to repeat the same assertion in the next sentence. The change in code and repetition of his previous statement performs a discourse function of emphasis. His next sentence; "It is not true that they are the devil's work", is a synthesis of the previous two sentences and also performs the function of emphasis.

Excerpt 6 *continued.*

> **CH**: Ame geɖewo tsɔa Kristotɔ nyenye alebe **they are embarrassed by our traditions.** Ne ele ŋku ɖe enua, akpɔ be amewo nɔa nukpem.
>
> *Because most people are Christians, **they are embarrassed by our traditions.** When you look at it; you will realise that most people feel embarrassed.*

Excerpt 7

> **CH**: Elabena miaƒe **paramount chief** ku **since 1992 and** ƒe gbogbo woe nye esi.
>
> *Because our **paramount chief** died **since 1992 and** it has been many years.*

In the continuation of **Excerpt 6** above, although the traditional ruler begins his sentence in Ewe, he switches to English when he makes a salient point. He then emphasises this point by repeating it in Ewe with some modification. Here, the chief describes the attitudes of the inhabitants of his community towards their customs and traditions. He switches to English to describe their attitudes and then emphasises the description through a repetition in Ewe. He does the same thing in **Excerpt 7** when he talks about how long it has been since the Paramount Chief died. Stating that the previous Paramount Chief died in 1992 already implies that he has been dead for a long time. His repetition of the same point in Ewe adds no new information. Rather, it further emphasises this point.

There is evidence of the use of CS as a means of emphasis in the politicians' data as well. In **Excerpt 5,** repeated below, the Member of Parliament states an amount of money in Ewe and then translates it into English. Since he has already communicated the same referential meaning in Ewe, a repetition in English further emphasises what he has already said.

> **MP2**: Ebiabiam be **parliament** ne ɖe asi le ye nu ne yeawɔ **payment for additional**, Ghana ga **million** alafa enyi bla adẽ vɔ atɔ̃, akpe alafa adrẽ blaenyi vɔ asieke kple Cedi alafa etɔ̃ Cedi blaenyi. Le yevugbe mea, wobe **eight hundred and sixty-five million, seven hundred eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty Cedis…NPP** tɔwoe yi ɖe **Euro-bond market** gbã vae do **seven hundred and fifty U.S. Dollars**

> *He is asking the parliament to allow him to make* **payment for additional** *eight hundred and sixty-five* **million***, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty Ghana Cedis. In English, that will be* **eight hundred and sixty-five million, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty** *Cedis…the members of the* **NPP** *went to the* **Euro-bond market** *first to borrow* **seven hundred and fifty U.S. Dollars.**

4.2.4 Clarification as a Discourse Function of CS

CS also serves the purpose of clarification or elaboration (Gumperz, 1982). In the case where CS performs the discourse function of clarification, the code-switched element elaborates or provides

additional information about what has already been said. From the data, it is apparent that participants employed CS as a means of elaboration.

Excerpt 8

> H: **So what exactly happens on the day of the festival?**
>
> *So what happens on the day of the festival?*
>
> CH: **We organise our people from different areas and communities especially the three towns** sike nye Gbɔta Dzẽ, Gbɔtayiboe kple Gbortaʋieto. **We come together on the D-day, and we all walk in our regalia to the grand durbar which is on a Saturday**.
>
> *We organise our people from different areas and communities especially the three towns, which are Gbɔta Dzẽ, Gbɔtayiboe and Gbortaʋieto. So we come together on the D-day, and we all walk in our regalia to the grand durbar which is on a Saturday*

In **Excerpt 8,** the traditional ruler follows the Host's choice of English at this point in the conversation. The traditional ruler, however, switches to Ewe when he introduces and lists the names of the three towns he refers to in the first part of his utterance. The code-switched element here clarifies which three towns are being referred to by the traditional ruler. His use of CS for clarification is further emphasised by his return to English in the next sentence. Another example for this discourse function is presented in **Excerpt 9** below.

Excerpt 9

> CH: Miaƒe fiawo hã naa woƒe gbedaasiwo; **goodwill messages**.
>
> *Our chiefs also deliver their messages; goodwill messages*.

In **Excerpt 9,** the traditional ruler tells the host that other traditional rulers also deliver messages on the day of the festival. He switches to English to clarify the kinds of messages that are delivered at this festival. The code-switched element "**goodwill messages**" serves to elaborate on the messages that are delivered at the festival. It can also be argued that there is an overlap of discourse functions for the English noun phrase "**goodwill messages**" because the code-switched

NP can also be said to perform a discourse function of emphasis. This is because the traditional ruler's target listeners already know from previous experience that the messages delivered at the festival are usually goodwill messages. In this case, the code-switched NP adds no new information rather than to emphasise what has already been said.

4.2.5 The Principle of Economy as a Discourse Function of CS

In addition to the discourse functions discussed above, the participants also switch to English as a principle of economy. The participants switch code as a principle of economy because the choice of the English expressions allows them to accurately and unambiguously express various concepts with shorter words that require less linguistic and cognitive effort. For example, in **Excerpt 5** above, **MP2**, states a large sum of money in both Ewe and English. However, in his subsequent utterances, he states all figures in English without any further attempt at translating them into Ewe. His decision to continue stating the figures in English can be attributed to a desire to avoid the extra linguistic effort and cognitive load that is associated with the Ewe equivalents. **Excerpt 10** below is another example which illustrates the use of CS as a principle of economy.

Excerpt 10

> **MP2**: Mawɔ **example** ɖeka nawo, **in 2007, NPP** tɔwo yi ɖe **Euro-bond market** gbã vae do **seven hundred and fifty million U.S. Dollars. In 2013 NDC** yiɖe **Euro-bond market** vae kɔ eƒe ga kɔ xe **two hundred and fifty million** le efe gbãtɔ sike **NPP** do va yia nu. Ekpɔtɔ **a balance of five hundred and thirty-one million dollars** le ga gbãtɔ si **NPP** tɔwo do nu.
>
> *Let me make one **example** for you. In **2007**, the **NPP** members went to the **Euro-bond market** first to borrow **seven hundred and fifty million U.S dollars**. In 2013, the NDC went to the **Euro-bond market** and used its money to pay **two hundred and fifty million** out of the first money that the **NPP** borrowed previously. We are left with a **balance of five hundred and thirty-one million dollars** from the previous loan that the **NPP** members took.*

The data from the traditional ruler also shows the use of CS as a principle of economy. Consider the excerpt below:

Excerpt 11

> **CH**: Eyata mie di be mia **contact other media houses** ne mia **launch** miaƒe festival. **Last year,** mie **launch** azã la le Maafi Sasikpe. **This year**, miele **organise** ge be mia va **launch** le Gẽ. Alebe mianɔvi siwo le Gẽ woanya mie le azã la be **still**, ɖum.
>
> *So, we want to **contact other media houses** and **launch** our **festival. Last year,** we launched the festival at Maafi Sasikpe. **This year**, we will **organise** and **launch** it in Accra so that others in Accra will know that we are **still** celebrating the festival*

In **Excerpt 11**, the traditional ruler can be said to have chosen the code-switched elements; "**media houses**", "**launch**", "**last year**", "**new year**", and "**organise**" over their Ewe equivalents for brevity. The same concepts can be expressed in Ewe, but this requires extra effort since the Ewe equivalents are longer and more complex. **Table 2** below shows these expressions from English and their Ewe equivalents.

Table 2: Some Expressions in English and Their Ewe Equivalents

English	Ewe
Media houses	Nyadzɔdzkakadɔwɔƒewo
launch	ɖo gɔme anyi
Last year	ƒe si va yi me la
This year	ƒe sia me la
organise	Wɔ ɖoɖowo

4.3 Social Motivations for CS

As discussed in **Chapter 2**, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model defines the unmarked code in a given interaction as the more expected and 'safer' code choice, one that indexes the unmarked RO sets for that interaction. The marked choice, on the other hand, is the less expected code choice which the speaker uses to diverge from the expected RO sets and to index a new RO set

(Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Myers-Scotton (1993b, p. 132) argues that the marked code has one overarching social motivation which is "to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it". This negotiation principle subsumes other social motivations such as the expression of "superior educational status", and "assertion of ethnic identity". CS may also be used as a face-saving mechanism as well as a mechanism for speech convergence and divergence. In this section, the social motivations for CS by politicians and traditional rulers on Ghanaian radio talk shows, as observed in the data for this study will be presented and analysed.

The data indicates that CS is employed as a face-saving measure. **Excerpt 12** from the traditional ruler's data exemplifies the choice of the marked code, English, as a face-saving mechanism when performing a potentially face-threatening act.

Excerpt 12

> **H: What will be your last words for our cherished listeners**?
>
> *What will be your last words for our cherished listeners?*
>
> **CH:** Oh **okay**, medi be magblɔ na miaƒe nyaselawo katã be **this years' festival is going to be a different thing altogether. We are inviting everybody; every descendant, everyone from the** Maafi **community to come and support us with anything that they have. Even if it is Sachet water, bring it.**
>
> *Oh **okay**, I would like to tell your listeners that **this year's festival is going to be a different thing altogether**. We are inviting everybody every descendant, everyone from the Maafi community to come and support us with anything that they have. Even if it is sachet water, bring it.*

In **Excerpt 12**, the traditional ruler switches to monolingual English when he appeals to his citizens to make donations towards the celebration of the town's annual festival. His choice of English is more marked since he would be expected to address his citizens in their indigenous language. His marked choice, however, can be attributed to his desire to save face since the appeal for donations is a potentially face-threatening act. As the traditional ruler of the village, he occupies a position of power and prestige. It is, therefore, unusual and unexpected that a chief

would be asking his citizens for help. By choosing a language that is more marked, he distances himself from the appeal and mitigates the threat to his face. The markedness of this switch to English is further emphasised by his quick return to Ewe right after the appeal as illustrated in the continuation of **Excerpt 12**.

Excerpt 12 *continued*

> Mia dzilawo gblɔe na mi be azã sia nye azã aɖe sike amewo vana va srɔ̃a nu tso eme. Gake fifia, miawoe va le nɔƒe mamlɛa lem, eyata mie le mɔ kpɔm be ƒe sia ƒe azã nanɔ tɔxɛ.

> *Our parents used to say that this festival used to attract many people who came to learn from us. Now, we are the ones in the last position. That is why we expect that this years' festival will be a special one.*

The data also indicates that CS is motivated by the speaker's need to index a different RO set and to negotiate a position of power. The following excerpts from the politicians' data also show how participants switch code in order to negotiate power relations.

Excerpt 13

> **MP3**: …mi me di be agbledelawo na ɖe asi le anyigbã ŋu na **investors** wo ko, alebe woawo agbledelawo nava zu **labourers on the farm** o. Eyata, **we have put in place this out-grower scheme. The out-grower scheme is that**, **for instance, we are starting with the Thailand investors**. **The Thailand investors have agreed and what they are coming to do, is to use** the Aka **creek. They will plough it, and prepare the land. They will also provide the seedlings and then train the owners who are willing to go into farming.** Ese gɔmea? (he asks the host). Woa **train** anyigbãtɔ siwo di be yewo ayi ɖe mɔlugble dede la me.

> *…we do not want the farmers to give up their lands to the **investors** and become **labourers on the farms**. So we have **put in place this out-grower scheme. The out-grower scheme is that**, **for instance, we are starting with the Thailand investors**. **The Thailand investors have agreed and what they are coming to do is to use the Aka creek**.*

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They will plough it, and prepare the land. They will also provide the seedlings and then train the owners who are willing to go into farming. Do you understand (he asks the host)? They will **train** the landowners who are interested in rice cultivation.

In **Excerpt 13**, above, the speaker, **MP3**, talks about some agricultural projects that are being initiated within his constituency. He switches to monolingual English later in the speech, which is a deviation from the unmarked code choice. His marked choice of monolingual English while addressing local farmers (most of whom are uneducated) does not only mark the beginning of new valuable information (i.e. the details of the partnership with the investors from Thailand), but it also enhances his image and signals the identity of an educated elite.

Excerpt 14 also exemplifies CS as a negotiation of a position of power. The speaker, **MP2**, explains to the listeners that the government is taking out more loans to settle its old debts. He explains that this practice, which he refers to as amortisation[5], does not mean incurring additional debt but is rather a way of pushing the country's debts forward. He offers a more practical explanation in an attempt to convince the listeners to agree with him that this is a good practice. Then he asserts and emphasises his opinion that amortisation is a good economic practice.

Excerpt 14

MP2: Elebe mia **amortise** miaƒe fewo wo. Miaxe miaƒe fewo gake ga meli o. Eyatae mie yina ɖe **Euro-bond Market** avae do ga le afima. Ke efia bena miaƒe fewo ko tutumee miele ɖe ŋgɔ. Enyo be mia do ga atsɔ xe fe siwo le mia nu. Ne edo ga eye **interest** si naxe ɖe edzi nye **ten percent**, eye exeɣi ɖo eye mekpɔ ga la naxe o, eye ame bubu be yea do ga nawo na tsɔ axe fe lae gake **interest** si naxe ɖe edzi nye **five percent** ɖee menyo wu oa? **That is good economic management, and it is a rescheduling of your debts. You are pushing your debts forward at a cheaper cost, and this happens in businesses, it happens in governance, and it even happens to individual people.**

*We have to **amortise** our debts. We would like to settle our debts, but there is no money. That is why we will borrow from **the Euro-bond Market**. That way we will be pushing our debts forward. It is a good to borrow money to pay the debts we have incurred. If you*

---

[5] Amortisation is the payment of debts in a regular pattern over a period of time.

*took a loan at an **interest** rate of **ten percent** but you do not have the funds to settle when the debt is due, is it not better to take out a new loan but at an **interest** rate of **five percent**? **That is good economic management, and it is the rescheduling of your debts. You are pushing your debts forward at a cheaper cost, and this happens in business, it happens in governance, and it even happens to individual people***

From Excerpt **14**, it can be observed that **MP2**, after his attempt at convincing the audience (probably, thinking the audience might disagree), switches to monolingual English, which is more marked, to assert and emphasise his opinion that amortisation is a good economic practice. The change in code choice changes the tone of his utterance from an attempt at convincing to communicating something similar to: " I am no longer trying to convince you; I am telling you, as your representative in parliament and an authority on government economic policies, that amortisation is a good practice". With the choice of marked monolingual English for making this assertion, he thus repositions himself as a person in a position of authority regarding economic matters and politics.

The traditional ruler indexes the position of authority quite differently. On the one hand, the traditional ruler's code choice in **Excerpt 15** may be considered as serving the purpose of clarity because it is the indigenous language of the people within his traditional area. On the other hand, this code choice may also be considered, to some extent, to be an exertion of the traditional ruler's power as a person who has the authority to lay down rules pertaining to traditional matters.

Excerpt 15

> **CH**: Medi be ma da akpe na Dela **Radio** kple **other media houses** kpakple amesiwo katã do ŋgbe be yewoa xɔ **festival in such a way** be yewo awɔ ɖeka kple miaƒe **region, culture and all those things**.
>
> Ne azã anɔ edzi le ƒedzinu wuievea me la, ekema mia ɖo asi kunuwɔna ɖe sia ɖe dzi. Ne ame aɖe ƒe ƒometɔ aɖe ku la, amea na nya be yemele kua wɔ ge le azã dzi o. Manɔ edzi o! … Ne ame aɖe le ku wɔm eye mieva dogoe la, mia he to nɛ, ana kpovitɔwo na

ɖo asi ku ma ƒe wɔnawo dzi seɖe ɣeyiɣi si miawo ŋutɔ miekpɔ be miehe to nawo vɔ hafi miana woaɖi amea.

*I would like to thank Dela **Radio** and **other media houses** as well as all those who have promised to take over the **festival in such a way** that will promote our **region, culture and all those things**.*

If the festival will be celebrated in the twelfth month of the year (another way of referring to December), then we will boycott all funeral rites. If someone's relative dies, the person should know that the funeral will not be held during the festivities. That will not be tolerated! …If we come across anyone holding a funeral, we will punish him and have the police boycott the funeral until we are satisfied that they have been punished enough, then we will allow them to bury the corpse.

In this excerpt, the traditional ruler switches from a brief moment of intra-sentential switching and lexical borrowing to monolingual Ewe. He chooses Ewe to lay down the rules that will be in place during the celebration of the festival and the consequences of disobeying such rules. The switch to monolingual Ewe re-establishes his ethnic identity and enables him to assume a position of power as traditional ruler – a person who has the power to lay state the rules and their consequences pertaining to traditional matters such as funeral celebrations within his traditional area. In many Ghanaian communities, the traditional rulers have the authority to impose customary rules such as curfews and bans on noise-making in their various communities during the celebrations of tribal festivals. An example of this kind of power was displayed recently during the royal funeral rites of Nana Afua Kobi Serwaa II, the late queen-mother of Asante, when a ban was placed on noise-making, drumming, and other funerals within the traditional area. Typically, the traditional ruler communicates the traditional laws in the indigenous language because he is the custodian of the indigenous traditions and customs, including the language, of his people. This contrasts with other powerful people such as politicians who exert their authority through the use of English.

In addition to the social motivations that are discussed above, there is evidence of CS as an indication of anger in the politicians' data. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b), CS may be employed as an expression of emotions such as affection and anger. The sequence of interaction

presented in **Excerpt 16** shows an example of CS as an indication of anger, as **G2** reacts to comments made by the organiser of a political pressure group[6] who claimed to have familial ties to the people of the Volta region.

Excerpt 16

> **G2**: Nedzɔ ko ne woɖo **politics** dzi eye woyɔ wo koa ke wobe "**Voltarians are our in-laws** *Voltarians are their in-laws!"*
>
> *When they are called in times of political campaigns that is when they say "**Voltarians are our in-laws! Voltarians are their in-laws!"***
>
> **H**: Aƒetɔ, gbɔdzi ɖe anyi. **Why are you so tense?**
>
> *Master, relax. **Why are you so tense?***
>
> **G2: No sometimes, they think we are stupid people.**
>
> *No sometimes, they think we are stupid people.*
>
> **H**: Ao, ayenɔ nya aɖeke mele nya sia me o.
>
> *No, stupidity is not part of this issue.*
>
> **G2**: **Look at how he keeps saying: "our in-laws! Our in-laws!"**
>
> *Look at how he keeps saying: "our in-laws! Our in-laws!"*
>
> **H**: **Voltarians are his in-laws… what else do you want him to say?** [laughs].
>
> *Voltarians are his in-law what else do you want him to say*
>
> **G2**: **It is only during the campaign periods that they start claiming we are in-laws. Who is their in-law?**
>
> *It is only during the campaign periods that they start claiming we are in-laws. Who is their in-law?*

---

[6] Pressure groups are organisations that try to influence public policies. Some pressure groups in Ghana are affiliated to certain political parties.

From the sequence of interaction presented above, it can be observed that in **G2**'s first turn, he is showing disapproval of the organiser's comments, which he sees as cheap political campaign strategies. His anger reaches a climax in his subsequent turns where he switches to monolingual English, a more marked code choice. It is interesting how **G2** sticks to the choice of monolingual English to express his anger despite many attempts made by the host to get him to calm down.

4.4 Patterns of CS

From the analysis presented in the preceding sections of this chapter, it can be observed that CS performs different functions in speech events involving both groups of participants. The data also showed that their switching is motivated by the social motivations proposed in Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. An examination of the CS behaviour of the participants from both groups showed some distinct patterns in their social motivations.

The Markedness Model posits that participants in an interaction will switch to the code that is associated with power and prestige to establish a position of authority for themselves. As shown in the preceding section, the politicians switched to English, the marked code choice, to index identities of power and prestige while engaging in interactions concerning politics, and national economy (see **Excerpts 13** and **14**). The Traditional ruler also, to some extent, indexes authority pertaining to cultural and ethnic functions such as funerals and the celebration of local festivals. However, to index authority in relation to such traditional and cultural issues as mentioned above, the traditional ruler maintains monolingual Ewe, as illustrated in **Excerpt 15**.

The data also indicated that the traditional ruler engaged in the marked use of the English language as a means of mitigating a potentially face-threatening act, as he appeals to his subjects to make donations toward the celebration of the festival (see **Excerpt 12**). Other instances of the traditional ruler's use of monolingual English seem to be in recognition and agreement with a change to English, negotiated by the Host as in the case of **Excerpt 8**.

The traditional ruler's CS behaviour can also be said to be motivated by religious identity issues. For example, in **Excerpt 1**, he switched to English to quote a Christian expression. In the same interaction, he switched to Ewe to defend the customs and traditions, and repeated his previous utterance in English for the sake of emphasis. This could be an attempt to reconcile his personal

religion as a Christian with his role as the traditional ruler and custodian of his people's culture[7]. This motivation for CS was not found in the case of politicians perhaps because politicians in Ghana are hardly engaged in religious discourse. Though most politicians subscribe to one religion or the other, they rarely engage in religious discourse in the public domain. This is, perhaps, to avoid being perceived as biased towards a particular religion as such perceptions may have implications for their electoral fortunes.

Excerpt 16 from the politician's data also exemplified the use of marked CS as an indication of anger. This motivation was not found in the case of the traditional ruler. Although traditional rulers could very easily express anger in public just like the politicians, societal expectations and cultural restrictions prevent them from doing so. As the public face of their people, they are expected to be temperate in expressing their emotions in public. This is in contrast with politicians who are often engaged in intemperate political exchanges especially in public domains such as radio talk shows.

Participants from both groups were also found to have engaged in intra-sentential switching, motivated by the principle of economy and the use of borrowed lexical items from English. In the case of the participants in the politicians' group, this can be attributed to the kinds of topics they discussed in their various interactions. Since they were engaged in discourses relating to national politics, development and the economy, their utterances involved the use of corporate language which triggers greater use of intra-sentential switching. For example, in **Except 17** below, the noun-phrases "**National Health Insurance Scheme**", "**Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND)**", "**Road Fund, Petroleum Fund**", and "**District Assembly Common Fund**" are lexical borrowings because they have no Ewe equivalents. Other noun phrases such as "**goods and services**", "**loan**", and "**subsidies**" are used for their specificity and unambiguity.

Excerpt 17

> **MP2**: Nugbegblẽ siwo dziɖuɖu la abe miakɔ axe fe na **goods and services**, ga siwo miakɔ axefe na **loan** siwo miexɔ, ga siwo zã ge mia la na **subsidies** kple ga sike dziɖuɖua azã na **National Health Insurance Scheme, GETFUND, Road Fund,**

---

[7] Not all traditional rulers are necessarily strict followers of the traditional religion. They may have their personal beliefs (e.g. Christianity), while obeying the traditional rituals in their capacities as custodians of the traditions.

Petroleum Fund, District Assembly Common Fund kple emawo katã, kple ga si dziɖuɖu la azã atsɔ xe fe siwo katã miedo tsɔ wɔ **project** wo.

*Expenses which the government wants us to use to pay for **goods and services,** monies that we will use to pay the **loans** which we have received, the monies which we will use as **subsidies** and the funds that the government uses for the **National Health Insurance Scheme, GETFUND, Road Fund, Petroleum Fund, District Assembly Common Fund** and the rest, and the funds that the government will use to pay for the money we borrowed towards the **projects** that we have undertaken.*

Very few instances of lexical borrowing were found for the traditional ruler. In **Excerpt 18**, the traditional ruler uses the borrowed noun-phrase, "**National House of Chiefs**" because it has no Ewe equivalent**.** One may think that being a traditional institution, the National House of Chiefs might have an Ewe equivalent but this is not the case because the institution comprises traditional rulers from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. The English noun-phrase, therefore, performs a lingua franca function. His use of the noun-phrase, "**Paramount Chief**" is due to its specificity as it conveys its referential meaning more unambiguously than its Ewe equivalent *"fiagã"* which could mean "a great chief" or "a superior chief".

Excerpt 18

CH: Miaƒe fiaɖoɖo gomea, nya la le **National House of Chiefs gbɔ.** Eyata miele wosinu kpɔm be woana mi amesi anye miaƒe **Paramount Chief** hafi ƒea nawu nu.

*Our chieftaincy issue is pending with **the National House of Chiefs,** and we are expecting them to choose who will be our **Paramount Chief** before the year ends.*

Overall, the analysis of the data for this study indicates that each of the politicians switched more into English than the traditional ruler who was more likely to maintain his use of Ewe. This difference in their switching patterns is attributed to:

The politicians' socio-political status and involvement in H national discourses such as politics, the economy and national development; discourses which are predominantly carried out in the H language, English.

The traditional ruler's socio-political status as the leader of his traditional area and his involvement in L-cultural discourses such as funerals, festivals, and religion, for which Ewe is the unmarked code choice according to the functional compartmentalisation of English and Ewe within the diglossic model.

4.5 Conclusion of Chapter

This chapter has presented an analysis of CS from the perspective of its pragmatic and social motivations. It has also contrasted the use of CS between the respective participant groups. Participants used CS to perform pragmatic functions such as quotations, emphasis, the statement of figures, and as a result of the principle of economy. CS was also found to be motivated by social factors such as the negotiation of identities of power and the desire to save face when performing a face-threatening act. The traditional ruler was found to lean more towards the choice of Ewe as his utterances feature fewer instances of switching to English while the politicians were found, by contrast, to be more inclined to switch to English.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This thesis looked at the interaction between code-switching, identity and political discourse in Ghanaian radio talk-shows, focussing on traditional rulers and politicians. The study analysed the utterances of two groups of participants: a traditional ruler in one group and four politicians, including three members of parliament and an executive member of one of the leading political parties in the other group. The study investigated how the two groups of participants employed CS in their interactions and what social factors motivated their switching behaviour.

The results of the study indicated that within the discourse, the participants employed CS to perform functions such as quotations, clarification, and emphasis, corresponding partly to the functions that Gumperz (1982) outlines. The results also indicated that the participants employed CS as a principle of economy; the politicians in particular switched codes to English for the statement of figures.

Regarding the social motivations for CS, the study found that participants switched codes to draw on the identities associated with the various languages. The traditional ruler's switching behaviour was also found to have some religious motivations, in some cases. He also switched codes as a face-saving measure when he performed a potentially face-threatening act. The politicians' data also showed instances of CS as an indication of anger.

The findings also showed some interesting contrasts in how the participants in both groups switched codes to index a position of authority. While the politicians switched to monolingual English in order to index a position of power, the traditional ruler maintained monolingual Ewe to assume a position of authority pertaining to cultural and traditional matters.

Overall, the findings of the study correspond partly to the hypothesis of the study (see Chapter 2), namely that the switching pattern of the participants may be influenced partly by: their positions (politician or traditional ruler); the kinds of discourse they are involved in; and the languages allocated for such discourses within the diglossic model of Ghana.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

Ideally, if this research aims at accounting for the general CS behaviour of Ghanaian politicians and traditional rulers on radio talk-shows, then a larger participant base is required. However, due to time constraints during the data collection, and the limited number of participants, this study only provides a small insight into the CS behaviour of traditional rulers and politicians. Unlike regular radio guests, data from the two groups of participants is hard to obtain: traditional rulers seldom speak in domains such as the radio; data from politicians such as the members of parliament are also hard to obtain from small-town radio stations, due to their busy schedules.

Finally, since the data is in the form of audio recordings, it is open to different interpretations. The data was solely interpreted and transcribed by the researcher and as such, a certain amount of subjectivity is to be expected. However, the author of this study is of the opinion that, even if different interpretations are given for the data, the findings will not differ significantly from the results of this study.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

There are many ways in which this study can be taken further. For future research, the author of this study recommends, first, parallel studies of the interaction between code-switching, speakers' socio-political status, and identity among politicians and traditional rulers from other linguistic backgrounds. The results of such a study will provide a means for contrasting and comparing the findings of this study, while also broadening the scope of research on this topic.

An investigation of the attitudes of both the participants (traditional rulers and politicians) and their audience toward CS would also be of great significance. Exisiting attitudinal studies of CS in Ghana have already shown some interesting results. Some Ghanaians find CS beneficial as it helps them to communicate and understand other speakers (Flamenbaum, 2007). Others, however, are of the opinion that alternating between indigenous Ghanaian languages and English undermines indigenous Ghanaian languages, and threatens the national linguistic identity (Flamenbaum, 2007). With these findings in mind, it will be interesting to investigate what the reactions are towards CS, particularly in the case of traditional rulers who are considered custodians of indigenous languages and culture.

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Appendix I: Letter of Permission

<div align="right">

Herman Krag Veg 12-54

7050 Trondheim

Norway

1 July, 2015.

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....

....

Dear Sir,

A REQUEST FOR RECORDED TAPES.

I write to request the release of recorded audio tapes of your morning show programme, to be used as part of the data for my Master's thesis research.

The main objective of the study is to investigate the language choices of politicians and traditional rulers during discussions on radio. Specifically, the study aims to investigate the factors that motivate the aforementioned speakers to switch between Ewe and English during discussions on radio.

I look forward to your approval of this request. Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Ahlijah Judith Candace.

Appendix II: Transcript of Recorded Tapes

TAPE 1

H: Yoo, mie toɖom Dela **radio** . **You are listening to** Dela **radio**. **I have with me** Tɔgbui X **the third. We will be talking about festivals and the sanitation of the** Akyemfo **town**. Tɔgbui X **the third**, woezɔ̃ va Dela **Radio**.

CH: Yoo, mezɔ̃ ɖe mia nu. Magblɔ be me da akpe be miewɔ ɖeka kple mi.

H: Alekee nye Akyemfo dua me?

CH: Akyemfo Gborta dua nye du aɖe sike Gbortaviwo sɔ̃ koe nye amesiwo le dua me. Le Gborta, du woame etɔ̃e le miasi. Gbɔta Yiboe, Gbɔta Dzĕ kple Gbɔta Uuieto. Miawoe nye Gbɔta Uuieto. Eye to ɖeka ma me koe mia katã miedo tso.

H: **Yeah,** ke ne miebe yewoa ɖu azã la, nuka woe miewɔna hafi azã dzea gɔme?

H: *Okay, you are listening to Dela radio 105.7 Fm.* **You are listening to** *Dela* **radio. I have with me** *Torgbi (Ewe title for a king) X (the throne name)* **the third**. **We will be talking about festivals and the sanitation of the** *Akyemfo town. Torgbi X* **the third**, *you are welcome to Dela Radio.*

CH: *OK. I have come to you (a way of responding when someone welcomes you). I would say I am very grateful to you for teaming up with us.*

H: *How is the Akyemfo township?*

CH: *The Akyemfo-Gborta township is a town that is inhabited mainly by the Gborta people. The Gborta township is made up of three small towns. Gborta Yiboe, Gborta Dze and Gborta Wuieto, we all descended from the same ancestor.*

H: *yeah, so what are some of the preparations you make before you celebrate your festival?*

CH: Ne miebe miaɖu Maafi Hogbetsotsozã, mieyina vae ƒoa tsi ɖi na miaƒe tɔgbuiwo. Eyae nye Kpɔɖoave si mieyina le tɔgodo le Maafi Dugã me. Afimae nye mia Maafiawo katã ƒe dugã me. Mieyia afima Adzoɖagbe zã eye Ablaɖagbe hafi miegbɔ na. Miewɔa kɔnu vovovowo , doa gbe ɖa na miaƒe mawuwo hena ƒe ɖeka ƒe azɔ̃lizɔzɔ hafi mieva ƒoaƒu ɖe miaƒe tokɔwo me.

H: **So what exactly happens on the day of the festival?**

CH: **We organize our people from different areas and communities especially the three towns** sike nye Gbɔta Dzĕ, Gbɔtayiboe kple Gbortaʋieto. **We come together on the D day and we all walk in our regalia to the grand durbar which is on a Saturday**. Mieƒoa ƒu ɖe teƒe ma **in the four clans.**

CH: When we want to celebrate the Hogbetsotso festival, we pour libation to our ancestors. That is Kpɔɖoave which we go to on the other side of the river in Mafi-Dugãme.

That is the bigger town of all the Maafi citizens. We go there on Mondays in the night and return on Tuesday. We perform different rituals and pray to our gods for another one year journey before we gather in our various communities

H: So what exactly happens on the day of the festival?

CH: We organize our people from different areas and communities especially the three towns, which are Gbɔta Dzĕ, Gbɔtayiboe and Gbortaʋieto. So we come together on the D-day and we all walk in our regalia to the grand durbar which is on a Saturday. We gather there in the four clans

We have four clans; Torfi, Aziewa, Agorto, **and** Gbɔta. Mieƒoa ƒu kple miaƒe **descendants** wo eye mienɔa miaƒe **invited guests** wo dzɔm. **Government officials** wo va ƒoa nu name. Miaƒe fiawo hã naa woƒe gbedaasiwo; **goodwill messages**. Wodoa gbe ɖa **pour** na **libation** be **next year** la, mia katã miaga nɔ agbe ƒe yeye na ga va tumi.

H: Yoo eva dze kɔtoe be dekɔnunyawo bubum. Afɔɖoanyi kawo wɔm miele be ɖevi siwo li fifia woa nya nu tso dekɔnuawo ŋu? **We are talking about customs and traditions. What steps are you taking for the new generation of children so that they do not forget about the customs and traditions?**

CH: **that is the main reason why we are involving them**. Ne ekpɔ **the planning committee** la, akpɔ be **we involve the youth** be woakpe ɖe mia ŋu **in such a way** be woa **learn a lot from us**.

*We have four clans; Torfi, Aziewa, Agorto **and** Gborta. We come together with our **descendants** and wait for our **invited guests**. **Government officials** come to speak to us. Our chiefs also deliver their messages; **goodwill messages**. They pray and **pour libations** that we all live and see the next **New Year**.*

*H: Okay, now it has become obvious that the customs are disappearing. What steps are you taking to educate the new generation about the customs? **We are talking about customs and traditons. What steps are you taking for the new generation of children so that they do not forget about the customs and traditions?***

*CH: **that us the main reason why we are involving them**. When you look at **the planning committee**, you would realise that we involve the **youth** to help us **in such a way** that they can learn a lot from us.*

Ne miele ŋku ɖe enua mia ametiti geɖe siwo le azãmea, miatɔ wɔfe va le nu wum. Eyata miele ewɔm ne woasrɔ̃e tso mia gbɔ. Ame geɖe wo bu be dekɔnu, **customs and traditions** wonye abosanu ƒe nuwɔna. **It's not true**. Menye abosanu ƒe nuwɔnae wonye o.

Ame geɖewo tsɔa kristotɔ nyenye alebe **they are embarrassed by our traditions** eye ne ele ŋku ɖe enua, akpɔ be amewo nɔaa nukpem. **It's not true that it is the devils's work. We are involving everybody including the youth** wo be woa **come together** alebe mia **organise festival** la. Woa **play a major role in the festival** eye woa **learn a lot from us the elderly**.

H: so ke fifia, alesi masɔmasɔwo dzɔ eye **paramount chief** hã meli o, **we don't have a paramount chief**. Aleke miawɔ hafi aɖo **paramount chief?**

*You would realise that time is running out for most of we the elders who play various roles with regards to the festival. So we are trying to make them learn from us. Most people think that tradition, **traditions** are the devil's work. **It's not true**. It is not the devil's work.*

*Because most people are Christians and **they are embarrassed by our traditions**. When you look at it; you will realise that people are always embarrassed. **It is not true that it is the devil's work. We are involving everybody including the youth** so that we can come together and organise the festival. They will **play a major role in the festival** and they will **learn a lot from us the elderly**.*

*H: So, now, there have been so many conflicts in the town and there is no **paramount chief**. **We don't have a paramount chief**. How are you going to enstool a **paramount chief?***

CH: Eee, le go ma mea, magblɔ be sɔhɛ gedɛ wome ga sea nu tso azã la ƒe nuvã nyeney nu o. Eyata mie di be mia **contact other media houses**, ne mia **launch** miaƒe festival. **Last year,** mie **launch** azã la le Maafi Sasikpe. **This year**, miele **organise** ge be mia va **launch** le Gɛ̃. Alebe mianɔvi siwo le Gɛ̃ woanya mie le azã la be **still**, dum.

Miaƒe fiadodo gomea, fia etɔ̃e le miasi alebe nya le **National House of Chiefs** gbɔ. Eyata miele wosinu kpɔm be woa na mi amesi anye miaƒe **paramount chief** hafi ƒea na wu nu. Elabena miaƒe **paramount chief** ku **since 1992 and** ƒe gbogbo woe nye esi. Edzebe mia do fia alebe Maafi nutoa me na **develop. Developmental project** adeke mega le edzi yim o elabena mie ga le **festival** la dum o.

CH: *Yes, with regards to that, I would say most of our youth no longer know the importance of the festival*. *So, we want to **contact other media houses**, and **launch** our **festival. Last year,** we **launched** the festival at Maafi Sasikpe*. ***This year**, we will **organise** and **launch** it in Accra so that others in Accra will know that we are **still** celebrating the festival*

*With regards to the kingship issue, we have three chief and the matter is pending at the **National House of Chiefs**. So we are waiting on them to give us a **paramount chief** before the year ends. This is because our **paramount chief** died **since 1992 and** so many years have passed. We have to enstool a chief so that the Maafi community can **develop**. We no longer have any **developmental projects** because we have not been celebrating the **festival**.*

Alesi **government officials** wo na **come on board**, a **help** mi **with every developmental projects** wo la, **they are not ready to do it because conflict** le miaƒe fiagã nya ŋuti. Wovɔvɔm be ne yewo va la, **tribal war** nu ɖe sia ɖe ateŋui adzɔ sike awɔe be ye woa bu yewo ƒe agbe.

Eyata miele ɖoɖo wɔm eye ne **National House of Chiefs** lɔ̃a, ke miakpɔ fia yeye si anye miaƒe **paramount chief**.

H: Yoo, mie toɖom Dela **radio 105.7**. Tɔgbui X etɔ̃lia ƒe ŋkɔe ma sem miele. Mie nu ƒom tso azãɖuɖu kple dzadzɛnyenye nu. Afɔ kawo ɖem miele tso dzadɛnɔnɔnyawo ŋu le nutoa me?

CH: *[speaks Ewe exclusively for one minute]* alebe mie agbagba dzem be mia dzra dua me ɖo alebe dɔlele... **communicable diseases** aɖeke ma va ge ɖe mia dome o.

*Government officials are not ready **to come on board** to **help** us **with every developmental project** because there are **conflicts** with regards to our paramount chief issue. They are afraid that there might be a **tribal war** or that anything can happen and they might lose their lives when they come here.*

*Because of that we are making arrangements and when the **National House of Chiefs** agree, we get a new chief who will become our **paramount chief**.*

*H: Okay, you are listening to Dela **Radio 105.7** fm. You are listening to Tɔgbui X the third. We are talking about the celebration of the festival and sanitation. What steps are you taking concerning sanitation in the community?*

*CH: [speaks Ewe exclusively for one minute] We are trying to clean up the town to prevent an out-break of diseases...**communicable diseases**.*

Eyata, **this time around** la, miaƒe **youth** wo le dɔ ɖe sia ɖe wɔm be mia **get rid of all those things**. Wobe **cleanliness is next to godliness**.

H: Yeah, meka ɖe edzi be mie ga le azã bubu ɖu ge. ɖoɖo ka woe le to me be **come next December,** mi ateŋui aɖui abe alesi mie ɖu nɛ tsã ene? Alekee miewɔ ge hafi **everything will be successful about this years' festival**?

CH: Medi be ma da akpe na Dela **Radio** kple **other media houses** kpapkle amesiwo katã do ŋgbe be yewoa xɔ **festival in such a way** be yewo awɔ ɖeka kple miaƒe **region, culture and all those things**.

He talks exclusively in Ewe for one minute

Ne azã anɔ edzi le ƒedzinu wuievea me la, ekema mia ɖo asi kunuwɔna ɖe sia ɖe dzi. Ne ame aɖe ƒe ƒometɔ aɖe ku la, amea na nya be yemele kua wɔge le azã dzi o. Manɔ edzi o. Mieyi na azã **launch** ge le Gɛ hafi mia kɔe va miaƒe dua me.Miaɖui le Gɛ gbã **as a mini durbar**

This time around our **young people** are doing everything necessary to **get rid of all those things**. They say **cleanliness is next to godliness**.

H: *Yeah, I believe you will be celebrating another festival. What are the steps you have taken that so that **come next December**, you will be able to celebrate as you used to in the past? How will you ensure that **everything will be successful about this years' festival**?*

CH: *I would like to thank Dela Radio and **other media houses** as well as who has promised to take over the **festival in such a way** that they will come together with our **region, culture and all those things**.*

He talks exclusively in Ewe for one minute

*If the festival will be celebrated in the twelfth month of the year, then we will boycott all funeral rites. If someone's relative dies, the person should know that the funeral will not be held during the festivities. We will **launch** the festival in Accra before we bring it to our town.*

hafi miakɔe va mia de **as a grand durbar**. Gake mie gbɔgblɔm be ƒe sia me la, ame aɖeke mele mia megbe to ge awɔ nububu aɖeke o. Mie le ɖoɖowo wɔm kple **National House of Chiefs, Inpector General of Police, Minister for culture** eye miaƒe **traditional council** hã ame aɖeke mato mia megbe awɔ nububu aɖeke le **festival day** la dzi o.

Ne ame aɖe le ku wɔm eye mieva dogoe la, mia he to nɛ, ana kpovitɔwo na ɖo asi ku ma ƒe wɔnawo dzi seɖe ɣeyiɣi si miawo ŋutɔ miekpɔ be miehe to nawo vɔ hafi miana woaɖi amea.

H: yoo hafi miayi edzia, medi be toɖolawo na nya be mie nu ƒom kple Tɔgbui X etɔ̃ lia, Akyemfo Gbɔta fia. **I have been talking to** Tɔgbui X **the third, chief of** Akyemfo Gbɔtato. **What will be your last words for our cherished listeners?**

*It will be celebrated in Accra **as a mini durbar** before we bring it home **as a grand durbar**.*

*But we are saying that this year, no one will go behind our backs and do something else. We are making plans with the **National House of Chiefs,** the **Inspector General of police,** the **Minister for Culture** and our **traditional council** so that no one will go behind us to do anything different on the **day** of the **festival**.*

If we come across anyone holding a funeral, we will punish him, and the police will boycott the funeral celebrations until we are satisfied that we have punished them enough then we will allow them to bury the corpse.

*H: Okay, before we continue, I would like to inform our listeners that we are speaking with Tɔgbui X the third, chief of Akyemfo Gbɔta. **I have been talking to** Tɔgbui X **the third, chief of** Akyemfo Gbɔtato **What will be your last words to our cherished listeners?***

CH: oh **okay**, medi be magblɔ na miaƒe nyaselawo be katã be **this years' festival is going to be a different thing all together. We are inviting everybody; every descendant, everyone from the** Maafi **community to come and support us with anything that they have. Even if it is Sachet water, bring it.**

Mia dzilawo gblɔe na mi be azã nye azã aɖe sike amewo vana va srɔ̃a nu tso eme gake fifia, miawoe va le nɔƒe mamlɛea lem eyata mie le mɔ kpɔm be ƒe sia ƒe azã nanɔ tɔxɛ.

*CH: oh **okay**, would like to tell your listeners that **this years' festival is going to be a different thing all together. We are inviting everybody; every descendant, everyone from the** Maafi **community to come and support us with anything that they have. Even if it is sachet water, bring it**. Our parents used to say that this festival used to attract a lot of people who came to learn from us but now, we are the ones in the last position. That is why we expect that this years' festival will be a special one.*

TAPE 2

H*: (to one of the guests in the studio with him)* Ese **Let My Vote Count** t4wo 5e nya…**do you think they have a legitimate concern? Legitimate concern** aɖe le wo sia?

G1: **Okay,** mado gbe na **listeners** wo katã kple **all teachers on the field working hard to educate** miaƒe viwo. **As Ghanaians, Let My Vote Count alliance** la, wo **have every legitimate right** be woa **find ways and means be President** na **appoint a very credible person** be woava nye miaƒe **EC boss**. Eyata ema gomea**, I think they have the right** be woaw4 **expression** ma. Gake ne exlẽ **statement** la **carefully** ɖee**, I think be the right thing is not being done in the right way.**

H*: You have listened to the **Let My Vote Count** group's issue. **Do you think they have a legitimate concern***? Do they have any **legitimate concern**?*

G1*: **Okay,** let me greet the **listeners** and **all the teachers on the field working hard to educate** our children. **As Ghanaians,** the **Let My Vote Count Alliance have every legitimate right** to **find ways and means** for the **President** to **appoint a very credible person** to become the **EC boss**.*

*And so as far as that is concerned, **I think they have the right** to make that **expression**.*

Ne exlẽ **statement** la **from the beginning** ɖee, wogbɔgblɔm be **the President is consulting with his party people to decide on who will be the next EC boss.** Tso le afima, wovae **bash** Afari Gyan, **a humble Ghanaian**. Amesi tsɔ eƒe agbe daɖi **for seventy years to work for Ghana…**

[The host interrupts G1 and plays a recording of an earlier interview with the leader of the Let My Vote Count Alliance]

G1: **oh yes, I listened to him**. Ekpɔa, eneye nye **problem** yae nye be ɖee, **as Ghanaians** ɖee, **at times** edze be miana **let me say praise or we must, you know, congratulate** amesiwo wɔ woƒe dɔwo eye wowɔ wo ŋyuie.

*But when you **carefully** read the **statement**, **beginning,** they are saying that **the president** is consulting with his party people to decide on who will be the next EC boss. From there, they went on to **bash** Afari Gyan**, a humble Ghanaian**. Someone who sacrificed his life **to work for Ghana for seventy years…***

[The host interrupts G1 and plays a recording of an earlier interview with the leader of the Let My Vote Count Alliance]

***G1**: **oh yes, I listened to him**. You see, my **problem** is that **as Ghanaians**, **at times**, we have to give…**let me say praise or we must, you know, congratulate** people who have done their works and done them well.*

Mia katã mienya be **2012 elections** mea, **problems** vivivi aɖewo va. **These problems that came** la menye **so much about the incompetence of** Afari Gyan o. **it was about the incompetence of those who were selected to work on the grounds. All these things** yae nabe miaƒe **elections in 2012** la, miekpɔ **those minor problems. Why? The problems were mainly input problems.** Alesi amewo na ŋlɔ nu awɔ **additions** kple numawo katã **were the main problems** miekpɔ le **election** ma me. Eyata ne miebe **we want a new EC boss as citizens** la, mi ateŋui a **express that concern** gake Afari Gyan yina aƒe me eye **the whole press conference was more on how incompetent** Afari Gyan **was** throughout eƒe **working life in Ghana**

*We all know that some **problems** came up during the **2012 elections**. **These problems** that came up were not **so much about the incompetence of** Afari Gyan. **It was about the incompetence of those who were selected to work on the grounds. All these things** caused those minor problems we had during **the 2012 elections**.*

*Why? **The problems were mainly input problems**. Writing, making **additions** and the like **were the main problems** we had during that **election**. And so when we say **we want a new EC boss, as citizens,** we can **express that concern**. But Afari Gyan is going home and **the whole press conference was more on how incompetent** Afari Gyan **was** throughout his **working life in Ghana**.*

la, **I think as young people in Ghana, this is not what** miano wowom o. **Because**, ewo si gbona be yea **sacrifice** wo life awo do na Ghana **then at the end of the day** ame aɖe nano anyi ko a **criticise** wo awo wo **useless from the beginning of your work till the end** la, menyo o. Eyata **as Ghanaians** ne mibe **selection of a new EC boss** ne no **very transparent**, miawo **wider consultation** be mia **consult** ame geɖee hafi mia **select**, mia **consult the various stakeholders** kple **the civil organizations** hafi mia **select** amea la, **I accept it** gake **where you went further to seriously criticise** Afari Gyan **to make the man look useless** la**, I think it's not good for young Ghanaians**. **We are also growing and we are sacrificing our lives for Ghana.**

I think as young people in Ghana, this is not what we should be doing. Because it is not good that you sacrifice your life to work for Ghana, then at the end of the day, someone comes and criticises you and renders you useless from the beginning of your work till the end. Therefore, as Ghanaians when we say the selection of a new EC boss should be very transparent, that we should make a wider consultation to consult a lot of people before we select, that we should consult the various stakeholders and civil organizations before we select the person, I accept it but where you go further to criticise Afari Gyan to make the man look useless, I think it's not good for young Ghanaians. We are also growing and we are sacrificing our lives for Ghana.

Ne ewo newɔ dɔ ʋuu, eye **a young guy** ava tsi tsitre ko le wo ŋkume ko agblɔ na wo be **you are very incompetent** la, **how will you feel? This is my problem.**

H: **so this is your problem** eyata… **anyway**, wobe yewo me ga le **another** Afari Gyan dim o. Be **in the past few years** la, alesi wo **conduct elections** la, me dze yewo nu o.

G1: **past few years** yae nye ka? Nukae nye **past few years** la? Megbɔgblɔm be ɖee, Afari Gyan yae wɔa **elections** la **in every constituency** kple nuwo katã hã? **It's not** Afari Gyan. **At long last** mienya be **so far as** wonye **boss** la the **ultimate responsibility is on his head** gake elebe **as young Ghanaians** ɖee mia **identify where the problem came from and even**

How will you feel if you have been working for a long time and a young guy stands in your face and tells you **that you are very very incompetent? This is my problem.**

*H: so this is your problem and so… **anyway**, they said they don't want **another** Afari Gyan because they are not satisfied with how he **conducted elections in the past few years.***

*G1: **Past few years** and so what? What is the **past few years**? I'm asking whether Afari Gyan is the one who does the **elections in every constituency** and everything else. **It's not** Afari Gyan. **At long last**, we know that **so far as** he is the **boss**, **the ultimate responsibility is on his head** but as young Ghanaians, we need to **identify where the problem came from and even***

mia **help electoral commission to solve it.** Ne miekpɔ **the last election** la, **most of the people employed to do the work were not the right people. And that one too** ma gblɔ be **there was a cause because teachers were banned from that election. Only few teachers had the opportunity** be woawɔ dɔ ma. **Especially** ne eva miaƒe **rural areas** afi sia, **how many competent people** ne kpɔ be wo ateŋui akɔ tso afi sia **who can write very well**? **We are all fighting** be miawɔ **electoral reforms**. Eyata **we must look at the selection process**… alesi miawɔ hafi a **select** miaƒe **new EC boss** la. Miakpɔ be ɖe are **we using the right people** alo **the consultation** ɖe miawɔe **wide enough** be ɖee **the various**

stakeholders siwo le **election process** la mea woa **accept the EC boss and the new EC boss** hã na **work and work well**.

H: Yoo, **we must go about it the right way**... **G2** nya kae le asiwo?

G2: Yoo**, because time** mele mia nu o ta mawɔe tsatsatsa. Wobe ɖe woƒe kutsetsewo a de dzesi wo. **By their fruits we shall know them.** Ale sia koe **Occupy Ghana** dogo yae nye esia eye meva gblɔe le afisia be **NPP** tɔwo ƒe aʋalã ɖeka koe nye ema. Ema me koe **Inside Ghana** hã le go dom tso **NDC** la me, **so** woawo hã ɖee wo ne ga **continue**.

stakeholders in the election process *can* *accept the EC boss* and the EC boss *too* *can* *work and work well.*

*H: Okay, **we must also go about it the right way**...**G2** what do you have to say?*

*G2: Okay I will make it quick **because** we don't have **time**. It is said that by their fruits we shall know them. **By their fruits we shall know them**. This is how the **Occupy Ghana** also emerged and I said it that they are one of the wings of the **NPP**. In the same way **Inside Ghana** also emerged from the **NDC**, so they should also **continue**.*

Let My Vote Count la, menye David Asante ɖe wobe eye yae nye **convener** ne **Let My Vote Count** oa? Esi **election petition** dze egɔme la, menye eyae wo **form group** sia be yewotsɔ le **NPP support** mee oa? Gake **article seventy** si gblɔm wole ɖee, menye eya ɖeka ƒe ta me ko nunya le o. **article seventy** la le gbɔgblɔ be

"the President shall, acting in consultation with the Council of State…David Asante ne gblɔ nam be eye hã yele **Council of State** la me**…appoint the commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice and his deputies, auditor general, the district assembly common fund administrator, the chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission, Land Commission, the governing bodies of public corporations, National Council for Higher Education."**

*This **Let My Vote Count**, is David Asante not saying that he is the **convener** for **Let My Vote Count**? Was this **group** not **formed** to **support** the **NPP** at the beginning of the **election petition**? But he is not the only one who knows about the **article senventy** that he keeps talking about.*

*According to **Article seventy**; **"the President shall in consultation with the council of state**…David Asante should tell me whether he is also part of the **Council of State**…to appoint the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice and his deputies, Auditor General, District Assembly Common Fund Administrator, the chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission, Lands Commission,**

ame siawo katã, **President** yae appoint wo. Wo ame nenie ŋue David asante le gbɔgblɔm le be woa **consult** yewo hafi woa appoint ame siawo?

H: ebe…ese wobe **like** IPAC…

G2: oho…**because** nya si gblɔm mele lae nye be **what the constitution is saying**…esi gblɔm wole hã, menye ɖee wobe **clause two** oa?

H: **yes, clause two**.

G2: **clause two** la le gbɔgblɔm be ɖee "**the President shall acting in consultation with the Council of State, appoint the chairman, deputy chairman, and other members of the Electoral Commission**". Nefiam afisi tututu wogblɔ le be **they should do IPAC** le **constitution** la me. Eya ŋutɔe **quote** nua…**quote constitution**

the governing bodies of public corporations, National Council for Higher Education" all these people were appointed by the **president**. How many of them did David Asante ask that he be **consulted** before they are appointed?

*H: he said…you heard him say **like** IPAC*

*G2: No, because I'm talking about **what the constitution is saying**…is he not saying Clause two?*

H: yes, Clause two.

*G2: Clause two says "**the president shall in consultation with the Council of State, appoint the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and other members of the Electoral commission**".*

*He should show me where exactly it is said in the **constitution** that **they should do IPAC**. He **quoted** the thing…**quoted** that part of the **constitution**… the **Clause two**.*

la ƒe akpa ma...**clause two** la. Ne fiam **constitution** la ƒe akpa si me woyɔ IPAC le. **Other members** siwo tia ge woyi na ɖee woawo yae menye Ghana viwo wonye o. Mime nɔ dukɔ si me hafi **President** Kufour **appoint deputy electoral commission officer**? **Why**? **why**? Nuka tututue ame siawo di be wo ne wɔ na yewo? Ewo **young boy** ko anɔ **allegations** ko **raise** be ame aɖe neva **react**. Nedzɔ ko ne woɖo **politics** dzi eye woyɔ wo koa ke wobe "**Voltarians are our in-laws! Voltarians are our in-laws!** ".

H: Aƒetɔ, gbɔdzi ɖe anyi! **Why are you so tense?**

G2: No! Sometimes, they think we are stupid people.

He should show me where in the ***constitution IPAC*** *was mentioned. Are the* ***other members*** *who will be selected not Ghanaians too? Were we not in this country when* ***President*** *Kufour* ***appointed the deputy electoral commission officer****? Why? Why? What exactly do these people want to be done for them? You are a* ***young boy*** *and you* ***always raise allegations*** *to get someone to* ***react****.*

*When they are called in times of political campaigns that is when they say "**Voltarians are our in-laws! Voltarians are our in-laws.**"*

*H: Master, relax. **Why are you so tense?***

G2:No sometimes, they think we are stupid people

H: Ao…Ayenɔ nya aɖeke mele nya sia me o.

G2: **Look at how he keeps saying: "our in-laws! Our in-laws!"**

H: **Voltarians are his in-laws… what else do you want him to say?**

G2: **It is only during the campaign periods that they start claiming we are in-laws. Who is their in-law?**

H: Amea va mie tsɔ nyɔnu nɛ vɔ ɖee ma yɔ mi be **in-law** oa?

G2: **Let me ask**, ele gbɔgblɔm be Afari Gyan **conduct** eɖokui **in some way in the recent elections.** Nu ne kpe **man** sia paa. Menye Afari Gyan la koe **declare former president** Kuffour **president** le Ghana oa?

H: No, stupidity is not part of this issue.

G2: Look at how he keeps saying: "our in-laws! Our in-laws!"

H: Voltarians are his in-laws… what else do you want him to say?

G2: It is only during the campaign periods that they start claiming we are in-laws. Who is their in-law?

H: If the person came and you gave him a woman to marry, shouldn't he call you in-laws?

G2: let me ask, he was saying that Afari Gyan conducted himself in some way in the recent elections. Shame on this man. Was it no the same Afari Gyan who declared former president Kufour as president of Ghana?

Afari Gyan ɖee wova nɔ miaƒe kpoa dzi **on the election day** le afisia? Ne nye be **electoral officers** wo ga tia amegbegblẽwo hã ɖee ke **party** lawo ya ɖe? Afari Gyan yae va bɔbɔnɔ teƒea wo katã **sign pink sheets** la wo katã hafi wotsɔ yi ɖe Gɛ̃a? **party** lawo katã ƒe amewo mele **collation room** la?

H: *[asks the G1 to speak again on the matter because G2 seems to be angry. The host doesn't code switch.]*

G1: ekpɔ be ɖee, you see, ne ame aɖe wɔ dɔ he yina aƒeme, **me my problem is how** wole **electoral commissioner run**-m **down. That is just my main problem because** Afari **Gyan is a hardworking man. We are in a society** sike be ne miaƒe **system** la kple **institutions are not perfect** eyata ame aɖeke meli o eye **after the time** na wɔ dɔ ɖee **there wouldn't be any flaws.**

*Was Afari Gyan on our campus here **on the election day?** Even if the **electoral officers** selected the wrong people, what about the **parties**? Was it Afari Gyan who **signed the pink sheets** at all the centers before sending them to Accra? Did all the **parties** not have representatives in the **collation room**?*

H: *[asks the G1 to speak again on the matter because **G2** seems to be angry. The host doesn't code switch.]*

*G1: you see, you see when someone has done a job and is retiring, **me my problem is how** they are running down the **electoral commissioner. That is just my main problem because** Afari Gyan is a hardworking man. We are in a society where the systems and **institutions are not perfect** and so there is no one **that after the time the person has worked, there wouldn't be any flaws** [what he wants to say is that no one does a flawless job]*

G2: ne woawo hã wowɔ vɔ ko miawo hã miedze wo **run**-m **down** alea…

G1: ema ya **is not good. Nobody… the system** ŋutɔ hã menyo eyata mega **go through this system expecting** be yea kpɔ **hundred percent** o.

Gake mi me ateŋui anɔ anyi ko **just the little road block** ko miakɔe be mia **bring the person down like that** o. Ne **Let My Vote Count Alliance feel** be ne **the new person to be appointed** woa wɔe **through a very transparent way** la, wo ateŋui agblɔe.

 The only thing they must know is that the authority to appoint, from the constitution la**, is the president in consultation with the council of state. If the president passes through these processes** la**, to me, that is very transparent**. **There's nothing**

*G2: When they are done, we will also **run them down** this same way.*

*G1: that **is not good. Nobody**…*the system itself is also not good so don't **go through this system expecting** to get **a hundred percent**.*

*But we cannot **bring the person** [Afari Gyan] **down like that** because of **just a little road block**. If the **Let My Vote Count Alliance feels** the **new person should be appointed through a very transparent way***, they can say it.*

The only things they must know is that the authority to appoint, from the constitution, is the President in consultation with the Council of State. To me, if the President passes through these processes, then to me that is very transparent.

I can say because this is what the constitution states. Consultation of IPAC mele **necessary** o **although sometimes it brings down the tension**. Hã, le miaƒe constitution mea, **IPAC** aɖeke meli o. It is not a constitutional body.

[The host reads out the news article in English and then translates into Ewe. He asks G1 to comment.]

G1: **Chieftaincy**! Na magblɔ nya aɖe to egbɔ be aɖi abe ame dzum mee ene. Ne woanye nye ɖeka nye **wish** ɖee, Ghana, **we must ban the whole chieftaincy thing.** Ne mia **ban chiefs** siwo katã le dua me **and then we use the democratic principle to rule ourselves because** ne ekpɔ **chieftaincy crisis is becoming unbecoming**. Ndi sia le **Northern region, I have just forgotten the name of the town**…afima**, they have burnt houses because of chieftaincy**. **Why**?

*There's nothing I can say because this is what the constitution states. The consultation of IPAC is not **necessary** although it sometimes brings down the tension. Even in our **constitution**, there is nothing like **IPAC**. **It is not a constitutional body**.*

[The host reads out the news article in English and then translates into Ewe. He asks G1 to comment.]

*G1: **Chieftaincy**! Allow me to say something even though it will sound like an insult. If it were left to me alone, I would **wish** that **we bann the whole chieftaincy thing** in Ghana. So that all the **chiefs** in the various towns will be **banned and then we use the democratic principle to rule ourselves because** as you can see the **chieftaincy crisis, it is becoming unbecoming**. This morning in the **Northern Region**, I have just forgotten the name of the town…they have*

Fifia, **as Ghanaians, if we claim we believe in democracy** eye miebe mia **elect** miaƒe **leaders** wo **democratically** koa ke **chiefs** wo katã wone **step down**. Ne ame aɖe di be yea ɖu **chief** le dua me ɖe, **those who want it should come and stand** ne mia **vote** na amea.

G2: Agbalẽnyalawo le dukɔ sia **fail**-m la. **If you check** nugbegblẽ siwo katã le miaƒe nutowo me, **they are the ones causing them.**

H: **So what are you talking about?** Ðe ne gbɔgblɔm be agbalalẽnyanya **is what is causing all these problems** hã?

G2: **Education is the problem.** Wo ame siwo be yewo nya agbalẽa, woawoe le nusiawo **cause**-m. Mi gbugbɔ trɔ **history** le ŋɔŋlɔm **because** miebu be mienya agbalẽ.

burnt houses because of chieftaincy problems **over there. Why?**

Now, **as Ghanaians, if we claim we believe in democracy** and we want all our **leaders** to be **elected democratically**, then all the **chiefs** should **step down**. If someone wants to be a **chief** in a particular town, **those who want it should come and stand** [contest] so that we can **vote** for the person.

G2: the literates are failing this country. **If you check** all the things going wrong in our communities, **they are the ones causing them.**

H: **So what are you talking about?** Are you saying that literacy **is the cause of all these problems?**

G2: **Education is the problem.** Those who claim to be educated are the ones **causing** all these. You are rewriting **history because** you think you are educated.

H: nuka tae nele gbɔgblɔm be **literates** woe le fia nya **cause**-m?

G2: Me gbɔgblɔm be **they are the ones rewriting the history** la**. If you count the number of people** wobe yewo de **university** eye ne wobe woaɖe woƒe agbalĕnyanya afiã ɖee ebui be mianɔ alea le du sia mea?

They are not doing anything profitable with their education. Gbe sia gbe koa miele **causing trouble here and there.**

H: Nya fine aɖee nye esia gblɔm nele. Ma teŋui agbɔ dzi ɖi oa? **You are emotional, yes.** Mateŋui agbɔ dzi ɖi oa?

G2: Nye **patience** la katã yae ma.

H: oh **no no**. Menyo o ɖee **because** ɖeko me va ke nu me da ɖi le nu kpɔm.

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*H: why are you saying that the **literates** are the ones **causing** the chieftaincy problems?*

*G2: I am saying that **they are the ones rewriting the history. If you count the number of people** who claim they have attended **universities** and if they really want to show the power of their education, do you think we will be as we are in this community?*

*They are not doing anything profitable with their education. You are always **causing** trouble here and there.*

*H: That's a good point you are making. Can't you relax? **You are emotional…yes.** Can't you be patient?*

*G2: That's all the **patience** I have.*

*H: oh! **No, no**! That's not good **because** I am just staring at you with my mouth open.*

Tape 3

H: Yoo miese **information** aɖewo eye miedi be mia bia wo be nyateƒe yae hã. **Reopening of basic schools all over the country** egbe yae?

MP1: suku siwo le gɔme dzem egbe wonye **private schools** wo. Dziɖuɖu sukuwo mele gɔme dzem egbe o **but** nusi le veviẽ nye be **preparations** siwo wɔm **schools** wole kple dziɖuɖu kple **Ministry of Education** be **Cholera** kple Ebola nyawo ma kaka o. Eyata suku siwo le enu ʋum egbe la, wogblɔ na deviawo be woatsɔ **hand sanitizer** alo takuvi ɖe esi be woatsɔ nɔ asi tutumee.

*H: Yoo! We got some **information** and we would like to ask you whether they are true. Is today the day for the **reopening of basic schools all over the country**?*

*MP1: the **private schools** are the schools that are reopening today. Public schools are not reopening today **but** the most important thing is the **preparations** that the **schools** are making with the government and the **Ministry of Education** in order to prevent prevent **cholera** and ebola from spreading. So, the students in the schools reopening today have been informed to bring hand **sanitizers** or handkerchiefs for cleaning their hands.*

H: mi ge ɖe **hand sanitizer** nya me me. Alesi **hand sanitizer** nya ma va zu **popular** fifia ɖee miele vɔvɔm be ame aɖewo awɔ **imitation** wo ade eme si mawu edi adeke oa?

MP1: **Hand sanitizer** geɖee la, **at room temperature** la, etona. Ne ekui de asime hafi wo lolo na eye **scent** aɖe hã nɔa esi.

H: yoo, miayi edzi…. Eɖo miagbɔ be miele **new airport** tum…. afikae miele etum ɖo?

H: *let's delve a bit deeper into that issue of **hand sanitizers**. With the way **hand sanitizers** are **popular** these days, are you not afraid that some of them will be **imitations** and may not kill any germs?*

MP1: *Most **hand sanitizers** are thick **at room temperature**. It is only when you pour it out in your hands that it's consistency becomes lighter and it has a particular **scent** too.*

H: *It has come to our notice that you are building a **new airport**. Where is it being built?*

MP1: le kwasiɖa siwo va yi mea, **President** nɔ teƒewo dem. **Last week** enɔ Atuabo wova wɔ **gas pipeline**, **gas processing plant** eye woga wɔ mɔ aɖewo kple susu be **gas processing plant** la ƒe **products** alo nusiwo ato eme la woa kaka wo 2e dukɔa me ne woa de ame sia me dzi eye kwasiɖa ƒe nuwuwu la, enɔ **Cape coast** wo va yi ɖe **Cape Coast Stadium**, Kotokuraba **market** . Egbe kple etsɔ la, **President** ayi Tamale **airport**. Wodi be woatrɔ Tamale **airport** woazu **international airport** alebe mia nɔvi siwo nye **Muslims** wo woanɔ **airport** ma zãm na **Hajj** kple tɔwo. Elabena **international airport** la, ɖeka koe li eye wole **south** eyata ne ɖeka ga le **north** hã koa ke enyo.

*MP1: these past weeks, the **President** has been traveling to places. **Last week**, he was at Atuabo to commission a **gas pipeline**, a **gas processing plant** and he also commissioned some roads so that the **products** of the **gas processing plant** or its outcome will be distributed around the country so that everyone benefits. And at the end of the week, he was in **Cape-Coast** where he went to the **Cape-Coast Stadium** and the Kotokuraba **market**. Today and tomorrow, the **President** will go to the Tamale **airport**. They want to turn convert the Tamale **airport** into an **international airport** so that our brothers and sisters who are **Muslims** can be using it for **Hajj** and the rest. Because there is only one **international airport** and that is in the **south** and so it will be good to have one more in the **north**.*

Le Amu nutoa mea, ame sia ame nya afisi **airport** la anɔ. Alebe **transaction advisor** wole **design** kple nububuawo wɔm abe alesi wole miaƒe **manifesto** me ene. Madidi o la, **projects** a wo adze gɔme. Kwasiɖa si gbɔna la**, Road Minister** ava **Volta Region**, elabena eyi **Nothern Region and Eastern Region** eye miebia be woava mia gbɔ le **Volta Region**. Alebe eya ŋutɔ na va kpɔ Adidome kple Adaklu **road** kpakple **the Eastern Corridor roads.** Edo ŋugbe be **next week** la, yea va. Eyata dziɖuɖu nya nusi dim mie le. Me hia be miayi **demonstration** hafi miakpɔ nusi dim miele o. dziɖuɖu mekɔ mi **for granted** o.

H: Yoo, ne ekpɔ Daily Graphic me ŋdi yea, wobe **''load shedding to end this month''**. Miese esia woti mi.

In the Volta Region, everyone knows where the **airport** will be. So, the **transaction advisors** are preparing the **design** and the rest as it is in our **manifesto.** Very soon, the **projects** will begin. Next week, the **Road Minister** will be in the **Volta region** because he has been to the **Northern region and the Eastern region** and we have asked him to come to us in the **Volta region.** So he will come and see the Adidome and the Adaklu **roads** as well as **the Eastern Corridor roads**. He promised to come **next week.**

So, the government knows what we want. We do not have to go on **demonstration** before we get what we want. The government hasn't taken us **for granted**.

H*: Yoo, in the Daily Graphic this morning, they claim the '**'load shedding to end this month''**. We are tired of hearing this.*

Gbe sia gbe dziɖuɖu nabe load shedding le nuwu ge. Etsɔ **like this** le Adidome wotsi dzo na mi. Aa **end** nyateƒea?

MP1: Nye me xle **Daily Graphic** haɖe o. Ne nyee nye **VRA** alo **energy minister** la, nye ma ga gblɔ nya siawo ƒe ɖeke o. **Already** mie nya be Bui mele dɔwɔm o eye Akosombe ƒe tsi la ƒe **level** hã ɖe fu. Mienya be tso esi nu sia dze gɔme la, miebu **more than one hundred and fifty megawatts of energy**. Mex4ese be ne tsi ge ɖe Bui me eye woge ɖe Akosombo **dam** me koa, **we will get more energy**. Ɖewohĩ eyata wole gblɔm be **load shedding** awu nu. Mexɔese be ɖoɖowo li kple **independent power producers** wo.

*Every day the government says the load-shedding will end. Yesterday **like this** in Adidome, our electricity was off. Will it really **end**?*

*MP1: I haven't read the **Daily Graphic** yet. If I were the **VRA** or the **energy minister**, I would no longer make any of these comments. **Already**, we know Bui is not working and the water **level** of Akosombo is also disturbing [Bui and Akosombo are hydroelectric power dams]. We know that since this thing began, we have lost **more than one hundred and fifty megawatts of energy**. I believe that as soon as there is water in Bui and Akosombo **dam, we will get more energy.** Perhaps that is why he is saying that the **load-shedding** will end. I believe arrangements have been made with **independent power producers**.*

Menyae be gas sike tso Nigeria, wome gale gas la **supply** m abe alesi wole be woa **supply** ene o. Dziɖuɖu le gblɔm be **by 2016** la, miawɔ dziɖegbe kadi woanɔ ame sia ame si.

H: Miese be mieva le yevuwo be **sod-cutting** ne miatu **hospital** alo kɔdzi **ten million US dollars**. Kɔdzi ka tɔgbe yae?

MP1: **Well**, le nye nukpɔkpɔ nu la, esi mede suku nusi mesrɔ̃ lae nye **architecture** eye me **specialise** le **health care** kple **defence infrastructural projects**. Menya be **the smallest one** si nye chief's **compound** la, ɖewohĩ **two hundred and fifty thousand Ghana Cedis** ateŋui atui, menya be **polyclinic** la, dewohĩ **three**

*I know that the gas from Nigeria is no longer being **supplied** as it has to be **supplied**. The government is saying that **by 2016,** they will make electricity accessible to everyone.*

*H: We heard that you are doing what the whites call **sod-cutting** for a **hospital** or hospital [he says hospital in Ewe] which costs **ten million US dollars**. What kind of hospital is it?*

*MP1: **Well** from my point of view, I studied **architecture** in school and I specialised in **health care** and **defence infrastructural projects**. I know that **the smallest one** which is the **chief's compound** costs around **two hundred and fifty thousand Ghana Cedis**. I also know that for a **polyclinic,** perhaps **three million to four million Ghana Cedis** can build it.*

million to four million Ghana cedis ateŋui atui. Menya be **district hospital** la, hafi woa tui akɔ equipment alo mɔ̃ siwo wole be woanɔ **laboratory, dispensary** kple **theatre** le district hospital la, **approximately** anɔ abe **twenty-four million dollars** eyata ne eɖo ŋku edzi la, **the six plus one district hospitals** siwo tum miele la, ɖeka nye **around twenty-million**. Ne wo tso le afima he yi **regional level** la, ke eva zu ga blibo. Eyata **ten million dollars** la, mexɔese be ɖee wobe woakɔ a ga tu **an already existing hospital** awɔ **expansion** alo agbugbɔ akekee ɖe edzi.

*I know that before you build a **district hospital** and stock it with the **equipment** or machines which should be in the **Laboratory, dispensary** and the **theatre** in a district hospital, you will need **approximately twenty-four million dollars** and so you would recollect that each of the **six plus one district hospitals** which are being built cost **around twenty million.***

*From there to the **regional level** costs even a lot more. So I believe the **ten million dollars** was meant for the renovation and **expansion** of an **already existing hospital.***

TAPE 4

MP2: Le **April** me va yi la, **minister** va **parliament** eye wova wɔ **statement** le **parliament** sike ɖee fia be ga kpekpeme siwo **postulate** be yewoa kpɔ tso **petroleum revenue** me la, wome ga le ekpɔ ge o elabena **petrol** ƒe asi le **international market** la, ɖiɖi va anyigbā.

Le susu ma ta, ehiā be nugbegblẽ aɖewo, fe aɖewo…**expenditure** aɖewo siwo plan be yewo awɔ le eƒeame la, mateŋui asɔ ɖe edzi o. Kpeɖe ema nua, **Minister** gblɔe be woaɖe mɔ na ye be yea yi ɖe **International Market** ne yea do ga vɛ ne yewoa ɖo **Euro-bond. Initially** la, mi **approve one billion**

*MP: In **April**, this past one, the **minister** came to the **Parliament** and he came to make a **statement** which indicated that the amount of money which had been **postulated** to be gained from the **petroleum revenue**, will not be achieved because the price of **petroleum** in the **international market** has reduced.*

*For that reason, it has become obvious that some expenses, some debts…some **expenditure** which they had planned to make in the course of the year, will not be successful. In addition to that, the **minister** asked that he be allowed to go to the **international market** to borrow money to establish a **Euro-bond. Initially**, we **approved one billion***

gake fifia eva hiã be mia **increase Euro-bond** ma **to 1.5 billion**. Eyata ga si wodze be woa do le **domestic source**, si woyɔna be **domestic debt** la, wome ga le edo ge o elabena **domestic debt** la ƒe **interest** sɔgbɔ wu ne wodoe le **International Market** alo **Euro-bond market.** Eyata mia **substitute** ema hã.

Le susu ma ta la, elebe woatrɔ va **house** la, ava nami **new budget**. Susu sia tae wotrɔ va house la be miawɔ **additional supplementary budget**. Gake ne ele ŋku ɖe ga si biam wole be **government** alo **parliament** ne na yea **spend** nu la, ga ma meyina ɖe **expenditure** goboe aɖeke me o. *(he says everything in Ewe for some time)* …**how do you call it? There is a name for it…amortization. Amortization** ma, eva increase na (this part of the tape is inaudible).

but now, it has become necessary for us to ***increase*** *that* ***Euro-bond to 1.5billion****. Therefore, the money which should have been borrowed from the* ***domestic source****, which is called the* ***domestic debt****, has a very high* ***interest*** *as compared to when it is borrowed from the* ***international market*** *or the* ***Euro-bond market.***

Therefore, we will ***substitute*** *that one too. For that reason, he has to return to the* ***house*** *(parliament house), and give us a* ***new budget****. This is the reason why he came back to the house for us to draw an* ***additional supplementary budget****.*

But if you look the amount of money he is asking the ***government*** *or* ***parliament*** *to give him to* ***spend****, that money is not going towards any actual* ***expenditure****. [he continues talking in Ewe only for some time] …****how do you call it? There is a name for it…amortization****. That* ***amortization*** *has [tape is inaudible]*

Ebiabiam be **parliament** ne ɖe asi le ye nu ne yeawɔ **payment for additional**, Ghana ga **million** alafa enyi bla adĕ vɔ atɔ̃, akpe alafa adrĕ blaenyi vɔ asieke kple Cedi alafa etɔ̃ Cedi blaenyi. Le yevugbe mea, wobe **eight hundred and sixtyɔ̃five million, seven hundred eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty** Cedis. *He speaks in Ewe briefly.* Mezã ge axefe na **purchases** aɖeke loo alo **salary** loo alo **goods and services** o. Gake enye ga si gblĕ ge woala atsɔ wɔ **amortization** na fe si mieɖu xoxo. Ƒe sia ƒe la, **budget** si vana **parliament**, esiwo ke nye nugbegblĕ siwo wɔge miala akɔ xe fe na **workers** wo lae mieyɔ na be **compensation of employees**. Nugbegblĕ siwo dziɖuɖu la abe miakɔ axe fe na **goods and services,** ga siwo miakɔ axefe na loan siwo

He is asking the parliament to allow him to make **payment for additional** *Ghanaian currency,* *eight hundred and sixty-five* **million,** *seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty Cedis. In English, that will be* **eight hundred and sixty-five million, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand, three hundred and eighty** *Cedis. [he speake Ewe briefly].*

He will not use it for any **purchases** *or for payment of* **salaries** *or for* **goods and services.** *But it is the money that will be used for* **amortization** *for the debts we have already incurred. Every year, the* **budget** *that comes to the* **parliament,** *the ones that are expenses that will be made in order to pay* **workers** *are the ones we refer to as* **compensation of employees.** *Expenses which the government wants us to use to pay for* **goods and services,** *monies that we will use to pay for the loans*

miexɔ, ga siwo zã ge mia la na **subsidies** (*he goes on to explain what he meant by subsidies in Ewe*) kple ga sike dziɖuɖua azã na **National Health Insurance Scheme, GETFUND, Road Fund, Petroleum Fund, District Assembly Common Fund** kple emawo katã, kple ga si dziɖuɖu la azã atsɔ xe fe siwo katã miedo tsɔ wɔ **project** wo. *[He continues in Ewe]*. Miaƒe **amortization** la, le ƒe sia me **increase**. Nuka tae wo **increase** ɖo? Ga ma**, dollar rate** mee me doe ɖo. Gake miaƒe cedi la **depreciate over thirty percent.** Le susu ma ta, ga si wo dze be miaxe **for amortization** la, ne ebui ɖe cedi mea, eva kɔ yi dzi.

Eyata mie ga fe xe ge abe **additional 1.8 billion Ghana cedis**. Eye miaƒe **actual expenditure**, mie **reduce** wo. Eyata nu siwo mie **plan** be miagblẽ le ƒea me la, mie ɖe wodzi. Miaƒe **total budget** enye **1.2 billion** (*he continues in Ewe*).

*we have received, the monies which we will use as **subsidies** [he goes on to explain what he meant by subsidies in Ewe] and the funds that the government uses for the **National Health Insurance Scheme, GETFUND, Road Fund, Petroleum Fund, District Assembly Common Fund** and the rest, and the funds that the government will use to pay for the money we borrowed towards the **projects** that we have undertaken. [he continues talking in Ewe].*

*Our **amortization**, has **increased** this year. Why has it **increased**? That money was borrowed at a **dollar rate**. But our cedi has **depreciated over thirty percent**. For this reason, the amount of money we have to pay **for amortization**, when calculated in cedis, is very high.*

*Therefore, we will be paying an **additional 1.8 billion**. And our **actual expenditure** has been **reduced**. So our **planned** expenditure for the year has been reduced. Our **total budget** is **1.2 billion** [he continues to talk in Ewe].*

Ne **minister** mebia o eye wozã miaƒe ga tsɔwɔ **amortization** alo xe fe siwo mienyi la, ekema **minister violate law** la. Ke edze be **parliament** na **sanction** ee. Eyatae wova be mia ɖe mɔ na ye ne yea **pay** ga ma ne yea tsɔ wɔ **amortization**. Ga si **minister** avae do le **Euro bond market** la, le gɔmedzedzea me lae nye **one billion dollars**. Ga ma ƒe ɖewo ayi ɖe **projects** siwo miebe miawɔ me. Gake esi wova hiã be mia **increase amortization to 1.8 billion** la tae wobe mia ɖe mɔ na ye ne yea vae do **1.5 billion dollars instead of one billion dollars**. Eyata **five hundred million** dze edzi. Mieyɔa nane be **re-financing and rescheduling of your debts**. Ema ƒe ɖewoe woatsɔ axe **amortization**. Elebe mia **amortize**

*If the **minister** doesn't ask and he uses our funds for **amortization** or to settle the debts we have incurred, then the **minister violates the law**. Then, **parliament** will **sanction** him. That was the reason why he came for us to grant him the permission to use that money to **pay** for **amortization**.*

*The money that the **minister** will borrow from the **Euro-bond market**, in the beginning is **one billion dollars**. Part of that money will go towards the **projects** we have planned to undertake. But it is because they have **increased** our **amortization to 1.8 billion**, that is why he wants us to allow him to go and borrow **1.5 billion dollars instead of one billion dollars**. Therefore, it has increased by **five hundred million**. We call something **re-financing and rescheduling of your debts**. Some of that will be used to pay the amortization. We have to **amortize** our debts.*

miaƒe fewo. Miaxe miaƒe fewo gake ga me li o eyatae mieyi na ɖe **Euro bond market** ava do ga le afima. Ke efia bena miaƒe fewo ko tutumee miele ɖe ŋgɔ.

Eyata ga si dom miele fifia, **ten years' time** wole be miaxee. Ne menye **NDC** yae le **power** o la, **political party** ɖesiaɖe si le **power** la axe. Mawɔ example ɖeka nawo, in 2007, **NPP** tɔwo yo ɖe **Euro bond market** gbã vae do **seven hundred and fifty million U.S. Dollars**. In 2013 **NDC** yiɖe **Euro Bond market** vae kɔ eƒe ga kɔ xe **two hundred and fifty million** le efe gbãtɔ sike **NPP** do va yia nu. Ekpɔtɔ a **balance of five hundred and thirty-one million dollars**

*We would like to settle our debts but we don't have the funds and that is why we are going to the **Euro-bond market** to borrow money from there. Then it means we are just pushing our debts forward.*

*Therefore, the money we are borrowing right now, has to be paid in **ten years' time**. If the **NDC** is not in **power**, any other **political party** that is in **power** has to pay. Let me make one example for you. In **2007**, the **NPP** members went to the **Euro-bond market** first to borrow **seven hundred and fifty million U.S dollars**. In 2013, the **NDC** went to the **Euro-bond market** and used its money to pay **two hundred and fifty million** out of the first money that the **NPP** borrowed previously. It is left with a **balance of five hundred and thirty-one million dollars***

le ga gbãtɔ si **NPP** tɔwo do nu. Miele ga yeye sia ƒe **five hundred million** zã ge atsɔ xe fe ma kpɔtɔea. Togbɔ be menye **NDC government** yae doe o hã, esi wonye miawoe le **power** fifia hafi exeɣi ɖo la, miawoe le exe ge. Eyata mie **five hundred million** ɖege le **1.5 billion** si do ge mia la fia nu atsɔ axe **NPP** tɔwo ƒe **bond** mae. Eyata **governance** la, nenemae wolee nye ma.

He continues to speak in Ewe for some time.

Enyo be mia do ga atsɔ xe fe siwo le mia nu. Ne edo ga eye **interest** si naxe ɖe edzi nye **ten percent**, eye exeɣi ɖo eye mekpɔ ga la naxe o, eye ame bubu be yea do ga nawo na tsɔ axe fe lae gake **interest** si naxe ɖe edzi

*from the previous loan that the NPP members took. From this new loan, **five hundred million** will be used to pay the rest of the old debt.*

*Although it wasn't the **NDC government** that borrowed the money, since we are the ones in **power** now and the time to settle that loan has come, we are the ones to have to pay it. Therefore, we will take **five hundred million** from the **1.5 billion** that we are going to borrow, to pay the **NPP's bond**. So, that is how **governance** is.*

[he continues to speak Ewe for some time]

*It is a good to borrow money to pay the debts we have incurred. If you borrow money at an **interest** rate of **ten percent**, when it's time to pay that loan and you do not have the funds to pay the loan, when another person offers to give you another loan but at an **interest** rate*

nye **five percent** ɖee menyo awua? **That is good economic management and it is a rescheduling of your debts. You are pushing your debts forward at a cheaper cost and this happens in businesses, it happens in governance, and it even happens to individual people.**

12.3 million, eyina ɖe **salaries pay** ge na **workers** wo**, 1.8 million** eyina ɖe **goods and services** siwo miatsɔ amanage dukɔ lae, **9.3 million** eyina na **interest payment**, ga si **transfer** ge mia la na **National Health Insurance, GETFUND, Loan Fund, GNPC** wo katãe nye **7.2 billion. Yes.**

*of **five percent**, is that not better? **That is good economic management and it is the rescheduling of your debts. You are pushing your debts forward at a cheaper cost and this happens in business, it happens in governance and it even happens to individual people.***

12.3 million** will be used to **pay** the **salaries** for **workers**, **1.8 million** is going towards the **goods and services** that we will be using to manage the country**, 9.3 million** is also going towards the **payment** of **interests** and the amount of money that will be **transferred** to the **National Health Insurance Scheme, GETFUND, Loan Fund, GNPC** and the rest is **7.2 billion. Yes.

The minority in parliament wonyae be **budget** la, **it's a constitutional requirement.** Eyata wo da asi ɖe edzi be mia **present report** na **parliament** la na **approve** na **Finance Minister** la.

*The minority in parliament knows that the budget, is a constitutional requirement. Therefore, they have agreed that we **present** the **report** to the **Parliament** in order for it to be **approved** for the **Finance Minister**.*

TAPE 5

MP3: Woahe **employment opportunity** vae na duametɔwo alo teƒe siwo wokpɔ ŋudzedze le. **Currently, South** Tongu **meter problem** la, wowɔ ɖoɖo be kasia **January 10th** naɖo la, dɔwɔlawo gbɔna dɔ wɔ ge eye teƒe siwo **meter** me le oa, woaxɔ **meter**.

He speaks in Ewe continuously for some time, and then he goes on to talk about agricultural developments in his constituency.

Miedi be woa de dzesi **South** Tongu ɖe **agricultural produce** aɖe ta **and luckily rice seems to be the one** alebe ne woyɔ mɔlu le afi sia afi koa na nyae be **South**

*MP3: They will bring **employment opportunity** to the inhabitants of the town or anywhere they like. As for the **meter problem** in **South** Tongu **currently**, arrangements have been made to bring in people to come and work on it so those who don't have **meters** will get **meters** before January 10th.*

He speaks in Ewe continuously for some time and then he goes on to talk about agricultural developments in his constituency

*We want **South** Tongu to be identified with an **agricultural produce and luckily rice seems** to be the one so that wherever rice is mentioned, you know **South** Tongu is the **major place** where **production is very high.***

Mieƒo nu na anyigbãtɔwo be woɖe asi le anyigbãwo nu na **investors** wo. **Currently**, **we have GADCO, we have Brazil Agric Business Group, and in fact just about two weeks ago, Thailand** tɔwo va sike woawo hã wodi be yewoa va xɔ **another big portion** ne woawo hã woa yi ɖe rice **production** me.

In fact, what we are putting in place nye be **all these time** katã akpɔ be mi me di be agbledelawo naɖe asi le anyigbã ŋu na **investors** wo ko o alebe woawo agbledelawo woava zu abe **labourers on the farm** o. **Rather** woawo woa nye **owners** wo **more or less of the whole program.**

Eyata mie **put in place this out-grower scheme. The out-grower scheme is that**, **for instance, we are starting with the Thailand investors**.

*We have spoken with the land owners to let go of the lands for the **investors**. **Currently**, **we have GADCO, we have Brazil Agric Business Group, and in fact just about two weeks ago**, people from **Thailand** came for **another big portion** of the land so they can also go into rice **production**.*

*In fact, what we are putting in place is that…**all these time** you would notice that we don't want the farmers to give up their lands to the **investors** and become **labourers on the farm**. **Rather**, they will be **owners**, more or less of the whole program.*

*So we have **put in place this out-grower scheme. The out-grower scheme is that**, for instance, we are starting with the Thailand investors.*

The Thailand investors have agreed and what they are coming to do, is to use the Aka **creek. They will plough it, and prepare the land. They will also provide the seedlings and then train the owners who are willing to go into farming.**

Ese gɔmea *[to the show host].* Woa **train** anyigbãtɔ siwo di be yewo ayi ɖe mɔlugble dede la me.

[Speaks in Ewe explaining how the land owners will pay back the investors in order to keep their lands]

Alebe ne nukuawo tsi la, woava **harvest** wo. Koa, wolɔ̃ **sign memorandum of understanding** la ho. Alebe **Christmas** la ta, wotrɔ be yewoa va **break** ʋɛ.

The Thailand [Tai] investors have agreed and what they are coming to do is to use the Aka creek. They will plough it, and prepare the land. They will also provide the seedlings and then train the owners who are willing to go into farming.

*Do you understand [he asks the host]? They will **train** the land owners who are interested in rice cultivation.*

[Speaks in Ewe explaining how the land owners will pay back the investors in order to keep their lands]
*So that when the crops are ready, they will come and **harvest** them. And so they have agreed and **signed** the **memorandum of understanding** already. Because of the Christmas, they have taken a **break**.*

This same idea hã mɪekɔe na **Brazil** tɔwo hã be woa **accept concept** sia.

*This same idea is what we have presented to the **Brazilians** so that they will also **accept** this **concept**.*