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**Akan-English Codeswitching on Ghanaian TV Talk Shows:
The Case of ‘THE DELAY SHOW’.**

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

DEDICATION

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

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Meda mo nyinaa ase!

Tusen takk!

Thank you!

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| List of Figures | x |
| Abbreviations | xi |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Terminology | 2 |
| 1.2 Background of the Study | 3 |
| 1.3 Statement of the Problem | 8 |
| 1.4 Aims of the Study | 8 |
| 1.5 Structure of the Thesis | 8 |
| 2 Literature Review | 10 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 10 |
| 2.2 Codeswitching | 10 |
| 2.3 Theoretical Framework..... | 13 |
| 2.3.1 Gumperz..... | 13 |
| 2.3.2 The Markedness Model (MM) by Myers-Scotton | 15 |
| 2.3.3 Conversational Analysis (CA) | 18 |
| 2.4 Codeswitching in Ghana..... | 20 |
| 2.5 Application of CS Theories | 22 |
| 3 Methodology | 23 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 23 |
| 3.2 The Selected Show | 23 |
| 3.3 Sampling Method/ The Selected Interviews..... | 25 |
| 3.4 Demographic Information of the Informants..... | 26 |
| 3.4.1 The Host of the Show: Deloris Frimpong Manso | 26 |
| 3.4.2 Guest 1: Asamoah Gyan..... | 26 |
| 3.4.3 Guest 2: Kennedy Ohene Agyapong..... | 26 |
| 3.4.4 Guest 3: Sandra Ankobiah..... | 27 |

| | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| 3.5 | Data Transcription and Translation | 28 |
| 4 | Results and Discussions | 29 |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 29 |
| 4.2 | Types of Codeswitching | 29 |
| 4.2.1 | Intra-sentential CS | 29 |
| 4.2.2 | Extra-sentential CS | 30 |
| 4.2.3 | Inter-sentential CS | 31 |
| 4.3 | Conversational Uses of Akan-English Codeswitching..... | 31 |
| 4.3.1 | Quotations | 32 |
| 4.3.2 | Addressee Specification | 33 |
| 4.3.3 | Interjections | 34 |
| 4.3.4 | Reiteration | 35 |
| 4.3.5 | Message Qualification..... | 37 |
| 4.3.6 | Personalisation versus Objectivization..... | 37 |
| 4.3.7 | Numbers (Numerals) | 39 |
| 4.3.8 | Proper Nouns..... | 41 |
| 4.3.9 | CS for Contrast..... | 42 |
| 4.3.10 | Lexical Gaps..... | 43 |
| 4.4 | Conversational Analysis based on Sequencing | 44 |
| 4.4.1 | Codeswitching to Signal a Change in Topic | 44 |
| 4.4.2 | CS to Signal the Main Issue Under Discussion..... | 45 |
| 4.5 | Social Motivations for Akan-English Codeswitching | 47 |
| 4.5.1 | CS to Index Social Identities | 47 |
| 4.5.2 | Use of CS as a Deferential Strategy | 50 |
| 5 | Conclusion..... | 52 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 52 |
| 5.2 | Summary of Findings | 52 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 5.3 Recommendations for Future Research..... | 53 |
| APPENDIX A: Interview 1..... | 60 |
| APPENDIX B: Interview 2..... | 73 |
| APPENDIX C: Interview 3..... | 87 |

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015)..... 5

Figure 1.2 The Distribution of Akan (Twi Fante) Language and its Dialects (Dolphyne, 2006)
..... 7

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| AG | Asamoah Gyan |
| CA | Conversational Analysis |
| CS | Codeswitching |
| EL | Embedded Language |
| GTV | Ghana Television |
| KA | Kennedy Agyapong |
| ML | Matrix Language |
| MM | Markedness Model |
| RO sets | Rights-and-Obligations Sets |
| SA | Sandra Ankobiah |
| TV | Television |
| UTV | United Television |

1 Introduction

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

The language contact phenomenon of codeswitching¹ can be approached from various perspectives including sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, pragmatic, and grammatical perspectives etc. Auer (1984) provides a narrower outline of three different perspectives from which the literature on language alternation² may be distinguished. First, the *grammatical perspective* which deals with the syntactic and morphological restrictions on switching. Second, the *interactional perspective* which concerns with the meaning/functions of individual instances of alternation in a conversation. Lastly, a *sociolinguistics perspective (in a restricted sense)* which is concerned with which bilingual communities make use of language alternation, in which situations and why.

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

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

² The terms alternation, switch, switching and codeswitch will be used interchangeably in this work.

1.1 Terminology

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

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

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

as forming part of the Akan language's lexicon. on the other hand, *bɔɔlo* ('ball') in example 2 is a case of borrowing. This word is an established loanword in Akan. It assumes the morphological, syntactic, and phonological identity of the recipient language.

Example 1

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

(don't you..., people think most of you don't **invest**)

Example 2

013. **Delay:** *Bɔɔlo* na woyɛ?

(so, you play football?)

1.2 Background of the Study

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

The language situation in Ghana, a country in West Africa with a population of 24,658,823 (Ghana statistical service, 2012), is very much like that of other African countries. Ghana has been described as a linguistically diverse country in which alternating between multiple languages in conversations (CS) is an everyday phenomenon (Quarcoo, Amuzu, & Owusu, 2014). According to Lewis, Simons and Fennig (2015), 79 indigenous languages are spoken in Ghana. Nonetheless, Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) posit that approximately fifty non-mutually intelligible languages count as 'indigenous' to Ghana's territory. Thus, some of the languages have several dialects which are mutually intelligible to their speakers but not intelligible to speakers of other Ghanaian languages. Apart from the indigenous languages, two languages are used throughout the country: Hausa, a Chadic language which is mostly used among the people in the northern part of the country and English which is the sole official language of Ghana. Other languages like Arabic and Yoruba are also used in Ghana.

Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) explain that looking at the country linguistically and to some extent culturally, Ghana is roughly divided into two parts. The first part which includes languages spoken to the south of the confluence of the White and Black Volta rivers are Kwa languages belonging to the Niger-Congo language family. According to them, the relationship among languages in this group is not a close one. Akan in its many dialect forms, Nzema and its close relatives, and the Guan languages are all closely and obviously related, but the Kwa languages to the east which includes Ga-Dangme, Ewe, and most of the other languages of the Volta Region, are very dissimilar and quite distantly related to each other. The second part are languages spoken to the north in the savannah regions. These languages belong to the Gur family, particularly the Oti-Volta and the Grusi branches of Central Gur.

Akan, a language belonging to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo language family, is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana. The name Akan is used to refer to a language with several mutually intelligible dialects. Among such dialects are Asante (Twi), Fante, Akuapem, Bron, Kwawu, Akyem etc. (see figure 1.2). Three of its dialects, Akuapem, Asante and Fante have achieved literary status. Anyidoho & Kropp-Dakubu (2008) note that certain Ghanaian languages have historically been languages of expansion. According to them, several Akan-speaking kingdoms went through expansionist phases, with Asante (Ashanti) being by far the most powerful in recent times. The Asante dialect of the Akan language thus continues to expand as a second language in urban areas such as Accra, the capital, and to some extent throughout the country. Wolff (2003) notes that the main languages spoken in Ghana are roughly proportionate to the ethnic breakdown in the country, with approximately 44% Akan, 18% Ewe, 3% Mole-Dagbani, and 8% Ga, with numerous smaller language groups comprising the remainder (Wolff, 2003: 101, cited in Flamenbaum, 2006). It has also been estimated that 60% non-Akan Ghanaians speak Akan as a second language, raising Akan to the status of unofficial lingua franca in the country (Nukunya, 2003, cited in Flamenbaum, 2006).

Figure 1.1: The Language Map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2015)



Akan is used in many sectors of the country ranging from education to politics, trade, religion and in the media. It is the most used indigenous language in the Ghanaian media. It is used in broadcasting on televisions and on radio. Akan is used in news broadcasting and in other programmes on the Ghana national television (*GTV*) and on other TV stations like Television Africa (*TV Africa*). Also, there are TV stations such as Adom TV and United Television Ghana (*UTV*) who broadcast their programmes entirely in Akan. In recent times, *UTV* broadcasts foreign telenovelas with voice-over translations into Akan. This is an interesting move giving the fact that most Ghanaians, literate or illiterate, love to watch such TV series and it also goes on to show how extensively Akan is used in the Ghanaian media. Many radio stations in the country also use Akan as their main language of transmission, examples of such stations are *Nhyira FM*, *Adom FM*, and *Asempa FM*. It should be noted here that some of the programs on these stations feature significant use of Akan-English codeswitching. Akan language is also used in many local movies with a well-established movie industry called *Kumawood*. Most of their movies are watched by speakers of Akan as well as other Ghanaians due to the entertaining nature of such movies. In a nutshell, there is an extensive use of Akan in the Ghanaian media except for the print media.

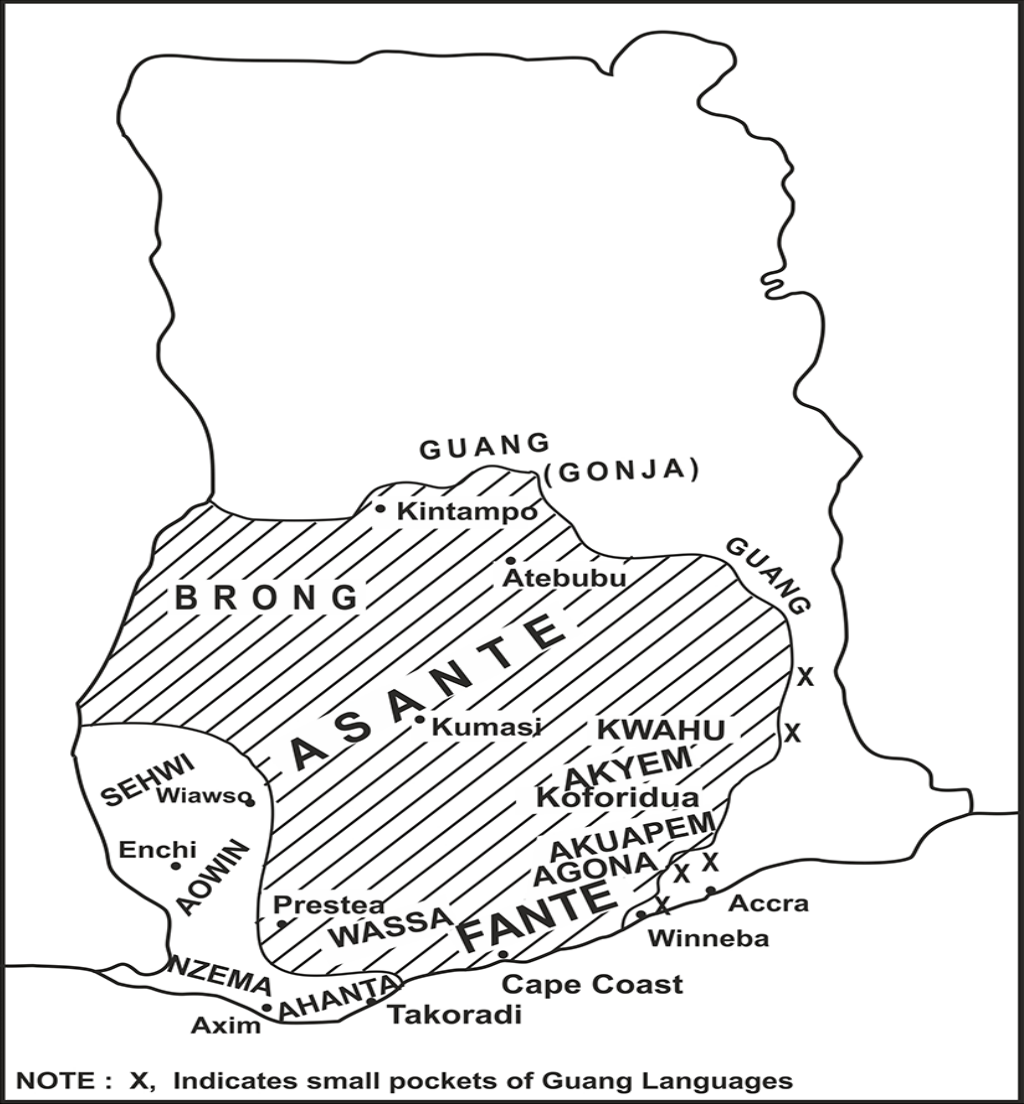
English is the sole official language of Ghana due to Ghana's anglophone heritage. It is mostly acquired through formal education, and so all educated Ghanaians have high levels of bilingualism in their native language and English. On Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana, Forson (1979) posits that "the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

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

used in everyday interactions. However, it does have some High functions in terms of its use in traditional domains like festivals, traditional marriage ceremonies and baby naming ceremonies.

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

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



1.3 Statement of the Problem

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

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

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

1.4 Aims of the Study

This study seeks to address the following questions:

1. What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?
2. How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?
3. What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the study and provides some background insights into the setting of this work. The research aims of the study are also highlighted in this chapter. In Chapter Two, there is a review of the relevant literature for this study. This review provides a broad description of the topic of codeswitching, and discusses the theories and approaches adopted for the study. In Chapter Three, the methodology chapter, the methods and procedures used in collecting data for the work are discussed. Chapter 4

presents the main analysis of the data. Here, there is an attempt to address, as much as possible, all the research questions the study seeks to address. Finally, Chapter Five, the concluding chapter, provides the summary of major findings and recommendations for future studies.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

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

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

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

2.2 Codeswitching

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

Gardiner-Chloros (2009) points out that CS can mean whatever we want it to mean because CS is only a construct developed by linguists to describe their data. However, several good descriptions have been provided in the literature. She notes that “Switching appears transparent enough, in that it refers to the *alternation* between the different varieties which people speak” (Gardiner-Chloros, 2009: 11). The term codeswitching has therefore been defined differently from scholar to scholar. Despite this, the definitions do often overlap with each other.

Gumperz (1982) views *conversational codeswitching* as the “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59). His definition covers alternations between different languages, different dialects of the same language, and the alternation between different speech styles.

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

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

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

Auer & Eastman (2010) point out that codeswitching was regarded as an “externally induced mishap due to negative psychological or social factors” such as incompetency, laziness, lack of education etcetera (Auer & Eastman, 2010: 84). These factors were not considered to merit linguistic investigation because they were temporal. This explains in part why there was no large-scale research on codeswitching before the 1970s. Gumperz (1982) also records that in interview sessions concerning codeswitching, speakers express differing attitudes, most of which are stereotypes. Some of his participants characterize codeswitching as an extreme form of language mixing or linguistic borrowing which shows a lack of education, bad manners or improper control of the grammars of the two languages involved. Others see it as a legitimate style of informal talk. In other words, CS was considered as forming part of the speech of imperfect bilinguals.

Nevertheless, studies show that we cannot attribute codeswitching to only negative factors such as laziness or lack of education. Studies show that bi/multilinguals alternate between codes to achieve several communicative purposes: *quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, personalisation versus objectivization* (Gumperz, 1982: 75–80). Results from Gumperz’ examination of bilingual exchanges show that people who alternate codes are not necessarily motivated by their inability to find the right words in one language. Speakers’ inability to find words to express what they intend to say in one language or the other is a motivating factor in relatively few passages examined by Gumperz (1982). The research shows that “in many cases, the code-switched information could equally well be expressed in either language” (Gumperz, 1982: 64–65).

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

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

Poplack (1980) studied the speech of Puerto Rican residents of a stable bilingual community who show varying degrees in bilingual ability. These residents switch between English and Spanish. In this study, three types of switches were identified. First, *Inter-sentential switching*: where switches from one language to another occur between sentences. In other words, each sentence in the conversation involves a single language even though the conversation is made

up of two languages. Second, *intra-sentential switching*, which involves a switch within a single sentence. Poplack (1980) refers to this type of switch as a more ‘intimate’ type of switch because the codeswitched segments and the other words around it must obey the underlying syntactic rules that govern the two languages involved. According to her, this type of switch requires most skill. Third, *extra-sentential* or *emblematic switching*; this type of switch occurs within a sentence as well but is ‘less intimate’. It is characterized by the insertion of interjections, idiomatic expressions, tags, and individual noun switches from another language into a base language. Their insertion is said to have few, if any ramifications for the rest of the sentence.

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

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

2.3 Theoretical Framework

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

2.3.1 Gumperz

John Gumperz is mostly cited as the scholar who pioneered CS as a field of study. Blom and Gumperz (1972) deal not with switches between language varieties but between dialects of the

same language – Norwegian. Their 1972 article in addition to another study of CS among Hispanic Americans (Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1970; 1978) made Gumperz the most influential linguistics scholar in discussions of the social motivations of CS in the 1970s and 1980s (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.2 The Markedness Model (MM) by Myers-Scotton

Myers-Scotton is of the view that the two main terms figuring in Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) analysis of CS, ‘situational’ and ‘metaphorical’, are difficult to pin down. She considers these terms to be vague and unclear in their definitions. In her Markedness Model (MM), which attempts to capture the socio-psychological motivations for codeswitching, she strives to ‘rise

above vagueness' by incorporating ideas from Grice's (1975) *co-operative principle* and Sperber and Wilson's (1981; 1986) *relevance theory*, among others. According to Myers-Scotton, their ideas are valuable to research in CS because they offer a way of rising above vagueness by discussing the possibility that a switch in codes can convey other important meanings apart from referential meanings (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

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

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

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

This maxim gives rise to two types of CS. First, *sequential unmarked CS* where the switch is a consequence of a change in any of the situational factors at play during the conversation. In many cases, it is a change in the constellation of participants or topic that brings about the switch. This change results in a change of the RO set so the speaker switches to another code

to index the new unmarked RO set, except for situations where accepting the unmarked RO set is “especially onerous”. This type of CS is synonymous with Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) situational switching. Second, *CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)*: in this type of CS, “speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 117). This type of switch is often within a single sentence and sometimes even within the same word.

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

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

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

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

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

It is important to note that Myers-Scotton (1993) sees markedness as a continuum since the dividing line between marked and unmarked codes is not clear-cut. Also, the markedness model

is speaker oriented; it views all choices as speaker-motivated. Myers-Scotton claims that speakers are *rational actors* who act purposefully, if often unconsciously. She views speakers as more than vehicles that carry societal values that cannot be accounted for by more stable situational factors alone. This implies that at some level, speakers are goal-directed and they can use CS to achieve such goals.

2.3.3 Conversational Analysis (CA)

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

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

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

Auer (1984) proposes a conversational analytic view of CS which focusses on the sequential development of interaction, where meaning is 'brought about' through conversational turns and not by the symbolic meaning of the languages (Cashman, 2008). He believes this approach is a natural point of departure for analysis of language choice and alternation. Thus, the analysis

needs to focus on the participants in the conversation and not external factors such as norms and social context. That is not to say that context does not have a role in the analysis of the interaction but, as Auer puts it, “such a context is not something given and available in itself, but has to be created and maintained by participants in addition to what they say (Auer, 1984: 7). He points out the sequential embeddedness of language choice to language alternation.

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

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

It has also been pointed out by Auer (1984) that in the application of CA, the visible-observable techniques, strategies and signals by which participants make themselves understood and show

their understanding of their addressees' utterances is of primary interest. Another issue of primary interest is how the speakers check on their being understood by co-participants (Auer, 1984: 6).

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

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

2.4 Codeswitching in Ghana

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

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

(b) The linguistic background of the speakers. Code-switching will normally occur only between bilinguals who share the same languages. To be able to switch between English and a

Ghanaian language, the speaker must be exposed to English — typically through formal education.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5 Application of CS Theories

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

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

3 Methodology

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

3.1 Introduction

The following questions were addressed in this research:

1. What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?
2. How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?
3. What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

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

3.2 The Selected Show

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

THE DELAY SHOW is a popular TV show in Ghana. It is a Celebrity Interview Show. On this show, the host invites celebrities and interviews them about their personal lives, lifestyles and about issues that make headlines in the news. These issues could be in the headlines of the print media, on TV, radio, or they could be trending on social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter). Before the interview sessions, recently uploaded pictures of some Ghanaian celebrities on

Instagram are projected on to the screen and the host makes humorous comments about them. This segment of the program is called '*Vodafone Instaglam*' a blend of the words **Instagram** and **Glamour**.

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

one sector of society, is believed by the researcher to yield results that reflect a CS that is representatively Ghanaian.

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

3.3 Sampling Method/ The Selected Interviews

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

The interviews selected were:

1. “*Delay sits Asamoah Gyan*”: this video was uploaded to YouTube on 16th July 2011 by CosmoGhana (2011). It has 298,290 views as on 8th February 2017. It lasts 7m:26s. This video is, however, an edited version of the full interview session.
2. “*Delay Exclusive with Hon. Kennedy Agyapong*”: this interview session was uploaded to YouTube on 19th May 2012 by Brain B (2012). This video has accumulated 151,710 views as on 8th February 2017. It lasts 11m:40s. This video does not capture the full interview session.
3. “*Delay interviews Sandra Ankobiah*”: this video was uploaded on DELAY TV’s YouTube channel on 27th January 2015 (DELAY TV, 2015). It lasts 25m:39s and has been viewed 179,145 times as on 8th February 2017. This video captures the full

interview session, however only the first 20m:31s of the video have been transcribed for this study.

3.4 Demographic Information of the Informants

3.4.1 The Host of the Show: Deloris Frimpong Manso

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

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

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

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

3.4.2 Guest 1: Asamoah Gyan

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

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

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

3.4.3 Guest 2: Kennedy Ohene Agyapong

Kennedy Ohene Agyapong is a middle-aged Ghanaian politician and business man.

He is the member of parliament for Assin North Constituency in the Ghanaian parliament for the New Patriotic Party (NPP). He was first elected in 2000 and has retained his seat up to the present day.

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

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

He is a graduate of Fordham University, New York.

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

3.4.4 Guest 3: Sandra Ankobiah

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

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

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

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

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

She is also a co-founder of SN Media Learning Tree, a provider of practical media training in Accra. Sandra is the coordinator for The Legal Advocacy Foundation, an organization that aims

to educate the ordinary Ghanaian on their legal rights and obligations. In addition, Sandra started Fashion for Action in 2013, an initiative that supports the underprivileged by auctioning off her used outfits to raise funds for the underprivileged in society.

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

3.5 Data Transcription and Translation

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

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

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

4 Results and Discussions

4.1 Introduction

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

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

4.2 Types of Codeswitching

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

4.2.1 Intra-sentential CS

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

Example 3

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

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

Example 4

117. **KA:** Ghana ha obira ɔwɔ confidence biara ɔmo se ɔye arrogant. Enti woo wo confidence na wowɔ no

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

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

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

4.2.2 Extra-sentential CS

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

Example 5

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

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

Example 6

115. **KA: you see**, oka atitriasem a edeen na orepe akyere?... **You see**, ena naano no na mereka akyere omo se **Proverbs 26 verse 19** ose... **You see** se dabiara se obi ba, odidi watem. Odidi wo atem na se wodee wo anka hwee a na eye no se **he is doing the right thing**.

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

In example 5, the speaker uses three (3) interjections to start his sentence. These interjections '**ok**' '**and**' '**errm**' do not affect the rest of the sentence in any way. In fact, they can be omitted

and the sentence will still be grammatical and the intended message will be conveyed as well. In example 6 also, the speaker repeatedly uses the phrase ‘**you see**’ in his speech. This tag is inserted either in sentence-initial or sentence-medial position.

4.2.3 Inter-sentential CS

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

Example 7

142. **KA: I have ninety houses.** nsaase ɛnka ho enti ɔɔmo a ɔɔmo reka se ɔmo dɔ Ghana no...

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

Example 8

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

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

4.3 Conversational Uses of Akan-English Codeswitching

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

Codeswitching has been used by Akan-English bilinguals on The Delay Show to perform various functions, including – but not limited to – the functions discussed by Gumperz (1982). The six uses of CS as discussed by Gumperz were evident in my data. Although Gumperz

suggests that CS is used for the reasons he outlines, other uses of CS were also found in this study. The data shows that Akan bilinguals also use codeswitching for numbers; for proper nouns; for contrast; and to fill a lexical gap.

4.3.1 Quotations

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

Example 9

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

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

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

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

that, this speaker probably uses an English Bible. Since the early British missionaries to Ghana proselytised in English, a lot of Ghanaians (educated) still use an English language Bible.

4.3.2 Addressee Specification

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

Example 10

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

(Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.)

388. **SA: Thanks for having me**

(Thanks for having me)

389. **Delay: Yerekɔgye commercial break. Yereba seisei ara**

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

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

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

specific language in this context serves as the ‘we code’ and is associated with in-group identity. By contrast, English — the colonial language – serves as the ‘they code’ associated with formal relations.

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

4.3.3 Interjections

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

Example 11

014. AG: Yeah, mebo *bɔɔl*

(**yeah**, I play **football**)

Example 12

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

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

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

There is yet another interesting use of CS for interjections from the data which is particularly Ghanaian in nature. This involves the use of the preposition *like* as an interjection. The preposition *like*, which primarily means having the same or similar qualities, has gradually gained other connotations in Ghanaian society, especially among young people. It is very common to hear people, particularly the Ghanaian youth insert the word *like* into Akan sentences. This does not only happen with Akan bilinguals; speakers of other indigenous Ghanaian languages also engage in this linguistic behaviour. Its use, depending on the context

may mean *I said; you mean to say; and so; what I am trying to say is...* and sometimes its use in context has no definite meaning but only serves as a sentence filler. As illustrated in example 13 below, *like* has been used as an interjection by the speaker to mean ‘you mean to say’.

Example 13

343. **Delay:** like wo ne ɔɔmo nni hɔ biom?

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

4.3.4 Reiteration

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

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

Example 14

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

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

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

Apart from the repetition that emphasizes the message, the sequence of the sentences also says something about this message. First, the speaker (the host) uses Akan to ask a question but then changes to English to ask the same question. Relating this to the we/they code as discussed by Gumperz (1982), the use of Akan — the we code here — is connected to informal activities whereas the use of English as the they code is connected to formal activities. Therefore, considering the sensitivity of the question, the speaker switches to a more formal language to attach some formality to the question since most Ghanaian celebrities do not like to disclose their marital status to the public.

Another possible explanation for her use of English to reiterate the message is to distance herself from the utterance, thereby suggesting that she is not the only one who wants to know about the guest's (AG) marital status; the public has an interest in this information as well.

Example 15

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.5 Message Qualification

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

Example 16

165. **Delay:** *Dee edi kan* there is one beautiful picture, *omo usee Jackie Appiah ase ogyina sink bi ho anaa bathroom, something like that.*

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

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

Example 17

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

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

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

4.3.6 Personalisation versus Objectivization

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

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

colonial language in a post-colonial Ghanaian environment to the they code in most instances because it is considered the more formal and stiffer language in the Ghanaian society.

Example 18

177. **Delay:** sɛ wo ayɛ **ready**?

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

178. **SA:** mepaakyɛw aane

(yes please)

179. **Delay:** enti yɛnkɔ?

(so, can we go on?)

180. **SA:** yɛnkɔ

(Let's go on)

181. **Delay:** yɛmfɔ nhyehyɛ fɔm ɛ. Dɛɛ yɛnim wo ara ne sɛ Sandra Ankobiah woyɛɛ **Fashion 101**. Woyɛɛ no **for how long**?

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

182. **SA:** meyɛɛ **two seasons**

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

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

(**two seasons**?)

184. **SA:** Mepaakyɛw yew

(yes please)

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

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

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

4.3.7 Numbers (Numerals)

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

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

Example 19

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

(They say that all the time. They should do their **statistics** well. **You see, people were...**, **a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them.** They **felt** we didn't help them so **they decided not to vote.** **We had sixty-five thousand**

registered voters and only forty-three thousand voted. Out of the forty-three thousand votes, I got a little over twenty-four thousand (and change). Almost twenty-five thousand and the NDC candidate got eighteen and something thousand. So, looking at my previous results, it *reduced* by four thousand votes. And across the country, everyone *lost* some of their previous votes. The margins decreased because people became **complacent**. A lot of people decided not to vote so...well, but if they think that it was almost six thousand votes that I used to *beat* him, [to win] ... but normally I lead by **ten** (thousand votes). **Ten**, so if my votes reduced and you *feel* you can *win*...)

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

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

Example 20

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

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

156. **KA:** meyere ye **one**. Na enye wo ne me yere na eye adwuma?

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

157. **Delay:** Na wone mmaa sen na ewo mma?

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

158. **KA:** eno deɛ **I won't tell you**. Na me me mfere. Dabiara se meka. Meka se me mma ye **thirteen** nti me mfere...

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

4.3.8 Proper Nouns

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

Example 21

037. **Delay:** Enti wope se wone Castro ekɔ ara na aden wone Castro moye **4x4** anaa **VIP**?
Moye **group**?

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

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

Example 22

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.9 CS for Contrast

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

Example 23

114. **Delay:** Wosusu sɛ woyɛ atitriasɛm? medeɛ menim sɛ wonyɛ atitriasɛm **but** wosusu sɛ woyɛ atwiritwirasɛm?

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

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

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

Example 24

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

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

Example 24 is yet another way in which CS is used for contrast among Akan bilinguals. This type of CS includes a cliché from English that is used for various purposes. The construction **that’s his cup of tea** can be said in another way in Akan, but using Akan for that will take away

the intended meaning of this phrase. The use of this phrase among Ghanaians is meant to connote ‘cheekiness’. The contrast in the code is designed to bring about that effect.

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

4.3.10 Lexical Gaps

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

Example 25

310. SA: Ye *screenshot-e*. eyɛ yen fe.

(We take *screenshots* of them.)

Example 26

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

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

Example 27

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

(Sandra that kind of **lifestyle**, when I talk about **lifestyle**; **five-star**, you get here, you hold that...)

4.4 Conversational Analysis based on Sequencing

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

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

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

4.4.1 Codeswitching to Signal a Change in Topic

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

Example 28

069. **Delay:** wompɛ ɔbaa Yaa?

(you don't like ɔbaa Yaa)

070. **AG:** oh mennim no. Sɛ wo ne obi...
(oh, I don't know her. But you and someone...)
071. **Delay:** enti yɛn *arrang-e* na mo nhyia anaa?
(so, should we *arrange* for you to meet her?)
072. **AG:** awareɛ aɛm deɛ awareɛ kwan wa
(as for marriage issues, it's a long process)
073. **Delay:** Asamoah wo wɔ yere? **Are you married?**
(Asamoah, do you have a wife? **Are you married?**)
074. **AG:** menwareeeɛ. Wobɛsɛi **program** no oh!
(I am not married. You will ruin the **program**)
075. **Delay:** hahaha ɔsɛ wobɛsɛi **program** no
(hahaha. He says I will ruin the **program**)
076. **AG:** wobɛsɛi no
(you will ruin it)

4.4.2 CS to Signal the Main Issue Under Discussion

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

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

The conversation centres around a question about the guest's (SA) friendship with a movie actress named Yvonne Nelson. In the first switch in this extract, Delay asks SA if her relationship with the said actress was "premeditated". *Premeditated*, as used by Delay here might seem a strange word to use given its legal connotations in British and American English,

e.g. ‘premeditated murder’. In Ghanaian English, however, this word can be used with no legal connotations to simply mean “pre-planned”.

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

Example 29

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

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

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

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

a lot of people who look up to me, who actually *send* me comments or they write letters to me at TV3 or...)

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

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

190. **SA:** sɛ merekyerekyere mu aba. Mereba

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

191. **Delay:** yɛde **time** nti no. Yɛde **time** nti no **the question is, did you set out?**

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

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

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

4.5 Social Motivations for Akan-English Codeswitching

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

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

4.5.1 CS to Index Social Identities

The study shows that the educated Akan speakers on The Delay Show switch between Akan and English throughout their interactions. During the conversations, they do not attach any special attention to a switch between the two languages. Their use of the two languages is what Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to as *CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)*. Their use of this type of CS first identifies them as speakers of Akan: this signals solidarity between the

immediate interactants and with most Ghanaians (the viewership) since Akan is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Ghana. Second, their identity as educated Ghanaians is manifested through the use of English because “the amount of formal education the average Akan (or, for that matter, the average Ghanaian) gets is, all things being equal, fairly proportionate to the extent to which he is exposed to the use of English” (Forson, 1979: 113). The use of English therefore signals their solidarity with other educated Ghanaians. This includes educated Akan speakers and educated Ghanaians who are not speakers of Akan. It is necessary to create such solidarity with the latter group as well because the viewership may include non-Akan-speaking Ghanaians. It can be argued that this group would not understand most of the conversations but they may still watch the show since the switches into English can give them a fair idea about what is being discussed.

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

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

Example 30

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

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

002. **AG:** mahyε **eleven**

(I scored **eleven**)

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

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

004. **AG:** yeah

(**yeah**)

005. **Delay: ok and** wohu sɛ **football** no wobɛ tumi abɔ **for how long?** sɛ **I'm sure** sɛ wonim wo ahɔɔden a wokura?

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

006. **AG: yeah,** seisei ara no *ɛdependi*. Efiri sɛ obi wɔhɔ a obetumi anya tese **forty** ɛm ɔbɛ *assessɪ* sɛ n'ahɔɔden sɛ obetumi akɔ deɛ a. Ɔwɔ **forty years** koraa na ofiri sɛ obetumi abɔ a obetumi abɔ.

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

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

Example 31

162. **Delay:** Me ma obiara afehyiapa. Ɛnɛ yɛ **boxing day** enti no menim sɛ ɛnɛ deɛ me kookoo **season. Normally holiday** saa no, **viewers** no wɔboa **because stations** no dɔɔso **but** wo *flipɪ* na wobehu **Delay** a woni **choice, you have to watch.**

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

One thing worthy of mention here is that despite the pervasiveness of CS, Akan bilinguals nonetheless show a desire to identify more with the indigenous language. This is evident in their intra-sentential switches, where they sometimes attach Akan morphemes to English words to make them fit into Akan phonotactics. By doing this, their sentences sound more Akan than English. Consider the example below. Here, the English words *depend* and *assess* have been

nativized into Akan by the insertion of the vowel [i] to the end of these verbs to break the closed syllable structure since Akan generally favours open syllables.

Example 32

006. **AG: yeah**, seisei ara no *ɛdependi*. Efiri sɛ obi wɔhɔ a obetumi anya tese **forty** erm ɔbɛ *assessi* sɛ n'ahɔden sɛ obetumi akɔ deɛ a. Ɔwɔ **forty years** koraa na ofiri sɛ obetumi abɔ a obetumi abɔ.

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

4.5.2 Use of CS as a Deferential Strategy

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

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

FATHER: *where have you been?*

SON: Onyango nende adlu aora, baba

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

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

Nevertheless, we can also detect this type of CS in matters of religion where CS is used to show deference to God or to a holy book. In the Ghanaian context, as evidenced in my data, CS has

been used in the form of quotatives as a deferential strategy. In the example below, the speaker switches into the High language to reference a biblical verse and to quote God. Since the use of English in Ghanaian society as the High language is mainly for formal functions, we can read the examples below as being potentially a deferential strategy using the High language for reference to God.

Example 33

115. **KA: You see**, ɛna naano no na mereka akyere ɔmo se **Proverbs 26 verse 19** ɔse bua ɔkwasea wɔ n'agyimisem so na amma no andwene se ɔye onyansafoɔ. Bua ɔkwasea wɔ n'agyimisem so na amma no andwene se ɔye onyansafoɔ. Eno kyere sen?...

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

Example 34

104. **KA: Nyankopɔn ɔhyee yen sen? Ɔsee: three scores and ten; which is seventy years.** Wo nyaa a nea aka akyire nyinaa eye nhyira.

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

5 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

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

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

- 1) What conversational functions does Akan-English CS serve?
- 2) How does the sequential order of a discourse affect the CS of Akan bilinguals?
- 3) What are the social motivations for Akan-English codeswitching in Ghana?

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

5.2 Summary of Findings

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

Gumperz's (1982) general list of the conversational uses of codeswitching was used as a baseline to compare the specifically conversational uses of Akan-English CS. The analysis thus far shows that all functions as listed by Gumperz were attested. Akan bilinguals use CS for quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalisation versus objectivization. Other conversational uses of Akan-English CS were also found in this study. These are CS for numbers (numerals), proper nouns, contrast, and CS to fill a lexical gap.

A conversational-analytical approach was also used to bring out some other discourse factors that influence CS among Akan bilinguals. Extracts from the data show the significance of the sequential embeddedness of CS, as argued by Auer (1984). The sequential analyses of these extracts also demonstrate the use of CS as a contextualisation cue. CS is used to signal change of topic and to signal the main issue under discussion.

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

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

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

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

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

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

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APPENDIX A: Interview 1

001. **Delay:** Erm wahye **how many goals** na ama cɔmo?
(Erm **how many goals** have you scored for them?)
002. **AG:** mahye **eleven**
(I scored **eleven**)
003. **Delay:** **eleven goals in a season?**
(**Eleven goals in a season?**)
004. **AG:** **yeah**
(**yeah**)
005. **Delay:** **ok and** wohu se **football** no wobɛ tumi abɔ **for how long?** se **I'm sure** se wonim wo ahɔɔden a wokura?
(**okay, and how long** do you think you can continue to play **football?** **I'm sure** you know your capabilities)
006. **AG:** **yeah**, seisei ara no *ɛdependi*. Efiri se obi wɔhɔ a obetumi anya tese **forty** erm ɔbɛ *assessɪ* se n'ahɔɔden se obetumi akɔ deɛ a. Ɔwɔ **forty years** koraa na ofiri se obetumi abɔ a obetumi abɔ.
(**yeah**, now, it *depends* [on a lot of things]. This is because someone can be around **forty** years and the person will **assess** himself to see if he can continue to play. Even if he is **forty** years and he believes he is strong enough to play, then he can play)
007. **Delay:** Enti wohwe a **football** no deɛ wobetumi abɔ **for a long time?**
(so, do you think you can play **football for a long time?**)
008. **AG:** mmm mɛbɔ
(mmm, I will play)
009. **Delay:** **ok and** erm **apart from football** woyɛ **business** bi anaa?

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

010. **AG:** hahahahahaha

(laughs)

011. **Delay:** Aden na woeresere?

(why are you laughing?)

012. **AG:** Eno deε eye akyire asem. Deε obiara nim ne se mebo **football**

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

013. **Delay:** Bɔɔlo na woyε?

(so, you play football?)

014. **AG:** **Yeah**, mebo bɔɔl

(**yeah**, I play football)

015. **Delay:** Wonyε..., nkurofoɔ dwene se mo mu bi wɔ hɔ a monnyε **investment**.

(don't you..., people think most of you don't **invest**)

016. **AG:** **Investment** deε obiara yε bi. **Like** obi yε **investment**. Obi yε nneema bebree **but** enyε adeε a mεka wɔ ayi yi so

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

017. **Delay:** **but** worebo bra?

(**but** are you making a living?)

018. **AG:** **Yes**, merebo bra

(**yes**, I am making a living)

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

(so, **people should not be worried about you**)

020. **AG:** Hahaha enye **problem**

(laughs. That is not a **problem**)

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

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

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

022. **AG:** **Yeah** se **definitely** dee obi beka. Obi hu wo sei ne sei, obiara wə **different opinion** a əbema wo **but** se wobən nipa korə no a na wobəhu **the kind of person** a nipa no ɔte enti eye **normal**.

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

023. **Delay:** Wone Castro nnwom no wosusu se enka wonka ho a anka enwom no ɛbe **hit**?

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

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

(Errm **African Girls**?)

025. **Delay:** Aane

(Yes)

026. **AG:** Oh mehwe, saa nnwom no ye **recordu** no **that was three years ago**, **but** wohwe **beat** no a **sometimes** obi beka se Asamoah Gyan ka ho no na eye sei **but** erm, wohwe **beat** no a **beat** no yede nti me **sometimes** no eye a mendwene se ebia meka ho no na ama nnwom no aye saa **but** nnwom no ye de **actually**.

(Oh, let me see, we **recorded** that song **that was three years ago**, **but** when you listen to the **beat**, **sometimes** people say it is because Asamoah Gyan is part of the song that

is why it was a hit **but** the **beat** is nice so **sometimes** I don't think my involvement has anything to do with the popularity of the song, **but** the song is **actually** nice)

027. **Delay:** Ena mo **new one** no eno nso wohu se *erepicki* paa?

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

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

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

029. **Delay:** Eye a wote wo kurom?

(do you hear it in town?)

030. **AG:** Aane

(yes)

031. **Delay:** Enti wote a eye a na sen na woho ye wo?

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

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

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

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

(**you love it**, it's a **passion**, **you love it**)

034. **AG:** ena mee benim biribi **about music** wahu enti no se mewo baabi na yerebo nnwom no na metie bi a eye a mekora no me *feeli proud myself* se **yeah** menso maye bi o. Nkrfofo no a mehu se oomo rebo nnwom no, menso maye bi o.

(And I know a bit **about music** so when I'm out and I hear people playing the song **I feel proud of myself** that yeah, I have also been able to release a song. I have also been able to release a song just like the musicians I always see)

035. **Delay:** Enti worehwε animuu sε wobε *recordi* wo nkoara wo nnwom?
(so, are you looking forward to *recording* a song alone?)
036. **AG:** Oh, **so far** no deε mennya ndweneε ho
(oh, **so far**, I have not thought about that)
037. **Delay:** Enti wope sε wone Castro εkɔ ara na adεn wone Castro moyε **4x4** anaa **VIP**?
Moyε **group**?
(so, do you want to continue recording with Castro? Are you in a **group** with Castro like **4x4** or **VIP**?)
038. **AG:** Wahu sε Castro yε obi a εrrm εnyε sε ebia ɔyε me nipa nti na mereka. Mehwε **the whole Ghana musicians** no a ɔyε **very creative**. Sε obetumi ahwε wo seisei ara ɔbε yε nnwom **in ten minutes**. Obetumi atwerε wo ho nnwom **in ten minutes**. Ena **like** me ne no nanteε no ohunuu saa adeε no wɔ me mu sε **like** yebetumi abɔ **instrumentals** bi na yaye **freestyle** na yereto nnwom ebia na yere kasakasa na yede aye aye nnwom na aye dε sei ne sei nti ohuu saa adeε no wɔ me mu enti na *ɔdecidi* sε eε sε ɔne me twa nnwom no. Enti ohuu saa adeε no, saa adeε wɔ me mu.

(There is something about Castro and I'm not saying this because he is my friend. Looking at all the **musicians in Ghana**, He is **very creative**. He can just look at you and instantly write a song **in ten minutes**. He can compose a song about you **in ten minutes**. And **like**, when we became friends he saw that thing in me. **Like**, we will just be doing **freestyle** with some **instrumentals** and compose a song out of it or we will just be talking and then compose a song out of it. So, he saw that in me and *decided* to record a song with me. He saw that in me)
039. **Delay: Okay.** Enti mobeto nnwom akyε? Mo mmienu
(**okay**. So, will you sing for a long time? The two of you)
040. **AG:** Seisei ara deε mennim. Seisei ara deε aye sε **two** no a *ahiti* no **it's ok for now**. Eε sε me *concentrate-e* wɔ (intra, nativization, number, interjection)

(Right now, I don't know. The **two hit** songs are **okay for now**. I need to *concentrate* on....)

041. **Delay:** wo **career**?

(your **career**?)

042. **AG:** me **career** no so kakra. Efirise **sometimes** mete se ebia obi beka se onhwε so na ɔmmɔ ne *baal* na sei ne sei **but** meye obi a medi agoro paa **but** meduru **park** so a menni agoro.

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

043. **Delay:** Menim se wodi agoro paa

(I know you play around a lot)

044. **AG:** medi agoro wahu?

(I play around, right?)

045. **Delay:** na se benim

(but I already know that)

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

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

047. **Delay:** Na **girl** bi a ɔkaa se ɔpe wo wo me **program** yi so no woteeee? ɔbaa Yaa?

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

048. **AG:** Ei! Hmm, aane meteeee

(Hmm, yes, I heard it)

049. **Delay:** wotee wɔ he? **When was the first day** a woteeee? Hwan na ɔfrɛ wo?

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

050. **AG:** me nnamfofoɔ frɛ me

(My friends called me)

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

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

052. **AG:** m'adamfo

(My friend)

053. **Delay:** Ena ɔse deen?

(and what did he say?)

054. **AG:** ena ɔse asem a erekɔso ni o na ɔbaa bi se se wo anware no a obeku ne ho ena me se ei ɛdeen asem ni? Enti mewɔhɔ a nso na obi *sendu* me **link** wɔ **YouTube**.

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

055. **Delay: on the net**

(on the net)

056. **AG: yeah** ena mehwɛɛɛ. Nti mehwɛɛɛ no na...

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

057. **Delay:** wo sereɛɛ?

(did you laugh?)

058. **AG:** meseree mom **but**

(actually, I laughed **but...**)

059. **Delay:** And how many times na wokohwehwεε, I'm sure you would go on watching and watching because εbaaεε no I kept on watching and watching

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

060. **AG:** yeah εbaa so foforɔ no deε mehwεε no for some time. Mehwεε no for some time

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

061. **Delay:** Ode list bi nso baa akyire. Ose ɔpe car Land Cruiser, twelve; Echolac, eight; money, five million dollars. Eno wobetumi *afordr*?

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

062. **AG:** Eneε mannte eno mmom

(Then I am not aware of that one)

063. **Delay:** Eneε εwɔ hɔ. Na eno wobetumi *afordr*?

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

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

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

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

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

066. **AG:** wosee?

(what did you say?)

067. **Delay:** wobɛpene so?
(*will you accept her proposal?*)
068. **AG:** oh, daabi daabi
(oh no, no)
069. **Delay:** wompɛ ɔbaa Yaa?
(you don't like ɔbaa Yaa)
070. **AG:** oh mennim no. Sɛ wo ne obi...
(oh, I don't know her. But you and someone...)
071. **Delay:** enti yɛn *arrang-e* na mo nhyia anaa?
(so, should we *arrange* for you to meet her?)
072. **AG:** awareɛ aɛm deɛ awareɛ kwan wa
(as for marriage issues, it's a long process)
073. **Delay:** Asamoah wo wɔ yere? **Are you married?**
(Asamoah, do you have a wife? **Are you married?**)
074. **AG:** menwareɛɛɛ. Wobɛsɛi **program** no oh!
(I am not married. You will ruin the **program**)
075. **Delay:** hahaha ɔsɛ wobɛsɛi **program** no
(hahaha. He says I will ruin the **program**)
076. **AG:** wobɛsɛi no
(you will ruin it)
077. **Delay:** enti yɛn *chang-e* saa nkɔmmɔ no wahu?

(so, we should *change* the topic, right?)

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

(let's *change* the topic)

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

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

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

(anything **apart from** that)

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

(you are so funny)

082. **AG:** wɔpɛ sɛ wɔbɛsɛi mɛ **market**

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

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

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

084. **AG:** oh, **Black Stars** dɛɛ sɛ seisei ara megyina mɛ nan so yi dɛɛ mɛbɔ akyɛ

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

085. **Delay:** wɔbɛbɔ akyɛ

(you will play for a long time)

086. **AG:** Mɛbɔ akyɛ. Enni m'adwene mu sɛ mɛpɛsɛ mɛ *retire* anaa sɛ biribi. No efiri sɛ ɛno nso aboa mɛ. Mɛ **profile** nɛ mɛ biribi ara **National team** nso aboa mɛ paa enti ɛyɛ adeɛ a ɛsɛ sɛ mɛbɔ. Mɛbɔ. Sɛ yɛn nyinaa yɛ yɛ Ghanafoɔ nti no mɛbɔ ma mɛ man.

(I will play for a long time. i don't have plans of **retiring** now. The **national team** has helped me a lot in terms of my **profile** and everything so I must keep on playing. I will play. We are all Ghanaians. So, I must play for my nation)

087. **Delay: Okay and** errm wohu wo ho se Ghana ha **Black Stars** yewo **chance** se yebegye **World Cup ever?** Wodee yemfa **World Cup** no nto nkyen **for now**, Yebetumi agye **African Cup** no?

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

088. **AG: Yeah African cup** no errm yen **generation** yi eno ne yen botae a yepɛ se yegye se barima beyee bi akɔ and **sometimes** no yedwene se oh yakɔ **world cup** ɔmo nkɔɔ **world cup** na sei sei **but** ɔmo agye **cup**. Se yaye nneema bebreɛ, seisei ara Africa yeda **number one but** yennya ngyee **cup** nti **players** no yaye **worried** se **how** se yeye biribiara **but still** no yentumi ngye **cup** nti **definitely** no ye ye **sure** se yebetumi agye.

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

089. **Delay: agye African cup** no?

(win the **African Cup**?)

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

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

091. **Delay: And how about the world cup?**

(**And how about the World Cup?**)

092. **AG: world cup** no nso errm **everything is possible** efirise yekoo **South Africa** no na nkrofoɔ en *expecti* biribiara mfiri yen ho **but** nyame adom nti no yetumi duruu ho nti no meye **sure** se errm seisei ara no ewo se yeba mpaee na nyame de yen koduru ho na yenhwe dee nyame beye **but** seisei ara no yentumi *nqualifyee* **but** meye **sure** se **African country** bi betumi agye **world cup**.

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

093. **Delay: ok** enti seisei ara no yerehwe animuu se mobegye **African cup** no, **Black Stars**?

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

094. **AG: yeah**, seisei ara dee mentumi *empromise* se yebetumi agye

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

095. **Delay: but** yerehwe animuu. **We are hoping** se...

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

096. **AG: yerehwe anim, yeah, players** no nyinaa yenim se eno ara na Ghanafoɔ yerehwehwe enti yenso **players** no yenim paa se ewo se yetumi ema obiara ani gye. **We know**.

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

097. **Delay: Nana Asamoah** enee seisei ara no me magye **cup** no bi wo Ghana ha enti wobesomu na kyere se wode aye **rehearsals** se dee ebeye a se mogye **African cup** no a wobetumi *akiisi* nti *kiisi cup* ...

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

098. **AG: Enti me** *nkiisi* bi?

(so, should I *kiss* it?)

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

(*kiss* the **cup**. We are going for a **commercial break**)

APPENDIX B: Interview 2

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

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

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

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

102. **KA:** Errm obi na ebɔɔ ne nnwom, eyɛ me sɛ Amakye Dede, ɔse eyɛ a kae me brɛ ansa na wakae me yieyɛ wote asee? Enti wode wodeɛ wofitiieɛ na wose Kennedy Agyapong watɔ **Rolls Royce** enti worekɔkye no ato mu a, ɔtɔn **cocaine** a eyɛ **defeatist approach**. I'm sorry, I have to let you know.

(Errm someone said in his song, I think it's Amakye Dede. He said, "before you remember my success, do a recollection of my suffering". Do you understand? So, they just start by saying Kennedy Agyapong has bought a Rolls Royce so they want to arrest him because he sells **cocaine**. That's a **defeatist approach**. I'm sorry, I have to let you know)

103. **KA:** Now the interesting thing is that after my Rolls Royce na Otumfoɔ wɔ bi but ɔno deɛ you know, wohwe ne standard ne ayi a... after my Rolls Royce atleast I have seen about four or five of them here wote aseɛ? Ɛ *encourage-e* nipa. Aden nti na dabiara onipa dasani wote wiase na wobema obi ahunahuna wo, you cannot even live your life.

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

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

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

105. **Delay:** extra time

(extra time)

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

(do you understand? And a lot of us don't even eat well so we don't even live up to the seventy. I have had... for the past three weeks, young men between forty-one

and fifty years who died. **They are more than ten**, you understand? So, **you take good care of yourself and that's it**)

107. **Delay: so, once you are living, you have to live**

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

108. **KA: yeah live life to the fullest. Enjoy life because** emere bi beba a wontumi nsoma sika, wofre nipa koraa ebia omma, wo ankasa wo ntumi mpagya wo sika enye hwee enti aden nti na ohiani Lazarusba *mahustle* aa abeduru sebe **fifty years. I got the inspiration from a young boy from Dubai.** Oye pakistanii a owo Dubai.

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

109. **KA: Obe *pickee* me from airport with ne Rolls Royce signature series.** Mebisaa ne age ose **twenty-six**. Mese **what! Twenty-six years old boy**, Dubai, *adeali* in **commodities**. Enti obi teho, jadi **twenty-six** otumi to Rolls Royce na wobeduru Ghana a, **fifty years?**

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

110. **Delay: Ken, wosusu se aden nti na Ghanafoo yete saa? Aden nti na nipa a yewo ha yete saa? Why do people talk too much?**

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

111. **KA: mediocrity. They don't dream big. You know,** menewo rekasa yi nyinaa obi hu manim a eye ne tan. Oh, akoo yi oredwa n'anum **but that's his cup of tea. I don't give a damn about anything. I have to feel good about myself. That's me, Ken**

Agyapong. You have to believe in yourself. You should have confidence wote aseɛ?

(**Mediocrity. They don't dream big. You know**, as we are talking, I know the sight of my face on your show annoys someone. Oh, this guy brags a lot **but that's his own cup of tea. I don't give a damn about anything. I have to feel good about myself. That's me, Ken Agyapong. You have to believe in yourself. You should have confidence**, you get it?)

112. **KA:** Ɛwɔ sɛ ewiase woma obiara hu sɛ “**hei I'm a human being**”. **Afterall** onyankopɔn kaaɛɛ ɔsɛ “**I have created you in my own image**”. **Look into the mirror and say** sɛ me m'anim a mede te ha yi, saa na nyankopɔn anim te anaa? **Ask yourself and take a decision**, wote aseɛ?

(In this world, you must let everyone know that, **'hei I'm a human being'**. **After all** God said it, he said “**I have created you in my own image**”. **Look into the mirror and say** to yourself (ask yourself), does my face look like that of God? **Ask yourself and take a decision**. Do you understand?)

113. **KA:** Enti, **but fortunately for me, a lot of young men are coming out of the root** a ɔɔmo **build-e confidence and** yɛn yɛbewu bɛkɔ no wobɛhu **the number of young men and women in this country** a na ɔɔmo anya **confidence in themselves** because worekɔyɛ adeɛ a ɔsɛ oh Kwame, me maame ɔsɛ menyɛ yɛbɛka woho asem. oh, menyɛ sei. Me woreka sɛ ma me ntɔ no na matua ka awie dada wo nso sɛ ma me ntɔ. Afei na menkɔgye anaa? Matua ka awie, **simple. That's how I live** sɛ wahu enti...

(**But fortunately for me, a lot of young men are coming out of the root** and they are **building** their **confidence. and** so, by the time we die and leave this world, you will see **the number of young men and women in this country** who have gained **confidence in themselves**... even my mum tells me not to do certain things because of public opinion but one thing about me is that I pay for things before anyone will even think of telling me not to buy them. I have already paid for it, **simple. That's how I live**. You've seen it. so...)

114. **Delay:** yeah sometime bi me ne... na mewɔ **net, I was on the net, I was browsing on the net** ɛna obi **refer to me** Delay sɛ meyɛ atitriasɛm na me sua frii woho **because** woyɛ

me **boss**. Wosusu se woye atitriaseṃ? medeeṃ enim se woye atitriaseṃ **but** wosusu se woye atitriaseṃ?

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

115. **KA: you see**, aka atitriaseṃ a edeen na orepere akyere? enam se me amma wo ansisi me nti? Wodidii me atem a medidii wo bi nti? **Who has the license to insult? Question, who has the license to insult? Who has a license to slap me?** A wose medeeṃ wo adidi me atem, **don't say anything. You see**, ena naano no na mereka akyere omo se **Proverbs 26 verse 19** ose bua okwasea wo n'agyimiseṃ so na amma no andwene se oye onyansafoṃ. Bua okwasea wo n'agyimiseṃ so na amma no andwene se oye onyansafoṃ. Eno kyere sen? **you see** se dabiara se obi ba, odidi watem. Odidi wo atem na se wodee wo anka hwee a na eye no se **he is doing the right thing. He keeps on doing it** enti **when you put him in check**; wagyimi, wonso se wagyimi wagyimi mmienu na wahu se akwa wei meko na meka baako a obeka mmienu. **He puts a stop right there, case closed. That's my principle. Why do you have to slap me and go back? I will slap you back and I will make sure I slap three so that when you drop boom, you realize mmm mmm you've met your match. Case close. That's my principle.** Enti woka se meye atitriaseṃ ene sen? se eno nti wosuaa fri me me ho? **it will help you a lot.** Atitriaseṃ, **you see they misconstrue confidence to be arrogance.**

(**You see**, what does the person mean by saying that I am violent? Is it because I didn't allow the person to cheat me? Is it because I also insulted that person when he insulted me? **Who has the license to insult? Question, who has the license to insult? Who has a license to slap me?** And you think you will insult me and I won't **say anything?** I was telling some people about **Proverbs 26 verse 19** sometime ago. It is written there that answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think he is wise. Answer a fool per his foolishness so that he will not think he is wise. What does that mean? **You see**, if someone insults you every day and you don't respond, that person will think **he is doing the right thing. He keeps on doing it** so **when you put him in check**; if he calls you a fool once, you should call him a fool twice so he gets to know that as for this person, if I insult him once he will insult me twice. **He puts a stop to it right there,**

case closed. **That's my principle. Why do you have to slap me and go back? I will slap you back and I will make sure I slap three so that when you drop boom, you will realize that you have met your match. Case closed. That's my principle** so what then do you mean by violence? That you learnt from me? **It will help you a lot. Violence? you see? They misconstrue confidence to be arrogance)**

116. **Delay: yeah**

(Yeah)

117. **KA:** Ghana ha obira ɔwɔ **confidence** biara ɔmo se ɔye **arrogant**. Enti woo wo **confidence** na wowɔ no

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

118. **Delay: tell me about it**

(tell me about it)

119. **KA:** wo **confidence** no ɛna ɛmaa me, tese mereba wo **program** yi obi kakyerɛ me se wo koraa no **I shouldn't come** na sei ne sei. ɛye **confidence** no a wowɔ a obi nni bi nti na...

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

120. **Delay: meho ye ahi**

(I annoy them)

121. **KA:** woho ye no ahi **but** se wobedi saa nneema no akyi deaa **you will not aspire. Rather** abrokyire a anka obi a wowɔ **confidence** saa no wowɔ adwuma mu a **they promote you**. Wote aseɛ. **but** aha obi a wowɔ **confidence** no, ɔye **confident** no, ɔno koraa na ye **sabotage** no. ɛno nti na **there is no progress in this country**. Enti ɔka se Delay ye atwiritwirasɛm tese ne **boss** a **so be it. Let them say it**. Ono no ara ɔse ɔnye

atwiritwiriaseṃ no ɔn*checki* ne **lifestyle**, ɔn*checki* ne asetna mu na ɔnhwe se ɔno ankasa deɛ nyankopɔn si bɔɔ no no, ɔye **better off than you a, case close**.

(You annoy them **but you will not aspire** if you think about those things. Someone as confident as you would **rather** be **promoted** at your work if it had been overseas. Do you understand? **But** here, people with **confidence** are rather *sabotaged*. That is why **there is no progress in this country**. Therefore, if they say Delay is violent like her **boss, so be it. Let them say it**. Let that person who thinks he is not violent *check* his **lifestyle**, let him *check* his standard of living and see if he is **better off than you. Case closed**.)

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

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

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

124. **Delay: how old are you now?**

(**how old are you now?**)

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

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

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

(**And I will be thirty on June 25th**)

127. **KA: woyɛ young girl**

(**You are a young girl**)

128. **Delay: I know right**

(**I know right**)

129. **KA: you see ooo, wei nyinaa wo confidence nti na rubi shoulders with us no ooo**

(you see ooo. This is all due to your confidence. That is why you are *rubbing shoulders with us*)

130. **Delay:** wonhu?

(Don't you see?)

131. **KA:** because first no a, woo **thirty years** yerekasa a anka wonka bi. **I like that, it's good.**

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

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

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

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

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

134. **Delay:** I'm working hard

(I'm working hard)

135. **KA:** you have to work towards it

(you have to work towards it)

136. **Delay:** I'm working hard towards it

(I'm working hard towards it)

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

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

138. **Delay:** honesty and savings?

(honesty and savings?)

139. **KA:** yes

(Yes)

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

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

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

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

142. **KA:** Momma yen nto aba no. wo ara wobɛ *wini* no na wo *awini*. After all, woyɛ NPPnii, anaa NDCfoɔ *winiieɛ* yi se **we are still** ayi, woyɛ NDCnii ara a NPP *wini* a **we are still** **Ghanaians. That's the most important thing. We have to see ourselves first as** **Ghanaians** ansa na wo aka se woyɛ NDCnii anaa woyɛ NPPnii. Enti **the peace of this country is very very important and the onus is on both or all the parties to exercise**

restraint se obiara nkɔye atwiritwiriam sem ensei ayi no enti **I wish Ghana well**. Na me no a obiara **feel** se meye **violent** ne ayi no, **I stand to lose more than a lot of people who claim to be Ghanaians because I have so many businesses. I can tell you. You asked me a question that I did not answer. I have ninety houses in this country alone**; Accra, Tema, Kumasi. **I have ninety houses**. nsaase enka ho enti ɔɔmo a ɔɔmo reka se ɔmo dɔ Ghana no, ɔɔmo no, ayi ɔse ekaa obi a ɔnni ntoma a anka dabiara yegoro asafo. Ɔmo na epe se Ghana esei. Me dee **I wish Ghana well so that I can enjoy because** eko ba seisei ara a **I lose all those properties that I have** enti medee mempe ntakwa wɔ Ghana. **We want peace and let us make sure** se asomdwoe wɔ ha.

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

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

(So, are you winning at Assin Fosu?)

144. **KA**: oh, mesee wodee ɔɔmo mfa obiara mmra. ɔɔmo se ɔɔmo be*wini*, we will see. Agoro ne fam. Medee eye a na **I don't want to predict anything because complacency** dee enye me **language. I will work to the larder and make sure** se **I win the seat. That**

is all. I will not sit here and say se I'm going to win. I know I will win but me mma me tirimu nyε me de se I'm going to win na me arelaxi. Hell no.

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

145. **Delay:** yese **last four years** anka yereyi wo ahwe ho eye ampa?

(They said you almost lost your seat **last four years**. Is it true?)

146. **KA: it is not true**

(**It is not true**)

147. **Delay:** wontee saa asem yi da?

(Haven't you heard this issue before?)

148. **KA:** εno deε dabiara εomo ka. εomo nyε won **statistics** yie. **You see, people were... a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them. εomo feel se ye ammoa εomo nti they decided not to vote. We had sixty-five thousand registered voters and only forty-three thousand εna εtooeε. out of forty-three thousand no me nyaa twenty-four thousand and change, almost twenty-five thousand εna NDCnii no nyaa eighteen thousand something enti wohwe me previous ayi no a ereducee by four thousand and across the country obiara loseε ne deε bi wote aseε? Margins no εso teteεεε because ermm complacency baa mu. A lot of people decided not to vote enti well, but if they think se, it was almost six thousand votes εna mede beatii no but normally na εye ten. Ten enti εba fam na wo feeli se wobe wini a se εnee εno nso wabeyi Chief Executive εna amanfoε hu ne performance so they are going to compare both of us and decide who becomes the member of parliament.**

(They say that all the time. They should do their **statistics** well. **You see, people were...**, a lot of NPP people were offended because of the way we treated them. They **felt** we didn't help them so **they decided not to vote. We had sixty-five thousand**

registered voters and only forty-three thousand voted. Out of the forty-three thousand votes, I got a little over twenty-four thousand (and change). Almost twenty-five thousand and the NDC candidate got eighteen and something thousand. So, looking at my previous results, it *reduced* by four thousand votes. And across the country, everyone *lost* some of their previous votes. The margins decreased because people became **complacent**. A lot of people decided not to vote so...well, but if they think that it was almost six thousand votes that I used to *beat* him, [to win]..., but normally I lead by **ten** (thousand votes). **Ten**, so if my votes reduced and you *feel* you can *win* that's up to you. And they have elected the **District Chief Executive** as their candidate, the people have seen his **performance so they are going to compare both of us and decide who becomes the member of parliament**)

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

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

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

(**This would be my forth term**)

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

(**4th term?**)

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

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

153. **Delay: okay**

(**okay**)

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

(**I also have to enjoy life**)

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

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

156. **KA:** meyere ye **one**. Na enye wo ne me yere na eye adwuma?

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

157. **Delay:** Na wone mmaa sen na ewo mma?

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

158. **KA:** eno dee **I wont tell you**. Na me me mfere. Dabiara se meka. Meka se me mma ye **thirteen** nti me mfere. **I am responsible. I have** nkwadaa **ten** ena ewo **America, all in high schools and colleges that I pay**. Me me mfere oo. **I have ten kids in America that are in university up to high school. It is only a responsible man who pays dollars to take care of his children** enti mete ha **what's wrong with that?**

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

159. **Delay: ok and do you have plans of** se wobesan awo biom?

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

160. **KA:** daabi daabi. Nkwadaa no a oomo reba no omo ani abue oh. ente se yen yede bagyimi bere no a yewoo yen no. me omo tumi **demande** nneema bi a **you can't say no** enti seisei dee mfifire refri me.

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

161. **Delay: we are going for a break**

(We are going for a break)

APPENDIX C: Interview 3

Introduction

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

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

163. **Delay:** **I mean really, you have to watch me** enti yereka obi a ɔwɔ **platform** no enɛ dea, eyɛ me ara enti men nso mahyɛ da na mahyɛ me bronya mpaboa ɛna mede **interview** no ɛrema wo. ɛno akyi no mereba wo fie na mabegye me bronya adeɛ.

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

164. **Delay:** Me **guest** nso ahyɛ ne bronya ataadeɛ na enɛ no eyɛ **special interview**. **Normally** no **holiday** saa no eyɛ a me hyɛda yɛ special interview. Obiara se Delay, **girl** wei wo **interview** no, wo **interview** no, ɛna mese mo ntwen **at the right time**. Enti **right time** no ne enɛ. Gyae, yerekɔgye *instaglam*, **then our interview then E-news**. Ne nyinaa rekɔso wɔ **Delay Show** yi so. ɛnkɔ baabiara, yereba seisei ara.

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

Commercial Break

165. **Delay: Welcome back.** Yɛde *instaglam* na ɛrema won a sɛ wokɔ **instagram** a ɛhɔ ayɛ **very active especially actresses** no ne **actors** no ɔmo **pages**. Ɔmo de **pictures** agugu hɔ a ɔmo de yɛ **promotions for up and coming Ghana Movie Awards** no na deɛ ɔyɛ ɔɔmo **organizer**, Frederick Nuamah ɔde **pictures** bi agugugu kurom ɛna ɔde ayɛ **billboards**. *Ɔuse use actors* ne *actress* no. Deɛ edi kan **there is one beautiful picture**, ɔmo use Jackie Appiah ase ɔgyina **sink** bi ho anaa **bathroom, something like that. The color of her dress and** ɛkyɛ a na ɛhyɛ no...., **She was looking amazing**. Yɛnhwɛ saa **picture** no (the picture is shown on the screen).

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

166. **Delay:** ɛna mehuu sɛ Jackie ara ne Lil Win nso so wɔ bi. ɛno no nso monhwɛ ase watutu kente. Wafira ntoma. Watutu kente mu. Jackie ɛna Van Vicker, John Dumelo ɛna Madjid ɛno nso ɔɔmo nyinaa afira kente ɛna Jackie ababaawa fɛfɛfɛ ɔno nso gyina ɔmo ntem.

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

167. **Delay: And then, there was another picture** a ɛno nso mehunueɛ. Mehuu Joselyn Dumas, ɔbaa a ne **hips** ɛtete ayi **slit** na wagye ne **slit** ne..., **I think** sɛ ɛyɛ **dresses** na **hips** yi repaepae ayi yi **skirt** yi wɔ **billboard** no so **and** ɔno nso ɛyemese ɔne **some other guys** ɛne Jackie, **I don't quite remember that picture but** yɛnhwɛ ɛno nso.

(**And then, there was another picture** that I saw. I saw Joselyn Dumas; the lady with the wide **hips** that can tear **slits** [a kind of garment] apart. She wore a **slit**..., **I think** it was rather a **dress** and her **hip** was tearing the **skirt** apart on the **billboard**. **And** on that

same billboard, I think she was with **some other guys** and Jackie. **I don't quite remember that picture but**, let's see that one too). [The picture is shown on the screen]

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

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

169. **Delay:** Na Fred Nuamah, wo no woreyɛ a, worekyekyɛ **awards** no a kyekyɛ no **according to**. Wo yɛ no **according from** anaa **according before** a, anaa **according across** a egya no bɛhyɛ wo. Yɛbeto gya no afa wo to na apie afa w'anum. Wobɛ**confessi** **in a professional way** wote aseɛ?

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

170. **Delay:** Yɛde **interview** no rema wo seisei ara. Enko babiara.

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

Commercial break

Interview

171. **Delay:** Afe **2014**, yen **last interview** enie. Afe wei nipa a yɛbɔ wɔn din wɔ kurom ha. Kwaw Kesse oo Kwaw Kesse, **he was on the show**. Shatta Wale oooo Shatta Wale oooo Shatta Wale, wowo awo bɔne a wote wo baabi nka. Na yerebɔ **boy** yi din, yɛde no

baae. Nasara oooo Nasara oooo, wakɔgye obi kunu ooooo wakɔgye obi kunu, yede no baae.

(This is our **last interview** for the year **2014**. This year, we talked about a lot of people in this town. Kwaw Kesse oooh Kwaw Kesse; **he was on the show**. Shatta Wale oh Shatta Wale...This **boy**'s name was all over town; we interviewed him too. Then they said so much about Nasara; that she has snatched someone's husband, we brought her on the show)

172. **Delay:** Yε bobobobɔ din ara. Sandra Ankobiah oooo Sandra Ankobiah, akwadaa ketewa woregye wo ho asakadwa, aden na yerebɔ wodin saa? Sandra aden?

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

173. **Delay:** Sandra aden na yebɔ wo din saa?

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

174. **SA:** Mekoraa εye me nwanwa oo, Delay. ɔmo se maye den?

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

175. **Delay:** worebisa me se ɔmo se wo aye den? Sandra Ankobiah ooo Sandra Ankobiah oooo ene dee mebisa **questions** no nyinaa.

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

176. **SA:** bisa me

(ask me)

177. **Delay:** se wo aye **ready**?

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

178. **SA:** mepaakyew aane

(yes please)

179. **Delay:** enti yenkɔ?

(so, can we go on?)

180. **SA:** yenkɔ

(Let's go on)

181. **Delay:** yemfa nhyehye fɔm ε. Deɛ yenim wo ara ne sɛ Sandra Ankobiah woyɛɛ **Fashion 101**. Woyɛɛ no **for how long?**

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

182. **SA:** meyɛɛ **two seasons**

(I did **two seasons**)

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

(**two seasons?**)

184. **SA:** Mepaakyɛw yew

(yes please)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

190. **SA:** sɛ merəkɔfɛrɛ mu aba. Mereba

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

191. **Delay:** yɛde **time** nti no. Yɛde **time** nti no **the question is, did you set out?**

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

192. **SA:** ena merəkɔfɛrɛ wo sɛ **fame** no ennyɛ hwee mmaa me **so why will I even set out to do that?**

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

193. **Delay: ok**

(ok)

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

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

195. **Delay: Okay**

(okay)

196. **SA: enti I already had a show going. ɔbaa so as a guest. I think it was the pilot or something. eno no na ɛmaa me ne Yvonne ɛbeyɛɛ close enti it wasn't something I set out to do.**

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

197. **Delay: so, it happened naturally?**

(so, it happened naturally?)

198. **SA: it just happened**

(it just happened)

199. **Delay: and what broke your friendship?**

(and what broke your friendship?)

200. **SA: Oh!**

(oh!)

201. **Delay: is it something? ɛyɛ adeɛ a na ɛyɛ keseɛ a ɛwɔ se ɛma friendship no gu anaa?**

(**Is it something?** was it something so big that it should ruin your **friendship?**)

202. SA: Delay, **I am sure** se wowo nnamfofoa bebre a wone oomo *startee* a **even just last year, I am sure** se wowo nnamfofoa a **this year** wone won nte se dee na wone won te **last year.**

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

203. Delay: dee meraka ne se eye adee a wahu se yewo...

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

204. SA: **people fall out**

(**People fall out**)

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

(**you just fell out?**)

206. SA: **people grow apart**

(**People grow apart**)

207. Delay: **ok**

(**ok**)

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

(**I think that's just what happened between me and Yvonne and it's just... too much has been said and it's been blown way out of proportion. There's nothing.** Yvonne is your friend. **I am sure she would have told you.** Delay you know there is

nothing like what you are asking me. Or is there something that I am not aware of? **But from what I know I think we're just..., the friendship just ran its course)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

212. **SA: sure**

(Sure)

213. **Delay: She was on the show. I asked her about wo ne no friendship. I am sure you've heard about that.**

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

214. **SA: I did hear about it**

(I did hear about it)

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

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

216. SA: Errm surprised

(Errmm, surprised)

217. Delay: mmmm?

(Mmmm?)

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

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

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

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

220. SA: a little bit

(A little bit)

221. Delay: you were hurt?

(You were hurt?)

222. SA: yes, I was a little hurt

(Yes, I was a little hurt)

223. **Delay: ok**

(ok)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(You think about her a lot?)

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

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

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

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

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

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

231. **Delay: water under the bridge?**

(Water under the bridge?)

232. **SA: too much time has passed**

(Too much time has passed)

233. **Delay: ice water anaa hot water?**

(Is it Ice water or hot water?)

234. **SA: too much has been said.** ɔɔmo aka nneema bebre. Emmere bebre atwa mu.

(Too much has been said. They have said a lot of things. so much time has passed)

235. **Delay: enti enye yie?**

(So, it won't happen)

236. **SA: enti entumi enye tese dee na etee no but I wish her well. I don't bear her bad will or anything. I wish her well and I would like to think or believe se she wishes me well.**

(It can't be like it used to be but I wish her well. I don't bear her bad will or anything. I wish her well and I would like to think or believe that she wishes me well)

237. **Delay: ok**

(ok)

238. **SA: no hard feelings. Not on my side**

(No hard feelings. Not on my side)

239. **Delay: Seesei wo praktese law no?**

(Do you currently **practice the law**?)

240. SA: me *praktese law* no

(yes, I **practice the law**)

241. Delay: **chambers** ben?

(Which **chambers**?)

242. SA: Osafo Adu Amankwaa

(Osafo Adu Amankwaa)

243. Delay: wanya **case** sen?

(How many **cases** have you worked on?)

244. SA: hahhahaha. **I'm still a baby lawyer but I do my fair share of work.** Errm I'm not, menyɛ **litigant**. Menyɛ obi a, mempe **court** kɔ. I'm not the court type lawyer so **I do a lot of desk work.** Enti **I do a lot of research and things for the other lawyers** enti I've, yeah, I've been on a number of cases. I go to court once in a while, especially when I was doing my **pupilage.** Eno deɛ you don't have a choice when they say go you have to go but seisei ara deɛ **I don't go.**

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

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

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

246. SA: **I can go just** sɛ me na mempe kɔ. **I don't find it** errm, enyɛ **attractive for me**

(**I can go, just** that I don't like to go. **I don't find it** errm, it is not **attractive for me**)

247. **Delay: why?**
- (Why?)
248. **SA: oh, se there are different kinds of lawyers**
- (oh, but there are different kinds of lawyers)
249. **Delay: ok but wodee court ko nye attractive for you**
- (Ok, but going to court is not attractive for you)
250. **SA: litigation nye attractive for me especially in Ghana. Maybe if I lived elsewhere in the world but in Ghana litigation enye very attractive for me.**
- (Litigation is not attractive for me; especially in Ghana. Maybe if I lived elsewhere in the world. But in Ghana, litigation is not very attractive for me)
251. **Delay: ok, for you. And how about New Day [a TV show], how is it going?**
- (Ok, for you. And how about New Day, how is it going?)
252. **SA: very well. I love it. errm it's going very well. I love the challenge of live TV.**
- (Very well. I love it. errm it's going very well. I love the challenge of live TV.)
253. **Delay: and how much money does New Day pay you? Is it so much money?**
- (And how much money does New Day pay you? Is it so much money?)
254. **SA: I'm comfortable**
- (I'm comfortable)
255. **Delay: ok ena law no nso ede sika reba?**
- (Ok and is the law also bringing you money?)
256. **SA: yes, law is lucrative and I make a bit of money.**
- (Yes, law is lucrative and I make a bit of money.)

257. **Delay:** merebisa wo wei nyinaa **because there has also been talk about** wo akwantuo bebre. Yese wotutu kwan dodo. Wokoda **five-star hotel**, wofa ha fa ha dodo **so people are wondering how you finance that kind of...it's a lifestyle, it's a...**

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

258. **SA: thank you, that was my answer exactly.**

(**Thank you, that was my answer exactly**)

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

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

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

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

261. **Delay:** na merebisa wo wose enye obi **business** nanso wobekɔ ahwe mu no na 12.5 kilos. Na yede nam **VVIP** na **cocaine** yakyekyere no se bedɛ no na ɛso nkrɔfoɔ.

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

262. **SA: never, never on earth.**

(**Never, never on earth**)

263. **Delay: yes, because** obi kakyere me se oh Sandra Ankobia yese otan **drugs**.
(**Yes, because** someone told me that she heard Sandra Ankobia sells **drugs**)
264. **SA: Errm I think** se
(Ermm **I think** that...)
265. **Delay: yese wo pushi drugs**
(They say you ‘**push**’ (**peddle**) **drugs**)
266. **SA: oh Delay! That would be, it would be ridiculous for anybody to say that. It would be ridiculous, it would be ridiculous.**
(Oh Delay! **That would be, it would be ridiculous for anybody to say that. It would be ridiculous, it would be ridiculous**)
267. **Delay: obi kakyere me. Onipa no reka no na me producer wo ho. Mekaa se merebe interview wo na okaa se wodeko, wo kyekyere no boa boa na wode nam.**
(Someone told me. My **producer** was even there when the person was said it. I told the person I was going to **interview** and she said you deal in drugs)
268. **SA: Delay wonim time a mesore everyday? I wake up at 4am everyday, Monday to Friday. Why would I need to se meye drugs a aden nti na meha meho? It’s a struggle. I’ve been doing New Day for almost two years now but it’s still a struggle. When my alarm goes off I still wish I can sleep for another five, ten, fifteen minutes. mesore 4am; Monday to Friday. Why will I do that if I was pushing drugs? Meda fie na ma...**
(Delay, do you know the **time** I wake up **everyday? I wake up at 4am everyday, Monday to Friday. Why would I need to** if I deal in **drugs? Why will I worry myself? It’s a struggle. I’ve been doing New Day for almost two years now but it’s still a struggle. When my alarm goes off I still wish I can sleep for another five or fifteen minutes. I wake up at 4am, Monday to Friday. Why will I do that if I was pushing drugs? I will stay at home and I...**)

269. **Delay:** Sandra sɛ **TV** no yɛn nyinaa yɛ yɛ bi. Woyɛ **New Day** a menso meyɛ **Delay Show**. **You can never tell me** sɛ **New Day** ho sika na wode atɔ wo **car** no a woda mu no. **Wokaa** no ɛyɛ **more than \$70,000** meboa?

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

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

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

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

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

272. **SA:** **but the point is**, Delay, ɛnyɛ **TV** no nkoara na meyɛ

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

273. **Delay:** Sandra yɛrekasa nya abotare. Aɛ wo ho reprewo. Yɛrɛhyehyɛ nkɔmmɔ no ba. **You bought it for more than a hundred thousand and something thousand dollars**

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

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

(**It was more than \$100,000**)

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

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

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

(**Yeah, but there was a reason why I did law.**)

277. **Delay: ok**

(Ok)

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

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

279. **Delay: but wo *startee* law one year koraa mmaae**

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

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

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

281. **Delay: I do**

(I do)

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

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

283. **Delay: when you write under a picture..., like me, when I'm coming to do an interview, I don't just come**

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

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

(You do a lot of research of course. It will be crazy for you not to)

285. **Delay: ahaa so when you write like you can't sit with us**
(Yeah so when you write like you can't sit with us)
286. **SA: oh Delay, eye street talk**
(Oh Delay, that is **street talk**)
287. **Delay: I know it' street talk**
(**I know it's street talk**)
288. **SA: eye slang**
(*It is slang*)
289. **Delay: who is the 'you' and who is the 'us'?**
(**Who is the 'you' and who is the 'us'?**)
290. **SA: sɛdɛɛ wofrɛ wo ho Ghana's strongest, Delay sizeless, wotutu wo ho no, eye biribi saa. It's just jokes**
(The way you call yourself **Ghana's strongest, Delay sizeless**, the way you brag about yourself. It's something like that. **It's just jokes**)
291. **Delay: enti there is nothing in it about anybody**
(So, **there is nothing in it about anybody?**)
292. **SA: no shade at anybody, no subs, not at all. It's a joke**
(**No shade at anybody, no subs, not at all. It's a joke**)
293. **Delay: so, people can sit with you**
(**So, people can sit with you**)
294. **SA: of course**
(**of course**)

295. **Delay:** ɛna wo, **you put a picture** nso so a ase wokotenaa **economy and you were like “sometimes we sit at the back”**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

299. **Delay:** ok

(Ok)

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

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

301. **Delay:** mm mmm and there is this erm this big man. He is a millionaire. He’s a friend of mine. Mebo ne din a, you know him and when was that, yesternight he called me and he was like “oh! Deloris let’s hang out” ɛna mese meretwa **Delay Show** okyena enti **I can’t hang out because there is traffic** ɛna ose hwan na wore **interview** no ɛna mese mere **interview** Sandra Ankobia ɛna osee oh “**I can’t stand**

that girl". I'm like oh aden? **Like, she's a nice person.** Ose no no no, "**I can't stand that girl**". Ena mese na aden? ena ose na wokotena **plane** mu a na watwitwa **pictures**. Enye nkurasesem. **This was what he said.** Aden onim baabi a obi nso akotena? Okaae no **I was trying to defend you and he kept going so I was like okay, okay** ena yetwaa so.

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

302. **SA: you didn't have to defend me**

(**You didn't have to defend me**)

303. **Delay: when you hear things like this,** se eye nkurasesem se wobetena **plane** mu na watwitwa **pictures**. Wote nsem bi saa no a eye a na **how do you feel?**

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

304. **SA: yeye hypocrites** wo kurom ha. Metena **TV** soanaa mewo **New Day** so a metwa **picture**. Se meko Agyemang maame kodi banku a metwa **picture. It's, I take stuff, I take daily pictures** anaa **things about various activities that I'm doing** enti aden na **first class** dee no eha wo. se **if you don't have any ill will or any ill feeling** anaa se enye ahooyaa bi aden nti na metwa **New Day** dee no a wonka se aden nti na mete **studio** na matwa **picture**. Aden na mete Agyemang maame redi banku aa wanka se aden nti na makotena Agyemang maame redi banku **but** mete **first class** dee eye **big deal. Think**

about it. For me it's just..., It is opinion anyway enti se ɔmpɛ m'asɛm a, **I mean you can't like everybody.**

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

305. **Delay:** ɔno deɛ no, ahoɔyaa deɛ ɛyɛ **out.**

(As for him, Jealousy is **out**)

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

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

307. **Delay:** ɔse ɛyɛ no ahi

(He said it annoyed him)

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

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

309. **Delay:** ɔse ahaa, **he used one word,** ɔse woregu Ghanafoɔ anima se

(He said, yeah, **he used one word**, he said you are disgracing Ghanaians)

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

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

311. **Delay: double standards?**

(**Double standards?**)

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

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

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

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

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

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

315. **Delay: our memories**

(Our memories)

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

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

317. **Delay: enti no?**

(So?)

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

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

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

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

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

(It's a lifestyle like you said)

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

(Is that how you want to live?)

322. **SA: I didn't start this today. For me it's a lifestyle. I've been travelling. If you go on my Facebook page, I was just telling one blogger, na obisa me me ena mese you know what I think it's just because social media abeye bigger. The proliferation**

of social media has gone crazy. Wokɔ me Facebook page from about 2006 or 2005 I was going to Paris, I was going to Milan. The pictures are all there. Pictures don't lie. I'm a lawyer so I know the weight of evidence. It's all there. I've been doing this thing way before so, like you said, it's a lifestyle and for as long as I can continue to afford it or I want to live it, I will live like that. And I'm not going to be bothered because someone sitting somewhere is feeling bad.

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

323. **Delay:** wone Paedae ɔno na egyae wo anaa won a wogyae no?

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

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

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

325. **Delay:** mokɔɔ **out**

(You went **out**)

326. **SA:** wohuu yen wɔhe Delay?

(Where did you see us? Delay)

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

(**You used to go to his house**)

328. **SA:** **how do you know?**

(How do you know?)

329. Delay: you used to go to his house

(You used to go to his house)

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

(So, I can't go to people's house?)

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

(And you slept over and all of that)

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

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

333. Delay: but you did. Don't worry

(But you did. Don't worry)

334. SA: Paedae and I, we are cool

(Paedae and I, we are cool)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(I'm not denying him but I don't talk about my personal life)

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

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

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

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

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

(Ah! But what you were saying...)

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

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

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

(Like you guys are no longer together?)

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

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

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

(So, you won't talk about it?)

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

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

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

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

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

(Yes. they can form their own opinions)

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

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

350. **SA:** I haven't been following. I haven't really been following

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

351. **Delay:** you stopped following him?

(You stopped following him?)

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

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

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

(So, you stopped communicating with him?)

354. **SA:** erm Brymo and I haven't spoken for a while. We haven't spoken in a while. It's been long, you know. Dɛɛ nti nkrɔfoɔ...

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

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

(Why? didn't he *live* up to expectations?)

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

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

357. **Delay:** You are just friends with everyone

(You are just friends with everyone)

358. SA: obaa Ghana beyεε **concert** εna *ɔdedicate-e* εnwom maa me

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

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

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

360. SA: really?

(Really?)

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

(Yes, when he was here)

362. SA: saa? Wohuu me wɔ hɔ?

(Really? Did you see me there?)

363. **Delay: yeah**

(Yeah)

364. SA: sε merəkɔ ne **hotel**?

(That I was going to his **hotel**?)

365. **Delay: you were there**

(You were there)

366. SA: Ei! Asem wei deε εye me nwanwa. Mekoraa mennim sε na me wɔ hɔ

(I am even surprised. I don't even know that I went there)

367. **Delay: wonkae?**

(Don't you remember?)

368. SA: enye se menkae o. ansi

(It isn't that I do not remember. It didn't happen)

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

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

370. SA: ansi. Ensii da se me koo Brymo **hotel room**

(It didn't happen. It never happened that I went to Brymo's **hotel room**)

371. Delay: **you can lie through your nose like that?**

(**You can lie through your nose like that?**)

372. SA: oh Delay. Daabi daabi menkoo ho

(Oh Delay. No, no, I didn't go there)

373. Delay: **you can lie through your nose like that and feel comfortable lying through your nose?**

(**You can lie through your nose like that and feel comfortable lying through your nose?**)

374. SA: manko Brymo **hotel room**

(I didn't go to Brymo's **hotel room**)

375. Delay: **you can deny people like that?**

(**You can deny people like that?**)

376. SA: Delay anka ebeye me de se...metee se worebisa John **question** bi about se **what is the worst rumour or something and I would have said Brymo; that I dated Brymo. That's what I would have said but you didn't give me the opportunity to answer that question ena worepushi ne down my throat.**

(Delay I would have been happy if...I heard you asking John a **question about what is the worst rumour or something and I would have said Brymo; that I dated Brymo.**

That's what I would have said but you didn't give me the opportunity to answer that question and you are *pushing* it down my throat)

377. **Delay:** I'm not asking you that question so I don't need that answer. I'm just surprised you are lying through your nose and saying you don't even know Brymo.

(I'm not asking you that question so I don't need that answer. I'm just surprised you are lying through your nose and saying you don't even know Brymo)

378. **SA:** oh, menim no

(Oh, I know him)

379. **Delay:** you've not dated him and that...

(You've not dated him and that)

380. **SA:** menim no. **Sometime ago** obaa Ghana beyee **concert** bi ena **I got to meet him there** ena *dedicatee* nnwom bi maa me or se sen. eno na emaa obiara *feeli* se mene no wo biribi ye.

(I know him. He came for a concert in Ghana **sometime ago so **I got to meet him there** and he *dedicated* a song to me. That's why people *feel* I have something to do with him)**

381. **Delay:** ena wokoo **Golden Tulip** kohwehwee no

(And you visited him at Golden Tulip)

382. **SA:** **Golden Tulip** dee mekooyee deen wo ho?

(What did I go to do at Golden Tulip?)

383. **Delay:** ekoo ne nkyen wo Nigeria nyinaa?

(You even went to Nigeria to visit him)

384. **SA:** ei saa?

(Really?)

385. **Delay:** wo seree koraa kyere se woboa

(The way you are laughing even shows that you are telling lies)

386. **SA:** oh, Delay enye nokware

(Oh Delay, it is not true)

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

(Sandra, thanks for coming on the show.)

388. **SA:** Thanks for having me

(Thanks for having me)

389. **Delay:** Yerekogye **commercial break.** Yereba seisei ara

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